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# Lumley Castle, its Antecedents and its Architect

*Malcolm Hislop*

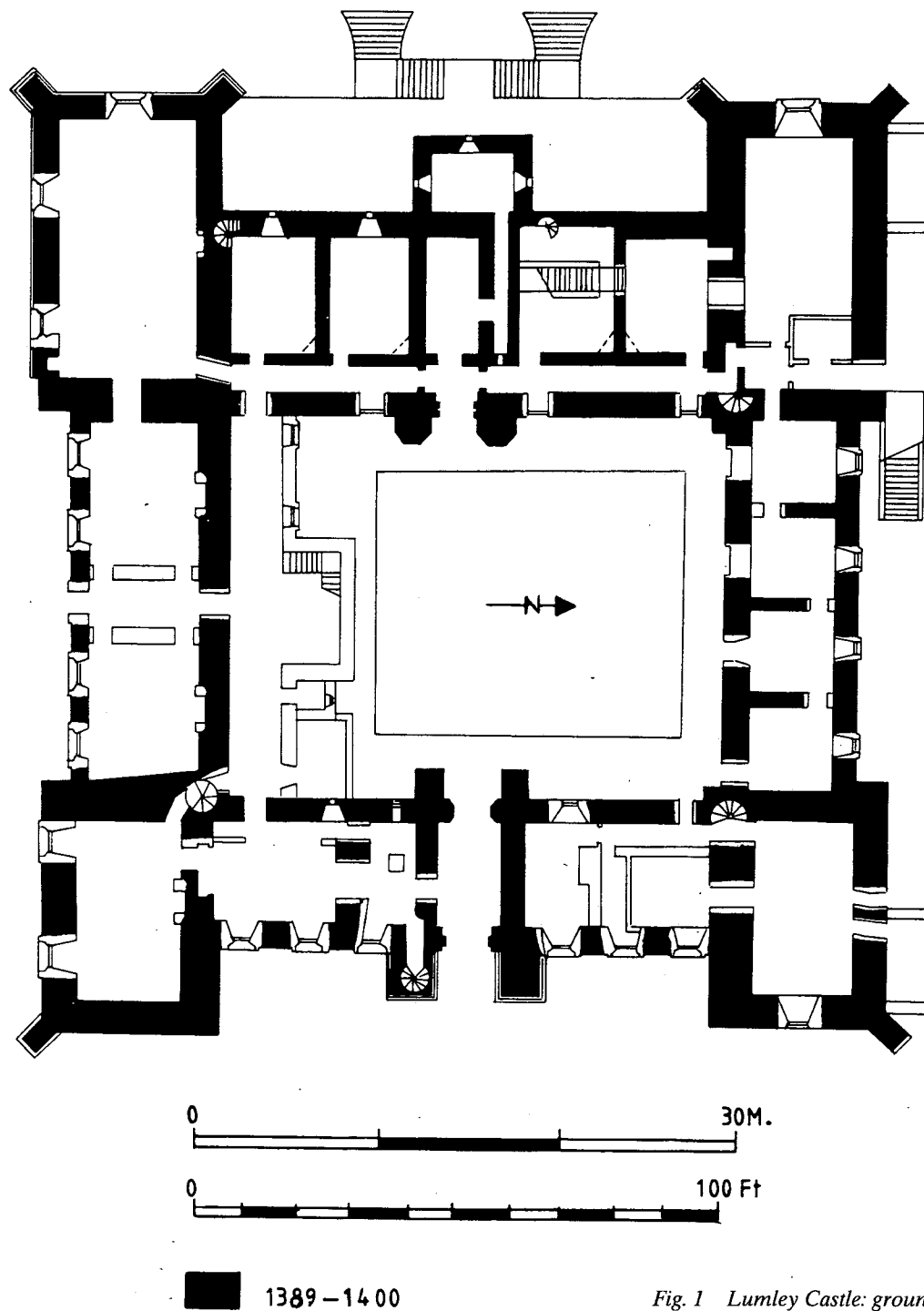
IF Ralph Lord Lumley is remembered at all today, it is possibly for his part in the Earl of Huntingdon's conspiracy to murder Henry IV and restore the deposed King Richard to his throne. It would, however, be a pity if the memory of this unhappy episode, which ended for Lord Lumley in his capture and summary execution at Chichester in January 1400, were to be thought of as his principal contribution to posterity, for the real monument to this fourteenth century knight, and one for which we should be grateful to him, is the fortified mansion he caused to be erected one mile east of Chester-le-Street, Durham, from 1389, when he received a licence from Bishop Skirlaw "... to rebuild, crenellate and embattle his castle of Lumley".<sup>1</sup>

Lumley Castle has received little attention from architectural historians,<sup>2</sup> owing, perhaps, to its continuity of occupation (most recently as a luxury hotel), and to two later building phases which have made their mark on the fabric. c. 1570–80 John Lord Lumley remodelled the courtyard elevations and made some internal changes, and from 1721 the castle was modernized to designs by Sir John Vanburgh, an operation that involved the remodelling of the outer face of the west range and much of the building's interior, the addition of a staircase wing to the north side of the south range, and the refenestration of most of the external elevations. However, notwithstanding the substantial nature of these changes, they have failed to obscure the essential late fourteenth century character of Lumley, where many original features survive, nor have they detracted from its main interest, which lies in the fact that it represents a culmination of the formal approach to castle design in northern England.

## THE DESIGN

Lord Lumley's castle occupies an elevated position east of the River Wear, on the brink of a ravine containing one of its tributaries, Lumley Park Burn. It is immediately recognizable as a distinct architectural type: a tightly planned quadrangular castle in which the domestic buildings are fully integrated with the defences (figs 1 and 2). Two and three storey ranges enclose the rectangular courtyard, and there is a taller three or four storey tower at each corner of the complex. Buttress turrets project diagonally from the western angles of the western towers and the outermost angles of the eastern towers. These turrets, as well as the square turrets which surmount the remaining angles of the towers and those which flank the main gateway, are all capped by distinctive machicolated parapets of octagonal plan (fig. 9). All the principal rooms were on the first floor over tunnel-vaulted basements: the great hall and its attendant service rooms in the west range, the kitchen in the adjacent north-west tower, and the chapel in the north-east tower. The main residential apartments were in the south range and towers, and the principal lines of communication between floors were the spiral staircases in the angles towards the courtyard.

The most striking aspect of Lumley is the regularity of its layout which may be said to rival that encountered in ecclesiastical architecture. Indeed, measurement of the building suggests that like many churches, the ground plan was laid out according to the proportional system of  $1:\sqrt{2}$ .<sup>3</sup> The eastern towers are the key to this system: they are each 35 feet wide by  $49\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, dimensions that are in the



*Fig. 1 Lumley Castle: ground plan.*

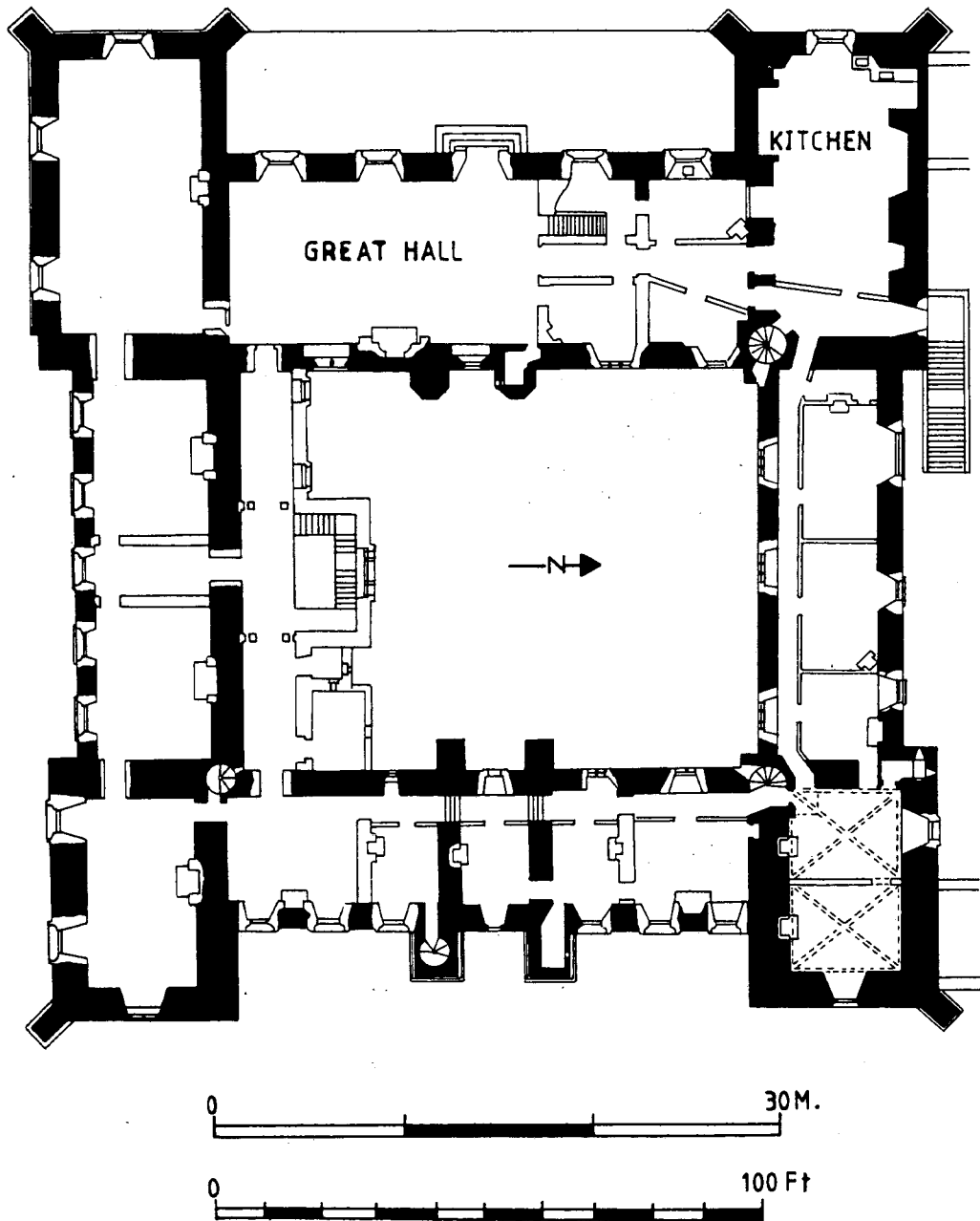


Fig. 2 Lumley Castle: first floor plan.

proportion of  $1:\sqrt{2}$ , the length being equal to the diagonal of a 35 feet square. These measurements were also used in laying out the western towers; they are the same width as the eastern towers, and their 64 feet length is equal to that of the eastern towers ( $49\frac{1}{2}$  feet) plus the difference between their width and length ( $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet). The size of the castle's main block is probably related to the lengths of the corner towers. It measures  $145\frac{1}{2}$  feet from east to west, and 151 feet from north to south. Now, the length of the eastern towers multiplied by three is  $148\frac{1}{2}$  feet, close enough to claim that the size of the main block was determined by that of the towers. The diagonal of a  $148\frac{1}{2}$  feet square is 210 feet. Half of this length (105 feet) is equal to the distance from the east face of the east range to the east face of the west range. Half the diagonal of a 105 feet square is 74 feet which is equal to the width of the courtyard, and the internal lengths of the north and south ranges.

This symmetrical approach to the planning of Lumley is further evident in the positioning of the main gateway (fig. 6) in the centre of the east range. Here, the opportunity for architectural effect was not lost on the master mason who emphasized the entrance by placing it between two projecting turrets. High up above the gate, the recess is spanned by a machicolated gallery carried on a segmental arch with multiple cusping; immediately over the entrance, within a recessed panel, are carved six achievements of arms which confirm the date of the castle<sup>4</sup> and which presented the late fourteenth century visitor with an emphatic statement of the owner's allegiances. The gateway leads to the central courtyard. Directly opposite is the hall range, a building that was distinguished by a higher level of ornamentation than the remaining courtyard elevations. The hollow-chamfered parapet band that extends around the courtyard is decorated with square fleurons all along this side, and the one surviving medieval great hall window (there were three altogether on this side) incorporates an up to date Perpendicular tracery pattern (fig. 3). To create a centrepiece, the architect placed the inner gateway between

two semi-octagonal turrets with moulded bases and crenellated caps (fig. 4), a composition one might expect to find in a college rather than a castle.

The gateway is a little off-centre so that the architectural effect of alignment with the outer entrance is slightly marred. There is no good reason to believe that this was deliberate, and it seems possible that it is a result of a miscalculation on the part of the builders, a theory that the following examination of the interior appears to confirm. The inner gateway gives access to a small lobby, doorways on the north and south sides of which open to two halves of a corridor extending along the east side of the range and communicating with four residential chambers (each was provided with a fireplace). From the southernmost of these rooms a staircase ascends to the upper (south) end of the great hall. Another vaulted chamber extends

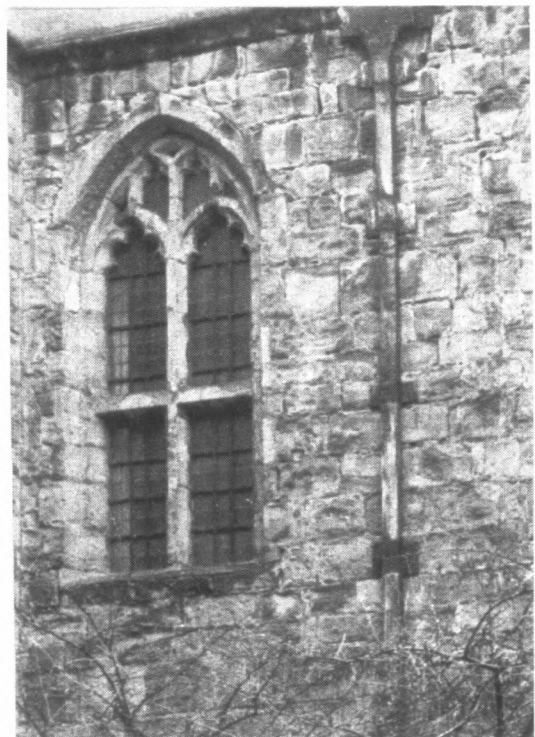


Fig. 3 Lumley Castle: great hall window.

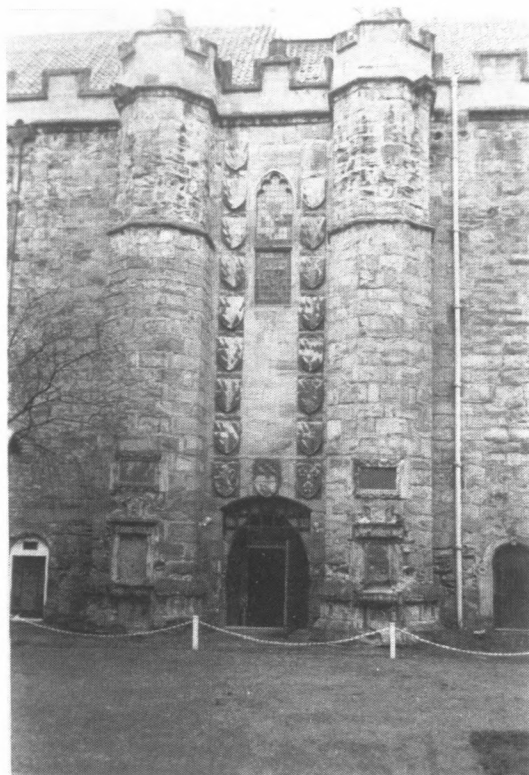


Fig. 4 Lumley Castle: inner gateway.

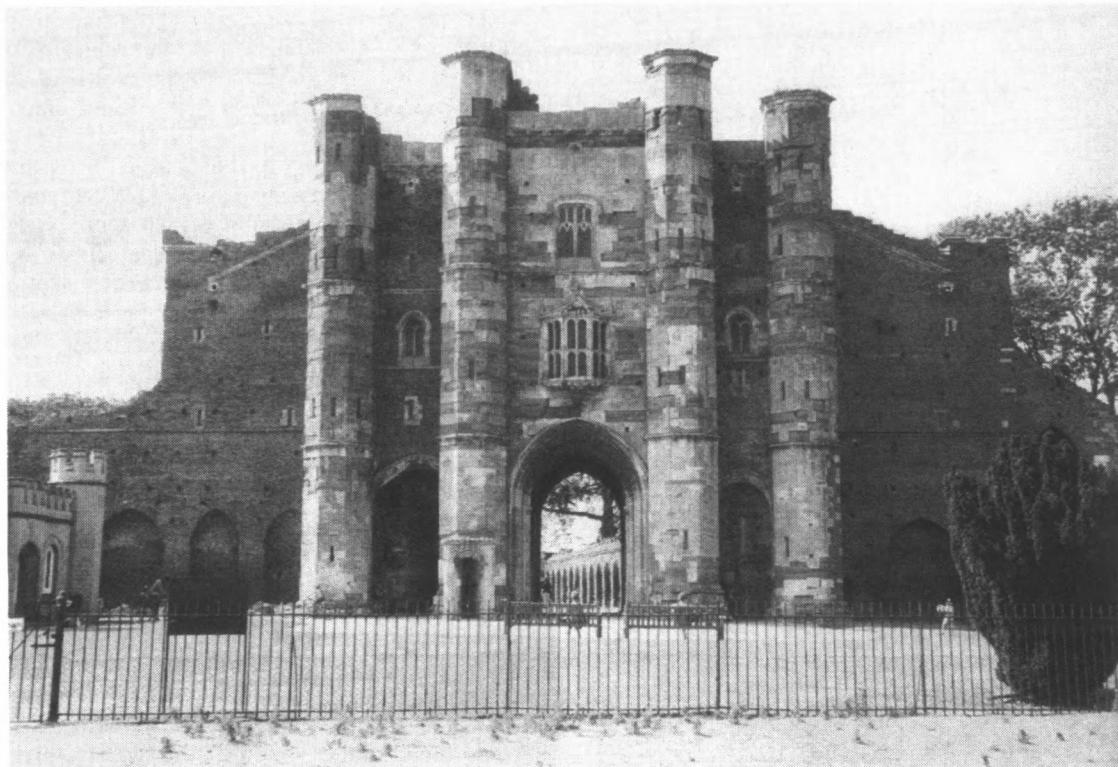
westwards from the entrance lobby as though it were a gate-passage. On its north side a doorway gives access to a narrow mural passage running parallel with it. At the east end of this passage a squint or observation hatch looks into the main corridor.<sup>5</sup> The west end communicates with a small room contained within a rectangular building which projects beyond the range, and which is now concealed by an eighteenth century platform, constructed when this side of the castle was remodelled as a classical entrance front. The room was provided with a fireplace and seems to have been a porter's lodge associated with the inner gateway.

The rectangular projection was evidently intended as an architectural counterpoise to the main gateway in the east range, for like the gateway it is centrally positioned. It measures

17 feet by 25 feet, dimensions that are in the proportion of  $1:\sqrt{2}$ . This is also the relationship that 25 feet bears to 35 feet, the width of the corner towers, so there is little doubt that it formed part of the original plan. Consequently, it seems reasonable to assume that this building is the stump of a truncated turret, the upper parts of which were swept away in the 1720s when the west front was remodelled. The division of the central section of the west range, which corresponds to the position of the turret, into quasi-entrance passage and parallel corridor, meant that the former was placed off-centre to the turret and outer gateway, and this in turn affected the positioning of the inner gateway.

Now, given the apparent desire on the part of the architect to create an impressive approach, one might have expected that once inside the castle this line of approach would have been continued by placing the principal staircase at the end of the quasi-entrance passage so that it might ascend to the lower end of the great hall, the traditional point of access in a building of this period, perhaps with a first floor antechamber within the west turret. There is, however, no sign of a staircase to the great hall in this area. The adjoining room to the north is cut in two by an eighteenth century stair, and in the northern portion is a disused newel stair which must formerly have communicated with one of the first floor service rooms at the lower end of the great hall. This stair may be medieval, though if so it has certainly been altered at a later date, for it is built out into the room with red brickwork whose character suggests a date no earlier than the mid-sixteenth century. Further, it is very narrow and restricted, and is unlikely to have been anything other than a service stair.

The principal route of access to the great hall must have been via the northern half of the main corridor and the staircase at the north-east corner of the range. This could explain the squint connected with the porter's lodge, with which this part of the corridor could be kept under surveillance. In addition, the staircase is light and airy and of generous proportions, very much what one might expect



*Fig. 5 Thornton Abbey gatehouse.*

of a main line of approach. The difficulty, however, is that this staircase communicated first with the north-west tower which was occupied by the great kitchen. It is true of course that the service and kitchen areas were remodelled in the sixteenth century, so we cannot be absolutely certain as to the original arrangements. There is a fourteenth century tri-partite doorway arrangement in the wall between the north-west tower and the west range (the doorways have segmental-pointed heads) though the spacing and relative sizes of the doorways do not suggest the symmetrical composition of large central kitchen doorway flanked by smaller openings to the pantry and buttery that is sometimes found in other houses of the period, at the lower end of the great hall.<sup>6</sup> At Lumley, the doorways diminish in size from west to east, so it is evident that

they reflect a rather different arrangement.

The fact of the matter is that when the relatively simple linear plan of great hall, services and kitchen was raised to first floor level as part of a greater integrated complex, problems of planning presented themselves that had not previously arisen. The architects adapted it as circumstances permitted, and in fact, for buildings of this period and type, there is no norm. The Warkworth donjon was so contrived that the great hall had the familiar opposed entrances in the lower ends of its side walls, being approached by a grand staircase via a first floor antechamber. In the lower end wall are a large kitchen doorway and two smaller doorways which led respectively to the first floor pantry and ground floor buttery, but they are not arranged symmetrically owing to the unusual disposition of the rooms whereby the





*Fig. 6 Lumley Castle: outer gateway.*

pantry is to the left, the buttery passage in the centre, and the kitchen to the right. At Kenilworth Castle the great hall was entered from the lower end of the side wall towards the courtyard by an external staircase. The lower end wall contains two doorways, the right hand one of which communicated with the ground floor kitchen, and the left with the first floor services. The great hall of Bolton Castle was also entered from the lower end of one of its side walls, but from its outer wall rather than the one towards the courtyard. P. A. Faulkner's plan of Bolton suggests that the arrangement of doorways in its lower end wall was yet another variation.<sup>7</sup>

Both Kenilworth and Warkworth are castles in which the great hall was the destination at the end of a long drawn out approach that provided an opportunity to impress upon the visi-

tor visual manifestations of the owner's wealth and importance, and it is probably no coincidence that these were the castles of two of the most powerful men in the kingdom.<sup>8</sup> The general principle is echoed at Bolton (fig. 14), albeit adapted to this smaller and more compact building. Visitors entered via the main gateway in the south-east corner of the castle, traversed the courtyard to its north-west corner, entered the north range, and then doubled back towards the east along a corridor before turning north to reach the staircase to the great hall. The emphasis placed on the approach at Lumley suggests a similar intention; but in a building where symmetry of plan and elevation were important factors, the master mason was more limited in his options, and the seeming logicity of placing the main stair immediately beyond the inner gateway might have conflicted with the more important aims of exhibiting the labyrinthine characteristics of Lord Lumley's home to suggest a grander house than was immediately apparent, and of providing another defensive element in a building that was quite as much fortress as country house.

### THE SOURCES OF THE DESIGN

Certain aspects of Lumley show how very contemporary a building it was. The surviving great hall window has a tracery pattern identical to that of the great hall window of c. 1387 at Winchester College. The same design was used for the upper windows of the monks' dormitory of 1398–1403 at Durham Priory. There are sound reasons to suppose that the personal link between Winchester and Durham was Walter Skirlaw, bishop of Durham from 1388 to 1406. Between 1386 and 1388 he was bishop of Bath and Wells. The architect of Winchester College, William Wynford, was master mason of Wells Cathedral from 1365, probably until his death in 1405, and indeed the same tracery pattern is found again at Wells in works of c. 1385–95.<sup>9</sup> Skirlaw himself was a great builder, lavishing money on the dormitory and cloisters at Durham Priory, and on the



*Fig. 7 Raby Castle: Neville Gateway.*

Skirlaugh Chapel, and the minster and manor house of Howden in the East Riding of Yorkshire; it is probable that he took note of contemporary developments in architecture. It was Skirlaw who granted Lord Lumley his licence to crenellate.

The source for the inner gateway was almost certainly the octagonal-turreted gatehouse of Thornton Abbey in Lincolnshire of c. 1382–9 (fig. 5). There are other fourteenth century gatehouses with octagonal turrets, e.g. the

inner gateway of Alnwick Castle and the main gateways of Bothal and Maxstoke castles, and Battle Abbey, all of the 1340s, and it is conceivable that these could have served as models for the architect of Lumley, but Thornton is much closer both chronologically and stylistically. The slender proportions of the Lumley turrets, their bases with two tiers of coping, their intermediate strings, and their decorative parapet band, are all reminiscent of their counterparts at Thornton.





Fig. 8 Raby Castle: Chapel Tower.

Whilst these affinities show that the master mason of Lumley was in touch with architectural achievements outside the northern region, most of the design can be seen as a development of more local antecedents. Certain aspects may have been derived from Raby Castle, which lies approximately twenty-one miles south-west of Lumley. At Raby, a hall house of c. 1300 was incorporated into the present hall range when the house was converted into a castle, probably by Ralph, Fourth Baron Neville, in the 1350s.<sup>11</sup> He created an early example of an integrated quadrangular courtyard castle whose irregularities testify to the experimental nature of the building, and to the fact that its layout was partly determined by the plan of the earlier house. The hall range formed the east wing. A gatehouse (The Chapel Tower: fig. 8) projected from its east side but the main gateway was in the centre of

the west range, directly opposite the entrance to the hall range, as at Lumley.

Ralph Lord Neville's son John, the fifth baron, enlarged Raby under a licence to crenellate of 1378,<sup>12</sup> a project that included the extension of the western gateway. This extension (The Neville Gateway: fig. 7), together with the Chapel Tower, probably influenced the form of the outer gateway of Lumley. All three entrances are recessed between rectangular turrets; all three were protected by crenellated and machicolated galleries; the Neville Gateway also has an heraldic display, and, around the entrance, near identical (though restored) cusping to that around the machicolation arch at Lumley. The compositions are sufficiently alike to support the suggestion that the Raby gateways may have served as models for the architect of Lumley. Such a relationship between the two castles is all the more plausible given the knowledge that Ralph Lumley was John Lord Neville's ward until 1383 when he came of age, and that he married Neville's daughter Eleanor.<sup>13</sup>

Neville, or his son Ralph, the sixth baron (later first earl of Westmoreland), was responsible for another castle in the vicinity of Durham which has affinities with Lumley: this was at Brancepeth, which lies roughly midway between Lumley and Raby.<sup>14</sup> Though heavily restored and added to in the nineteenth century so that many of its medieval details have been lost, the fourteenth century towers nevertheless retain diagonally projecting corner buttress turrets, a rare feature in castle building but one that is shared with Lumley. One difference, however, is that whereas at Lumley these turrets were crowned with machicolated parapets of octagonal form, at Brancepeth the parapets are carried up flush with the fronts of the turrets, but their sides are carried on corbelled machicolations.<sup>15</sup> The presence on one of the rear corners of Brancepeth's Westmorland Tower, however, of an octagonal crown of Lumley type (fig. 10), emphasizes the relationship between the two buildings, and perhaps points to a development within a regional style of building, for flush-fronted turret parapets with flanking machicolations are



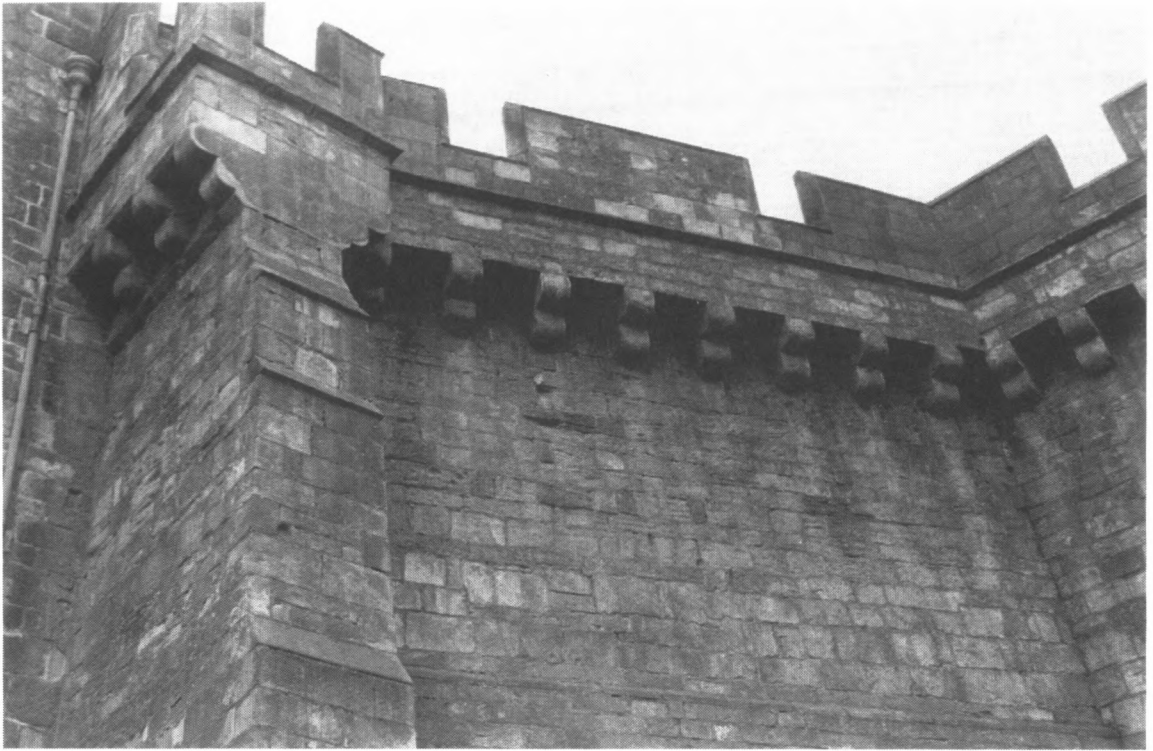
*Fig. 9 Lumley Castle: corner turret.*

also encountered at Raby on the buttress to the inner north curtain (fig. 11), and on the turrets of the outer gatehouse (fig. 12), both of which were probably parts of the works of 1378 etc.<sup>16</sup> The resemblance between the parapets of the Raby outer gatehouse turrets, and those of two turrets on the Brancepeth north curtain (fig. 13) are striking enough to prompt the suggestion that they were built by the same masons. In which case, Brancepeth must be contemporary with, or slightly later than Raby. Taking into account the affinities with Lumley, such a date would be entirely appropriate.

Whilst Raby and Brancepeth may both have contributed to the design of Lumley, perhaps the greatest influence upon it was the castle begun in 1378 at Bolton in Wensleydale, Yorkshire, for Richard Lord Scrope, and completed c. 1395.<sup>17</sup> Bolton Castle is a remarkably well preserved example of a quadrangular castle. The form lent itself to the kind of ordered



*Fig. 10 Brancepeth Castle: Westmoreland Tower.*



*Fig. 11 Raby Castle: north curtain.*

and compact planning with which the castle is associated.<sup>18</sup> The principal residential apartments were located in the west range and western corner towers; the rooms occupied by the offices, administrative staff, domestics and retainers were concentrated in the eastern part of the castle; the first floor great hall occupied the western part of the north range. Whilst this arrangement is to a great extent reflected at Lumley, where the west and south ranges correspond respectively to the north and west ranges at Bolton, the attempt to achieve symmetry from the outset that clearly characterizes Lumley is not so apparent at Bolton where the approach was less coherent. The hall range was situated, not opposite, but adjacent to the entrance (east) range. Moreover, the main gateway itself was not placed centrally, but was positioned hard up against the south-east cor-

ner tower. Nor is there a principal inner gateway to act as an architectural focus. Instead, at least four entrances, none of which was given greater emphasis than another, gave access to the ranges. In addition, the two eastern corner towers are on different alignments so that the entrance front is entirely asymmetrical.

Such irregularity may be explained by the nature of the site and the patron's changing requirements, but although the proportional system of measurement that has been discerned at Lumley was not employed initially, the master mason did make use of it in laying out the next phase of the castle.<sup>19</sup> This explains why the western part of the castle is more regular than the eastern part, and provides evidence for a move towards the symmetrical approach that was taken at Lumley at about the same time. Indeed, the Lumley plan repre-



Fig. 12 Raby Castle: outer gateway from the south-west.

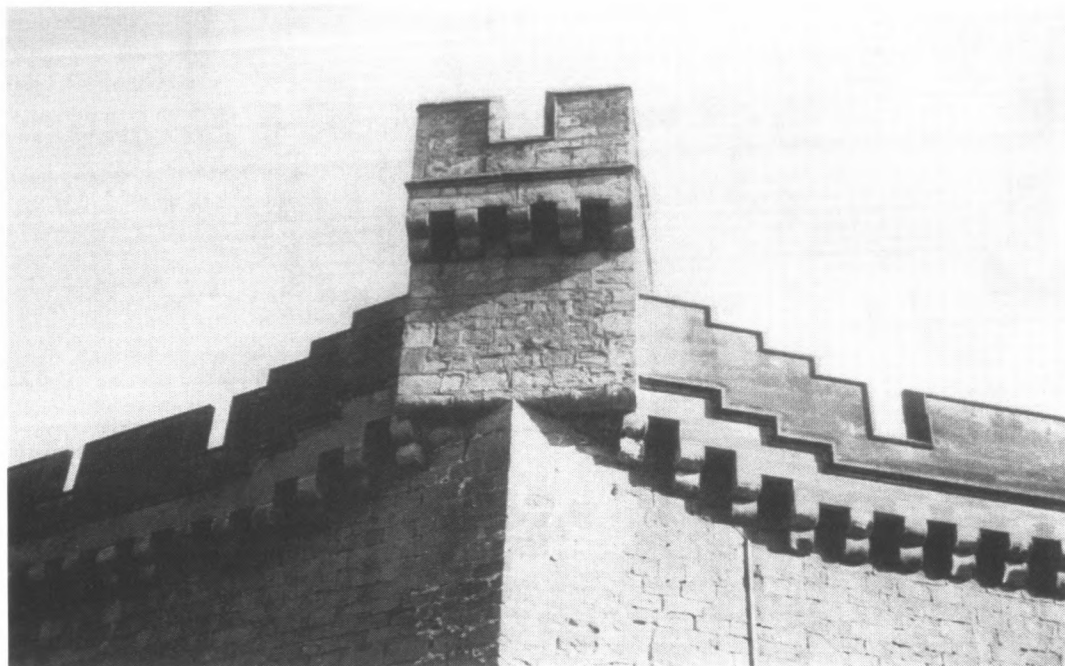
sents a development of that of Bolton. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in a comparison of the hall ranges. The slightly asymmetrical layout of the basement at Bolton appears to have been used as a model for the more formal design of Lumley. Both are divided into four transverse tunnel-vaulted chambers, two each side of a central transverse passage, and linked by a corridor extending along the courtyard side of the range. At the north end of the central passage at Bolton a doorway leads into a small chamber contained within a turret projecting from the centre of the range, and a staircase ascends to an antechamber on the first floor of the turret, from which the great hall was entered. Apart from the position of the staircase, this is very reminiscent of Lumley. The dimensions too are similar: both hall ranges measure 105 feet

by 40 feet, and the size of the rooms on the west side of the central passage at Bolton, at 22 feet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 16 feet 5 inches, is very close to that of their Lumley counterparts which measure 23 feet by 16 feet. The diagonal of a 16 feet square is  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet, suggesting that both sets of rooms were designed to the proportion of  $\sqrt{1}:2$ . The main difference between the two ranges is their entrances. The Bolton hall range was entered from a gateway in the north-west corner of the courtyard, and gave access to the west end of the linking corridor. At Lumley, the architect modified this arrangement by placing a gateway at the junction of the lateral and transverse passages, and so created a more symmetrical and imposing entrance.

This correspondence between the two hall ranges goes further. Above the service rooms at Bolton, Faulkner identified a suite of rooms (designated suite C), which he suggested as having been the apartments of the high steward by virtue of its proximity to the services and kitchen.<sup>20</sup> Corresponding accommodation existed at Lumley, although we cannot be certain as to its medieval form or lines of communication. It now gives access to a gallery at the lower end of the Hall, and is reached from the staircase at the north-east corner of the range. Bolton's great hall must have been heated by an open hearth or brazier for there was no fireplace, a circumstance that affected the design of the window embrasures which had flues built into the rere-arches. The same was probably true of Lumley: here, one of the window embrasures was converted into a fireplace in the sixteenth century; the presence of a flue in this position might have affected its siting. Such a conversion certainly took place in the great hall of the late fourteenth century donjon at Warkworth Castle, where window flues were also a feature of the design.<sup>21</sup>

These parallels between the hall ranges lead to further comparisons between the two castles. One similarity is the form of the inner gateway at Lumley: a pointed arch recessed beneath a segmental arch. This arrangement is also found at Bolton in the arrangement of the courtyard entrances, though here the distance





*Fig. 13 Brancepeth Castle: north curtain.*

between the two arches is elongated. Probably the only surviving medieval fireplace at Lumley, apart from those in the kitchen, is in the fourth storey chamber of the north-east tower: it has a corbelled lintel and is a type that was used extensively at Bolton. In addition, cinquefoil-headed windows were a principal type at both castles. At Bolton they appear in the great hall, chapel, and in each of the two halls in the west range; they survive in the eastern towers at Lumley. Finally, two trefoil-headed openings in the south wall of Lumley's north-east tower are best paralleled by the openings to the belfry turret on the south-west tower of Bolton Castle.

#### THE ARCHITECT OF LUMLEY CASTLE

The affinities between Lumley on the one hand, and Brancepeth, Raby and Bolton on

the other, may reflect the developing style of a locally based master mason. We know that Richard Lord Scrope employed the Durham master mason, John Lewyn, to build the eastern wing of Bolton.<sup>22</sup> We know too that in 1391 Lewyn entered into an agreement with Lord Lumley's brother-in-law, Ralph Lord Neville, to construct roads at Brancepeth.<sup>23</sup> These documentary references, in concert with the analogues discussed above, tend to confirm John Harvey's tentative suggestion that Lewyn was the architect at Lumley,<sup>24</sup> and give credence to Beric Morley's idea of a Durham style of castle building embracing Raby, Brancepeth, Lumley and Hylton castles, for which Lewyn was responsible.<sup>25</sup>

Lewyn's activities, however, were not confined to the Durham area. In addition to being the principal mason to the bishop and priory of Durham from c. 1364, from 1368 he seems to have occupied a similar position in respect of

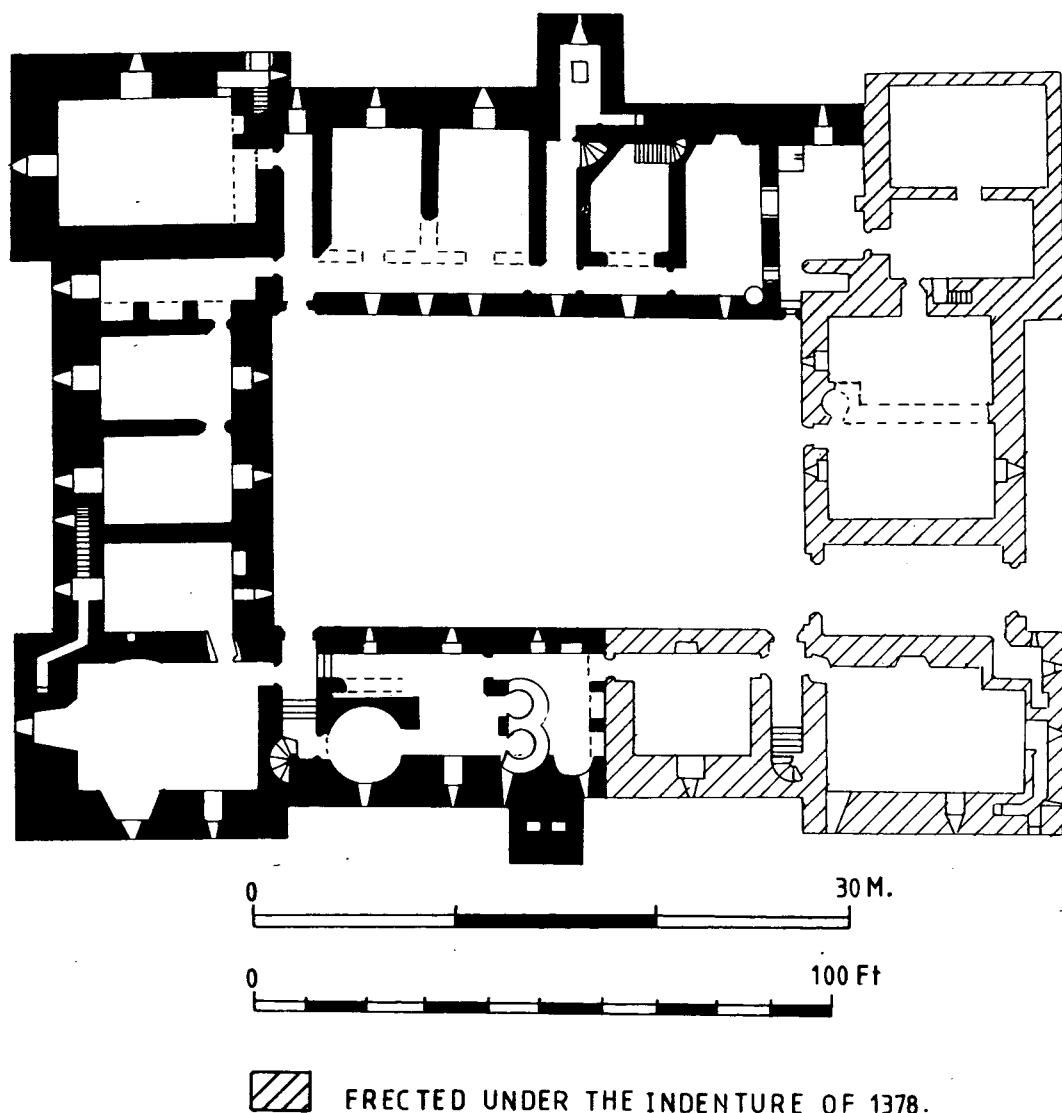


Fig. 14 Bolton Castle: ground plan.

the royal castles of the northern borders, being in charge of works at Bamburgh (1368), Carlisle (1378–83), Roxburgh (1378–88 & 1392), and Berwick (1385); and in 1380 he was engaged by John of Gaunt at his Northumbrian castle of Dunstanburgh.<sup>26</sup> He was therefore a craftsman who worked over a

large region at the highest levels of society, and according to William Douglas Simpson “No other master mason . . . enjoyed anything like the same professional and public status in Northern England during the latter part of the fourteenth century”.<sup>27</sup>

The 1390s witnessed the apogee of medieval



residential architecture in the north of England, and Lumley was one of the three great masterpieces of that decade. As the focus of a great rebuilding programme at Warkworth Castle, the first Percy earl of Northumberland built a great donjon on top of the Norman motte, which shares with Lumley considerable conceptual influence from Bolton,<sup>28</sup> and at Wressle near Hull, his younger brother, Sir Thomas Percy, raised a quadrangular castle of his own which has distinct affinities of plan with Lumley.<sup>29</sup> Just as Ralph Lord Lumley's relationship with the Nevilles forges a link between the castles of Raby, Brancepeth and his own, a similar connection exists between Lumley and the two Percy castles in that Lord Lumley was closely associated with the Earl of Northumberland in the defence of Berwick and the eastern march during the 1390s.<sup>30</sup>

Families like the Percies, the Nevilles and the Scropes were not only the pillars of northern society, they were the bulwarks of its defence. All of them saw service along the northern borders, and they must not only have been aware of John Lewyn's standing as the foremost military architect of the region, but on occasion must have worked in association with him. This was certainly true at Carlisle Castle where Lewyn built a new outer gatehouse between 1378 and 1383, probably to accommodate the keeper of the castle, a position to which Richard Lord Scrope was appointed in 1381.<sup>31</sup> Sir Thomas Percy too must have known Lewyn since his tenure as constable of Roxburgh Castle between 1 December 1378 and 1 May 1381<sup>32</sup> coincided with Lewyn's presence there as the mastermind behind a major reconstruction programme which took nearly ten years to complete,<sup>33</sup> and the Earl of Northumberland probably came into contact with him at Berwick, when Lewyn was charged with effecting repairs there in 1385. Not only was he a key figure in the organization of the northern defences, but his work at Bolton meant that he was experienced in dealing with problems of large scale domestic planning within restricted confines. The designer of Lumley, Warkworth

and Wressle would have found such experience invaluable. In seeking a master mason with the requisite artistic skill and organizational aptitude and ability, Lewyn was the obvious choice for a military aristocracy with increasingly architectural notions about its houses.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> 33rd Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1872), Appendix 1, p. 71. A second licence was obtained from the King in 1392: *C(alendar) of P(atent) R(olls)* 1391-6, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> The best architectural descriptions until recently were by J. R. Boyle, *The County of Durham* (London, 1892), pp. 425-37, and H. Avray-Tipping, *English Homes, Period 1, Vol. 1, Norman and Plantagenet 1066-1485* (London, 1921). For the medieval period these have now been superseded by Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses in England and Wales, Vol. 1: Northern England* (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> For examples of the use of this technique in church architecture see Eric Fernie, "The Ground Plan of Norwich Cathedral and the Square Root of Two", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 129 (1976), 75-86, and Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (London, 1990), pp. 172-4. For an example of its use in castle building see Malcolm J. B. Hislop, "Master John of Burcestre and the castles of Stafford and Maxstoke", *Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 33 (1991-2), 14-20.

<sup>4</sup> 1. Two bars. Crest: on a helmet with wreath and mantling, a bearded and horned head of Moses. Sir William Hylton, 1376-1435. 2. A lion rampant. Crest: on a helmet with chapeau and mantling, a lion statant. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, 1377-1408. 3. A fesse between two popinjays. Crest: on a helmet with mantling, a popinjay. Ralph Lord Lumley, 1384-1400. 4. A saltire. Crest: on a helmet with mantling, a bull's head. Ralph Lord Neville, 1388-97. 5. A lion rampant with a bordure engrailed. Crest: on a helmet with mantling, a ram's head. Sir Thomas Grey, d. 1400. 6. Quarterly, one and four, a seme of lilies; two and three, three leopards. Crest: on a helmet with chapeau and mantling, a lion. Royal arms of Richard II, 1377-99.

<sup>5</sup> A similar feature is to be found in the outer

gatehouse of Carlisle Castle of 1378–83, built by the Durham mason John Lewyn. As at Lumley it appears to have been designed for the purpose of monitoring the comings and goings to and from the gatehouse passage and the principal living quarters on the first floor. See R. Gilyard-Beer, 'De Ireby's Tower in Carlisle Castle' in *Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation*, eds. M. P. Apter, R. Gilyard-Beer, A. D. Saunders (London and Chichester, 1977), pp. 205–6.

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1965), 124–9.

<sup>7</sup> P. A. Faulkner, "Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century", *Archaeological Journal* 120 (1963), 215–35.

<sup>8</sup> Kenilworth was remodelled by John of Gaunt in the late fourteenth century, and this aspect of its design is reflected in Gaunt's work at Dunstanburgh Castle, Northumberland of the 1380s: see Malcolm J. B. Hislop, 'John of Gaunt's Building Works at Dunstanburgh Castle', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th ser. 23 (1995), 139–44. Warkworth was the main castle of the Earl of Northumberland, and was rebuilt in the 1390s: see Idem, "The Date of the Warkworth Donjon", *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th ser. 19 (1991), 79–92.

<sup>9</sup> John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects* rev. ed. (Gloucester, 1984), 355.

<sup>10</sup> Licence to crenellate was granted in 1382: *CPR* 1381–5, 166. The building was probably completed by the end of the decade.

<sup>11</sup> Malcolm J. B. Hislop, 'The Castle of Ralph Fourth Baron Neville at Raby', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th ser. 20 (1992), 91–7.

<sup>12</sup> *32nd Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (1870), Appendix 1, 292.

<sup>13</sup> G. E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, sub *nominibus* Lumley, 270.

<sup>14</sup> The first mention of any of the fourteenth century works dates from 1398 when the Constable Tower was pointed out as a model for the builder of the monks' dormitory at Durham Priory. The two building contracts for the dormitory were transcribed and printed by L. F. Salzman in *Building in England Down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952), 473–7.

<sup>15</sup> The present parapets are restorations, but an eighteenth century illustration suggests that the

form is archaeologically correct: Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, 8 vols. (1783–97). Vol. 2, opposite p. 87.

<sup>16</sup> Hislop, "The Castle of Ralph Fourth Baron Neville", 94. Diagonal buttress turrets with identical battlements also occur on the late fourteenth century great tower of Witton Castle, Witton-le-Wear, Durham.

<sup>17</sup> Malcolm Hislop, "Bolton Castle and the Practice of Architecture in the Middle Ages", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, forthcoming.

<sup>18</sup> See Faulkner, "Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century", for a spatial analysis of the castle.

<sup>19</sup> Hislop, "Bolton Castle".

<sup>20</sup> Faulkner, "Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century", 229.

<sup>21</sup> Hislop, "The Date of the Warkworth Donjon", 85 and Fig. 10 on 87.

<sup>22</sup> Hislop, "Bolton Castle".

<sup>23</sup> *33rd Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (1872), 43 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *EMA*, p. 182.

<sup>25</sup> "Hylton Castle", *Archaeological Journal* 133 (1976), 130.

<sup>26</sup> See Harvey, *EMA*, 181–4 for a summary of Lewyn's career. See Malcolm J. B. Hislop, *John Lewyn and the Architecture of the Northern Counties, 1360–1400* (unpublished University of Nottingham Ph.D. thesis), for a more detailed analysis of the buildings.

<sup>27</sup> "The Warkworth Donjon and its Architect", *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser. 19 (1941), 99.

<sup>28</sup> Hislop, "The Date of the Warkworth Donjon".

<sup>29</sup> The main body of the castle is, like Lumley's, a square approximately 150 feet square. The main entrance is in the centre of the east front, and the eastern towers are smaller than the western towers. The disposition of rooms is similar.

<sup>30</sup> *The Complete Peerage*, sub *nominibus*, 269–70.

<sup>31</sup> Gilyard-Beer, "De Ireby's Tower", 207–8.

<sup>32</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, sub *nominibus*, 875.

<sup>33</sup> Harvey, *EMA*, 182.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.