CLUN CASTLE SHROPSHIRE

An Interim Report

June 1993
Hereford Archaeology Series 176

*Excavation * Evaluation * Building Surveys * Historical Research*

This report is produced by the

City of Hereford
Archaeology Unit

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The City of Hereford Archaeology Committee (Director: Ron Shoesmith) was founded in 1974 and is a registered charity. It operates through the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit, which has a permanent staff of eight people. Besides dealing with the buried archaeology of Hereford - an important Saxon city dating back to the seventh century - the Unit has specialised in recent years in the archaeological recording and analysis of standing buildings.   This work has usually been on a commission basis on behalf of English Heritage or developers and the Unit now has considerable experience in this field.

Front Cover: Extract from the Bucks' 1731 engraving of the castle, showing
                    the Great Tower from the north-west.

Clun Castle
Clun
Shropshire
NGR: SO 299 809

An Interim Report

Text

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June 1993
City of Hereford Archaeology Unit

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1495

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F.P.

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2616

CLUN

PROG STREET

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606

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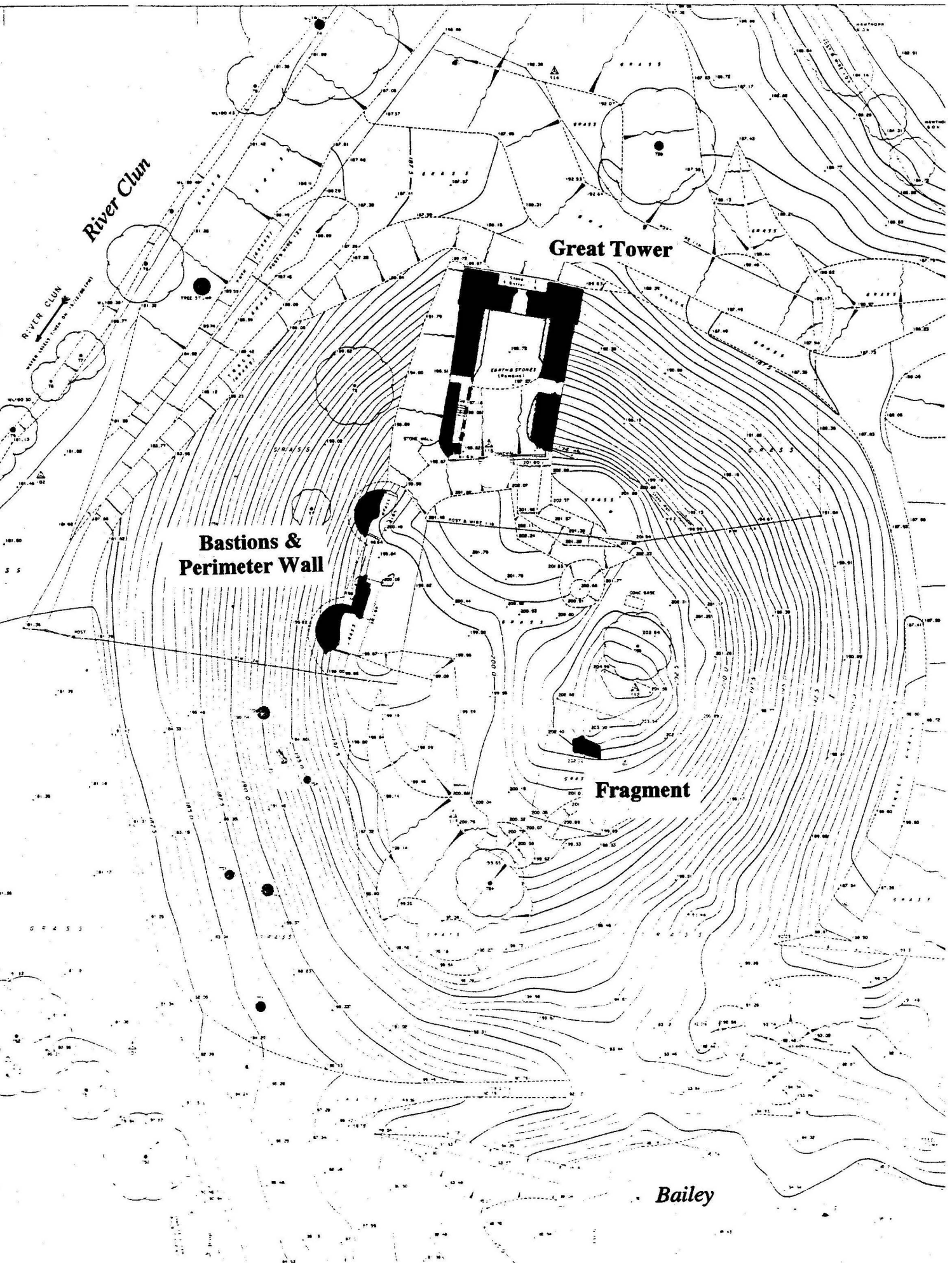
The 1886 Ordnance Survey Map of Clun

Clun Castle
Clun
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1. Introduction

In 1991 English Heritage took Clun Castle into guardianship and began to plan a major programme of repair and renovation. Prior to this work starting the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit was commissioned to produce an outline history of the site (Morriss, 1990). This was followed by survey work on the upstanding section of curtain wall and its two flanking towers on top of the motte.

The main surviving masonry portion of the castle is the Great Tower, usually called the Keep, built into the side of the motte. This massive structure stands almost to full height, although it has lost its south wall, floors, and roof. After it was scaffolded, the Hereford Unit carried out a full stone-by-stone hand survey of the tower over several months between the summer of 1991 and the start of 1992 in advance of the repair work. This survey provided the basis for a new analysis of the fabric, and the development of the castle as a whole. The comprehensive documentary history of the castle will follow, but this interim is based on the architectural archaeology of the site and the initial outline history already unqertaken by the Hereford Unit.

2. Outline History

The small town of Clun lies in the valley of the river of that name in the south-western comer of Shropshire, close to the Welsh border but on the eastern side of Offa's Dyke. This area was part of the fluctuating borderland between England and Wales until shortly after the unification of the two countries in 1536. The earliest reference to the town appears in 1002, when there is mention of the will of Wulfric, *'aet Clune'* (Bowcock, 1923, 75). It seems that in the late Saxon period it was relatively prosperous; *Clune* was held before the Conquest by Edric, a free man, and was worth £25. Edric was probably Edric Silvaticus, 'Wild Edric', who led a rebellion against the Normans in 1068-9 that was ruthlessly suppressed (Stenton, 1971, 605). The western parts of Shropshire were devastated and by 1086 the value of the manor of Oun had fallen to just £3.

In 1086 the manor was held by the Norman, Picot de Say, chief vassal of Roger de Montgomery - who had been given Shropshire by William I; it was thus not held by Picot as tenant in chief. The value of the manor was beginning to recover. Of particular interest is the mention of a *'Molinum serviens Curiae',* usually thought to refer to a mill serving the manorial hall or court (Eyton, 1864, ii 227; Thom, 1986, 4-20). There is no specific mention of a castle at Clun and it is possible that both the hall or court and the mill were of Saxon origin and taken over by de Say. There is also no mention of a church in the Domesday Book, but this need not be seen as conclusive evidence that one

did not exist. Indeed, some writers have considered there to have been in Clun the mother church of a large Saxon parish (Anderson, 1864, 465). The present parish church, south of the river, was heavily restored in 1877 but writers commenting on it prior to this considered that parts of the nave were of pre-Conquest date (Bagshaw, 1851, 709; Hulbert, 1837, 271).

The fact that the church is still on the south side of river and not in the later planted settlement to the north is significant. The rigid street pattern of the main part of the town appears to be associated with the castle and is in distinct contrast to the looser, nucleated, plan around the church. It is likely that the settlement around the church represents the site of Saxon Clun, with the later medieval town being laid out on the opposite side of the river next to the post-Conquest castle. The fairly regular burgage plots on either side of Church Street, the road leading up from the river bridge towards the church, could, perhaps, represent an intermediate phase of development. To complicate matters, the rigid pattern north of the river is broken by a curving back lane running southwards from the west end of Newport Street to the junction of High Street and Bridge Street. This lane, together with Bridge Street itself, has been considered to be the fossilised remnant of the defences of an outer bailey. This seems unlikely, given the huge area that it would have contained. It is just possible that it contained an earlier defended settlement that lay much closer to the castle, but no archaeological work has been undertaken to assess this possibility.

The first mention of a castle at Clun is not until 1140 but, given the strategic importance of the site in guarding the Clun valley, and in providing a base for Norman penetration through it, it is likely that a castle was established in the late-11th century by Picot de Say. Picot, real name Robert, held 27 manors in 1086. Still alive in the 1090's, and calling himself the Baron of Clun, he was succeeded by his son, Henry de Say, who died in or around 1130 (Sanders, 1960, 112-3). It is likely that this first castle was a simple variation of the standard motte-and-bailey type, making use of the natural high ground in a wide meander of the River Clun just below its confluence with the much smaller River Unk.

By the early 12th century there was a general reorganisation of the properties in the Welsh March and the manors of Clun and Obley were taken out of the old hundred of Purslow and became the separate Honor of Clun - virtually a Marcher Lordship (Eyton, 1864, ii, 228; Salt, 244 *et seq.).* The Honor, held directly from the crown, eventually included Clun itself and the other five townships of the manor, along with the 23 townships of the larger manor of Tempsiter, which straddled Offa's Dyke. The Honor was neither wholly English nor wholly Welsh, and its laws were taken from both countries - though always subject to the whims of the ruling Baron. Despite their local importance, the de Says were not as successful in making territorial advances into Wales as were their more powerful neighbours to the north, the de Mortimers of Wigmore and the FitzAlans of Oswestry.

Helias de Say held Clun after Henry's death and was still alive in 1142 when he was reputed to have killed the Welsh princes Howell and Cadogan in battle (Oman, 1978, 141). His heir, probably his daughter, was Isabella de Say - the Lady of Clun - who held the Honor by 1145 (Jones, 1932, 2). Through her marriage to William FitzAlan of Oswestry in or around 1155 Clun came into the hands of the more powerful dynasty (Eyton, 1864, vii, 23; Clark-Maxwell, 342-3). William died in 1160, leaving an underage heir of the same name, and the indefatigable Isabella then married Geoffrey de Vere, and after his death in 1170, William Botterel (Clark-Maxwell, 343; Sanders, 1960, 113).

When the younger William FitzAlan came of age it is likely that he lived at Oswestry and allowed his mother and Botterel to hold Clun. In 1196 the castle was attacked by Prince Rese of south Wales as he made his way to the Battle of Radnor. According to one source the siege was bitter and long but the castle was eventually taken and reduced to ashes - which may imply that it was still a timber fortification at this time. Isabella died in 1199 and donated the advowson of Clun and its dependent chapels, including the mysterious chapel of St. Thomas's (which may have been the castle chapel) to Wenlock Priory (Clark-Maxwell, 342).

William FitzAlan added the barony of Clun to his other estates on the death of his mother and although Oswestry remained the chief seat of the family, he did obtain permission from King John to hold an annual three-day fair in Clun (Eyton, 1864, ii, 230). He died in 1210 leaving another under-age heir, another William, who died at Clun castle in 1215 and was succeeded by John FitzAlan, presumably his uncle (Eyton, 1864, ii, 230). John was implicated in a Welsh rebellion in the same year, and when Shrewsbury was taken Llewellyn the Great's ally, the bishop of Hereford, was employed *'in the disposal of Clun castle'* (Hulbert, 1837, 273; Parry, 1850, 104). Whether the castle was taken again is unclear. Despite John's reconciliation with the king after the rebellion, his loyalty was once again called into question in 1233 and Henry III had installed his own garrison in the castle; this repulsed another Welsh attack during which the town was burnt (Eyton, 1864, vii, 252; Jones, 1932, 3).

John retained Clun until his death in 1240 and was succeeded by his son, another John, who became Earl of Arundel through his mother, the sister and heir of Hugh d'Aubigny who died without issue in 1243 (Clough, 1969, xxv; Kenyon, 129). Until this John came of age the castle was one of several held for the king by John le Strange (Eyton, vii, 253). Clun remained the FitzAlan's main residence for most of the rest of the century and the town was probably at its most prosperous during this period. It was given a murage grant in 1277 and there is some evidence that defences were actually built around the new settlement on the north side of the river. It was only a borough by prescription, but did have two annual fairs, and it was bigger than Oswestry.

A survey of the castle in an inventory of 1272 gives a good idea of the state of the castle at that date:

The seal of William FitzAlan (d. 1210)

The seal of Edmund FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, 1317

(Both *ex-* Grazebrook & Ryelands)

At Clun there is a little castle competently built, but the top of the tower should be covered with lead, and the castle bridge should bet to be repaired; and outside the castle is a bailey enclosed in a ditch. And there is a gate there begun with a wall. And the part of the wall begun is 200 feet long. And there are houses in that bailey, viz., a grange, a stable and a bakery in poor condition. There are two gardens there, containing two acres, and the yield in both herbage and fruit is valued at 3s. yearly. There is a dovecot there valued at 12d. yearly.
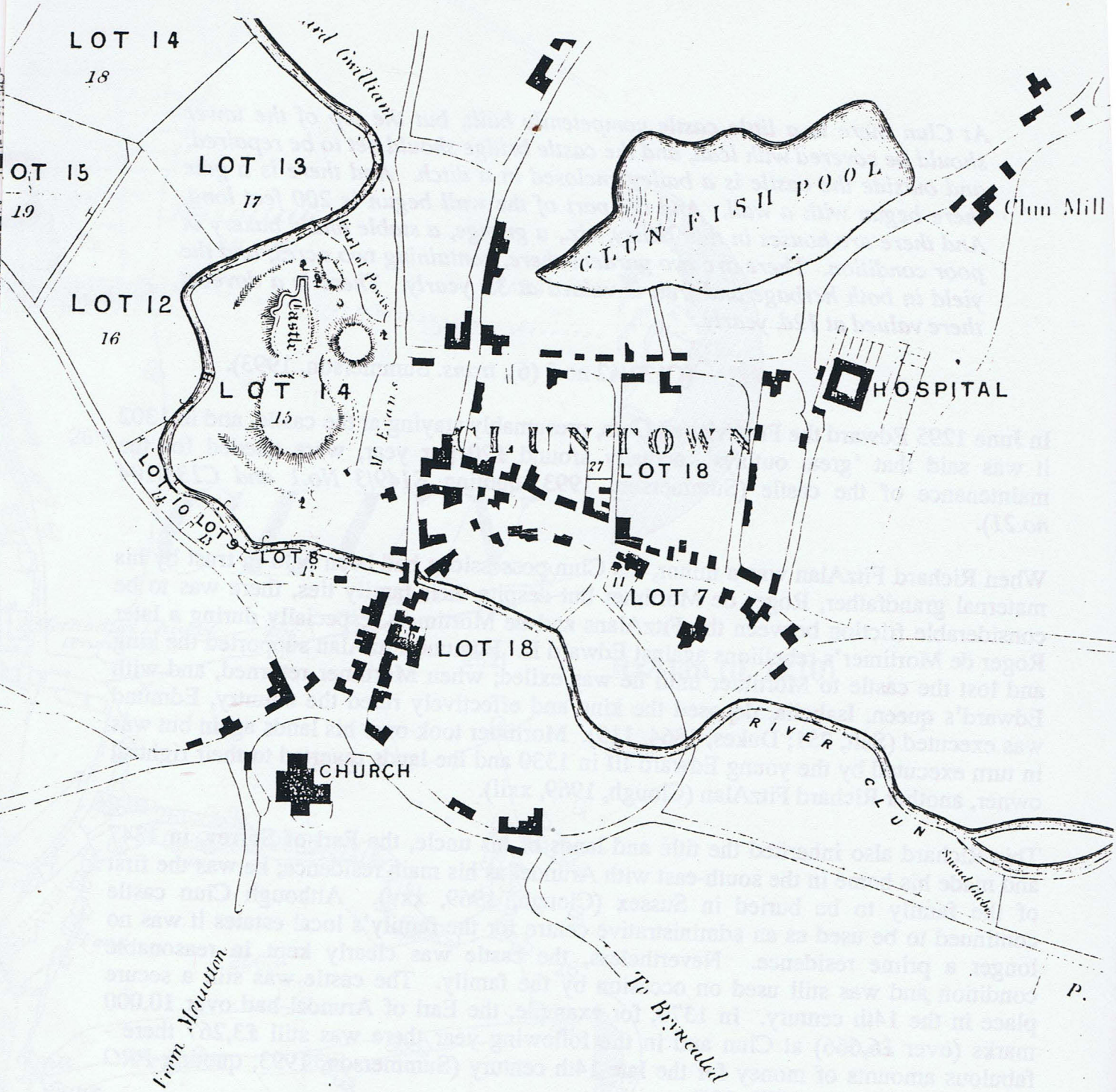
(C132/42 no.5 (6), *trans.* Summerson, 1993).

In June 1295 Edward the First visited Clun, presumably staying at the castle, and in 1302 it was said that 'great outlays', actually around £20 per year, were needed for the maintenance of the castle (Summerson, 1993, quoting *E149/3 No.1 and C133/104 no.21*).

When Richard FitzAlan was a minor, his Clun possessions had been held in trust by his maternal grandfather, Roger de Mortimer but despite their family ties, there was to be considerable friction between the FitzAlans and de Mortimers, especially during a later Roger de Mortimer's rebellions against Edward II. Edmund FitzAlan supported the king and lost the castle to Mortimer until he was exiled; when Mortimer returned, and with Edward's queen, Isabella, deposed the king and effectively ruled the country, Edmund was executed (Salt, 251; Dukes, 1864, 119). Mortimer took over his lands again but was in turn executed by the young Edward III in 1330 and the lands reverted to their rightful owner, another Richard FitzAlan (Clough, 1969, xxii).

This Richard also inherited the title and lands of his uncle, the Earl of Surrey, in 1347 and made his home in the south-east with Arundel as his main residence; he was the first of the family to be buried in Sussex (Clough, 1969, xxv). Although Clun castle continued to be used as an administrative centre for the family's local estates it was no longer a prime residence. Nevertheless, the castle was clearly kept in reasonable condition and was still used on occasion by the family. The castle was still a secure place in the 14th century. In 1370, for example, the Earl of Arundel had over 10,000 marks (over £6,666) at Clun and in the following year there was still £3,267 there - fabulous amounts of money for the late-14th century (Summerson, 1993, quoting *PRO E101/315/38*; Davies, 1978, 195).

The castle also appears to have been used as a hunting lodge. In 1301 a survey had shown that up to 70 deer could be safely taken from Clun Forest without depleting the herd, and in 1362 Edward III stayed at Clun to hunt (Clough, 1969, 52; Davies, 1978, 58; Hulbert, 1837, 273). Hunting deer called for large numbers of horses and the Arundel's also bred them; in 1397 the Clun stud contained no less than 160 (Davies, 1978, 120).

The FitzAlans again lost control of Clun during the reign of Richard II but regained it on the accession of Henry IV. It is not clear whether or not the castle was actively involved in the fighting during the Glendower uprising at the start of the 15th century, although in

LOT 14
18

LOT 15
19

LOT 13
17

LOT 12
16

LOT 14
15

Castle

Mr Evans

CLUN FISH POOL

Clun Mill

HOSPITAL

CLUN TOWN

LOT 11
LOT 10
LOT 9
LOT 8

27 LOT 18
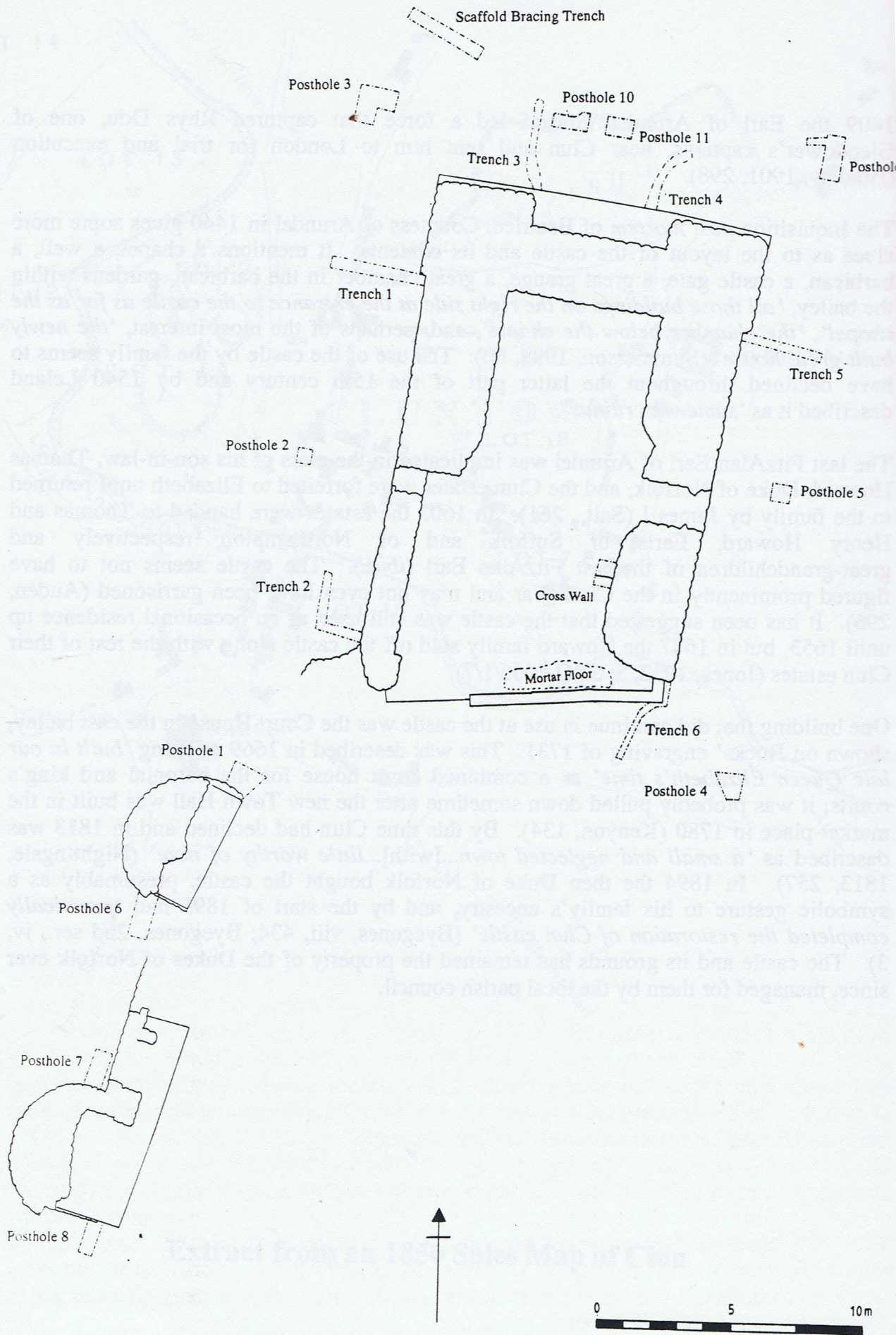
LOT 7

LOT 18

CHURCH

RIVER CLUN

P.

Extract from an 1850 Sales Map of Clun

1409 the Earl of Arundel himself led a force that captured Rhys Ddu, one of Glendower's captains, near Clun and sent him to London for trial and execution (Bradley, 1901, 298).

The Inquisition *post mortem* of Beatrice, Countess of Arundel in 1440 gives some more clues as to the layout of the castle and its contents. It mentions a chapel, a well, a barbican, a castle gate, a great grange, a great chamber in the barbican, gardens within the bailey, '*all those buildings on the right side at the entrance to the castle as far as the chapel*', '*the chamber below the chapel*', and, perhaps of the most interest, '*the newly built great house*' (Summerson, 1991, np). The use of the castle by the family seems to have declined throughout the latter part of the 15th century and by 1540 Leland described it as '*sumewhat ruinus*'.

The last FitzAlan Earl of Arundel was implicated in the plots of his son-in-law, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and the Clun estates were forfeited to Elizabeth until returned to the family by James I (Salt, 261). In 1603 the estates were handed to Thomas and Henry Howard, Earls of Suffolk and of Northampton respectively and great-grandchildren of the last FitzAlan Earl (*ibid.*). The castle seems not to have figured prominently in the Civil War and may not even have been garrisoned (Auden, 296). It has been suggested that the castle was still used as an occasional residence up until 1653, but in 1677 the Howard family sold off the castle along with the rest of their Clun estates (Jones, 1932, 5; SRO 4066/1/7).

One building that did continue in use at the castle was the Court House in the east bailey, shown on Bucks' engraving of 1731. This was described in 1669 as being '*built in our late Queen Elizabeth's time*' as a combined court house for the baronial and king's courts; it was probably pulled down sometime after the new Town Hall was built in the market-place in 1780 (Kenyon, 134). By this time Clun had declined and in 1813 was described as '*a small and neglected town...[with]...little worthy of note*' (Nightingale, 1813, 257). In 1894 the then Duke of Norfolk bought the castle, presumably as a symbolic gesture to his family's ancestry, and by the start of 1895 had '*practically completed the restoration of Clun castle*' (Byegones, viii, 434; Byegones, 2nd ser., iv, 3). The castle and its grounds has remained the property of the Dukes of Norfolk ever since, managed for them by the local parish council.

Scaffold Bracing Trench

Posthole 3

Posthole 10

Posthole 11

Posthole

Trench 3

Trench 4

Trench 1

Trench 5

Posthole 2

Posthole 5

Trench 2

Cross Wall

Mortar Floor

Trench 6

Posthole 1

Posthole 4

Posthole 6

Posthole 7

Posthole 8

0   5   10m

CLUN CASTLE:
RELATIONSHIP OF THE GREAT TOWER AND BASTIONS

3. Outline Description

Clun Castle was built on a natural spur in a bend of the small River Clun. This spur was scarped to produce, ultimately, two defended baileys and a higher motte. These earthworks have yet to be recorded or investigated in any detail, apart from a recent contour survey. There has yet to be any thorough analysis of how the site developed or where the main structures were. As far as can be determined, no archaeological work in the way of excavation had been undertaken on the site until the limited evaluations carried out within the Great Tower as part of this present programme of work. This lack of archaeological research does mean that any conclusions drawn from the upstanding structures have to be considered more or less in isolation from the surrounding site.

The surviving structures that were surveyed by the Unit are all on top of the motte. By far the largest of these was the 'Keep' or Great Tower. The other surviving portions consist of a section of wall buttressed by two half-round towers, and an isolated tall fragment of straight walling. There are many traces of broken masonry on or just below the surface of the motte and its slopes but these were not examined and would require an extensive programme of archaeological excavation to be understood properly.

3.1 The Great Tower

The large tower built into the north slope of the motte is generally referred to as the Keep. As this no longer seems to be an appropriate designation it will, in this report, be called the Great Tower. Its previous identification as a keep is not at all surprising as it has been inaccessible and fenced off for many years and a thorough investigation of the interior has thus been impossible. Externally, it does seem to have many of the hallmarks of a typical Norman keep, or *donjon*, of the 12th century. It is rectangular, tall, has flat clasping buttresses on the northern corners, and, from the outside, the broken window openings appear to have semi-circular or segmental heads. Similar keeps, known to be Norman, can be seen in the region at the castles of Bridgnorth (Shropshire) and Goodrich (Herefordshire) as well as in several other minor castles. The one fact about the tower that is distinctly atypical of Norman keeps is that it is built into the slope of the motte, and not at its summit.

The fact that it is built into the side of the motte could lead to some confusion over floor identification. There are four main floor levels in all, with additional upper floors in the two northern corner watch-towers. The lowest floor of all was clearly, at least in part, a basement. The floor above this is level with the top of the motte and will be considered the ground floor, those above being named accordingly.

The tower is built of lightly worked and reasonably well coursed local stone, except for decorative features, such as reararches, which are of a softer, greeny-yellow material. There are no obvious construction breaks of any significance apart from those associated with much later repairs, such as a section of refacing at the southern end of the west elevation considered to belong to the 1890's repairs. It therefore appears that the tower
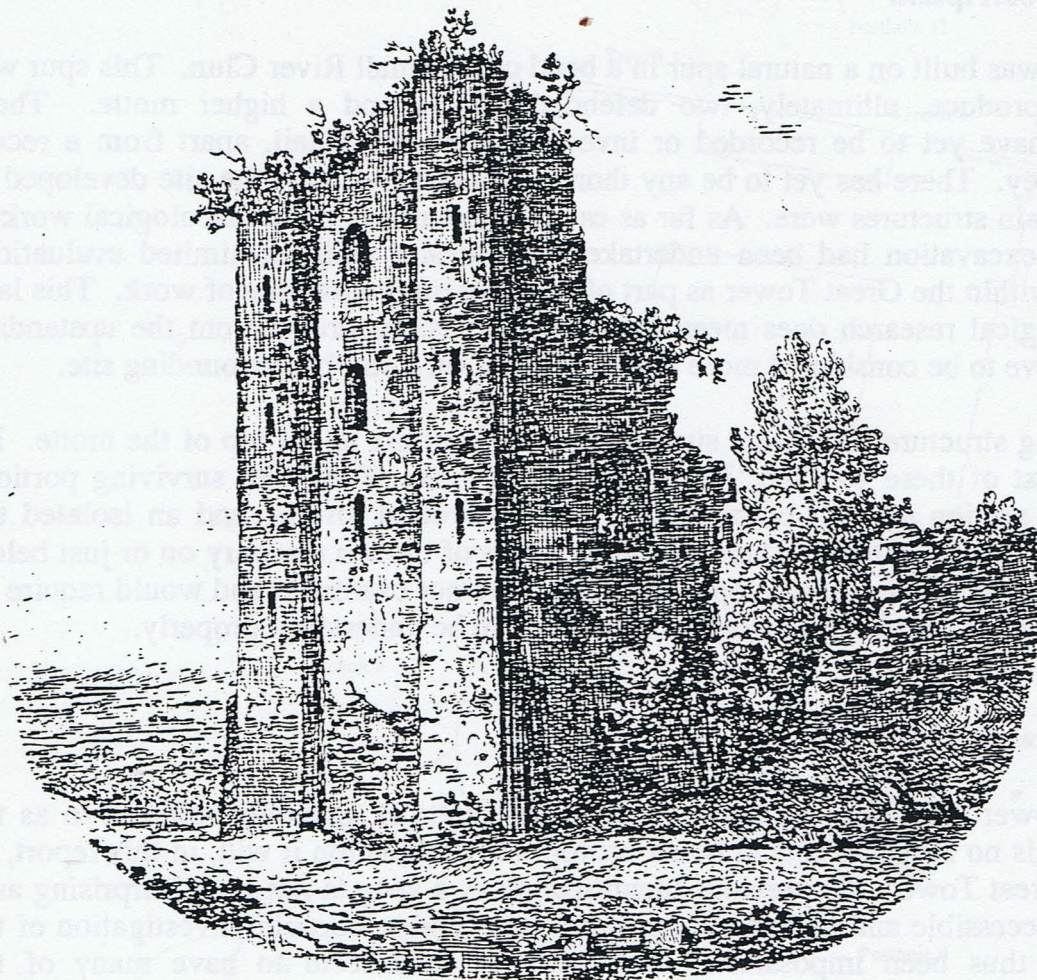
William Pearson's engraving of Clun Castle from the north-west, *circa.1820*

is of one single phase. Three walls survive, but it is not clear exactly how the missing south wall was built, or whether the tower butted against an earlier structure at this point. Its absence adds confusion to the understanding of the structural development.

What is clear is that the south wall did not go down below ground floor level to act as the wall of the basement. Limited excavations in the basement demonstrated that it was a much shorter floor than those above, stopping well short of the assumed line of their southern walls (Appleton-Fox, 1992). The south wall of the basement was well-faced with worked and coursed stone. It was, effectively, a revetment wall backed by a considerable width of mortared rubble cut into the slope of the motte. This tapered out and could not have been designed as footings for any wall above. The builders seems to have decided not to excavate into the motte more than was strictly necessary, and to then strengthen the motte itself by revetting.

Above the basement level the surviving building is approximately 19m in length and 11.6m wide, excluding the slightly projecting buttresses of the northern corners. Above the inter-buttress batter, the north wall is 2.5m thick. The long side walls are just over 3m thick at basement level, diminishing at each floor level by approximately 0.5m so that the side walls at second floor level are just 1.5m thick. The north wall is approximately 28m high, rising as it does from the base of the motte. This excludes the missing masonry of the paired watch towers rising from parapet level. The top of the south wall would have been about 13m above the ground floor level, excluding battlements or parapet.

3.1.01 The Basement

The floor area of the basement is much smaller than that of those on the floors above, with internal dimensions of approximately 9.9m by 5.8m. It appears to have been split-level, with a much lower northern portion. Although covered in demolition debris, the position of the threshold of a small door from the motte slope, and the base of the steps leading up to the ground floor, give a reasonably accurate indication of the height of the southern portion of the basement. It was a very tall apartment, some 4.3m high. The small section of flooring exposed below the steps consisted of erratic, or 'crazy', paving. There was no evidence of any plaster layer above this, but in such a small area this is not particularly significant.

The internal wall face, being the only part of the tower easily accessible once the floors had collapsed or been removed, has fallen victim to robbing-out and vandalism. A considerable amount has been taken or damaged, and the inside wall of the mural stairs has been destroyed. There are thus no obvious signs of any partitions that may have separated what appear to be two spaces with distinctly different functions.

The small doorway from the motte slope in the west wall has a semi-circular head that continues the tunnel vaulting of the passage through the thickness of the wall that it leads into. There are remains of drawbar sockets in the masonry inside the doorway. The

CLUN CASTLE: BASEMENT AND GROUND FLOOR PLANS

Fireplace
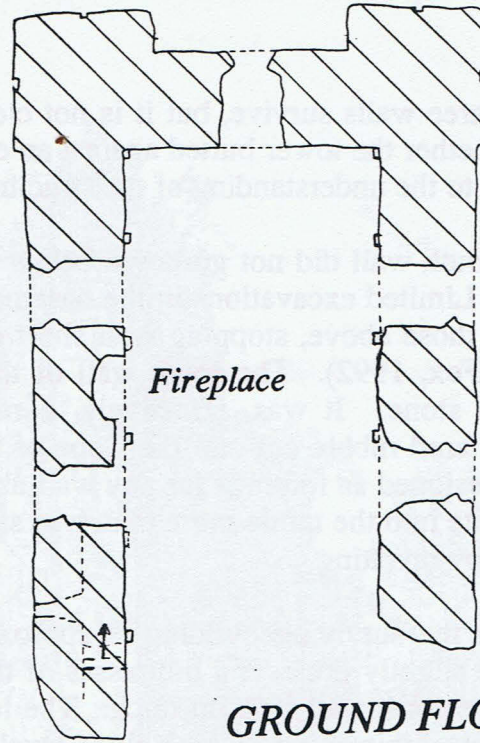
GROUND FLOOR

Postern

BASEMENT

0   5   10 m
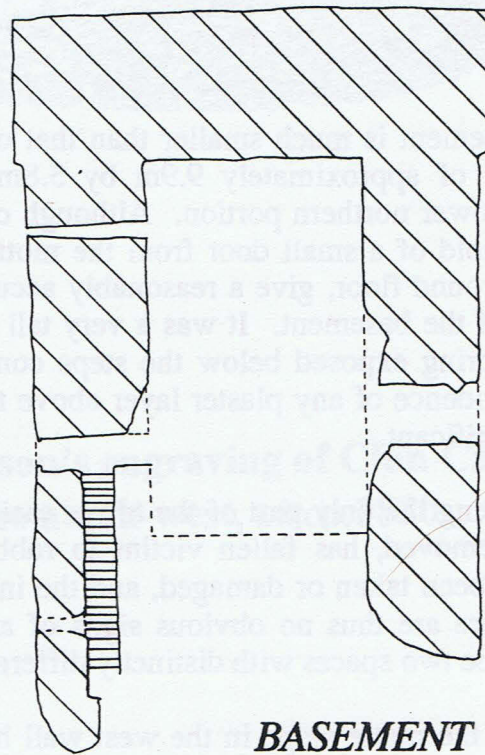
mural stairs to the ground floor lead off this passageway, but the junction of the two is more or less lost. The passage continued on to give access to what was a basement room of fairly high status. Opposite the passage, in the east wall, is a large window, complete with window seats. Its outer sill is very close to the ground level of the slope of the motte. The external head is badly damaged, but the rearch is semi-circular. The embrasure has straight sides until it narrows down in a splay to the ope:ning. The width of the opening probably indicates that there was a single light in the window. There is no sign of any fireplace in the basement so that if it was heated, it must have been by a portable brazier.

The status of this portion of the basement is distinctly different to that of the northern section, which is totally devoid of any features apart from a long narrow loop angled up through the west wall with stepped top and bottom. There seems little doubt that this area was for storage. A prison seems unlikely, given the apparent lack of any masonry cross wall separating this area from the better room at the south end and the close proximity of a potential escape route to the slope of the motte. The southern room effectively controlled the access from the postern door to the stairs leading up to the floors above, and guarded the store room occupying the rest of the basement. It seems plausible to see this room as belonging to one of the more important members of the permanent castle household, such as the steward.

The mural stair within the body of the south end of the west wall survives, although the inner section of wall and most of the vaulting has fallen. The tunnel vault has at least one step in it as the stair rose up to a lobby area on the ground floor, and may have consisted of series of a such steps, effectively a series of arches, rather than a gradually sloping vault.

3.1.02 The Ground Floor

The ground floor of the castle was roughly level with the top of the motte. Within the body of the tower the ends of the floor beams were embedded in the masonry, which was also slightly chased all around the three surviving sides. The exact design at the southern end is less clear.

There was a small lobby area in the west wall at the top of the mural stair rising from the basement. This seems to have been simply a recess in the masonry, with a corbelled top, and was lit by a small square-headed loop in the west wall. It seems to have provided access from the ground floor room to the stairs down to the basement and to the stair tower that abutted the south-west comer of the Great Tower. No evidence of any doorway from it into the room exists and the evidence does seem to suggest an opening the full size of the recess.

The main part of the ground floor appears to have been one large chamber, approximately 6.5m wide and 3.2m high. Its length is difficult to assess because of the lack of knowledge about the missing south wall and the position of any possible screen

or partition perhaps creating a quasi cross-passage accessed from the lobby area in the south-west comer. **If** such a screen existed the room may have been just 10.5m or so long, but **if** it did not the room could have been as long ·as 15m or so. There is no surviving evidence for any cross-walls or timber partitions at this level. There is one window in the north wall, and two, more or less symmetrically opposing, in each side wall. Those in the west wall flank a fireplace and all have window seats.

These windows have two-centred arched embrasures, straight jambs splaying down to narrow window openings in the outer face topped by segmental arches. They each appear to have been of one light. The oddity of their design is replicated throughout the other windows in the tower. The *structural* reararch is completely separate from the *decorative* reararch. The structural reararch is actually the end of the two-centred head of the window embrasure and lies flush with the internal face of the wall. Below it, and almost separate from it, was the moulded, decorative single order reararch formed out of the greeny-yellow stone. That rose from large springers embedded in the masonry at the top of the window jambs, but from then on butted against the soffit of the structural reararch. Effectively, it was a freestanding arch supported only by its springers. Throughout the tower many of the springers have survived, but virtually all the voussoin have been lost. The single order of moulding seems to have been very simple - littlf more than chamfered sides and a flat soffit. Exactly the same structural design is evident in the fireplace openings and, higher up the tower, in the vaulting of the mural chambers.

One other intriguing feature at ground floor level is the deliberate attempt to give the illusion of mural rooms in the comer 'towers' created by the shallow clasping pilastel buttresses on the northern corners. Such rooms do exist on the upper floors, but not on this one. The higher ones are lit on the two sides by square-headed loops with surrounds formed out of the greeny-yellow stone. In the appropriate position on the outside of the tower at ground floor level are blind loops of the same design and in the same material were added. These are even deliberately undercut to increase the shadow and thus compound the illusion that they are real.

The ceiling of the ground floor chamber appears to have been supported on a series o lateral beams bearing on the set-back of the masonry at first floor level. Below each one, some 0.6m below the set-back, is a plain stone corbel with curved soffit. The height o the corbels seems to preclude the possibility that they supported a projecting wall-plat, on which the cross-beams rested. Such a plate would have cut across the tops of th window arches and been below the masonry set-backs. The corbels presumably carried dwarf wall posts, giving additional support to the beams, but there are no scars t, indicate that they were chased into the masonry. They may have taken short angle braces to the beams, or could have supported such braces *without* dwarf posts. Although unusual, braced ceiling beams like this have been identified in two undercrofts in Watergate Street, Chester, and one was dated by dendrochronology to *circa* 1325 (Turner, 1988, 38-9).

The loss of the south wall means that it is difficult to understand exactly how this floor was accessed, and what its relationship was to any structures on the motte. It did have access, by the mural stair, down to the basement and there was some evidence in the limited excavation to indicate that it also had access to the lost stair tower at the south-west corner. This appears to have provided access to the upper floors and roof and is discussed below (see 3.1.06).

3.1.03 The First Floor

The main chamber of the first floor is similar to that on the floor below, but is rather grander and, more significantly, served by mural chambers in the northern corners. As on the ground floor, there is no evidence that this principal space was ever sub-divided. It appears to have been over 15m in length and, wider than the room below by virtue of the set-back of the side wall masonry, the room was also taller, being approximately 4.2m high. The layout of the windows and fireplaces in the west wall is basically the same, but on the east wall the windows are asymmetrically placed and slightly further to the south. Their details, size and status, however, are essentially the same. At this level there are traces of the original floors within the embrasures, erratic paving once covered with plaster. The flue from the fireplace rises separately from that of the fireplace below within the thickness of the west wall, although there was only a thin partition of slabs between them. They presumably ended in a two-flue chimney at parapet level. There is little room for a hearth of any width in the wall itself, so it is likely that a stone hearth was supported by the floor or possibly cantilevered out from the masonry. However, the decorative arch over the fireplace opening seems to rule out the existence of a masonry hood.

The ceiling of this room (the floor structure of the second floor) was of a different design to that of the ground floor. The side walls are again set-back, but the corbels added to give additional support to the beams are at the same height as the beam soffit - precluding the use of any wall-posts. A similar corbel in the middle of the north wall indicates that there was a central axial beam in the ceiling structure at the same level. The corbel is actually slightly lower at present, but this seems to be the result of post-ruination settlement. It is possible that the axial beam was continuous, but more probably it was interrupted by the cross-beams.

The most significant difference on this floor level is in the provision of mural rooms at the north end. The window embrasure to the northern window is much wider than that on the floor below, possibly suggesting a two-light window. As its vaulting springs from the same height as the narrower window embrasures in the side walls, it has to be a shallow segmental arch to stay below the ceiling level. As with the other openings, this arch also had an applied decorative arch in the greeny-yellow stone. The reason for the extra width is that the window embrasure also serves as a corridor access to two passages running at right-angles from it. Despite this, the window opening still has window seats on three sides, those on the west and east also acting as steps up to the slightly higher floor level of the mural passages.

CLUN CASTLE: FIRST AND SECOND FLOOR PLANS

Fireplace

SECOND FLOOR

Fireplace

FIRST FLOOR

0   5   10m
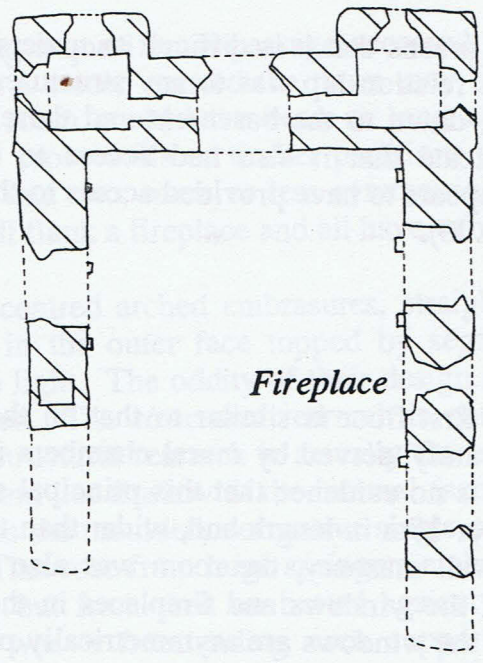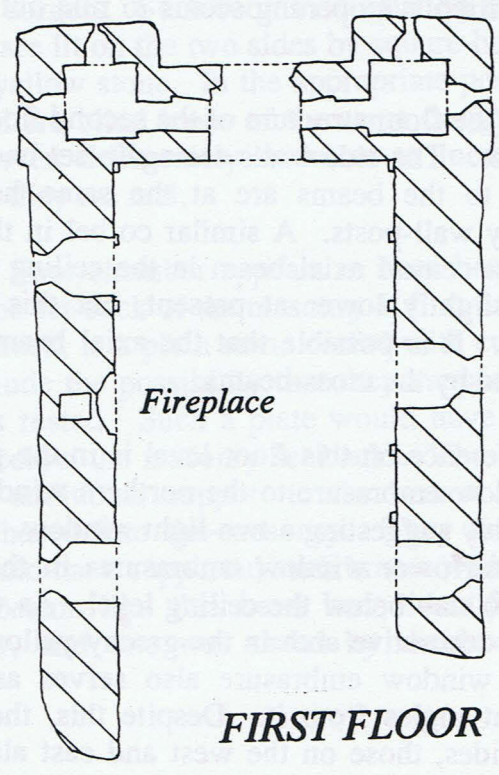
Another, smaller, step rises through the doorways to the passages. The door surrounds are made up of ashlared blocks of the greeny-yellow stone, coursing in with the slightly larger than usual blocks of the indigenous grey stone on either side. The heads are flat, with rounded ends down to the jambs. The surrounds are rebated on the inside, *ie.* on the passage sides, and angled set-backs in the north side walls of the passages were clearly designed to take the opened doors. The doors were capable of being secured internally by draw-bars. The tunnel-vaulted passages beyond provide access into square mural rooms fashioned within the additional thickness of the corners of the tower.

The doorways from these rooms back into the passages have semi-circular heads - the end rings of the tunnel vaults - and did not have doors. The mural rooms are very small, approximately 2m (6ft 7ins) square. They are lit by small square-headed loops in the two outside walls. The surrounds of the loops are plain-chamfered inside and out and of the greeny-yellow stone. They are backed by fairly narrow embrasures with unusual heads of double-shouldered lintels. The rooms have stone quadripartite vaulting, with the apex some 3.2m above floor level. The structural vaulting is self-supporting, but the applied ribs were built in the same manner as the decorative reararches. Their springers are embedded in the masonry but their arching was separated from the structural vaulting above. It is possible that, in this case, these decorative arches acted as the centring for the vaulting during construction. None of the voussoirs survive, but the springers do. These have plain chamfers with long, tapering stops. Traces of the original floor survive, with evidence of erratic pavers covered with plaster. There is no evidence of any opening for a shoot from this floor level, although in the east tower attempts seem to have been made in recent times to ascertain whether there was a room below at ground floor level by digging downwards. The roughly cut hole in the floor may have been cut at the end of the last century or perhaps even more recently.

3.1.04 The Second Floor

The large chamber occupying the main part of the second floor was undoubtedly the grandest in the Great Tower, and, like those below it, almost certainly undivided. With overall dimensions internally of approximately 15.5m by 8.4m, it was about 5.3m tall. The side windows were much larger than those on the floors below, and almost certainly would have had two lights. The embrasures are 2.1m wide, compared with an average of just 1.6m wide on the floors below. The apex of the two-centred vaults are about 3.8m above the floor level, as opposed to 2.9m on the first floor. That apart, their constructional details are standard.

The arrangement of the windows is different, however. Presumably to avoid weakening the side walls too much with flues, the fireplace at this level is in the east wall. There were at least two windows in the west wall, and three in the east - one to the north of the fireplace, and two to the south. It seems likely that there would have been three on each side, as opposed to just two on the floors below. The fireplace itself seems to have had an unusual head, of which little survives. The jambs are of a reddish coloured stone and have a plain chamfer with a small rebate on the outer corner. Two small hooks survive

in the north jamb, suggesting that this rebate took a pair of doors that closed the fireplace off - presumably when not in use! The masonry above the lintel at this point is badly damaged and the inner face has gone - but there is a possibility that there was a relieving arch above the lintel at one time. The angle of the surviving piece of lintel, at the south end, is peculiarly acute. A virtually triangular head seems exceedingly unlikely, and it is more plausible to consider this stone as one support of a flat, shouldered lintel.

The arrangement of mural rooms and passages at the north end of the room is similar to that on the first floor, although the overall impression is slightly grander because everything is taller. The doorways from the mural chambers to the passages have semi-circular heads of greeny-yellow stone. The loops lighting the rooms are larger than those on the floor below, and, externally, there are relieving arches above the openings. Internally the embrasures are wider, higher, more richly decorated, and fitted with narrow window seats. Instead of the shouldered lintels, the embrasures had two-centred vaulting finished off with the typical decorated rerarch of greeny-yellow stone. The rooms are slightly bigger than those on the floor below, being about 2.1m (6ft 11ins) square and with the vault apex approximately 3.6m above the floor. The ceiling of the principal second floor chamber was probably the underside of the main roof of the great tower.

3.1.05 The Roof and Corner Watch-Towers

Clearance of debris on top of the north wall exposed several features of importance, notably the pitch of the roof and two corner towers. The short sections of moulded roof string, of greeny-yellow stone, demonstrate that the roof had a very shallow pitch and was almost certainly, therefore, covered with lead. There was a wide set-back of the masonry in the north wall below the string angled at the same pitch to take the end of the roof structure. Although the upper portions of the side walls are either missing or badly damaged, it seems clear that these also had a set-back near their tops to take the roof trusses.

Within the second floor chamber, the position of the roof trusses seems to be marked by pairs of plain moulded corbels on either side at just under 2m intervals. One exposed example is 0.24 high with a total length of 0.78m, of which just 0.17m projects beyond the wall face. Some are missing, but an eight-bay roof seems likely - having an additional half bay at the northern end. The northern pair of corbels are about 0.5m from the north wall, and it is possible that the northern roof bay was largely supported on the set-back in the masonry. The corbels being set some distance below the roof string indicates that they carried dwarf wall posts to support the tie-beams of the roof trusses. Exactly how these trusses were designed is unclear. The roof was almost certainly protected by an embattled parapet running around it.

Above the first and second floor mural rooms in the northern angles are the remains of two corner towers. The fact that these had plastered floors indicates that they must have been roofed, and were therefore at least a storey high. The design of their roofs is

unclear, although fragments of tilestones were found in the debris. These were not from the main roof, but may have been from the corner towers. The towers were approximately 2.25m square and presumably had window openings in their external angles, and doors in their south walls to provide access off the leads. It is quite possible that these towers had an open gallery on top, protected by an embattled parapet - but none of this survives.

3.1.06 The Stair Tower

Unless there was either another structure of the same height as the Great Tower on the motte, the only way in which access would have been possible to the roof and the second floor chamber was by a stair tower. Such a tower would probably have projected one storey above the roof parapet to provide a protected access to the leads and the wall-walks. There is sufficient structural evidence to demonstrate that there was such a tower at the south-west corner of the Great Tower, though insufficient survives to demonstrate exactly how it worked.

The evidence lies in the curious angle of the outer face at the south end of the west wall. The masonry appears to have been internal, as far north as what appears to be the scar of the once keyed-in wall of the stair tower. There is clear evidence of corbelled-out masonry possibly associated with the steps of the spiral and similar to that used in the first floor 'lobby' at the top of the mural stairs from the basement. This suggested stair tower was more than a simple vice and its clockwise spiral was fairly wide. The plan form of the tower is unknown.

3.1.07 Salvaged Decorative Fragments

During the course of the survey work, areas of the Great Tower were cleared and several fragments of decorative stone were recovered. The stone is a very friable grey flagstone similar to that used in the construction of the tower itself. The pieces are now in store with English Heritage. As they were found inside the tower beneath debris, there seems little reasonable doubt that they come from it. As there is little or no evidence to suggest any major alterations of windows or doorways since the tower was built, it is equally reasonable to assume that they were primary features.

The most significant finds included a fairly thin, chamfered, piece of stone about 0.6m tall found in the embrasure of the northern second floor window in the west wall. It was chamfered on both sides and rebated on one. Two lead-filled square sockets on its side took the ends of iron window bars, and it was considered that it was part of a jamb or mullion, rebated either to take shutters or a glazing frame.

In the debris below the other identifiable west window at this level, and in the debris on the floor of the combined window embrasure and access passage in the north wall, two more pieces of tracery were discovered. Both of these have clear evidence of cusping.
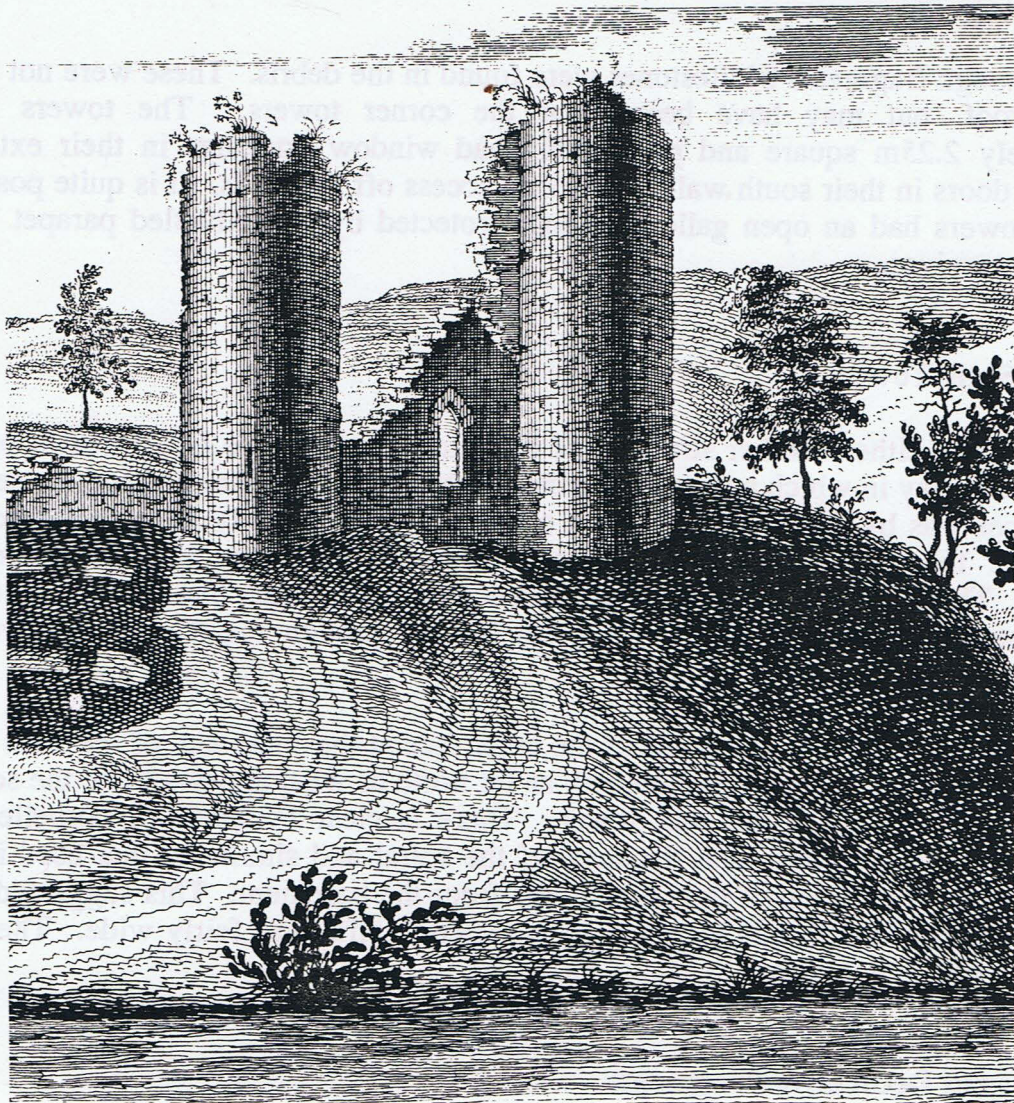
Extract from the Bucks' 1731 engraving of the castle, showing the bastions and perimeter wall

The fragment in the west wall is smaller but better preserved. Its crisp cusp appears to belong to a trefoil and has an indented spandrel. It also retains clear evidence of being limewashed. The northern fragment is obviously the double-springer that once sat on the top of a mullion of, presumably, a two-light window with trefoiled - or even cinquefoiled - lights. Too little is left to reconstruct the tracery exactly, but what does appear to be clear is the basic stylistic design. The evidence seems to indicate that the cusping is from a pointed trefoiled tracery pattern, rather than of the earlier rounded variety seen earlier in the 13th century.

3.2 The Perimeter Wall and its Bastions

Immediately to the south-west of the keep is a surviving section of perimeter wall and two half-round and solid towers, or bastions. Unfortunately, not enough of the masonry survives at the northern end to suggest how it related to the great tower and its stair turret. It is not even that easy to determine whether or not the bastions were structurally related to the walling between them, but this does appear likely. The perimeter wall is fairly thin, just 1.4m wide.

Bastions and wall were built of the same local rubblestone as the Great Tower, but the rubble is more roughly coursed and has some evidence of patching. The south bastion rises from a stepped plinth footing; the footing of the other bastion is not visible. The construction of the head of the one surviving window opening is slightly different to those in the Great Tower. In the tower the windows embrasures had structurally separate decorative rearches, of a different type of stone, below the soffit of the end of the vaulting over the embrasures. In this wall, the head is made up of many thin flat voussoirs, continuing the two-centred vaulting. Whether this would have been expressed in the inside wall face or hidden by better masonry is unclear because of the loss of much of that face. The embrasure has straight sides that presumably narrowed in a splay to a single light or loop in the outer masonry, as was the case in the Great Tower. It probably had window seats. On the north of the surviving window is the southern jamb of a wall fireplace. This reduces the width of the wall behind it to just 0.7m.

Running under the window, and thus presumably under the floor level of the building, is a stone-lined drain that egresses on the outer wall face. The drain is just under 1.2m tall and 0.65m wide, topped on both wall faces by the remains of a shouldered lintel. The egress in the wall splays to a narrower opening, although this masonry has been damaged. The drain clearly once went further eastwards into the motte area than its present 0.3m from the inside of the wall. The sides were apparently limewashed or plastered, unlike the masonry blocking the drain at its east end. It presumably had to have run into the motte at least beyond the east wall of the building above it, perhaps serving structures in the middle of the courtyard area such as the kitchen.

Both of the half-round towers projecting from the wall-line are solid bastions with no evidence of ever being anything else. They have no obvious signs of having contained loops, and the only visible openings in them are clearly putlog holes. Neither tower survives to its full height.

In the admittedly rough internal masonry of the south bastion there appears to be evidence of a possible upper floor of a building abutting it. Above a line of reasonably good stones the upper portion of masonry projects slightly forward. This could have been the result of there having been a chase in the wall for a floor, that floor subsequently collapsing, and stone-robbing in the easier to reach lower section. The suggested floor level would have cut through the top of the adjacent window opening.

The evidence clearly indicates that there was one relatively high status chamber built against the curtain wall between the two bastions. Unless the wall was unusually high, it seems likely that this was a single storey block, probably with a lean-to roof against the curtain. Behind the bastion at the south end there may have been a two storey block adjoining the larger chamber.

3.3 The South-East Fragment

In the south-east corner of the motte top is an amorphous section of straight masonry built into the side of a broken slope. The outer face is some 6m high, the maximum visible length of the masonry is just over 4.2m, and its present width is about 1.5m - although the north face is largely missing so it was presumably somewhat wider.

The 'lump' is built of the same rubblestone as the rest of the surviving buildings, but the stone is randomly coursed and not particularly well built. The very limited evidence suggests that the south side was an inside wall, and there is a tenuous suggestion of a shallow chase some 0.5m high and 3.8m from ground level that could be associated with a former floor level. One other feature of note is a large, and apparently deliberately cut, hole running into the east side of the masonry. This is about 2m above the ground level south of the masonry, but roughly level with that to the north. It is at least 1.6m deep and about 0.5m high.

4. Interpretation

The date and function of the Great Tower has been the subject of some debate in recent years, after having been accepted previously as a typical Norman keep, unusually built into the slope of the motte. The only obvious parallel is the keep at Guildford, Surrey, although that was built on a rocky chalk spur and certainly had a strong, fourth, wall on the motte top. However the close examination of the fabric and the layout of the tower indicates a post-Norman date.

It should be emphasised that this survey work has to be seen in context. Most of the castle's secrets are buried below ground and only when these are revealed - by traditional excavation or by future and more sophisticated techniques - will a better understanding of the development of the site be possible. The very limited excavations that did take place in the vicinity of the Great Tower for fencing and sign-post purposes did demonstrate that the motte was a natural feature that had been scarped (Appleton-Fox, 1992).

Only three sections of masonry in what was once a fairly large castle have been examined, even though one of those was the massive Great Tower. All around the top of the motte are fragments of articulated rubblestone masonry, partially buried in the soil. In addition, there are many lumps and bumps in the ground surface that clearly relate to lost structures - and these are only those on the motte. The two baileys and their ditches have never been properly examined.

The documentary evidence to date indicates that there were several structures on top of the motte that have yet to be properly identified or located. The *IPM* of 1272 clearly differentiates between the *Castle* and the *Bailey*. The *'little castle'* was reached from the bailey by the *'castle bridge'*, but the only structure mentioned within it was the tower that needed to be leaded. In the bailey (only one is mentioned) there were several buildings, including a grange, stable and bakehouse, all in poor condition. A new wall, with a gatehouse, was being built around this bailey, and 200 feet of it had been started. A much later *IPM* of 1440 also seems to distinguish between the castle and its bailey; it provides more information about the occupation of the motte, inferring that there were several buildings on it, including a chapel.

The logical place for the entrance to the main part of the castle would be by way of a bridge from the south bailey, the larger of the two baileys that now exist. The entrance, therefore, would be at the south side of the motte. According to the 1440 *IPM* there were, on the right (*ie.* the east) of the entrance, several buildings between it and the chapel. There is no evidence in the Great Tower to suggest that it contained a chapel, which would imply that it was a separate structure. If the wording of the *IPM* is to be believed, the chapel would have to be on the right hand side of the motte between the entrance and the Great Tower. As there is a reference to *'the chamber below the chapel'* it is possible that the chapel block had at least two floors - although the reference could simply mean that the chapel occupied a higher part of the motte. The evidence from the

masonry on the western flank of the motte wall demonstrates that buildings were built up against it, and this may well have been the case on the eastern flank. Oddly, in none of the documentary evidence available so far is there any reference to a hall.

4.1 The Defences

4.1.01 Defensive Limitations of the Great Tower

Defensively, the keep of a Norman castle was meant to be the last refuge; because of this it was meant to be at the heart of the castle's defensive system, generally on top of the highest portion of a typical Norman castle - the motte. In most cases, the masonry keep replaced the original timber fighting tower on the often hastily constructed motte. In many cases there would be many years between the building of the two. The reasons for this were many but one would undoubtedly have been to allow the usually artificial raised motte time to compact properly before the much heavier masonry structure was added to it. In the case of the tower at Clun, one argument for its position could be that it was considered too heavy to be built on the motte top and that it was decided to ensure that at least part of its footings were safely anchored in the natural ground level. However, all the available evidence seems to indicate that the motte at Clun is a natural knoll scarped and moulded for its defensive role, so that there would have been no need to wait for the ground to settle. It seems quite clear that the tower was built where it was partly because of existing structures already occupying the motte top. This would further indicate that its defensive role was not paramount, otherwise buildings would have been cleared away for it.

Defensively, it is also rather vulnerable. If there was no room on the motte top but a building of this size was still needed, it would, defensively, have been logical to build it on the slope between the motte and what is now the east bailey. At least in that position it could have been protected by flanking fire from the assumed gatehouse guarding the castle bridge. Access to the base of the outer walls could also have been denied to the aggressor by the assumed palisade or wall linking the defences of the east bailey with those of the motte. The success of the attack on Rochester Castle in 1215 when one corner of the massive Norman keep was undermined with dramatic results had demonstrated the problems with square corners. The two northern corners of the Clun tower are very close to the river and there appears to have been very little to hinder attackers fording the river and having easy access to the them. However, in passing it should be said that the various Welsh rebellions were seen to rely more on passion and courage than on sophisticated military techniques.

For obvious defensive reasons, most keeps had their entrances at first floor level. These were approached by steps often enclosed by a protective fore-building. Whilst such an arrangement may have been included in the missing south wall of the Clun tower, it would have been compromised by the two openings into the basement. On the west side is the postern gate, and on the east a fairly large window - both of which would be vulnerable from anyone attacking the motte slope.

Although the tower has height and bulk it was not designed to provide a great deal of defensive firepower and provision of archery or crossbow openings is very minimal. Indeed, the 'loops' in the corner 'towers' at ground floor level are blank. All of the windows could have been used by the defenders, but there are no loops specifically designed for archers or crossbowmen and little possibility of firing downwards at any attackers approaching the base of the tower. No attempt was made to add further loops, or to introduced mural passages servicing such loops within the wall thickness. Most active defence seems to have come from the battlements.

4.1.02 Defensive Limitations of the Curtain and Bastions

The use of half-round towers and bastions in 13th century military architecture evolved for two main reasons. Firstly, the half-round shape made the masonry difficult to undermine, as there were no corners; and secondly, the shape allowed for better all-round vision for the defenders - eliminating the corners that attackers could hide behind. Towers, square, polygonal or rounded, projecting from defensive walls allowed the potential for enfilade fire along the walls to harass attackers. The two surviving mural towers at Clun are, despite their external appearance, solid bastions. There was no provision for any loops at all within the masonry, so no enfilade fire was possible apart, perhaps, from the supposed embattled parapet. In a defensive structure the lack of low loops in these towers is more surprising given the large window in the curtain wall and the relatively thin masonry behind the fireplace.

Several sections of masonry assumed to belong to the motte wall survive either *in situ* or slumped slightly down the slope all around the perimeter, partially buried. It seems clear that a curtain wall did exist around the top of the motte, and possible that is was also buttressed by further bastions of the same design as those surviving on the west side. If all these bastions also lacked loops, then it is clear that the wall was designed to appear more impressive than it actually was - and capable only of passive defence, apart from the possibilities of missiles being hurled from the parapets.

4.2 Accommodation

4.2.01 The Great Tower

The Great Tower provided accommodation on four floors, excluding the roof turrets. Except for the basement, the mural passages, stairs and turret rooms, each floor seems to have consisted of one large chamber. The basement, probably divided into two sections by a screen, appears to have consisted of a low, dark store at the north end, and a relatively high status room at the south. This room effectively controlled the storeroom, the postern from the motte, and access from that postern up the mural stair to the ground floor. It is possible that this room was occupied by one of the permanent members of the castle staff, probably the steward. The storeroom itself may have been secure enough to

act as the strong-room in which the Earl of Arundel could deposit so much money in 1370 and 1371, but equally this could ltave been sited elsewhere - though presumably on the motte rather than in either of the baileys.

The low ground floor chamber is symmetrically aligned around the fireplace in the west wall. The exact nature of the southern end of this level is unclear, but the recessed lobby in the west wall provided a link between the mural stairs to the basement and the stair tower access to the upper floors. The main chamber has no surviving mural chambers to service it, and no sign of a garderobe. Of the three principal chambers in the tower it is obviously the least important, although clearly of a higher status than the smaller room in the basement. It is unclear at present whether the stair tower had to be entered through the main part of the ground floor chamber, or whether there was separate access to it. If it was the first case, then it would seem more likely that all of the Great Tower floors were part of a single suite of rooms, a type of solar tower. If the second case was true, then it would have been possible for each of the upper floors to have been independent.

The first floor chamber is part of a suite of rooms that consist of the main chamber itself and the two turret chambers at the north end. This ge eral layout is mirrored on the floor above, although the upper of the two is clearly of slightly higher status - indeed, the most prestigious in the tower. The similarity of layout presumably indicates similarity of function. Neither appear to be of sufficient size or importance to be a great hall, and, being up one and two storeys respectively, neither is easily accessible from the motte top. In addition, there are no traces of either being designed for any subdivision and there is a clear attempt at symmetry. There is no possibility of the arrangements being similar to the first floor halls of Christchurch Castle Hall (c. 1160) or Boothby Pagnell (c.1200), for example (Wood, 1981, 18-19).

One of the main problems that needs resolving is the function of the paired turret rooms. Although these are very small they are quite lavishly decorated and the doors leading into them could be barred from within. They appear to be too well decorated to be privy chambers, and the lack of any chute rules out the possibility of their being garderobes. Interestingly, at nearby Hopton castle there are similar-size turret rooms, convincingly identified by P E Curnow as bedchambers (Curnow, 1989, 96). If the turret rooms are indeed bedchambers then the function of the two upper floors seems to be fairly straightforward.

The first and second floors could have worked as separate high status lodgings, connected only by the general access of the stair tower. Each consisted of a main chamber, or hall, served by the two bedchambers. What is lacking, of course, is the provision of a garderobe for each lodging. The logical place for a garderobe would have been in one of the northern comers, to make sure that the chutes' malodorous discharges were as far away from the busy top of the motte as possible - and close to the river. No trace of any p.rderobe survives in the standing fabric, so that any provision of garderobes for these suggested suites would have had to be at one of the southern comers. The south-western comer was taken up by the stair tower, and although this

seems to have been of generous proportions, it is unlikely to have had enough room to have accommodated both stairs and garderobes - and such a shared use would have been unlikely anyway. The only other option would have been in the largely missing south-east corner. Given the attempts at symmetry in the architecture of the Great Tower, it is possible that there was at this corner a tower of some description to match that the stair tower - and which may have contained the missing garderobes. These may also have then been accessible to any missing structure on the motte, such as a hall, for example. Without excavation it has to be stressed that all this is conjectural.

This suggested layout is not the type generally associated with Norman keeps. Instead it seems to be more in line with a gradual dispersion of domestic life within the castle from the late-12th century onwards that gradually eroded the communal life of the Great Hall. There are some possible parallels with the Great Towers of early 13th century Ireland, discussed in some detail by T E McNeill. They seem to have a general pattern of a communal ground floor room, with either a high status hall above, or two such halls, one for the household on the first floor, and another for the lord on the second (*op. cit.*).

Such an arrangement is possible for the Clun tower but there are problems with it. The lack of garderobes may be solved by their being in a missing south-eastern corner - but the private quarters of the lord would have usually contained a chapel or oratory. For long term occupation the rooms in the tower were also inconveniently placed in relation to the services on the motte.

The duplication of plan at first and second floor level would, superficially at least, indicate a duplication of function - albeit in suites of slightly different status - rather than one being, for example, a hall and the other a solar. Ignoring the ongoing debate about the distinctions and identifications of halls and solars, it seems, in the case of the Great Tower of Clun at least, that neither of the rooms of the upper floors was either hall or solar. Instead, both can be understood more easily as living rooms, in the literal sense of the word, served by the small bedrooms in the turret chambers and, just possibly, by a garderobe in the south-east corner. In effect, they can be read as separate apartments in a purpose built apartment block, though whether they were for individual members of the lord's family or for separate guests is unclear given the lack of positive understanding of the entrance arrangements to the ground floor and stair tower.

4.2.02 The Rest of the Motte

Accepting the function of the various floors of the Great Tower, there are several other buildings still to be located on the top of the motte. There would almost certainly have been some service accommodation, a kitchen and a chapel. There was also, presumably, a common great hall. All these were crowded onto the relatively small space of the motte. The position of a possible well, south-east of the Great Tower, could provide the necessary clue as to the area where the kitchen may have been. It has been demonstrated that there was a domestic building against the west curtain wall, and the quality of the masonry indicates that it was of reasonably high status. The function of this room is

unclear, but it was too small to have been a hall, and was certainly neither the chapel, nor part of the services. Given the sparsity of available archaeological evidence, little else can be said with certainty about the disposition of buildings on the top of the motte.

4.3 Dating Evidence

The structural evidence for dating is varied. In general design the Great Tower has several features that are not typically Norman - such as the decorative two-centred reararches to the window embrasures and fireplace openings, and the attached ribs to the quadripartite vaulting in the turret rooms. These features are, at the earliest, Transitional but more likely to be later in the 13th century or even early in the 14th. Similar decorative reararches below the structural ones can be seen in the first floor windows of Acton Burnell, Shropshire, a high status fortified mansion generally dated to *c*.1284. The shouldered lintels of the window embrasures in the first floor turret rooms are typical of the Edwardian castle-building era towards the end of the 13th century - the so-called 'Caernarfon' arches. Most crucially of all, the fragments of cusped tracery, which appear to be associated with pointed rather than rounded foils, also suggest a date from the mid-13th century onwards through much of the 14th century. There is no suggestion of ogival cusping, which, if the tower had been built by someone of the higher echelons of fashionable society (such as an Earl) may suggest a date before the second quarter of the 14th century. It has been well argued that Hopton Castle was an attempt by an underlord of the FitzAlan's of Clun to flatter by imitation (Curnow, 1989, 100). Hopton, despite its anachronistic appearance, is then dated to about 1300, suggesting that the Great Tower at Clun has to be earlier (*Ibid.*).

The documentary evidence to date is less than forthcoming but the real documentary research programme has yet to start. What is clear from the *IPM* of 1272 is that there was an unroofed tower on top of the motte of sufficient importance to warrant a specific mention. That tower could well be the Great Tower itself and decoratively and functionally, it would fit with such a date. It is also clear that Clun was fairly prosperous in the 1270's, which is when it was given its only murage grant (1277), had two annual fairs, and was one of the largest towns in the county. Clearly the proposed documentary research due to start shortly on Clun will help to shed more light on the dating, but at present, only a broad range between the mid-13th to mid-14th centuries can be put forward with a degree of confidence.

The relationship between the Great Tower and the adjacent motte wall and bastions is unclear. The round plan of the bastions suggests a date from the mid-13th century onwards, but their lack of loops is unusual. Within this portion of masonry is the low outflow channel, also with a shouldered lintel suggestive of the later 13th century.

4.4 Architectural Style

Architecturally the Great Tower seems to have been deliberately built to look a lot older than it is, its external appearance echoing the great Norman keeps of the 12th century. There are several other examples of this type of anachronistic approach in the immediate area. Hopton, reasonably dated to about 1300, has already been mentioned and is, in many ways, a smaller version of Clun's tower, with clasping angle buttresses and a rectangular plan. The county of Shropshire seems to have been fairly prosperous from the latter part of the 13th century and up until the Black Death, judging from the relatively large numbers of medieval survivals of both castles and fortified houses. Among these are Stokesay (rebuilt c.1285 onwards); Acton Burnell (c. 1284); Aston Eyre (c. 1280); Upper Millichope (late C13th); Hopton Castle (c.1300) and Apley (c. 1324), as well as the gatehouses of Langley Hall (late C13th?) and Bromfield Priory (early C14th?).

It is possible that this surge in building was the result of the final conflict with and pacification of the Welsh that ended in the defeat of Llewellyn ap Gruffyd and the Statute of Rhuddlan. What is interesting is the deliberate use of old-fashioned military idioms, particularly noticeable at Hopton and Acton Burnell. Whilst Hopton may have simply been a copy of Clun by an underlord, the powerful owner of Acton Burnell was one of Edward the First's confidants and friends, Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Here the 'castle' is a fortified house whose detailing is of the latest style of the Court, but whose shape and outline reflected the architecture of 150 years beforehand. The main external differences are the large windows, clearly as useless in the defensive scheme as the ground floor doorways. The general layout is not dissimilar to that of both Clun and Hopton, though the castles actually on the borders are less vulnerable to attack than Acton Burnell.

The real reasons for the choice of an old style is difficult to understand given our lack of understanding of medieval psychology. It may simply be that this early 'baronial revival' style was simply a deliberate attempt to revive or imply ancestral glories and to demonstrate baronial lineage and power. It may also have been a deliberate reminder, to the Welsh in particular, that the military might of the Normans was vested with the English nation.

Certainly the Great Tower at Clun was built to impress, and that may be one of the main reasons why it was built on the slope. From a distance, and particularly from the west, the sheer bulk of the structure would have appeared impressive. This would not have been the case if it had been built in the more sensible position on the slope between motte and bailey. Even a similar tower on the top of the motte would not have had the same dramatic effect. Not only would such a height possibly be unobtainable for structural reasons, but the lower portions of it would have been obscured by curtain wall and other buildings and much of the overall effect lost. The present tower, rising sheer from ground level, would have been far more impressive - and also had the benefit of being cheaper to build as much of the height was already there in the natural terrain.

It may also have been positioned where it could impress the visitor entering the main part of the castle over the castle bridge and through the gateway to the motte. This bridge would logically have been at the southern end of the motte and the entrance to the Great Tower would have been more or less directly opposite. Even if the area on the motte was fairly cluttered with buildings, the effect would still have been quite dramatic.

The possible derivation of the design used at Clun is unknown. There were other Norman keeps in the area - for example at Bridgnorth, Moreton Corbet and Ludlow (the latter a gate-house keep with a complex structural development). It is even possible that the only true motte-side keep, at Guildford, Surrey, may have provided some inspiration for Clun. Guildford was one of Henry III's favourite castles and he spent great deals of money on it in the 1250's (Thompson, 1991, 123-4). In 1243 the owners of Clun came into the Earldom of Arundel. Any journey from the borders to the family's new property in the south-east would probably have been by way of London, and Guildford is on one of the possible routes between the capital and Arundel. However, it seems more likely that the design of Clun's Great Tower was based more on a general idea than on a specific prototype.

5. Conclusions

Despite the comprehensive survey and analysis of the Great Tower and other major upstanding fragments of Clun Castle, the site will only really be understood when the layout and development of the motte can be determined. Nevertheless, the present investigations have put forward new ideas as to the date and function of the surviving elements.

It seems clear that the so-called 'keep' is neither Norman, nor a keep, but a building of much later date deliberately built to look like one. The dating evidence suggests that this Great Tower was built in the second half of the 13th century, or early in the 14th. Whether this was the tower mentioned in the *IPM* of 1272, when clearly a lot of rebuilding work had recently begun at Clun, is not certain. The evidence of renewed building activity in Shropshire after the end of the Welsh wars a decade later should be taken into consideration, as indeed, should the visit to Clun of Edward I in 1295.

The relatively poor defensive capabilities of the Great Tower and of the surviving portion of perimeter wall and bastions seem to indicate a desire to impress without compromising domestic needs. Whether the tower was built onto the side of the motte simply because of a lack of room on the top is uncertain, and will be until enough is known about what buildings once occupied that area within the perimeter wall. There is something of a parallel to this broad outline at Restomorel Castle, Cornwall. There a shell keep of *c.* 1200 occupied the top of the motte, with the domestic buildings built up against the inside of the perimeter wall. When a chapel was added towards the end of the 13th century, it was housed in a projecting structure on the motte slope, butting

against the earlier shell keep. Interestingly, this new block was added on the opposite side of the circuit to the existing gatehouse - similar to the assumed relationship between the gatehouse and Great Tower at Clun.

The layout of the Great Tower appears to be designed to create two almost identical suites of rooms on the first and second floors, the upper being the grander. The ground floor, lacking the supposed bedchambers but equally well-lit and heated, may have been a low communal hall or waiting room, and the basement divided into a steward's room and store. Parallel suites in this position, inconveniently away from the main services, seem to suggest relatively short-stay accommodation, and one possibility is that they are associated with hunting parties - providing accommodation either for the better class of guests and/or the lord of the castle himself. The key to the real understanding of the use of this Great Tower is its relationship to other buildings on the motte top - hall, services, kitchen, *etc.* - a key as yet still missing.

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7. Acknowledgements

8. The Survey Drawings

The survey drawings that follow are taken from the principal archive of drawings created by the Hereford Archaeology Unit in the course of the survey of the castle. The archive drawings are all to a scale of 1:20 and are more detailed than the outline ones used in this report. The archive drawings are also all inked up on single sheets of A0 permatrace.

The inked outlines of these drawings have all been reduced to the same scale for use in this report. On these reduced versions, the scale of the main elevation drawings is consistent. The stippling represents the greeny-yellow decorative stone used in such features as the reararches etc. Dotted outlines around stones indicate core-work and rubble.

The elevations have been articulated to separate, for example, the principal west and east elevations of the Great Tower from those of the shallow pilasters that create the northern corner 'towers'. On the north external elevation drawing the same method is used, but the returns between the corner 'towers' and the main face of the wall are also drawn, indicated the profile of the battered plinth between.

8.1 List of Drawings

1. West External Elevation (I) - *Lower Portion, Basement and Ground Floor*
2. West External Elevation (II) - *Upper Portion, First Floor and above*
3. North External Elevations (I) - *Lower Portion, Basement and Ground Floor*
4. North External Elevations (II) - *Upper Portion, First Floor and above*
5. East External Elevation (I) - *Lower Portion, Basement and Ground Floor*
6. East External Elevation (II) - *Upper Portion, First Floor and above*

7. West Internal Elevation (I) - *Lower Portion, Basement to bottom of First Floor*
8. West Internal Elevation (II) - *Upper Portion, Bottom of First Floor and above*
9. North Internal Elevation
10. East Internal Elevation

11. Northern Parts of First, Second & Roof Plans

12. Internal Elevations of the Western Mural Chambers

13. External Elevation of the North-West Bastion
14. South-West Bastion & Curtain Internal Elevations

15. South Elevation of the South-East Fragment

First Floor Level

Site of
Stair Tower

Blind
Loop

Ground Floor Level

1890's
refacing?

Basement Level

Postern
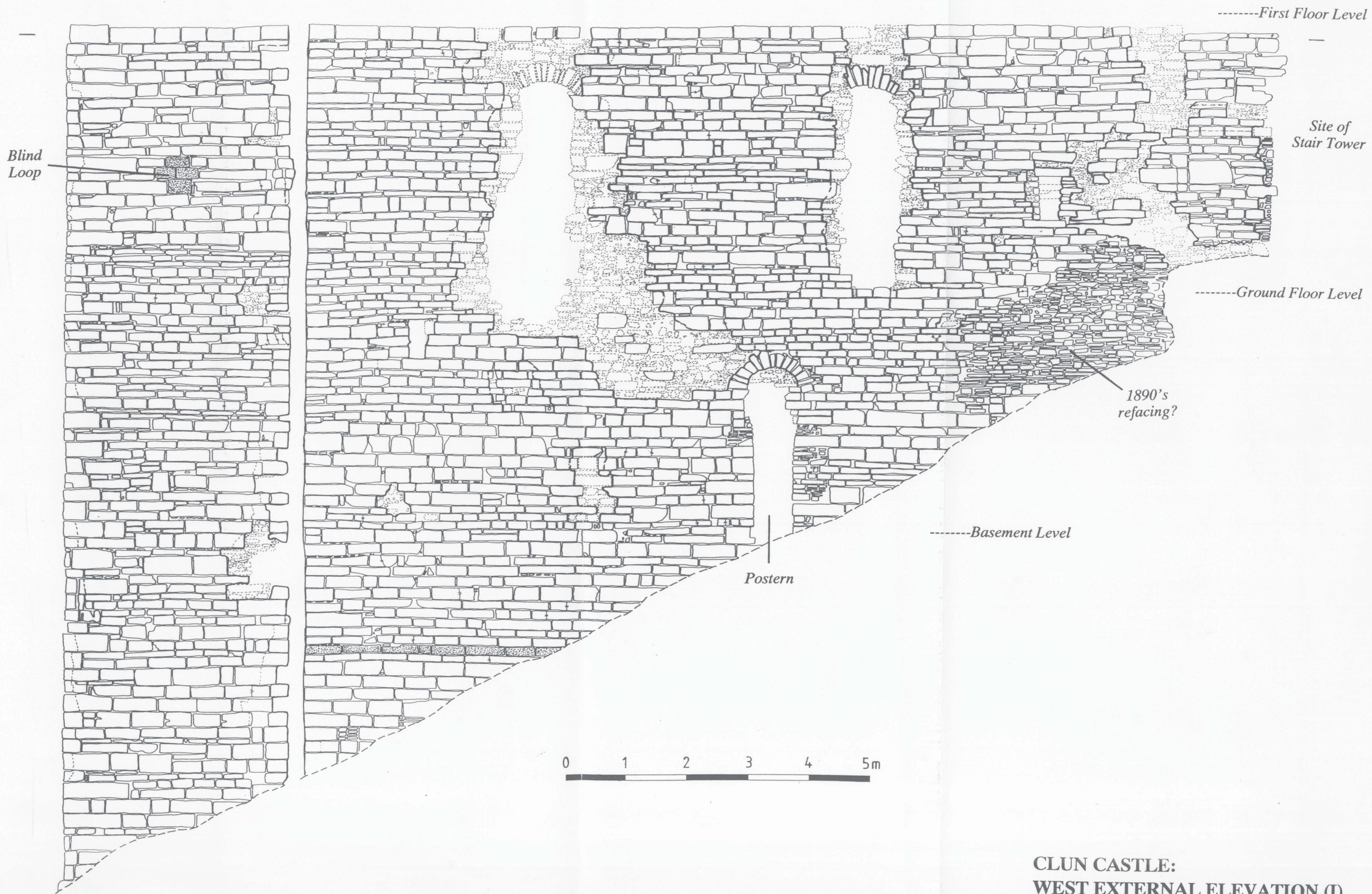
0 1 2 3 4 5m

CLUN CASTLE:
WEST EXTERNAL ELEVATION (I)
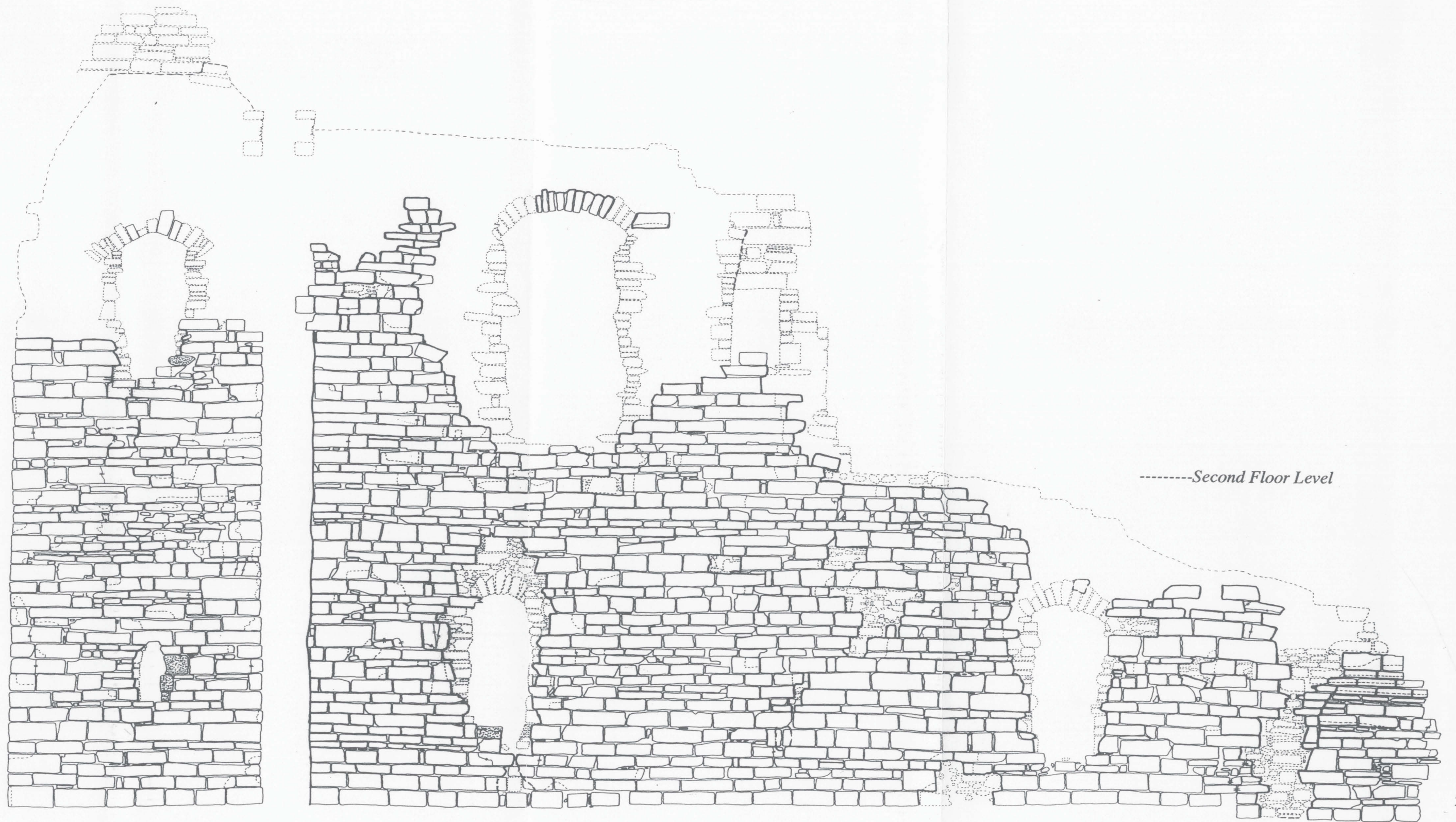
--------Second Floor Level

0   1   2   3   4   5m
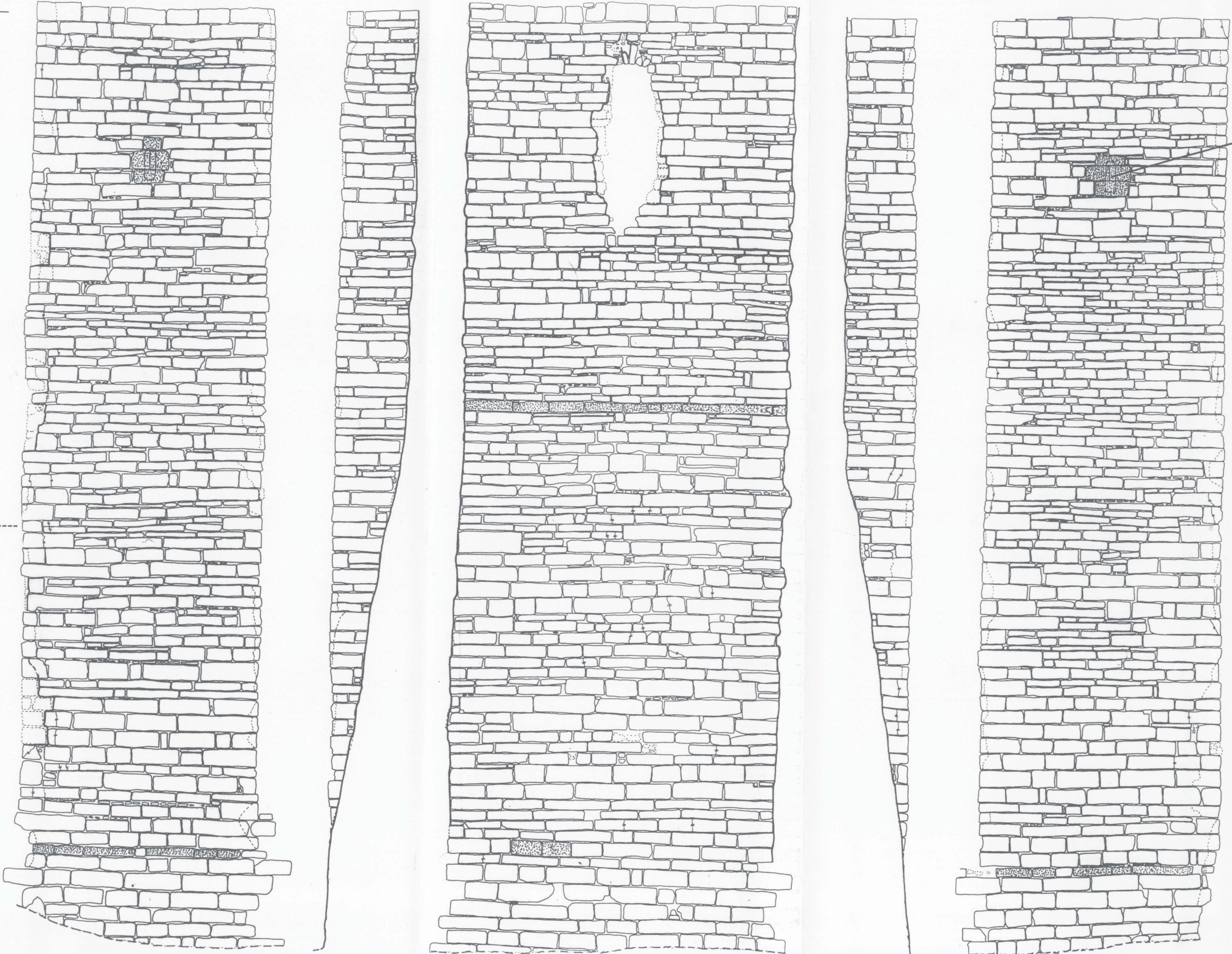
CLUN CASTLE:
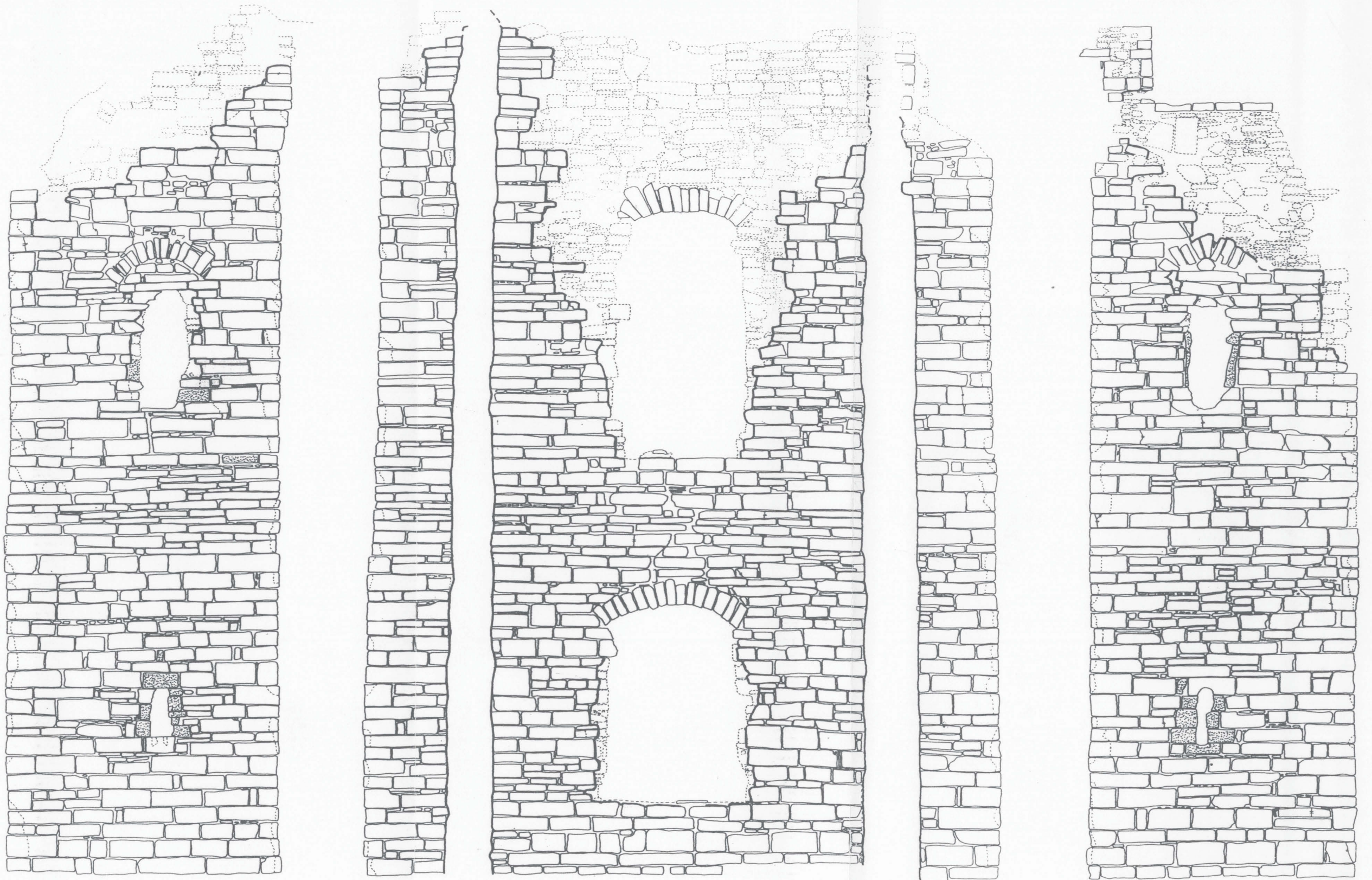WEST EXTERNAL ELEVATION (II)

Ground
Floor

Basement Level

Blind
Loop

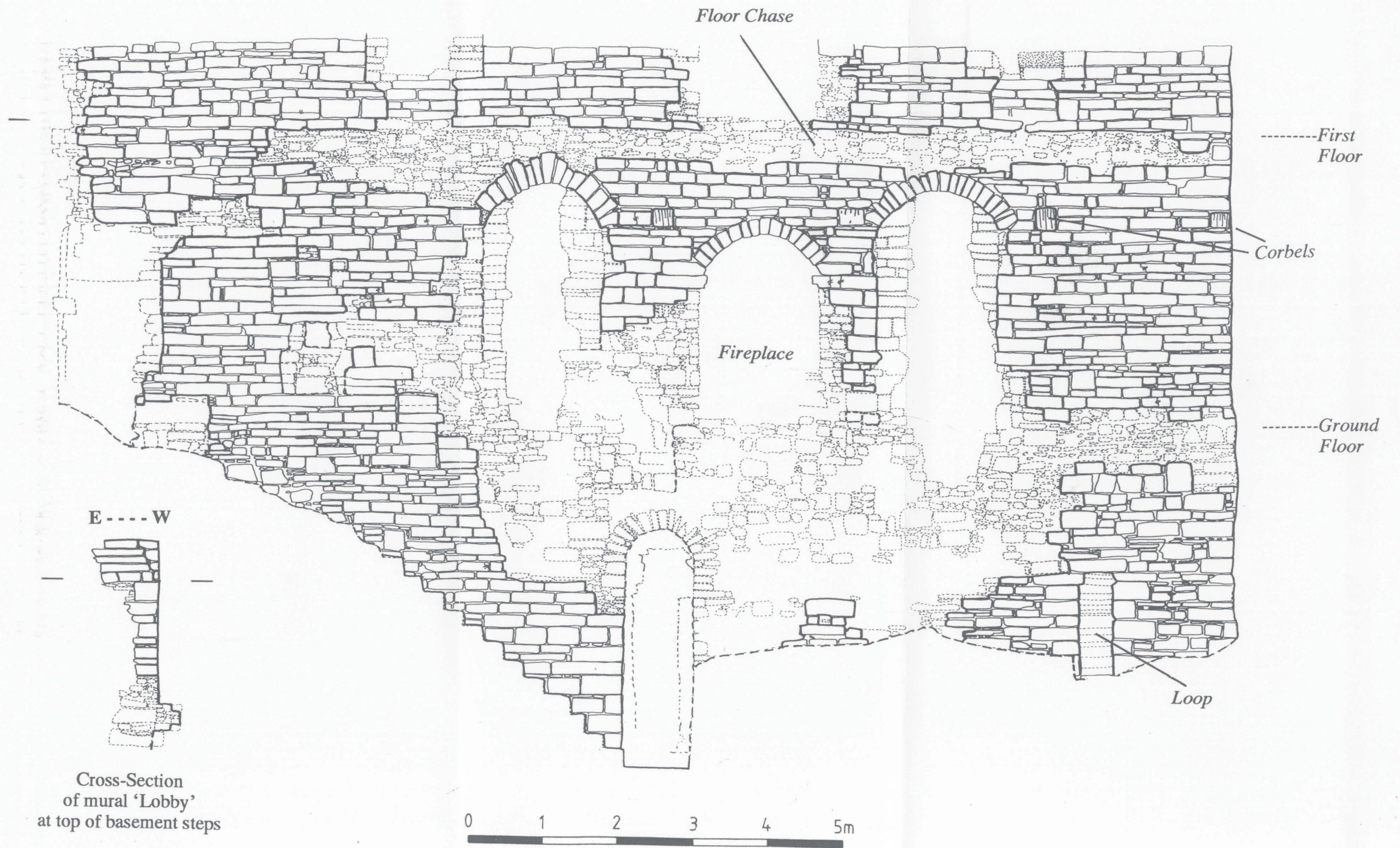0   1   2   3   4   5m

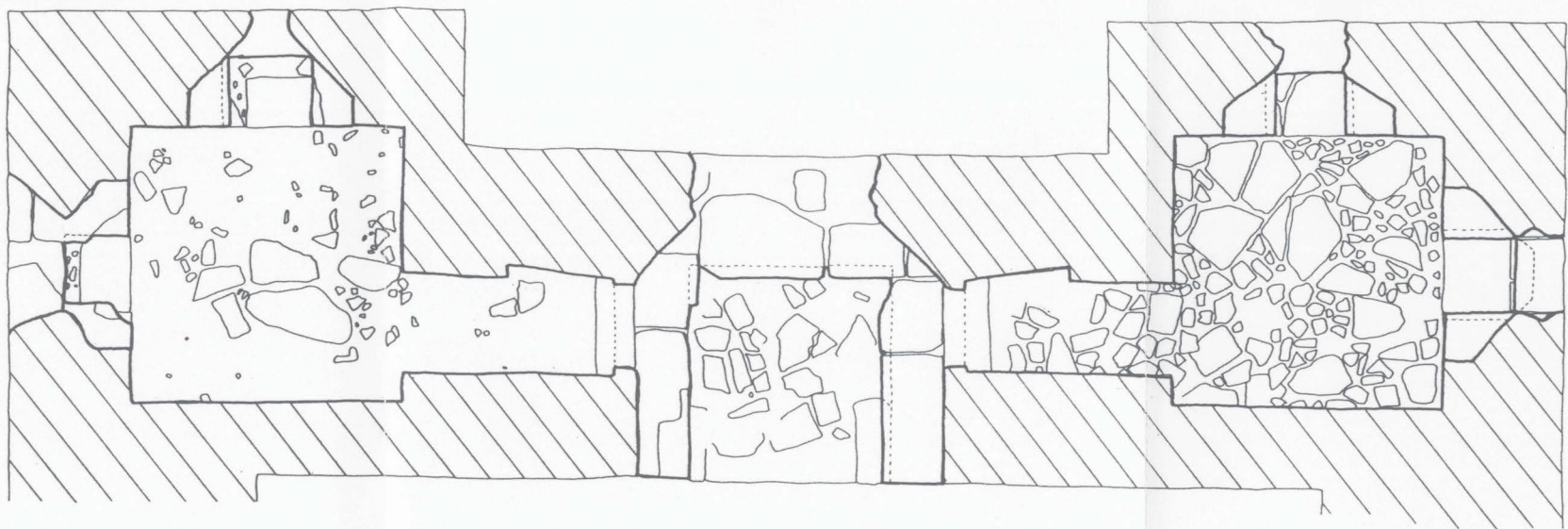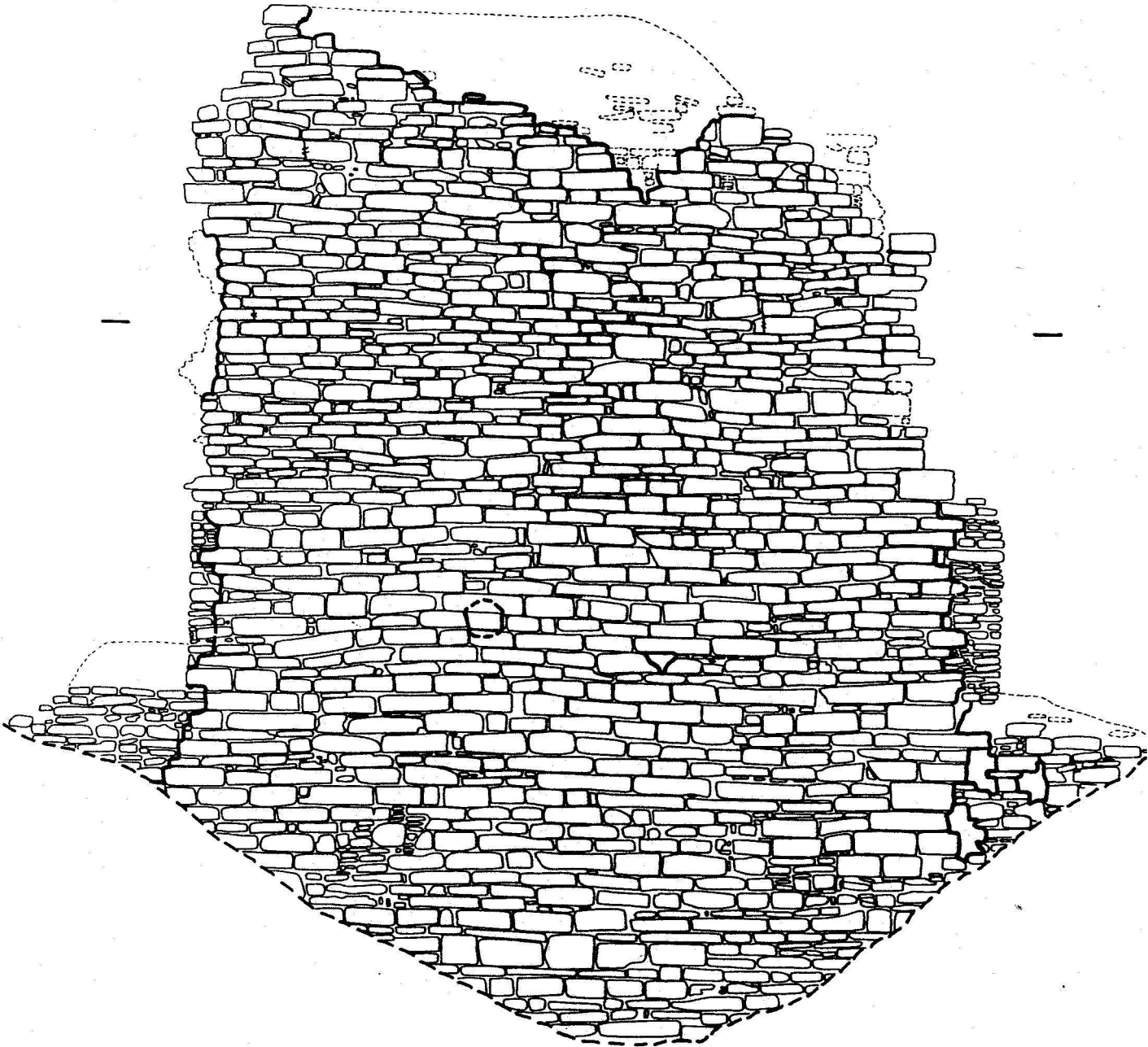**CLUN CASTLE:**
NORTH ELEVATIONS (I)

Second------
Floor

First------
Floor

0 1 2 3 4 5m

CLUN CASTLE:
NORTH ELEVATIONS (II)

Floor Chase

First Floor

Corbels

Fireplace

Ground Floor

Loop

E - - - - W

Cross-Section
of mural 'Lobby'
at top of basement steps

0   1   2   3   4   5m

CLUN CASTLE:
WEST INTERNAL ELEVATION (I)

Corbels

Second Floor Level------

Flue

0 1 2 3 4 5m

CLUN CASTLE:
WEST INTERNAL ELEVATION (II)

Roof String Fragment

Roof Line

Base of Watch-tower

-------Second Floor

-------First Floor

-------Ground Floor
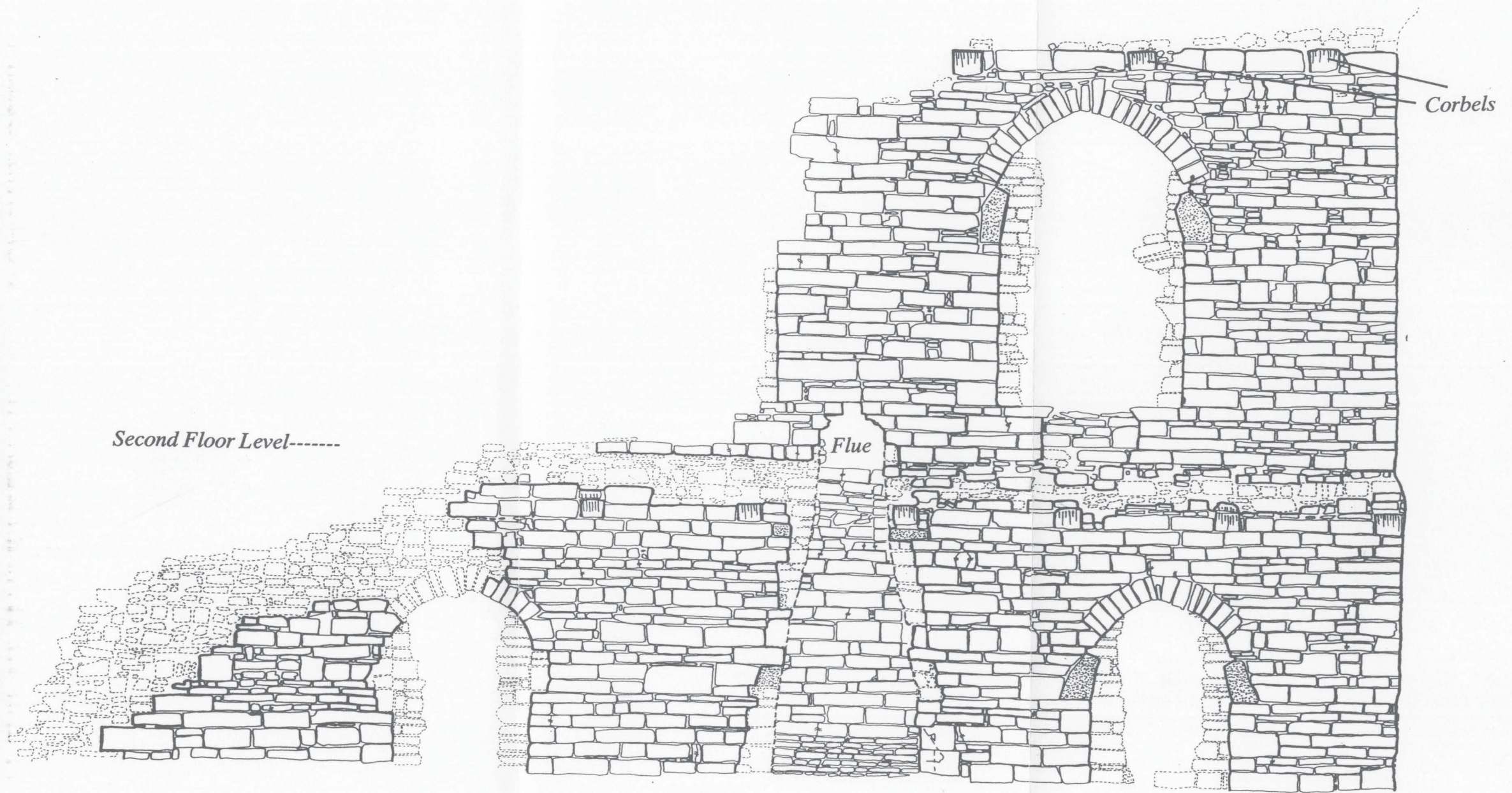
0   1   2   3   4   5m

CLUN CASTLE:
NORTH INTERNAL ELEVATION
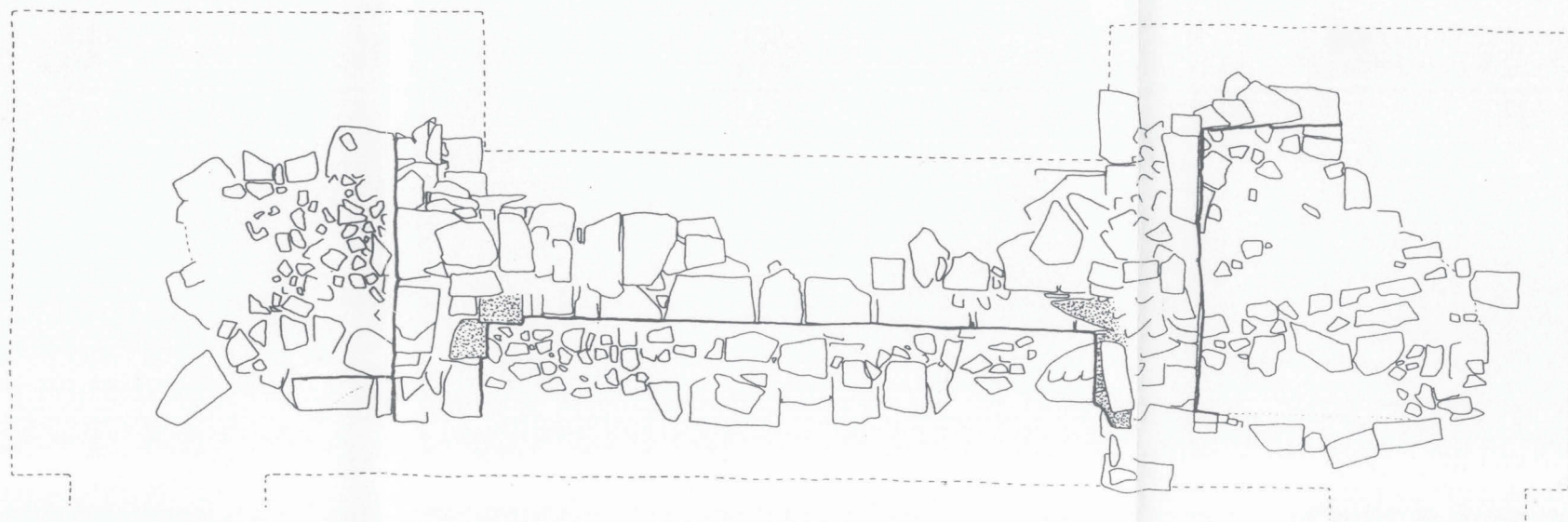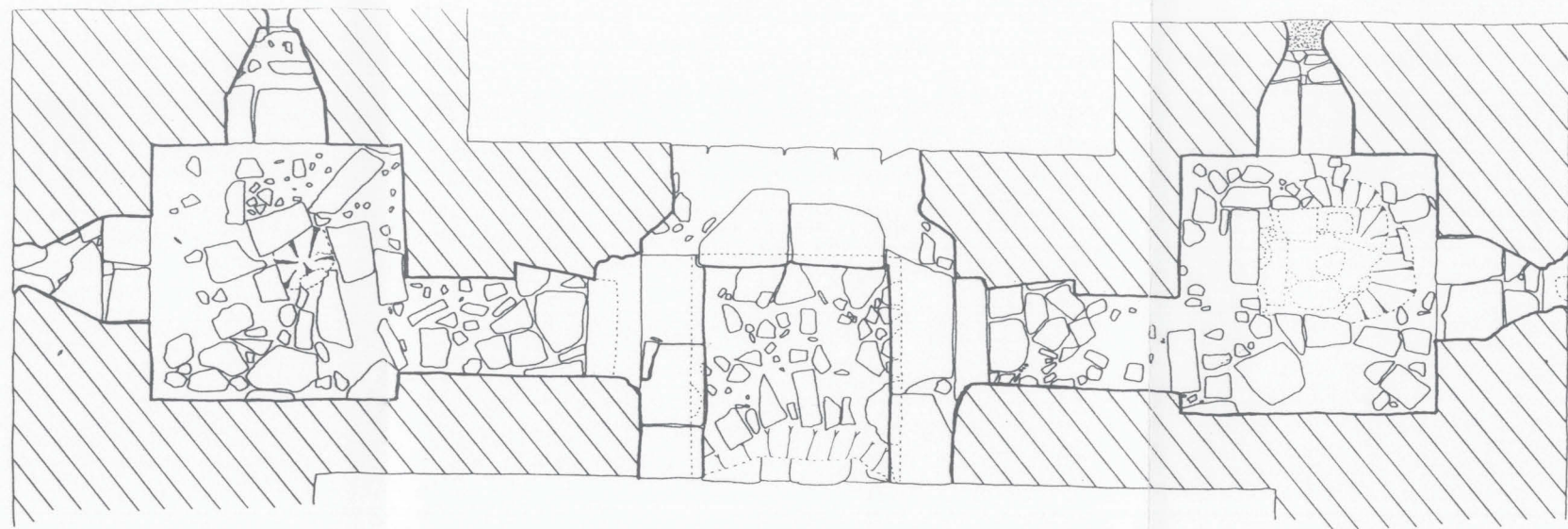
CLUN CASTLE:
NORTHERN PARTS OF
FIRST, SECOND & ROOF-TOP PLANS

0   1   2   3   4   5m

Second Floor

+6m— — +6m

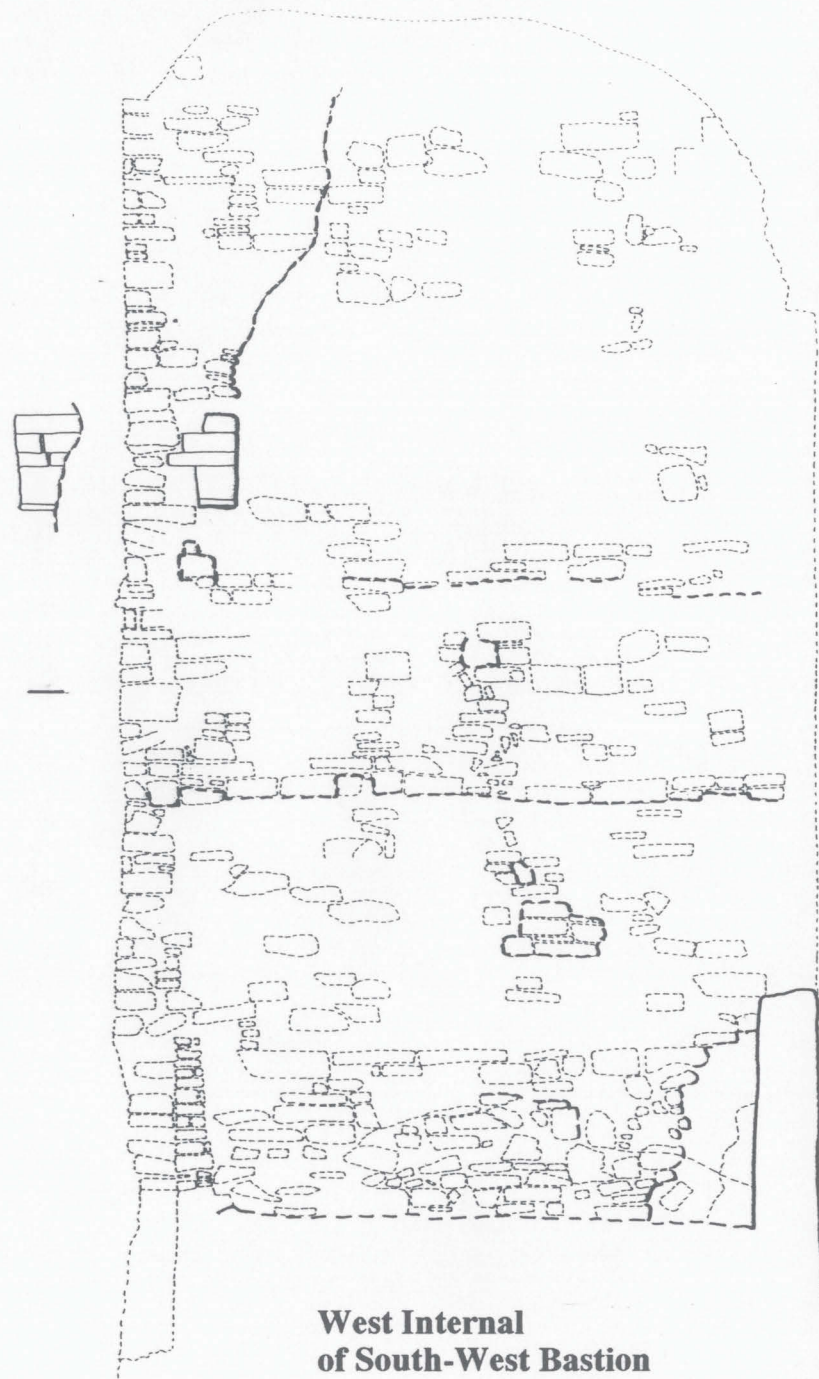Corridor S W N E Corridor

First Floor

+2m— — +2m
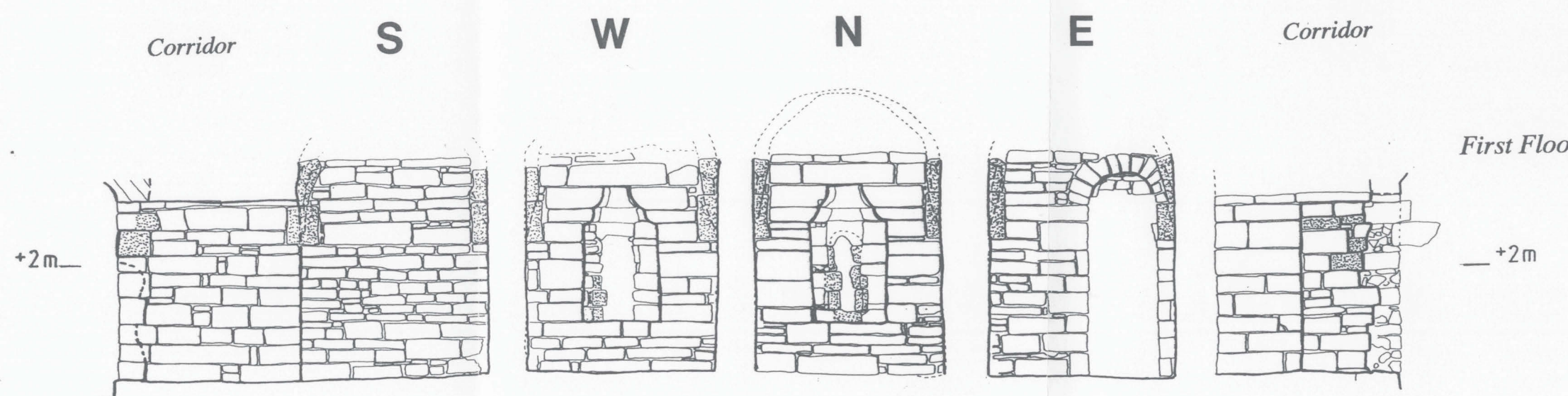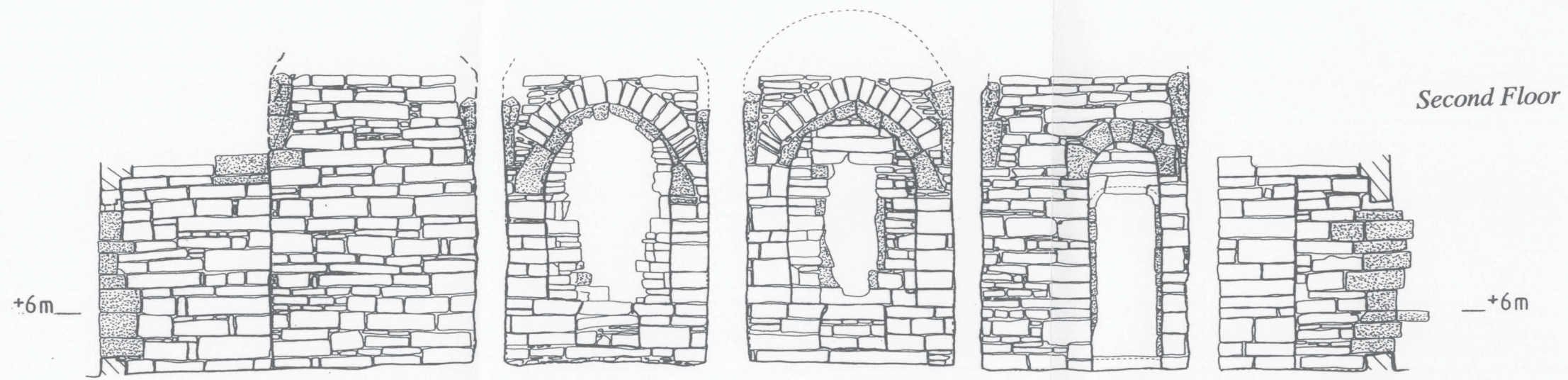
0   1   2   3   4   5m

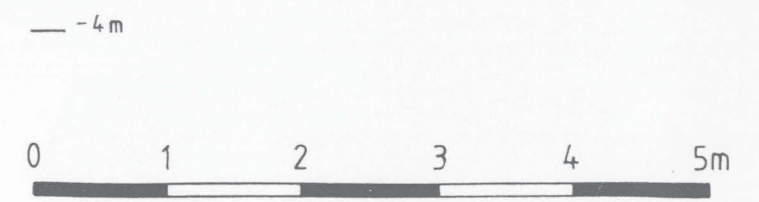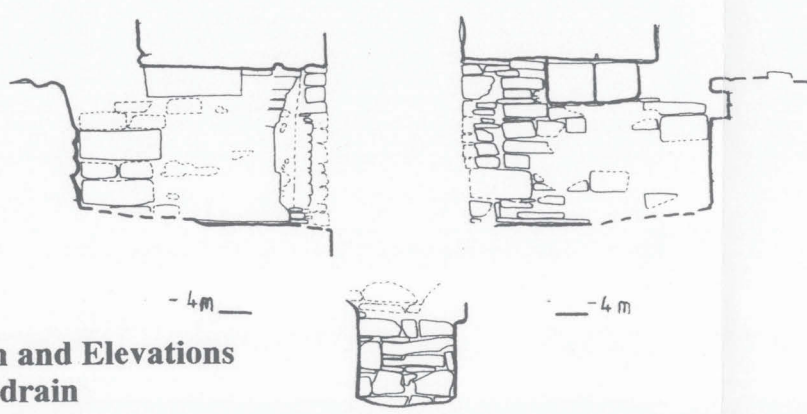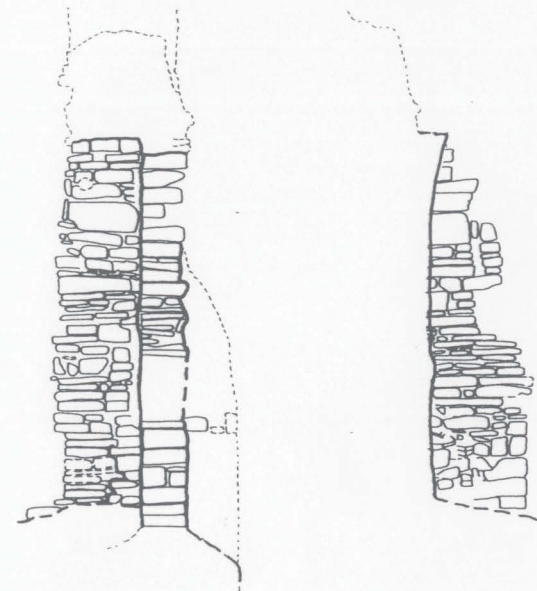**CLUN CASTLE:
INTERNAL ELEVATIONS OF THE
WESTERN MURAL CHAMBERS**

0   1   2   3   4   5m

CLUN CASTLE:
EXTERNAL ELEVATION OF
THE NORTH-WEST BASTION

West Internal of
Curtain Wall
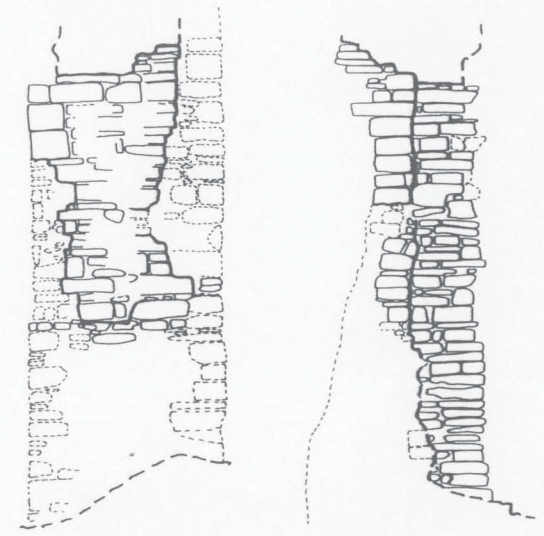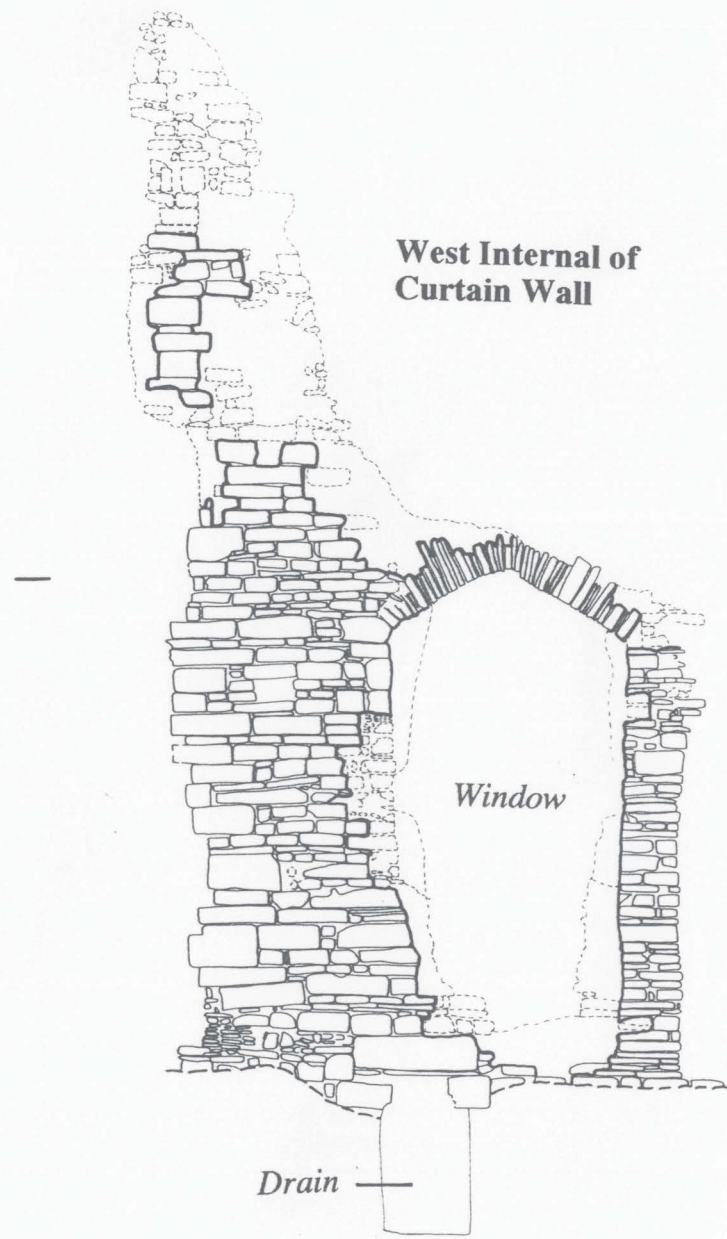
Cross-Sections and Splays
of Curtain and Window

Window

Drain

West Internal
of South-West Bastion

−4 m

−4 m

−4 m

−4 m

Cross-Section and Elevations
of drain

0   1   2   3   4   5m

CLUN CASTLE:
SOUTH-WEST BASTION AND CURTAIN ELEVATIONS

0   1   2   3   4   5m

CLUN CASTLE:
SOUTH ELEVATION OF THE SOUTH-EAST FRAGMENT
(After Consolidation)