Archaeologia Cambrensis 168 (2019), 153–195

Living the dream: the legend, lady and landscape of Caernarfon Castle, Gwynedd, North Wales

By RACHEL E. SWALLOW

The late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Caernarfon Castle and its associated townscape in Gwynedd, North Wales, has been the subject of detailed academic historical, archaeological and architectural scrutiny for considerable time. This paper presents a fresh interpretation for this widely studied Edwardian castle based on a broader temporal and spatial research approach. Interdisciplinary and comparative study re-examines the fortification's architecture in the light of tangible traces of Caernarfon's pre-medieval fortified and elite settlement, as well as the intangible memory represented in the late twelfth-century Romance legend of Breudwyt Maxen Wledic *('The Dream of Mascen Wledig'). It is proposed that King Edward I and Queen Eleanor de Castile intentionally incorporated rather than obliterated these visible memories, thus ensuring the display of a further prominent layer of lordly and lady power as a symbol of legitimacy through continuity. With a particular focus on the Queen's Gate, this paper introduces the new interpretation of a royal designed landscape beyond the walls of Caernarfon's town, arguing that King Edward and Queen Eleanor deliberately combined symbolic elements of Roman heritage and Arthurian-type Romance along an ancient route way below Queen's Gate. The paper concludes that Edward's and Eleanor's castle and private landscape was intended to reflect the persistent memory of Caernarfon's powerful male and female ancestors.*

INTRODUCTION

Much academic attention has been given to Edward I's (reign 1272–1307) late-thirteenth-century castle at Caernarfon in Gwynedd, North Wales. This paper proposes a further layer of interpretation, arguing for a thus far unconsidered symbolic and physical link between the ancient stronghold of the Roman fort of *Segontium* at Caernarfon, and the architectural style and accommodation of the Edwardian palatial fortress. The results of fresh examination point to a more complete understanding of the intended message for King Edward's and Queen Eleanor de Castile's (b. *c*. 1241, m. 1254, d. 1290) new-build castle situated within its inherited, elite and culturally significant land- and seascape. A generally under-researched subject in castle studies is equally recognised in this paper: the consideration of eminent women and their role, or otherwise, in the fashioning of the practical and symbolic architectural and residential function of buildings and landscapes of the nobility.

Research by this author indicates that Edward I's Queen, Eleanor de Castile, likely had a contributory role in the creation of architecture and accommodation at Caernarfon Castle, as well as its surrounding chivalric land- and seascape. In particular, the Queen's Gate's location and architecture reflect careful manipulation to be an exclusively private entrance into the castle overlooking a garden, the gate marking and overlooking an ancient route way to *Segontium* Roman fort and the mother church of St Peblig, the dramatic backdrop of the Snowdonia Mountains lying beyond. This paper concludes with the proposal that both Edward and Eleanor ensured that Caernarfon's imperial past, coupled with the late twelfth-century Romance tale of *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* ('The Dream of Macsen Wledig') (Roberts 2005, lxxxv; Davies

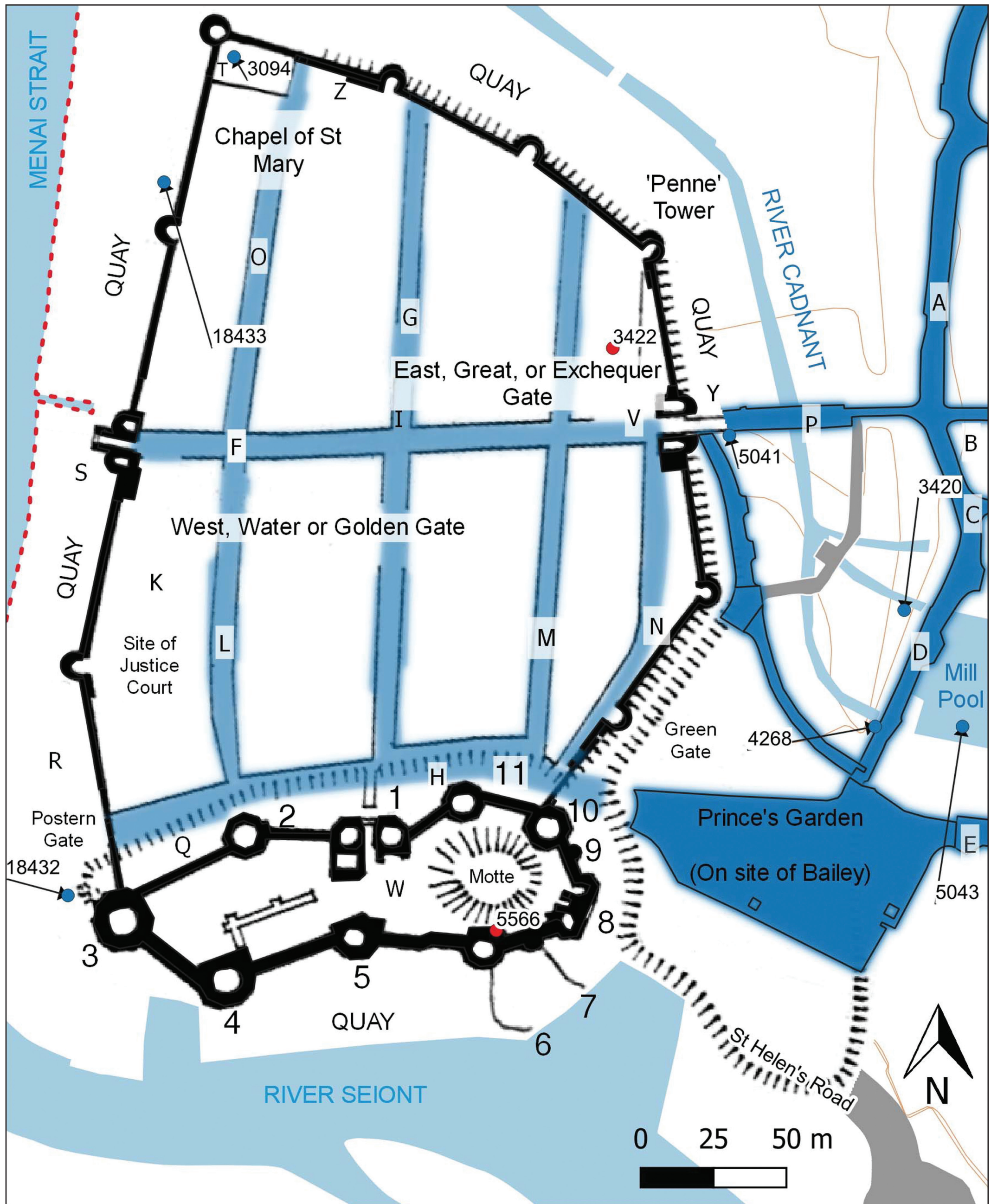
MENAI STRAIT
QUAY
QUAY
QUAY
QUAY
QUAY
T 3094
Z
Chapel of St Mary
O
G
18433
'Penne' Tower
RIVER CADNANT
A
3422
East, Great, or Exchequer Gate
Y
I
V
P
F
S
5041
B
3420
C
West, Water or Golden Gate
K
Site of Justice Court
L
M
N
D
Mill Pool
Green Gate
4268
R
H
11
1
2
10
Postern Gate
Q
Prince's Garden
(On site of Bailey)
9
E
18432
W
Motte
5566
5043
8
3
5
7
4
6
RIVER SEIONT
St Helen's Road
N
0 25 50 m

Fig. 1. Plan of Caernarfon and Caernarfon Castle.

Roman and Medieval sites in an around Caernarfon (with record numbers (PRNs) from the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust's Historic Environment Record)

Roman
Pepper Lane cobbled surfaces: 3422
?Building – under former motte: 5566

Medieval
St Mary's Church (garrison chapel): 3094
Upper Mill: 3420
Mill races: 5041
King's Mill Pool: 5043
Postern, town walls: 18432
Medieval quay: 18433
Lower Mill and mill pool: 4268

Street names on Speed's map of 1611 and modern equivalents

A *Llanvore Lane* (Bangor Road)
B *Tuttle Strete* (Twthill Square/North Penrallt)
C *Pricky Sethy* (South Penrallt)
D *Pont Prith* (Bridge Street)
E *Lane Peblicke* (Pool Street)
F High Street
G Castle Street
H *Ditch Street* (Castle Ditch)
I *The Conduite*
L *Shirehall Strete* (Shirehall Street)
M *Strete a place* (Palace Street)
N *Pepper Lane* (Hole in the Wall Street)
O *Church Lane* (Church Street)
P *Oatmeal Market* (Turf Square)
Q *The Free Schole* (County Courts)
R *The Keye* (Slate Quay)
S *West Gate* (Porth-yr-Aur)
T *The Chappell* (St Mary's Church)
V *The Exchequer* (Porth Mawr)
W The Castle
Y *East Gate* (Porth Mawr)
Z *The Churchwaye* (Church Lane)

Current and earlier names of towers and gates of Caernarfon Castle

1 King's Gate: *Great Gate* (1343)
2 Well Tower: *le Welletour* (1342), *Bellow Tower* (1534), *Treasury Tower* (1595), *Record Tower* (*c.* 1620)
3 Eagle Tower: *Great Tower* (1300), *Eagle Tower* (1316), *Great Tower* (1317), *Tour d'Egle* (1396)
4 Queen's Tower: *Bele Estre* (1303–04), *Tour de Baner*/*Banner Tower* (1343 and 1393), *Pinnacle Tower* (1595), *Pike Tower* (1620)
5 Chamberlain's Tower
6 Black Tower: *Blaketour* (1342), *Mylnet Tower* (1593), *Merioneth Tower* (1620)
7 Cistern Tower
8 Queen's Gate: *Gate towards the Prince's Garden* (1343), *Turmoyl Tower* (1595), *Green Gate Tower* (1769)
9 Watch Tower
10 North East Tower: possibly previously *Ivy Tower*, 'prison house', *Watch Tower* (1595), *Greenfield Tower* (1620)
11 Granary Tower: ?*Well Tower* (1595), *Bell Tower* (1620)

For sources see caption to Fig. 2
© R. E. Swallow. Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2019)

YNYS MÔN

MENAI STRAIT

Commotal Boundary
Presumed Roman Road
Medieval Road
Multple Findspots

3419
3100
3091; 29437
3094
3111
3112
18433
3422
5041
17561
24739
14600
4268
3101
5558
5566
5043
34044
5562
5556
34045
5555
34046
6375
34047
3098
4478; 12069
5565
5557
29300; 34043
31079
340067
340071
St Helen's Road
Helen's Causeway
3090
3108
Segontium Roman Fort
5564
3120
(Roman Military Pit Ovens x 16)
3119
29301
3110
5559
3092
Coed Helen Lane
3117
1993
3113
24729
5044
3118
0 250 500 m
N

Fig. 2. Caernarfon Castle in its landscape context.
'King's Way', being the road from Queen's Gate to *Segontium* Roman Fort and St Peblig's Church, is highlighted in blue.

Archaeological sites in and around Caernarfon (with record numbers (PRNs) from the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust's Historic Environment Record)

Neolithic
Stone axes: 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113
Pit (?Neolithic): 340067

Bronze Age
Tumulus and urn burial: 3101
Bronze tools, find spot: 3117
Circular feature (?Bronze Age): 31079

Iron Age
Cremation burial: 24739
Twt Hill and Twt Hill Bach enclosures: 3091, 29437

Roman
Hen Walia rectangular walled enclosure: 3090
Llanbeblig Roman burial ground: 3092
Mithraic temple: 3098
Pepper Lane cobbled surfaces: 3422
Coins, fourth-century: 5044
Vicus settlement: 5555, 5557
Well (probable site): 5556
Burial: 5558
House: 5559
?Bridge – Helen's Causeway across river Seiont: 5564
Well (possible site of), Hen Walia: 5565
?Building – under former motte: 5566
Rock-cut well (?Roman): 6375
Road, *Segontium* (Caernarfon) – *Canovium* (Caerhun): 17561
?Pivot stone, Hen Walia: 24729

Pre 13th-century
Cemetery and mortuary enclosures: 29300, 34043, 29301, 34044, 34045, 34046, 34047
Priory (possible site of): 3100
St Peblig's Church, Llanbeblig: 3108
Horse cheek-piece (?Viking): 3118
Ffynnon Helen holy well: 3119
Capel Helen (small chapel): 3120
Pottery kiln/oven: 5562

Medieval
Fulling mill: 1993
St Mary's Church (garrison chapel): 3094
Wharves, bank, quay: 3419, 18433
Lower Mill and mill pool: 4268
Mill races: 5041
King's Mill Pool: 5043
Fish weirs: 14600
Corn-drying kiln (?early medieval): 340071

Post-medieval
Coed Helen, early 17th-century house and summer house: 4478, 12069

Sources for Figures 1 and 2

Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, map at p. 380; Hopewell 2003; 2007; Johnstone 1995. Ordnance Survey: 25-inch County Series maps, Caernarvonshire sheet XVI.I (1889 and 1914); 25-inch County Series Anglesey, sheet XXV.4 (1888 and 1918); 1:10,560 map sheet, Caernarvonshire XV NE (1938); 1:10,000 map sheet, SH46SE (1979); 1:2,500 map sheet, SH4862 (1965 and 1983). John Speed's Map of Caernarfon, 1611. National Library of Wales: Tithe Map and Apportionment Schedule for the parish of Llanbeblig in the County of Caernarvonshire, 1842; John Wood's Map of Caernarfon, 1848, MAP5480; Vaynol Papers 4056: A survey of Vaenol Estate, the property of Thomas Assheton Smith Esq., vol. 2 (1777); Vaynol Papers 6069: A survey of Vaynol Estate, the property of T. Assheton Smith Esq., vol. 2 (1832|).

© R. E. Swallow. Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2019)

2007, 103–8) was materialised in Roman ruins and an elite designed landscape that incorporated some feminine characteristics. Moreover, this landscape was linked physically by a processional route to and from the Queen's Gate, and symbolically, between Eleanor and her namesake in 'The Dream of Macsen Wledig' legend, Elen.

CAERNARFON CASTLE: THE STORY SO FAR

Research approaches hitherto have been predominantly architectural, and largely limited to Caernarfon Castle and its post-1283 townscape. What follows is a summary of the historical, architectural, and archaeological interpretations to date for Caernarfon Castle. It is generally accepted that James of St George (*c*. 1235–1308) took overall responsibility for the castle's plan (Taylor 1953, 18), and that his two colleagues from England were Walter de Hereford and Richard the Engineer from Chester (Coldstream 2016, 53). That said, it is highly probable that Edward — and, it is argued here, Eleanor — was 'a more persuasive contributor to the design of the castles in Wales' (Coldstream 2009, 43). Equally widely accepted is the fact that Edward intended to display his inherited imperial power of the first- to fourth-century Roman fort of *Segontium* at Caernarfon, through the elaborate and symbolic medieval castle architecture of polygonal towers with broad horizontal bands of contrasting coloured masonry.

King Edward I's royal government was imposed by the Statute of Rhuddlan of 1284, following the Second Welsh War of 1282–83 and Edward's conquest of Wales. Conwy, Harlech and Caernarfon castle builds date from 1283 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 369; Beresford 1988, 39; Coldstream 2016, 41, 44). Caernarfon was designed to become home to Edward's and Eleanor's fortified palace, situated on a peninsula, formed by the surrounding river Seiont, the Menai Strait, and the now non-extant river Cadnant (Taylor 1953, 5). In the mouth of the river Seiont there was a significantly-sized harbour to serve the castle (Neaverson 1947, 40; Beresford 1988, 43), the castle clearly also serving to defend the port. Caernarfon Castle was intended as a centre of royal government for the courts of the three new shires of Ynys Môn (Anglesey), Merioneth and Caernarfon (Taylor 1953, 16), all three part of the former Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd (Longley 2009, 21).

This paper takes into account for its interpretation not only the Edwardian castle and its townscape, but also the entire landscape context of Arfon Is Gwyrfai commote, of which Caernarfon was the head *maenor* ('group of settlements') (see also Johnstone 1997, 55–69; 2000, 167–210; Smith 2011, 207; Fig. 1). The commote was half or a third of a *cantref* (itself a land division derived from *cant* 'a hundred' and *tref* 'town'). Caernarfon (Old Welsh: *Y gaer yn arfon*) means 'fort in the district of Arfon', that being the land 'over against Môn' (Anglesey) (Phillips 1961, 10; Owen and Morgan 2007, 17, 64). Edward's new shire counties therefore followed the tenurial and administrative framework of the former Welsh commote of Arfon Is Gwyrfai in the *cantref* of Arfon (Longley 2009, 21). Prior to 1283, Caernarfon had been the site of a royal Welsh *maerdref* ('township' attached to the *llys* 'manor house/court'), which was the centre of lordship and home to the Welsh princes' demesne lands. Many of the *maerdrefi* (pl.) of Gwynedd appear to have post-Roman/pre-Anglo-Norman origins (Longley 1997, 45–52; Keevill 2000, 21), which indicates that the administrative shaping of the significant power base at Caernarfon was likely continuous from the Roman period. The *maerdrefi* provided both manpower and supplies for the *llys* (Jones 2000, 303; Charles-Edwards *et al.* 2000, 3), at the core of which was the Welsh princes' royal hall. The royal demesne of Arfon Is Gwyrfai commote was administered from this hall (Longley 2009, 17).

It has been suggested that the Welsh princes' timber-built *llys* was adjacent to the commote's mother church of St Peblig at Llanbeblig (Pryce 2005, 492; Figs 2 and 3), one kilometre south of Caernarfon

Fig. 3. The church of St Peblig, Llanbeblig, Caernarfon. View from south-west.
Photograph: Rachel E. Swallow.

town, although the grounds for that view are not stated. Instead, the site of the eleventh-century Norman castle built by Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester (*c*. 1047–1101), might well have been constructed upon the same location as the *llys* (Peers 1936, 10; RCAHMW 1960, 125). While we have no archaeological evidence to confirm the position of the *llys* in this location, this previously speculative interpretation is in fact supported by the documentary evidence of a subsequently lost extent. In that extent, Edward's officials surveyed the Welsh princes' Caernarfon and its environs in 1284, finding a *llys* in the district of the manor, a small Welsh town, a port levying tolls, and a 'borough port' (described as *claust[ura] et Curia* in an account of 1350–51,[1] cited in Jones Pierce and Griffiths 1937–39, 237; Williams-Jones 1978, 75; Smith 2014, 230, and which is interpreted as meaning the *llys* and its court). Divided into four districts — Caernarfon (royal demesne land), Llanbeblig, Coed Helen and Penygelli — this extent provides the thus far uninterpreted, and also strongest, indication that the Welsh princes' *llys* was situated, not in Llanbeblig, but in the princes' demesne land adjacent to the port at Caernarfon, just as Edward's later castle build had been.

Further, we know that the Welsh princes held court at Caernarfon, evidenced from documents created from 1173–1240 (Taylor 1953, 5; Pryce 2005[2]). Additionally, in about 1215, the Welsh poet, Prydydd y Moch, described Caernarfon in detail, stating that it was one of the four cornerstones of the Welsh

dominion of the Prince of Gwynedd, Llywelyn the Great (Llywelyn ap Iorwerth: *c*. 1173–11 April 1240) (William-Jones 1978, 73). This is important because it indicates that Edward and Eleanor built their castle not only as a symbol of legitimacy of continuity of their claimed inherited Roman imperial power, but also of their inherited Welsh secular and tenurial power; this will be shown throughout this paper.

What is certain, is that as a further act of supremacy of power, Edward dismantled the timber halls of the Welsh princes to build his castles, and this happened at Caernarfon: in 1316, a timber-framed 'hall of Llywelyn' at Conwy was disassembled, shipped to Caernarfon and re-erected within the castle (Peers 1917, 17; Taylor 1953, 11; Suggett 2011, 81–2; Smith 2011, 210–12), and in the following year, 198 lengths of timber from the hall and other buildings at the former *maerdref* of the Princes of Wales at Aberffraw on Anglesey were taken to be used for building works at Caernarfon (Peers 1917, 17; Longley 1997, 45; Keevill 2000, 56; Longley 2009, 23).

The new town ditch that was to separate Edward's new castle and town was dug by June 1283 (Edwards 1944, 43; Taylor 1953, 6–7; Allen Brown *et al*. 1963, 1, 371), followed by the building of the town walls (Peers 1936, 12). Edward then commenced the building of Caernarfon Castle itself in the latter part of 1284 (ibid. 9), the foundation for the borough charter of the new walled town being made in the same year. The castle was located at the southern end of a continuous circuit of walls, separated from the town by a ditch/moat and a gate, later known as King's Gate, facing the borough (Wheatley 2004, 51; Dixon 2011, 32). It is unclear as to how closely the ongoing building had adhered to the original designs of 1283–84 (Allen Brown *et al*. 1963, 1, 393), and more particularly, what arrangements had already been made for Eleanor's apartments prior to her death in 1290 (Ashbee 2009, 83). It has been speculated (Allen Brown *et al*. 1963, 1, 393–4), however, that a 'steady working of a fixed plan' is implied by the commitment to the building of the Eagle Tower's turrets, at a time when financial resources were low. This argument for the adherence to an original building plan, is supported by the fact that 'the queen's chamber' at Aberystwyth Castle is first mentioned in documents in 1321 and 1343 (Ashbee 2009, 83), indicating Edward's intention to build Eleanor's chamber at the outset of the castle build (from 1277). The view taken in this paper is that ongoing additions to the castle and landscape were likely the same, or very similar, to those determined at the outset by Edward and Eleanor.

It was Taylor (1953) who was first to point out that Caernarfon Castle's 'elaborate ceremonial and symbolic function' took on the 'image of Christian imperialism' (Coldstream 2016, 56). Allen Brown (1989, 65) has stated that Caernarfon Castle 'was meant to be and is the finest [castle of all of Edward's castles] and deliberately and significantly differs in appearance from the others', Peers (1936, 17) merely noting the 'unity' of the castle created by the 'horizontal bands of ashlar which make up the circuit of the castle from north-east to north-west.' Taylor related the architecture of Caernarfon's banded walls and polygonal towers — very different to Edward's other castle builds — to the Theodosian walls of Constantinople (Taylor 1953, 18). The main subsequent change from Taylor's interpretation is Wheatley's assertion (2009, 131), that it was more probable that the design of Caernarfon Castle combined examples of Roman architecture in Britain, rather than Constantinople alone. Examples considered are the Roman polygonal tower at York, where Constantine was first proclaimed emperor, and the Pharos at Dover Castle (Wheatley 2009, 142; Goodall 2011, 220). Indeed, the grid plan of Caernarfon's new borough's streets harks back to the nearby Roman fortress of Chester, where Edward based himself during the Welsh Wars (Gravett 2007, 26; Prestwich 2009, 13; Lilley 2009, 110; Rollason 2016, 190). However, the interpretation taken in this paper agrees with Wheatley, in that the influence likely came direct from the extant Roman remains of *Segontium* Roman fort itself, thus representing a 'material transfer with Imperial significance' (Wheatley 2004, 139–40; Fig. 4, and see below).

The consideration of Caernarfon 'castle as theatre' (Coulson 2016, 23), or propaganda (Dixon 2011, 32), however, has been limited to the castle and town from the date building commenced (1283); the

Fig. 4. *Segontium* Roman fort, Llanbeblig, Caernarfon. View of southern wall of architectural remains taken from the south-west. *Photograph: Rachel E. Swallow.*

wider, multiperiod landscape within the town's commote has been largely overlooked. It is two decades since David Austin's study of Barnard Castle, in which he pointed out that we often ignore the castle's immediate landscape context when we classify castles one from another (Johnson 2002, 8; Austin *et al.* 2007). It is also two decades since Liddiard (2009, 195) stated that the potential existence of landscapes of Edwardian castles — with their attendant boroughs, parkland, and gardens involving the heightening of the visual effect by schemes of water manipulation — 'must rank as a research priority', the research necessarily taken forward on a comparative basis. Likewise, it is two decades since Gilchrist (1999, 109) stated that 'The castle [generally] provides a case study of the seclusion of high-ranking women, and the meaning of gender segregation in a specific cultural milieu.' This paper aims to provide such a belated study at Caernarfon, in the context of the theatre intended by the castle's design within its sea- and landscape. Indeed, as Barnwell (2011, 248) correctly says, there are ways albeit 'difficult to recover, in which great houses related to the landscape derived from literature, mythology and magic.' In order to establish the importance and influence of Romance and legend on the mindsets of both Edward and Eleanor, and their attempts to legitimise and defend their role as governors, it is to an attempt at the recovery of legend at Caernarfon that we will now turn.

THE LEGEND

From the tenth century, and certainly with Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'pseudo-historicising' from the twelfth century (Guy 2018, 381–2, 389, 404), legends of an imperial past, the glamour of Maximus the Prince, Helen of the Legions and Constantine the Great (and perhaps Constantine's mother, St Helen, too), pervaded the ruined Roman fort, the eleventh-century Norman castle, and probably also the Welsh Princes' *llys* site at Caernarfon. A re-examination of these Arthurian-based legends follows, with a particular focus on *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* ('The Dream of Macsen Wledig').

It is here suggested that both Edward and Eleanor likely intended to actively play out and replicate the lives, architecture and landscapes of the subjects of 'The Dream of Macsen Wledig' (hereafter, *The Dream*). This is a late twelfth-century Middle Welsh Romance tale (Roberts 2005, lxxxv; Davies 2007, 103–8; Wheatley 2009, 129), which centres on the equally legendary imperial Roman emperor, Macsen, and a 'castle' housing a beautiful maiden, Elen, said to have been the daughter of the Romano-British ruler, Eudaf Hen (Octavius) (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 371; Guy 2018, 392–4, 401–2). *The Dream* associates Elen (ferch Eudaf) with Roman roads, calling her Elen Luyddog ('Elen of the Ways'). Elen of *The Dream* is therefore conflated with Elen Luyddog, or Elen ferch Coel (later, St. Helena), who, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, was the founder of the 'True Cross', mother of Constantine the Great, and ancestor, rather than wife, of Macsen (Reeve and Wright 2007, 98–9, v. 80.165, 204; Roberts 2005, lx–lxi, lxiii–lxiv, lxxx–lxxxi; lxxxvii; Guy 2018, 17; and see below). Indeed, Roman coins bearing the names of Helena and Constantine have been discovered at Caernarfon (Wheatley 2004, 118), and Helena's grandson (also Constantine) was allegedly buried at *Segontium* Roman Fort (Roberts 2005, lxvii–lxviii). For likely propaganda purposes, Elen was sometimes referred to as Myrddin's (Merlin) wife, mother of Owain ap Hywel Dda (d. 988), king of south-west Wales (Guy 2018, 388–9), and mother of Sevira, who married Guorthigirn (Vortigern, a fifth-century British warlord) (Berresford Ellis 1995, 96–7). Clearly, Elen's mythological influence extended far and wide.

Indeed, Elen 'belongs to the archetype most frequently appearing in Irish *aisling* ('vision') tradition as the dream-woman, the faery-mistress who leads the hero to the Otherworld' (Matthews 1989, 64; see also Whitaker 1984). As such, Elen was to become Macsen's Queen in *The Dream*, and a leading figure in the intellectual life of Macsen's court (Berresford Ellis 1995, 97; Davies 2007, 108–9, 250; Messer 2018, 149, citing Bromwich 2006, 81–9, notes 342–44). Macsen then ruled Wales until he was called back to Rome to defend his title as emperor (Wheatley 2009, 129). After the defeat and death of Macsen in AD 388, Elen returned to Wales and was regarded as a saint there (Bowen 1954, 21).

However, it must be remembered that *The Dream* was partly based on fact: Macsen Wledig was a real person, better known as Magnus Maximus, a Spanish-born general who was proclaimed emperor in AD 383 by the Roman troops in Britain. The inscription on the early ninth-century Pillar of Eliseg in north-east Wales, erected by Cyngen, King of Powys, is the earliest surviving Welsh genealogical text mentioning Magnus as an ancestor (Kightly 1991, 6; Edwards 2009, 143–77; Guy 2018, 386).

This paper argues for a link between Elen of *The Dream*, and her namesake, Queen Eleanor of the late thirteenth-century. It is perhaps significant that at the time Edward began building Caernarfon Castle, he empowered women in his Statute of Wales of 1284, by insisting that they should enjoy dower and be permitted to inherit land (Smith 1988, 87, 90, 92, 94), and he also placed Eleanor in charge of reinvigorating Crown property interests (Cockerill 2014, 16). Known to have had considerable personal power, the British-born Elen was in fact married to a soldier from Iberia (from where Eleanor herself hailed), who had been posted to Britain as a general in the Roman army (Kightly 1991, 6; Edwards 2009, 143–77; Guy 2018, 386). Called Elen Luyddog, meaning 'Elen of the Hosts', Elen was also known as

'Elen of the Ways', or 'of the Legions', and is one of many examples of royal women in *The Mabinogion* who were,

> in possession of great sovereign wealth, huge retinues, and the best horses and armour in the world evok[ing] an image of a royal woman who possessed the valued traits attributed to the warrior-ruler ideal, including being visible and active within the governance of the realm. It is likely she was even expected to be so (Messer 2018, 151).

As a parallel with Eleanor, it is interesting to note that Eleanor's clerk produced the first Anglo-Norman translation of the key Roman military handbook, Vegetius's *De Re Militarii* (Cockerill 2014, 175). As for Elen, the memory of Magnus's legendary wife has persisted in many stretches of Roman roads in Wales, such as Sarn Helen ('Elen's Road'), which runs from south to north Wales (Stoker 1965, 18–19; Matthews 1989, 62; Davies 2007, 251, n. 108). Indeed, such influence is witnessed in the roads of the commote of Caernarfon itself, and this is discussed below (see also Figs 1–2).

The following sections of *The Dream* highlight both the key points of the story line of the journey from Rome to Caernarfon described in the legend, as well as significant sea- and landscape components interwoven with important architectural and symbolic features (these components italicized in-text by this author). As Lloyd-Morgan (1991, 189) states, *The Dream* describes with 'geographical precision . . . the journey [which] can be followed on a map', and these components will be referred to for new interpretation discussed later in this paper.

> Macsen Wledig was emperor of Rome, and he was the fairest man, and the wisest, and the best suited to be emperor of all predecessors . . . .
>
> He hunted the valley until it was noon . . . . It was not so much for the *pleasure of hunting* that the emperor hunted for that length of time, but because he had been *made a man of such high rank that he was lord over all those kings* . . . .
>
> And then [Macsen] had a dream . . . he was travelling along the river valley to its source until he came to the *highest mountain he had ever seen, and he was sure that the mountain was as high as the sky* [Eryri/Snowdonia] (Davies 2007, 103)
>
> And he saw a *great city at the mouth of the river*, and in the city a *great castle*, and he saw *many great towers of various colours* on the castle. . . .
>
> And [Macsen] could see *great, wide rivers flowing from the mountains to the sea* . . . the mouth of the great river, the widest that anyone had seen (ibid. 103, 106)
>
> And he saw a fleet at the mouth of the river. . . . And amidst the fleet he saw a ship… and [Macsen] *imagined he was walking along the bridge into the ship*. . . . A sail was hoisted on the ship, and away she went over sea and ocean . . . . (ibid. 104)
>
> [Macsen] saw how he came to an island . . . he could see valleys and steeps and towering rocks, and a harsh rugged terrain . . . . And from there he saw in the sea, facing that rugged land, *an island* [Môn/Anglesey] . . . . And they crossed the Island until they saw *Eryri* [Snowdon]. . . .And they saw *Aber Saint* [Caernarfon].

> And between him and that island he saw a country whose plain was the length of its sea, its mountain the length of its *woodland.* And from that mountain he saw a river. . . . And at the river mouth he could see *a great castle, the fairest that mortal had ever seen*, and the gate of the castle he saw open, and he came in to the castle . . . . (ibid. 103, 103, 107).
>
> Inside the castle [Macsen] saw a *fair hall*. . . .At the foot of the hall-pillar he saw a grey-haired man in a chair of elephant ivory with the images of two *eagles* in red gold on it . . . . And he saw *a maiden* [Elen] sitting before him in a chair of red gold . . . . And the maiden arose to meet him from the chair of gold, and he threw his arms around the maiden's neck. . . .
>
> Then [Elen] asked that the *prime fort* [*Segontium* Roman fort] *be built for her in Arfon. Elen* decided to *build great roads from one fort to the other* across the Island of Britain. Because of that they are called her *Ffyrdd Elen Luyddog* [Elen of the Ways] … (ibid. 108)

The 'castle' of *The Dream* at the mouth of the river Seiont may have been the Roman 'castle' of *Segontium* (Kightly 1991, 6) (although see the alternative and more recent interpretation, below), whose extensive banded masonry remains can still be seen on the south-eastern outskirts of Caernarfon (Fig. 4). Agricola, the Roman governor of Britain, established the fort in *c*. AD 77, and it was periodically occupied until sometime during the end of the fourth century (Taylor 1953, 43; RCAHMW 1960, 158; Casey and Davies 1993; Davies *et al*. 2008, 104). Adjacent to *Segontium* is St Peblig, the mother church of Caernarfon's commote; it has some evidence of fourteenth-century masonry, and was supposedly founded in the fifth century (Fradley 2006, 167; Fig. 3). A royal chapel, it was granted by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd to the convent of Aberconwy near Conwy in the thirteenth century (RCAHMW 1960, 119). Dedicated to St Peblig, or Publicius, who is reputed to have been one of Maximus's and Elen's sons (Bartrum 1966, 51–67; Guy 2018, 403), St Peblig Church was built close to the Roman cemetery and where a Roman Mithraic temple had been destroyed in the fourth century (Boon 1960; Banholzer 1998, 60; Kenney and Parry 2012, 269–70); an early (pre-eleventh-century) medieval foundation of Caernarfon's mother church is therefore probable.

Further legendary status is attributed to the old fort of *Segontium* beyond that of *The Dream*: It was also Taylor who noted that the Roman fort of *Segontium* was linked to King Arthur's grandfather, the Roman emperor Constantine in the ninth-century Latin text *Historia Brittonum*, generally attributed to the Welsh author, Nennius, as well as in later Welsh sources such as *Hanes Gruffudd ap Cynan* (Jones 1910, 133; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 369, 370, n. 2; Kightly 1991, 8; Wheatley 2009, 129; Morris 2016, 72; Field 2017, 949; Guy 2018, 388). The interpreted link with Edwardian castle architecture and the Christian imperialism of Constantinople was further strengthened by Taylor, in view of the contemporary record in *Flores Historiarum*: Edward and Eleanor allegedly discovered the body of Magnus Maximus, father of the Emperor Constantine the Great, during preliminary work on the castle in 1283 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 370, n. 2; Matthews 1982–83; Taylor 1986, 77–102; Morris 2016, 354; see below). Reported by a number of chroniclers, it was generally agreed that the tomb was reburied with honour on Edward's orders in the church of St Peblig by the Roman fort (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 370, n. 2; King 2016, 92). We might never know whose body it really was, but what matters is that King Edward 'apparently believed he had found confirmation of Caernarfon's Imperial past' (Kightly 1991, 8).

Hugh d'Avranches, the Norman earl of Chester, built a castle in about 1090 at Caernarfon, where Edward later positioned his thirteenth-century castle. Notably, the late twelfth-century Welsh text of the *Hanes Gruffudd ap Cynan* described Hugh's castle as within 'the old city of the Emperor Constantine, son of Constans [sic] the Great' (Williams-Jones 1978, 74). This poetic licence might explain why at Caernarfon,

St Helen(a), mother of Constantine the Great is often confounded with our Elen of *The Dream* fame (Guy 2018, 402). Added to this, chroniclers recorded that a piece of the 'True Cross' on which Christ was crucified, was presented to the king at nearby Conwy in 1283. The cross symbolised power over Welsh lordships that had been in possession of it prior to Edward. Through St Helena, who reputedly discovered the True Cross, it also symbolised the holiest place in Christendom: Jerusalem (Field 2017, 147; O'Keeffe 2018, 202; Guy 2018, 389). In some Welsh sources, Elen of *The Dream* becomes St Helena, founder of the 'True Cross', and mother of Constantine the Great, King Arthur's grandfather (see above).

Indeed, Middle English Arthurian-type Romances, such as *The Dream*, 'depict a world in which Christianity and chivalry refine, change, and obscure the Celtic mythology, though the magic, the love of fine possessions, and the paramountcy of women are retained' (Whitaker 1984, 40). This depiction is translated through both Elen and Eleanor. It is notable, for instance, that Elen 'began work assiduously on behalf of the Christian Church' in Britain (Berresford Ellis 1995, 97), and we know that Queen Eleanor was comparably assiduous (Woolgar 1999, 179): in 1275, the town of St Albans asked Eleanor to secure Edward's mercy for them, telling Eleanor that they placed all their hope in her as surely as they trusted the queen of heaven (Leyser 1995, 84). In May 1288, Eleanor had the lives of St Thomas and St Edward illuminated and covered. Other work was carried out later in the same year, and in 1289–90, she bought a psalter and seven primers (Woolgar 1999, 179, citing Byerly and Byerly 1986, 379, 386). Upon Eleanor's death, Edward provided twelve memorial crosses, the statues of Eleanor on them underlining her relationship to the Virgin Mary (Hallam 1991; Leyser 1995, 84).

What is more, Edward, clearly styling himself as the incoming 'fairest and wisest emperor' of *The Dream*, received the 'crown of the once-famous King Arthur', which might have been given to him at Caernarfon (Kightly 1991, 8; King 2016, 92). Both Edward and Eleanor, having claimed to have reburied Arthur and Guinevere at Glastonbury, thus effectively positioning themselves as the new Arthur and Guinevere (Cockerill 2014, 281–2), were fascinated by the Romance tales of Arthur; they were no doubt aware of *The Dream* (Cockerill 2014, 303; Morris 2016, 72). Indeed, Eleanor's elder brother, King Alfonso X, refers to Arthur, Merlin and Tristan in his Galician-Portuguese poems (Cockerill 2014, 28, 240; Alvar 2015, 201, 237; Gracia 2015, 22; Gradín 2015, 12–23), and Edward celebrated his Welsh victories with a tournament of a 'Round Table', where knights identified themselves with Arthurian knights of legend (see Martin 2019, 119, 129, 145), at Nefyn close to Caernarfon on the Llŷn peninsula. Nefyn was a place with long Arthurian associations, where a book of Merlin's prophecies had supposedly been found a century beforehand (Kightly 1991, 8; Morris 2016, 360).

Caernarfon Castle was therefore the epitome of Romance imagery for Edward and Eleanor, and the castle was deliberately and 'dramatically chivalric' (Morris 2016, 357, 361). The now widely interpreted intention to display Edward's inherited Roman imperial power at Caernarfon through a 'palace clad with overcoats' (Barnwell 2011, 244), and the unique grandeur of his new castle's elaborate and symbolic architecture, is not new (Wheatley 2009, 129–30; Dixon 2011, 31–2; Hollwey 2015–16, 266; Rollason 2016, 68; Coldstream 2016, 56). However, by more thoroughly investigating the connection between the legend of *The Dream*, the lady (both Elen and Queen Eleanor), and the layers of sea- and landscape within which Edward's and Eleanor's castle was sited, the likely purpose of architecture traditionally attributed to the towers where Eleanor might have stayed at Caernarfon Castle can be better understood.

THE LADY'S ACCOMMODATION

Timber-framed buildings were erected for Edward's and Eleanor's accommodation at Caernarfon, in time for their arrival from Conwy on 11–12 July, 1983. The royal couple stayed for more than a month, and

then returned in April 1284, probably using the same accommodation (Taylor 1953, 7). This therefore points to the significant possibility that Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's timber-framed hall (*llys*) at Caernarfon (Taylor 1953, 11) may have been utilised in some way by Edward, because it was already *in situ*, and that it was supplemented by timbers brought from elsewhere (see above). Had that been the case, we know from the Welsh Laws that Llywelyn's consort, Joan, generally maintained a household separately from him (Labarge 1965, 57–8; Jenkins 1990; Ward 1992, 50–69; Stacey 2000, 55, 59), and this might have influenced the spatial arrangements of Edward's and Eleanor's accommodation at Caernarfon in the very early days of their castle's build. However, as Stacey states (2000, 61), the Welsh court and household were 'extraordinarily fluid concepts', and that 'Certainly the connection with Joan and with events at Llywelyn's court would suggest that the Iorwerth account [of the Welsh Laws] falls more into the genre of political commentary than of straightforward historical reporting' (ibid.). Indeed, the 'indistinct nature of the function between the chamber and the court' is evidenced in many Welsh sources, and in particular the different redactions of the Welsh laws (Messer 2018, 152–3). From little historical and architectural evidence alone, however, it is nigh impossible to pin down such individual spaces, had they in fact existed (Gilchrist 1999, 121).

In the late twelfth century, the lord and lady of an elite English residence both occupied the Great Chamber. Mortet (1911, 183–5), for instance, tells of the lord and lady's chamber as being the same space in Lambert d'Ardres's history of the Counts of Guînes (1194), and Richardson (2003, 134) describes the king and queen both occupying the Great Chamber at Westminster in the 1160s. A century or so later, English kings and queens increasingly had separate chambers and households in the innermost space of their castles and palaces (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 505 (Palace of Westminster); Thurley 1993, 5–8; Gilchrist 1999, 124, 138; Woolgar 1999, 167; Stacey 2000, 60). At this time, private enclosed spaces were provided for the lady of the castle, such as direct access to private galleries or closets with chapels; private enclosures, courtyards or gardens; and private chambers were located on upper levels (Gilchrist 1999, 136–8; Richardson 2003, 163), an example being at Nottingham Castle in the era of Henry III (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 2, 759). At Caernarfon, we know that in the spring of 1284, improvements were made to the accommodation at Caernarfon Castle, including the insertion of glass windows 'in the king and queen's chamber' (Peers 1917, 5; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 372), just as in 1284–85, the king and queen's hall and chamber in Conwy Castle are both mentioned (*aule et camerarum regis et regine in castro de Coneweye*: Edwards 1944, 39, 42 and n. 3; Richardson 2003, 54, citing Pipe Roll entry for the same dates; Ashbee 2004b). Separate chambers for both king and queen were also evident at Chester Castle in 1286 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 2, 610). A closer examination will now be made of Caernarfon Castle's accommodation, where traditionally it has in some way been attributed to Eleanor: Eagle and Queen's Towers and the Queen's Gate.

Eagle Tower

Built between 1283 and 1294, the Eagle Tower of Caernarfon Castle is a ten-sided tower, with fifteen feet-thick (4.57m) walls, and an internal diameter of thirty-four feet (10.36m) on the ground floor (Peers 1936, 25; see Figs 1 and 5). The Eagle Tower had a basement and four storeys, and was called the Great Tower in 1300, taking its present name in 1316, a year before stone figure eagles were added to the three turrets above the top storey (Peers 1936, 24). The Eagle Tower remained unfinished in 1343 (ibid.).

Caernarfon was the place chosen for Eleanor to give birth to her child, the future Edward II (b. 25 April, 1284) (Coldstream 2016, 56), who is reputed to have been born in the first floor rectangular chamber of the Eagle Tower. There is no evidence for this, however: the castle had not been built at this time, and this room is more likely to have been a guardroom, in any case (Peers 1936, 10, 25, 28; Rothwell 1957, 222). That said, although the Eagle Tower 'projects royal/princely identity' with its 'imposing rooms surrounded

Fig. 5. Eagle Tower, Caernarfon Castle, with the river Seiont to the fore. Taken from the south-west, at Coed Helen. *Photograph: Rachel E. Swallow.*

by latrines, possible oratories and other mural chambers for ancillary purposes', the documents do not make it clear for whom the Eagle Tower was built (Ashbee 2009, 78).

Rather than for Edward and Eleanor, there is an argument that the Eagle Tower was built specifically for Otto de Grandison, at least during the absence of the royal party from the castle (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 393; Ashbee 2009, 78; Dixon 2011, 32). Grandison was Justiciar of North Wales, the King's representative, cousin and lifelong companion (Dixon 2011, 32; Cockerill 2014, 69, 260; Coldstream 2016, 55), and drew the constable's salary of £100 for four years from 1283 (Taylor 1953, 16). The Eagle Tower clearly had a defensive function in addition to its general architectural opulence: apart from the suggested first floor guardroom, the tower overlooked access to the castle from the town, as well as had a clear view of the Justice Court, both across the ditch from the tower to the north (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 390). Additionally, there was a postern doorway in the tower's south wall, documentary evidence indicating that there was a wooden quay here in the thirteenth century — a convenient entrance for stores (Peers 1936, 22, 25).

Eagle Tower and Romance symbolism

It is generally agreed that the Eagle Tower (*Turris Aquilarum*: Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 371, citing E101/16/27 and 18/19) was completed to its full height of approximately 32m by 1317 (Peers 1936, 28;

Taylor 1953, 8; Taylor 2015, 30–1). A number of interpretations, aside from the more obvious Roman imperial significance (Coldstream 1998, 86; Liddiard 2005, 56; Rollason 2016, 68) for the symbolism of the eagles on the tower's three turrets have been proposed. For instance, an eagle appears on the first seal of the town of Caernarfon in the late thirteenth century; de Grandison bore eagles on his coat of arms (Coldstream 1998, 86); the Honour of the Eagle had been annexed to the Crown by Henry III in 1268, granted to Prince Edward (later Edward I) in 1269, and remained with the Crown until 1373 (Peers 1917, 41; 1936, 24; Taylor 1953, 17). Further, the three turrets were notably depicted on the arms of Castile, and the eagles may well have depicted Edward's love of falconry (Cockerill 2014, 303–4).

What seems to have been overlooked from the interpretation of the eagle as a symbol, is that Snowdonia in *The Dream* is referred to as *Eryri*, and its first documentary place-name mention was in 1191when *The Dream* was probably known. While *Eryri* generally means 'the area around Snowdon' and 'highland', it is also believed to mean 'the place of the eagle' (*eryr* 'eagle') (Owen and Morgan 2007, 443; pers. comm. Danna Messer, June 2018).Two eagles are noted as images of red gold (that is, Welsh gold) in the hall of *The Dream*, and it is significant that such images were placed as statues upon the highest tower of Caernarfon Castle. The statues thus mirrored *Eryri* in the castle's wider landscape, and this important observation must therefore have some validity. What cannot be said with any certainty, however, is that the Eagle Tower was built to accommodate Eleanor, and this is also the case for the significantly named Queen's Tower, as we will now see.

Queen's Tower

By examining the name and architecture of the Queen's Tower, it is suggested here that nineteenth-century gender ideology in all probability informed the interpretation of the accommodation and purpose of the Queen's Tower. The Queen's Tower is also ten-sided internally, has the same diameter as the Eagle Tower, and has three storeys with no basement, with a slightly lower height of approximately 30m (Taylor 2015, 30–1). The Queen's Tower's similarities to the Eagle Tower — the latter at times interpreted to have been Edward's accommodation — might therefore explain why it has been thought to have been connected with Eleanor. However, just as with the Queen's Gate, below, it is notable that the Queen's Tower did not take this name — and thus this interpretation — until at some stage after the seventeenth century: it was called *Bele Estre* in 1303–4 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 383, fn. 4); Banner Tower, Tour de Baner or de la Banere in 1343 and 1393; Pinnacle Tower in 1595, and Pike Tower in 1620. Although it has been tentatively suggested that *Bele Estre* might have been named after a mason-contractor called John Beleyter who had shipped stone from Anglesey to Harlech in 1286 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 383, n. 4), it is notable that *Bele Estre* is Old French for 'handsome thing/being' (Kelham 1776, 29, 94; pers. comm. Neil Guy and Jeremy Ashbee, July 2017: 'the Fairness Tower'), thus indicating that Queen's Tower was intended to be seen and admired. Indeed, the later name of Banner Tower is significant: a banner represented repossession, overlordship and superiority, and possibly that there was no proper keep at this time (Coulson 2003, 89–90). It is therefore notable that the stair turret above the roof of Queen's Tower is wider in diameter than any other in the castle, at the top of which there is a lintel stone with a round hole, believed to take the end of a flagstaff (Peers 1936, 32; Taylor 1953, 28).

The Queen's Tower has some architectural features which are suggestive of 'permanent and ceremonial residence' (Coldstream 1998, 87): two chambers, garderobes and a chapel with a piscina and a two-light east window. However, although this south side of the castle would have overlooked the possible park of Coed Helen (see below), the restricted view of it from the wall's arrow loops would suggest that the tower also had a military purpose (Peers 1936, 20), an external show of military strength being particularly notable from the seaward approach (see below).

Wall-walks between Eagle Tower and Queen's Tower

The curtain wall between the Eagle Tower and Queen's Tower is in two stages: a wall-walk at first floor level, 'intended to be covered over as a gallery' (Salter 1997, 22), with steps that led up to the upper wall-walk. At neither end of these two wall-walks, however, does there appear to be any connection with the two towers (Peers 1917, 49; 1936, 29). The lower wall-walk is reached from the Queen's Tower, and at one time continued round to the east side of the Eagle Tower only, and the garderobe in the north-west angle of the Queen's Tower blocks the way between the two towers on the upper wall-walks (Peers 1936, 29; Taylor 1953, 28; Toy 1970, 221). This suggests that the Eagle Tower (supposedly attributed to Edward) was not linked to the Queen's Tower (supposedly attributed to Eleanor), and their lack of connectivity places in doubt the purpose of both towers as royal accommodation for the king and queen.

The curtain wall between the currently named Queen's Tower and Chamberlain Tower, on the other hand, has two wall passages linking them, the lower opening towards the Great Hall and a wall-walk above (Peers 1917, 60; 1936, 32; Taylor 1953, 28). Within the ward, the hall extended from the Queen's Tower to the Chamberlain Tower (Steane 1993, 95). Private chambers in castles were generally linked to the hall by the fourteenth century (Gilchrist 1999, 123), with one of the earliest royal examples at the Tower of London begun by Henry III in 1220, where the Wakefield Tower (thought to have been the king's chamber) and the Lanthorn Tower (possibly the queen's chamber) flanked a great hall in between, the whole complex sited along the river, just as at Caernarfon, within the Tower of London's innermost ward (Allen Brown and Curnow 1984, 17); Henry created a similar arrangement at Winchester Castle (Impey and Parnell 2000, 31). Although speculative, a contemporary parallel could be at Aberystwyth Castle, rebuilt by Edward from 1277, where 'the king's and queen's chambers [had a] walkway between them'; that 'two turrets to either side of the king's and queen's chambers, [had] a stair there'; and that there was 'a turret next to the old hall' (Ashbee 2009, 74)[3]. This physical, architectural link is not evidence enough to attribute the Queen's Tower and Chamberlain Tower to the role of Edward's and Eleanor's private chambers, particularly given that it did not link a sequence of small halls, antechambers, great chambers and retiring chambers, as might be expected. However, the possibility cannot be discounted.

SEASCAPE

It is important to remember that Edward's and de Grandison's advance into Gwynedd during the last Welsh War was by sea, from Bangor to Caernarfon, and on to Harlech (Peers 1917, 4). Caernarfon was at that time a port belonging to the Welsh princes, and Caernarfon Castle came to rely predominantly on sea passage from Edward's seat in Chester to maintain communications (Nichol 2005, 206). Macsen's approach to Caernarfon by sea and river is clearly described in the Romance tale of *The Dream*, where the description of his fleet 'combines both pseudo-historical traditions with folk-tale motif' (Redknap 2019, 20). It is also notable that in the thirteenth-century Romance tale of *La Mort le Roi Artu*, the Castle of Douloureuse Garde is approached across a river, and King Arthur could see the arrival of the boat carrying the body of the maid of Escalot from the hall windows of Camelot (Morris 2016, 362). An approach to a castle by water was clearly an important component of Arthurian-type Romance legends.

Macsen's and Edward's seaward approach to Caernarfon was in a south-westerly direction along the Menai Strait, with Ynys Môn, mentioned in *The Dream*, to the right (north-west), Caernarfon ahead (south-west), and the highest of mountains reaching the sky, *Eryri*, in the near distance (south). On the Menai Strait, and to their left (southwards), both Macsen and Edward would have noted Twt Hill (from the Old English place-name *toothill* meaning 'a watch tower': Owen 2008, 248), formed on the southern edge

of a ridge running north-west away from the town (Neaverson 1947, 41; Fig. 1). Classified as an Iron Age hillfort, Tŵt Hill probably symbolised the oldest seat of power in the then emerging commotal landscape. Therefore, just as one window of Peveril Castle (Derbyshire) tower chamber was created to deliberately overlook the ancient seat of the Iron Age hillfort of Mam Tor (Gregory and Liddiard 2016, 147), so the Eagle Tower overlooked Tŵt Hill (and vice versa) (Fig. 6). Emphasising the importance of religion in the setting and symbolism of buildings and their sea- and landscapes, the other window in Peveril Castle's tower chamber notably overlooked the church, just as the Eagle Tower would have overlooked Caernarfon's priory, the possible site of which was immediately adjacent to the west of Tŵt Hill (Fig. 1). Very little is known about the priory, but had it been extant during Edward's and Eleanor's time, it would also have been visible from the Menai Strait.

The seascape view of Caernarfon Castle from the Menai Strait would have afforded the best view of the Eagle Tower; the striking geometry of the tower's magnificent build is visible only from the immediate north of it on the waters of the Menai Strait (Fig. 5). Here, the wide rivers of the Seiont and Cadnant, just as *The Dream* describes, flowed from the mountains to the sea, encircling Caernarfon, and making an island of the Edwardian castle and walled town. Here, too, a possible watch tower on Coed Helen (Fig. 7), and the elite symbol of parkland landscape with its fishponds on Coed Helen's slopes (Fig. 1, and see interpretation below) would have come into full view. Both high points in the landscape, the lookout points of Tŵt Hill and Coed Helen would have overseen waterborne traffic along the Menai Strait, with

Fig. 6. View of Caernarfon Castle taken from the summit of Tŵt Hill, from the north-east. Eagle Tower is to the right of the image, Queen's Gate, to the left, and Coed Helen and tower are clearly visible in the background. *Photograph: Rachel E. Swallow.*

Fig. 7. Coed Helen and the seventeenth-century tower/summer house, viewed from the southern wall-walk of Caernarfon Castle. This view would have been restricted by the full height of the wall-walk wall and arrow loops in the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries. *Photograph: Rachel E. Swallow*

Coed Helen focused on an approach along the river Seiont, passing the Banner, or Queen's, Tower on the south side of castle. The King, Queen, and their highly privileged visitors, would have taken in the view of the castle's private harbour and stables on this south side of the castle, as they continued their riverine journey alongside the private, elevated castle entrance of the Queen's Gate on its south-east side. The access route to the Queen's Gate from the river is difficult to ascertain, as the ditch leading from the river at this point appears to have been a dry one.[4] This ditch, however, led to, or around, the recorded paling of the possible royal little park and private garden below the gate, situated in the former eleventh-century bailey (Fig. 1, and see interpretation, below).

This elite designed seaward approach, with its irregular, jagged skyline of both castle towers and *Eryri*, was bound together by the castle's architectural unity of four horizontal bands of ashlar (Peers 1936, 17; Taylor 1953, 11); these horizontal bands effectively guided the royal party along its seaward approach from the more public entrance of the town (north), to the exclusively private one (south-east). Indeed, Caernarfon Castle was meant to be viewed from outside the castle, and from across the sea and river Seiont, where the external north-west to south-east external circuit of the castle 'boasts some of the most complicated arrow loops to be found anywhere' (Hamilton Thompson 1912, 242, 257; Liddiard 2009,

196; citation: Morris 2016, 54). The architectural magnificence of the Queen's Gate was intended to have been the pièce de résistance arrival point for the royal party and their privileged guests.

It is difficult to see today how the Queen's Gate itself would have been accessed. Bearings and a pit for a drawbridge are visible today (RCAHMW 1960, 138), but there is also no evidence today for the stone-built ramp mentioned by Taylor (1953; 1986; 1989, 25), which would perhaps have been reminiscent of the gloriette approached by an arched bridge at Leeds Castle (see below). While the fittings and architectural design at the entrance are clearly engineered for a drawbridge (or more accurately a turning bridge) with its associated pit, there is no evidence that a gentle ramp from the outer bailey bridging the ditch was ever completed. Antiquarian engravings sometimes hint that there might have been stairs added at some time (for example, Paul Sandby 1778; Taylor 2015, 34),[5] and later removed during restorative work in the early twentieth century. These stairs were probably the result of artistic licence, but they would not have been out of place (consider, for instance, the steps leading up to the keep on the motte at Carisbrooke: Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 2, 591–5). Indeed, they might have followed the line of steps up to the original motte before it was encased when the Edwardian castle was built around it (pers. comm. Neil Guy, November 2018). The Queen's Gate's full purpose will now be considered in more detail, as it relates to the lady, legend and landscape of Caernarfon.

THE LEGEND, LADY AND LANDSCAPE

The Queen's Gate

It has been put forward that Edward and Eleanor's private royal apartments, if ever completed, were probably on the east side of Caernarfon Castle, and not within the Eagle Tower (Allen Brown *et al*. 1963, 1, 390). It could well have been, therefore, that the castle was planned to serve as two residences, with the King's Gate placed centrally between the two (ibid. 390; Fig. 1). Notably, at both Caernarfon and Conwy private gates to the castles were in the east (Water Gate at Conwy, and Queen's Gate at Caernarfon), giving direct and elevated courtyard/private royal house access from outside the walled town (Dixon 2011, 32). It is noted that accommodation for elite residents of castles generally corresponded with the upper floors and the control of roof tops (Barron 1974, lines 975, 1373, 933, 938; Gilchrist 1999, 122–3), and at both Conwy and Caernarfon, Eleanor's and Edward's private apartments in the upper ward were probably accessed by boat, without passing through the town, or the lower ward of the castle (Richardson 2003, 53).

The singular architecture of the Queen's Gate, along with its unusual siting within the overall castle and associated town complex, is generally brushed aside as simply being a variation in style to the more public King's Gate fronting the planned town. It is also interpreted that the Queen's Gate's more austere architecture was probably intended to provide private access from and to riverine and maritime transport leading up from a tidal inlet of the river Seiont and the mouth of the east castle ditch (Allen Brown *et al*. 1963, 1, 390; Dixon 2011, 36). This point of access has been argued against, above, although Peers's (1936, 17) comment, that the exterior of the Queen's Gate from the south-east and from the south front seen from across the river 'are most impressive and dignified', is an important one in terms of access towards and alongside the elite, private area to the south and south-east of the castle. Indeed, it is here where there was a 'concentration of medieval 'fire-power' ', with two galleries and three layers of arrow loops, as well as 'the warhead of the whole curtain' (Allen Brown 1989, 67), as we have seen. A similarly impressive southward-facing front can be seen with the gateway of Dunstanburgh Castle, which was also positioned to face the water rather than Dunstanburgh's town, and which allows the whole of the building to be viewed from a seaward approach to the castle, possibly including a hunting park (Oswald *et al.* 2006, 94, 97, and compare with the approach to Conwy Castle, with the path from the dock, through to a

Fig. 8. Queen's Gate with eleventh-century castle bailey and garden area to the fore (now a car park). *Photograph: Rachel E. Swallow.*

garden and inner court of royal apartments). It is therefore somewhat surprising that private access from Caernarfon's landscape, within which the impressive and dignified Queen's Gate can be viewed head-on, has not been considered before now. The landward approach to the gate is thus the prime focus of new interpretation which follows.

As with the Queen's Tower, the Queen's Gate did not take this name until some unknown date after the eighteenth century, and thus might not have been intended to be linked specifically with Eleanor at all. It is generally interpreted that the walls in this area of the castle were built between 1295 and 1300 (Peers 1936, 35). In 1343, the Queen's Gate was known as 'the gate towards the Prince's Garden';[6] in 1620, as the Turmoyl Tower, and in 1769, as the Green Gate Tower (the significance of 'Green' discussed below). However, further research here suggests that the Queen's Gate can be interpreted partly as a monument to Eleanor de Castile, albeit possibly posthumously.

What is notable about the Queen's Gate is its great height of about 20m (Taylor 2015, 30–1: elevation plan; Fig. 8), and its banded masonry (Peers 1936, 36). Externally, the Queen's Gate has a high outer arch of four orders 'which frames the entrance, captures the attention and directs the eye down towards the deeply recessed gate' (Peers 1917, 61; RCAHMW 1960,138; citing Hislop 2016, 228). The level of the gate passage was dictated by the earlier, late eleventh-century motte, which itself may have been on, or

adjacent to, the site of a Welsh royal residence of the mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth centuries. Indeed, the motte was the more likely location of the 'castle' situated at 'the mouth of the river' (Aber-seint) in the twelfth-century-written *The Dream*, rather than the earlier and displaced Caer-seint of *Segontium*, about one kilometre inland and uphill (Roberts 2005, lxxviii–lxxix, and see above).There are murder holes between the second and third arches, as well as within the third. Outside the arch are the bearings for the drawbridge (RCAHMW 1960, 138). The gate's central passage and drawbridge pit are flanked by two unfinished polygonal towers (Taylor 1953, 30).

Taylor (1953, 37) argued that the Queen's Gate's lofty position made it less vulnerable than the King's Gate, and its defences are in consequence less elaborate. The Queen's Gate was not placed within the protective circuit of Caernarfon Castle's town walls, yet it is difficult to determine routes of access to the Queen's Gate from the river (see above), and from the town (see below); difficulty, or tight control, of access, could indeed support the argument for a more defensive position of the gate within its sea- and landscape. False arrow loops were deliberately created in the base of Queen's Gate as a show of military might, where the masonry is only a casing in the rock at the base of the motte, Peers (1917, 62; 1936, 36; RCAHMW 1960,138) pointing out that these sham arrow loops are out of keeping with the rock. The Queen's Gate's position outside the town, and its architecture, do not seem to have been questioned before now.

In the absence of prior consideration, it is here postulated that the design of, and influence on, the Queen's Gate build could be a blend of Roman, Castilian and ecclesiastical architecture, and was a deliberate expression of both the incoming lord and lady in an already legendary landscape. The thus far interpreted Roman influence on the architecture of Caernarfon Castle has been mentioned above. Notably, Wheatley (2004, 123) discusses the 'important material and symbolic transfer of imperial might' seen between *Segontium* Roman fort and Edward's Caernarfon Castle, linking this to Constantine the Great's conquest of Rome, and the building of his Arch of Constantine, although she does not translate this concept specifically to the architectural iconography of the Queen's Gate. An additional and important interpretation, therefore, is that the Queen's Gate was intended to represent a triumphal arch akin to those in Rome; their high arches with attics over the entablatures are represented at the Queen's Gate, here also interpreted as having been an arched passageway designed to span a road (pers. comm. Neil Guy, November 2018). Just as the Arch of Constantine was intended to be (Fig. 9), the Queen's Gate was also a dramatic and symbolic reference to triumphant Christianity and imperial appropriation overlooking a route way. The first-century BC Roman Arch of Medinaceli in Castile and Leon, Spain, could provide an additional parallel for the architectural influence on the Edward's and Eleanor's Queen's Gate.

While the Queen's Gate's high multi-ordered arch has been likened to Tonbridge and Dover castles (Hislop 2016, 228–9), it is important to note that the gate also resembles the late twelfth-century west front at Tewkesbury Abbey (Davis 2013,181–2; pers. comm. Neil Guy, June 2018), itself a likely appropriation of images of form and architecture from Christianised Rome; this is perhaps a reflection of both Elen's and Eleanor's piousness (Cockerill 2014, 59), particularly as the gateway looks towards, and thus mirrors, St Helen's and St Peblig Church in Llanbeblig, one kilometre away (see discussion below). Equally as important, is the simplicity of the Queen's Gate's monumental architecture, which can be found in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Castilian defensive structures and churches. Striking examples are the main gate of Puerto de Alcázar of Ávila town walls — the town notably renowned for its Islamic water gardens (Cockerill 2014, 51, and see Eleanor's gardens, below) — and also the twelfth- to fourteenth-century market wall gate at Almazán in Castile (pers. comm. Peter Burton, June 2018; Figs 10–11). This purely conjectural interpretation would benefit from further research. What can be said here, however, is that Queen's Gate could have been built in mind, not only of Edward and his imperial inheritance, but also of the legend of Elen and Eleanor de Castile's Iberian origins and pious nature.

Fig. 9. The Arch of Constantine, Rome. *Photograph: Rachel E. Swallow.*

Particularly notable is that the great height of the gate passage dictated the height of the outline of an intended hall to its rear; the height thus deliberately displayed literally elevated symbolic lord and ladyship, as well as the 'material expression of continuity' of the earlier motte (Wheatley 2009, 129) and former *llys* site (see above). The motte was therefore an expression of legitimacy through continuity, thus emphasising traditional masculine attributes, such as military might, command of the sea, and the establishment of eminence over the surrounding landscape. Equally, that the Queen's Gate provided a view of the legendary *Eryri* (Snowdonia) towards the south-east (Phillips 1961, 28) must have been a conscious design feature, and reminds us of the importance of the castle's location in *The Dream* within a private elite landscape accessed from Snowdonia via *Segontium* and St Peblig Church.

At the rear, the two polygonal towers of Queen's Gate were incomplete. The gate has been interpreted as having had chambers, possibly a chapel, and a hall above the entrance on the second floor (Dixon 2011, 36, who calls this the King's courtyard house); the wall-walk notably opens to this room (Peers 1936, 35). However, in its unfinished state, it is difficult to see how the Queen's Gate could have offered any degree of elite accommodation or comfort, where the chambers appear to have been of functional and/or military purpose. Just as for the King's Gate and the interpreted chapel above, for example, the supposed hall/chapel above the Queen's Gate would have been encumbered with the machinery of the drawbridge and portcullis. Indeed, access to the wall-walks either side of this elevated 'hall' room at Queen's Gate would have made this space very draughty for its occupants. Had a chapel here been the original intention —

Fig. 10. Puerto del Alcázar (the main gate) of the eleventh- to fourteenth-century town walls of Ávila, in Castile and Léon, Spain. *Photograph: Peter Burton.*

albeit on a dark, mezzanine-like first floor over the gate passage, where the insertion of an east window was probably not possible — we might speculate that the height of the Queen's Gate hall and wall-walk would have been important in this context: 'associations with ascent and descent (or falling) permeated many aspects of medieval religious belief and secular thought' (Richardson and Dennison 2014, 33). Any intention of a chapel in this location of the Queen's Gate, would therefore reinforce the possible link of the gate with the pious Eleanor and Elen. That chapels located above gateways occasionally housed relics in shrines 'in a symbolic gesture that continued Roman tradition' (Fradley 2006, 168), may also be significant for the Queen's Gate — and/or the King's Gate, in fact — particularly given that Edward was in the possession of a piece of the True Cross, and had allegedly received the 'relic' of Arthur's crown at Caernarfon.

Speculation aside, and just as we have seen for the Queen's and the Chamberlain's towers and the wall-walk between them, we must also consider that there were only arrow loops, not windows/window seats, looking southwards over the castle's park (from the Queen's Tower and wall-walk), or south-eastwards over the garden (from the Queen's Gate; see below for full interpretation of both the park and garden). Any suite of rooms suitable for Edward and Eleanor, therefore, were more likely to have been planned along the inside north curtain wall between King's Gate and the North-East Tower (tower no. 10 on Fig. 1), where the windows of the two stretches of curtain are large, numerous and ornate (Peers 1917, 64), and the missing buildings behind them could have been luxurious timber-framed first-floor chambers, facing south (pers. comm. Neil Guy, November 2018). Notably called Greenfield Tower in 1620 (see discussion

Fig. 11. Puerta del Mercado (market wall gate) at Almazán, Soria, in Castile and Léon, Spain.
Photograph: Peter Burton.

of ‘green’, below), such an arrangement would have provided clear views of the most likely two horse-less access points to the private garden below Queen’s Gate, the one being from the King’s Gate and town *via* the Green Gate (see below), and the other possibly from the then extant river Cadnant by private barge, as suggested by Smith (2018). This would mean that stables (see below) were likely to have been located either on the south quay, or within the garden itself. Additionally, the North-East Tower would have provided the best view of both the King’s Pool and the King’s Garden, with the Watch Tower (the turret at no. 9 on Fig. 1) positioned between the North-East Tower and the Queen’s Gate, providing the necessary direct defensive surveillance of the garden (discussed below).

In Romance/Arthurian literature, a consistent feature of the perfect castle was that it was conspicuous in its surroundings (Creighton 2009; Gregory and Liddiard 2016, 147), as the Queen’s Gate certainly was, and indeed its outstanding intervisibility was likely to have been one of the gate’s prime functions. The ‘ideal approach’ to the castle in Romance tales often involved access over water through a borough, where the buildings were set off with a backdrop of a deer park (Gregory and Liddiard 2016, 147). Indeed, Caernarfon and town were on a peninsula almost entirely surrounded by water (Allen Brown 1989, 66), just as at Dunstanburgh Castle, where it ‘incarnated a literary convention . . . implicitly referring to the mythology of King Arthur and his final resting place of the Isle of Avalon’ (Oswald *et al.* 2006, 93). Castle

builds associated with Arthurian legends are Carlisle, Winchester, Guildford, Tintagel, Arundel, Dover and the Tower of London (Wheatley 2004, 149), and Arthurian associations have been argued for castles and their land- and water-scapes at Orford (Heslop 1991), Dunstanburgh (Oswald *et al.* 2006, vii, 93–7), Wallingford (Keats-Rohan 2015), and Roscommon (O'Keeffe 2018). Such Romance/Arthurian features existed within both *The Dream*, and at Caernarfon Castle and its landscape, as will now be discussed.

The garden below Queen's Gate

Raising an interpretation for the likely intended purpose of the Queen's Gate in its landscape of the legend and the lady, this section of the paper focuses on the elite, private landscape feature below the Queen's Gate: the medieval garden. Gilchrist (1999, 125, 136) states that queens held responsibility for the planning of gardens, the emphasis placed on its private, enclosed space used by both elite men and women. Importantly, gardens and courtyards were generally only overlooked by buildings associated with both the king and queen (ibid. 136). The emphasis here is that gardens were overlooked from elevated viewing positions with limited access, the most elite areas located towards the top of such buildings and vantage points. These positions were 'carefully sited for dioramic views', and had complete 'control of sightlines' (Mesqui 1991; Gilchrist 1999, 137; McNeill 2006; Creighton 2009; Gregory and Liddiard 2016, 148).

That the Queen's Gate overlooked a medieval garden is generally accepted (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 380; Fradley 2006, 170), and is understood to have coincided with the area now called Y Maes, which was the eleventh-century bailey of Earl Hugh's castle (Salter 1997, 19). The alternative suggestion that the former bailey below Queen's Gate was the site of the medieval market (Fradley 2006, 171; Cadw 2010, 20) is unfounded; its current use as a market square cannot be projected backwards with any secure evidence. Instead, a rental of 1298 suggests that the burgesses had stalls outside the walls on market days (Beresford 1998, 45)[7]and this was probably in the area of the early seventeenth-century Oatmeal Market (see Speed 1611,[8] now Turf Square; Fig. 1, at J). Apart from the street name and the indication of a suitable enclosure on Speed's map of 1611, a market in this area is supported by the fact that in front of the main gate of the town walls (East Gate), there was originally a smaller, barbican gateway where the tolls on merchandise were collected, this barbican being connected by a drawbridge across the town ditch (Taylor 1953, 42). Worthy of consideration in this respect, is an area of thirty acres of land called Cae'r Farchnad (Welsh: 'Market Field') at the foot of Tŵt Hill, and adjacent to the supposed site of an Augustinian priory (Banholzer 1998, 27; see above and Fig. 1). The King's Gate was the more public entrance to the castle, approached via the priory, market place (and East Gate), and the grid-plan of Caernarfon's town.

Indeed, it is highly likely that the medieval garden to the castle was positioned where the 'ditch opened south-west to the river' (Peers 1936, 35), 'on open ground . . . now represented by Castle Square' (Taylor 1953, 5), also known as Y Maes. The garden was created on the raised ground — still discernible to the eye today — of the former bailey of Hugh's motte-and-bailey castle, and thus safe from recorded riverine inundations from the south (Peers 1917, 9). Gardens created within former baileys of eleventh- and twelfth-century castles were not unusual (examples are Castle Rising in Norfolk: Gregory and Liddiard 2016, 148, and Shotwick Castle in Cheshire: Everson 1998; Taylor 1998b). The Green Gate on the town's curtain wall thus gave restricted, elite access to the garden from the King's Gate and town (Carter 1969, 3); facing the 'Green', or the garden, the Green Gate has two centred outer and inner arches separated by defensive architectural features of a shaft and portcullis chase, along with a rebated doorway inside, with draw-bar slots and a segmental rear-arch (RCAHMW 1960, 152). Given that the Green Gate would have opened up to the north-western ditch of the previous Norman castle bailey (Fig. 1), it is probable that a bridge spanned the ditch at this point, or had been planned to do so. We also know that the garden was enclosed ('dug and hedged': Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 381 fn. 3), and that the water supply required for

Eleanor's renowned garden features, possibly fed by either one of the leets running to the former bailey from the adjacent King's Pool (Speed 1611), and/or by the river Cadnant, which might well have served as the bailey's defensive boundary to its north (Fig. 1); sham arrow loops of the Queen's Gate (Goodall 2011, 45) provided an aesthetic display of defence from the garden, thus continuing a theme in an area of elite privacy, created by the three layers of arrow loops in the south wall. Access to the garden was therefore restricted both by the Green Gate and the perhaps still extant barbican, which in all probability separated King's Way from the former bailey of the earl of Chester's eleventh-century castle (see below).

Further research reveals the evidence of a copy of a lost extent dating to 1284, which states that the Welsh princes had a *llys*, town, a port, and a garden in the manor/lord's lands (*xxs. de i gardino cum claust[ura] et Curia*) of Caernarfon (Jones Pierce and Griffiths 1937–39, 237, citing an account of 1350–51;[9] Williams-Jones 1978). This important royal Welsh evidence for a garden pre-dates the generally-cited Edwardian-period garden. Given that this evidence states that the Welsh princes' garden was adjacent to the port, this points to the probability that consecutive documentary mentions for a garden at Caernarfon related to the same space.

Additionally, it is particularly notable from further research, that documentary evidence from 1321 and 1353 makes it clear that the medieval (and earlier Roman) road from *Segontium* Roman fort and St Peblig Church to the castle at Queen's Gate, was at that time significantly called King's Way (*via regie* and *via regia*: Jones Pierce and Griffiths 1937–39, 236, 241–43)[10]. Later called Peblig's Way (Speed 1611), King's Way, from Caernarfon to Beddgelert, cuts across *Segontium* fort from west to east, crossing the site from the south-east gateway (RCAHMW 1960, 158). It therefore makes sense that King's Way led to the King's Pool and to King's Garden, both situated to the south-east and east of the town outside its walls (Fig. 1). This suggests that the King's Pool and King's Garden did not simply serve utilitarian purposes, but were also part of a wider scheme of elite landscape design (Liddiard 2009, 195) associated with the like-named King's Way created by and for both Edward and Eleanor, most probably reusing Roman and later road foundations. Indeed, medieval gardens and parks were designed to be viewed from a distance, as well as overlooked from inside the castle itself; they 'represented extensions of the owner's living quarters' (Stannard 1986, 73), as argued here for the complex of eastern upper ward buildings and Queen's Gate.

A *herbarium* ('lawn', and translated generally as 'garden') was created for Eleanor at Caernarfon (and at Conwy; see above) during the earliest stages of the build of the castle (1283) (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 369, 372; Prestwich 2009, 6). Interpreted as a small-scale enclosed medieval garden, hedged, with geometric, raised beds of flowers, herbs, shrubs, pathways and turf (Landsberg 1995, 11–48; Creighton 2002, 74), the Queen's *herbarium* of 1283 could have been situated within the castle ward, as was often the case for royal castles (Steane 1993, 117). Alternatively, given the garden's likely small size (*herbaria* were generally less than one acre in size: Landsberg 1995, 112), it could have been accommodated elsewhere, such as to the north of the castle. However, we know that castle building had not started in 1283, the building of the castle's north wall and King's Gate likely commencing sometime prior to 1290 (RCAHMW 1960, 125). Therefore, the construction of a garden here in 1283 would have been unlikely. Particularly given that the King's Gate faced the more public space of its planned town (see Gregory and Liddiard 2016, 148 for a general discussion), a more private, south-east-facing aspect for Eleanor's garden below Queen's Gate in the former bailey made sense, this probably being the site of the already existing Welsh *llys* garden, as proposed above. This area of the castle landscape adjacent to the King's Pool with its leet system possibly feeding the fountains of the garden, would have been a more practical landscape design (demonstrated, for instance, at Woodstock: Harvey 1981, 11). Although the series of Caernarfon Castle guidebooks (most recently, Taylor 2015) do not indicate the fact visually or textually, we know that this area would have been private: it was dug out and hedged in 1295 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 381, fn. 3).[11]

Smith (2018) argues for two medieval gardens at Caernarfon Castle at a later mid-fourteenth-century date. Taking all available archaeological and historical evidence, however, the garden was in all probability one and the same for all documentary mentions. The garden below Queen's Gate was renamed to reflect the holder of it: Eleanor died seemingly suddenly and young (aged 50) in 1290, and in 1294, both the castle and Eleanor's garden outside the castle walls, were attacked by the Welsh (Steane 1993, 117). The following year (1295), the garden was rebuilt (*defossato et sepe claudendo*: Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 381, n. 3;[12] Steane 1993, 117), dug out and hedged at the cost of 24s (*pro gardino domini regis* [King's Garden] *apud Carnarvon defossato et sepe claudendo ad taschem per preceptum domini Johannis de Havering xxiiiis*; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 381, n. 3).[13] The garden either retained its original name, or was then appropriately renamed the 'King's Garden' after King Edward I who had survived his Queen. It is believed that the build of the Queen's Gate dates from 1295–1300 (Peers 1936, 35), and is thus coincident with the date for the rebuild and renaming of the King's Garden.

A survey of 1343 explicitly records that the 'gate towards the Prince's garden' remained unfinished (*Et quod quedam porta versus ortum principis est incepta et non perfecta cuius perfectionem nesciunt estimare*;[14] Piers 1936, 13, 35; RCAHMW 1960, 125; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 389).This is a further change of the garden's name, possibly referring to Edward II (reign 1307–27); 'Prince' distinguished the son — the first English Prince of Wales from 1301 — from the father ('King') in the written record at this time; the statue of Edward II was inserted above the King's Gate in 1320 (Peers 1936, 17; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 383). It is also possible that 'Prince' here refers to Edward the Black Prince (b. 1330–d. 1376), son and heir apparent of Edward III, who was created Prince of Wales in 1343. However, we have no record that the Black Prince visited Caernarfon Castle, and it is more likely that 'Prince' here reflected the fossilisation of the garden's name from Edward II's reign.

Taylor (1953, 7–8) states that the whole external southern façade of the castle had been completed by 1288, and it is therefore likely that before 1294, this façade would have included the finished external appearance of the Queen's Gate, and the walls and covered passage either side of its internally part-built construction (RCAHMW 1960, 137–8). The wall-walk notably opened to the unfinished hall/room to the rear of and above the gate, thus providing private, albeit restricted vantage points through the gate's arrow loops of the garden and its landscape below. Although the wall-walk from Queen's Gate continued northwards to meet the town wall that continues to the Green Gate (Peers 1917, 62; Gravett 2007, 44; see Richardson and Dennison 2014, at 22, for the discussion of a wall-walk overlooking the garden at Ravensworth Castle, North Yorks.), there does not in fact appear to have been access to the town walls from the upper ward (Peers 1936, 37). The walls and wall-walks of both the upper ward and the town did however form an enclosure for the garden below (King 1983, 32; Taylor 2105; Fig. 1; see below for discussion of Green Gate). Therefore, it could be that the timber-framed structures of eight chambers and other houses constructed to accommodate Edward and Eleanor temporarily from 1283 (8 *cameras et alias domos necessarias pro rege et regina in eodem castro*: cited in Edwards 1944, 44) were built in the more private eastern upper ward and within close proximity of the Queen's Gate, thus positioned to overlook Eleanor's garden built in 1283 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 369, 372). Such a position was the case at Conwy Castle, where Eleanor's garden (*herbarium*) was situated 'under the windows of the great chamber' generally and notably interpreted as the King's Great Chamber (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 380, 388; Ashbee 2009, 72 and 77[15]).

Gardens created by and for Eleanor at her other elite residences provide potential parallels for attempting to understand the nature and form of her 1283-built garden at Caernarfon Castle. Just as innovations in associated waterworks were traditionally attributed to Elen — her one-hectare fortress at Dinas Emrys, Beddgelert had a pool and artificial cistern (Berresford Ellis 1995, 97; for which Ian Brooks and Kathy Laws (2002, 6) indicate a fifth- to sixth-century date) — garden waterworks were also implemented by

Queen Eleanor (James 1990, 83, 98; Gilchrist 1999, 125). A keen gardener (Harvey 1981, 78), many gardens were created for and by Eleanor, including at neighbouring Rhuddlan and Conwy castles at this time (Taylor 1998a, 24; Turner 2009, 53). At Conwy Castle, just as being argued here for Caernarfon Castle, Eleanor's garden — described as *herbarium Regine*, and generally translated as a 'lawn' (Gilchrist 1999, 140, and see above) — was situated 'under the windows of the great chamber', and thus within the barbican to the east of the inner ward (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 380, 388; Ashbee 2009, 72 and 77[16]). Within the garden were three turrets (roofed in 1301) (ibid.), reminiscent of Caernarfon Castle's three turrets on the Eagle Tower, presumably built specifically to view the garden from a height. At Rhuddlan between 1282–83, great quantities of turves (6,000) were transported by river at significant expense, a courtyard garden laid and fenced with staves of discarded casks, and a fishpond was created and surrounded by seats (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 324; Landsberg 1995, 128; Creighton 2002, 74; Liddiard 2005, 111; Prestwich 2009, 6).

The complex designs of Eleanor's gardens, where their Romantic watery surroundings and fountains were overlooked by adjacent, elite buildings, were not a new creation to her at the time Caernarfon, Rhuddlan and Conwy castles were being built; various features of her previously constructed gardens and associated buildings overlooking her gardens can be seen at Caernarfon. At Chester Castle, 'the base for Edward's thrust into North Wales', 200 apple and pear plants were bought in 1278 (Harvey 1981, 84). At Rockingham Castle (Northants.), a garden was built for Eleanor in the same year (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 2, 817),[17] which was possibly in the courtyard to the south of the Great Hall, and was thus overlooked by Eleanor's apartments at the east end of the hall (pers. comm. Neil Guy, August 2018). Also in 1277–78, Master Richard built an aviary for Eleanor at Westminster, London (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 505; Colvin 1986, 11), and in 1278, the 'new garden' was the Queen's Pool lined with lead, with the Queen's 'Oriol' (bay window/gallery) overlooking the pool (Harvey 1981, 82). Between 1278 and 1284, at Edward's and Eleanor's family palace at King's Langley (Herts.), Eleanor instructed the building of her own cloister, and the rebuilding of great and middle chambers, with gardens positioned nearby; these were of the Moorish tradition, having a paved courtyard and fountains, as well as imported apple trees and vines (Harvey 1981, 78; Colvin 1986, 9; James 1990, 93; Gilchrist 1999, 126). At Haverfordwest Castle, known as the 'Queen's Castle' (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 2, 670–1), there is an enclosed, terraced platform outside the walls on the south side of the castle with a circular turret in one corner, presumably for viewing purposes. This enclosed platform was later named 'green walk' (1577), and also a garden called 'Queen's Arbour'. This garden may be attributed to Eleanor, as she invested heavily in her castle here between 1288/89–90 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 2, 670–1; see also Keats-Rohan 2015, 73–8 for a discussion of the 'Queen's Arbour' at Wallingford Castle, Oxon.).

At Leeds Castle, Kent, between 1278 and 1290, and thus broadly contemporary and comparable with Caernarfon Castle, an existing castle was remodelled to create a gloriette overlooking a set of artificial lakes and ponds located within a deer park; the inner island supporting the gloriette was approached by a stone-arched bridge, which led to a gatehouse tower from which the complete design could be enjoyed by the royal party and privileged visitors (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 2, 695–702; Harvey 1981, 106; Creighton 2002, 79; Goodall 2011, 236–7). Traditionally a Spanish word for a pavilion placed at the centre of a garden of Moorish type, and later used for a 'lodge' of elite apartments in a park or garden (Harvey 1981, 103, 106), the concept of the 'gloriette' was thought to have migrated to England and Wales with Eleanor de Castile herself. However, Ashbee (2011) has pointed out that the term was in fact first used *c.* 1260 by Henry III when referring to King John's private suite of courtyard chambers at Corfe Castle), and thus significantly before Eleanor's time. Ashbee has also shown that a gloriette could have been 'raised up as a belvedere, rather than built at garden level' (Ashbee 2004a, 22, 33–4), and that the term could refer not just to one building (for example, the great chamber at Corfe), nor to the king's or the

queen's own chamber, but instead to a suite of buildings, such as those first built at Corfe by King John at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the whole now known by the name '*Gloriette*' (ibid.). Ashbee has further demonstrated that the term was used in a restricted way from the thirteenth century 'because their owners wished to invoke a particular set of associations...directly from literature' (Ashbee 2004, 22, 33–4). Ashbee (2004, 35) refers particularly to the twelfth-century *chanson de geste*, '*La Prise d'Orange*', which he suggests was the origin of the term 'Gloriette', and with which easy parallels can be drawn with Caernarfon Castle (italicized in-text by this author), and particularly with many features of the Queen's Gate in the upper ward:

> They go out through the centre of the *hall*
> At *Gloriette*, they have now arrived
> Of marble are its pillars and walls,
> And the windows sculpted in fine silver
> And the *golden eagle*, resplendent and bright . . .
>
> There is *Gloriette*, the marble tower
> Its foundation set well into the stone . . .
>
> *Beneath the earth,* [is] *a solitary vault,*
> A portcullis into your palace . . .

As Ashbee (2004, 37) states, 'At the very least, Gloriette evoked a series of meanings: of opulence, sensuality and victory in love and war', as expressed in *La Prise d'Orange*: 'this is paradise here'. Notably, Caernarfon Castle's upper ward courtyard house ensemble, as it is described by Dixon (2011, 35–6), is a similar size to the gloriette at Corfe Castle. Additionally, reminiscent of a gloriette with similarities to the hall and wall-walk over the entrance of Queen's Gate, is that in 1354 Edward III (1312–77) constructed a balcony at Woodstock outside a daughter's window, in order to give her a view of the park (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 2, 1016–17; Colvin 1986, 11). Renowned for her garden 'paradises' (Cockerill 2014, 102), it is therefore suggested here, that the Queen's Gate was intended to be one part of the gloriette in the upper ward overlooking Eleanor's designed garden.

The 'little park' below Queen's Gate

In the absence to date of a conclusive differentiation between various medieval Latin terms which we now translate almost indiscriminately as 'garden', it might well be feasible to add the definition of a *parcus parvum* ('little park') to the purpose of the designed space below the elevated viewpoint of the Queen's Gate. Indeed, medieval gardens were often constructed within parks (including *herbarii*: Harvey 1981, 87, 103; Stannard 1986, 74; Moorhouse 2007, 124). Lying adjacent to the castle, medieval gardens often 'project[ed] into and nested within' a parkland setting (Creighton 2002, 73).

The Latin terms translated as 'garden' at Caernarfon were: *herbarium* (Caernarfon and Conwy castles, 1283)*, gardinum* (Caernarfon Castle, 1284 extent and 1295)*, (h)ortus* (Caernarfon Castle, 1343). These were three of about seven terms in contemporary use (Landsberg 1981, 12), and it is unclear to what extent these terms were interchangeable between individual scribes, both over time, and contemporaneously (Curl and Wilson 2015). Landsberg (1995, 112) suggests that, of these seven terms, there were three main types of medieval garden overall: the *herber*, which was usually a 'lawn', or pleasure garden (Taylor 2006), of less than one acre; an orchard-type of garden; and a park-like type of garden, with animals and birds to watch, rather than to slaughter (parks). Royalty would have had all three types, Landsberg advises

(1995, 113), the whole covering up to thirteen acres, with moats and chains of ponds, and lying adjacent to a larger hunting park of approximately 200 acres (see below, for the suggested location of a hunting park at Caernarfon Castle).

Landsberg calculates that Eleanor's garden of 6,000 turves at Rhuddlan Castle would have provided a small *herbarium*, or *herber* garden, of up to 18,000 square feet (less than half of an acre), although the trapezoidal courtyard that exists today is significantly less in size, at approximately 7,200 square feet (Landsberg 1995, 128–9). The size of the King's/Prince's Garden at Caernarfon is approximately three acres, if we were to take the interpretation of its size in *The History of the King's Works* as being broadly correct (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 389), and was thus significantly short of the early thirteenth-century advice in the treatises on gardens by Piero d' Crescenzi, who advised on 12.5 acres or more for the perfect 'pleasure garden' (Calkins 1986; Richardson 2007, 27). However, the King's Garden is considerably larger (about three times more) than the interpreted average-sized *herbarium*.

Given the probable size of the garden below Queen's Gate, and what we know about Eleanor's gardens in other elite residences, therefore, it could be that the *gardinum* and later-scribed *(h)ortus* at Caernarfon was the park-like type. *Hortus* might have been short for *hortus conclusus*, which referred to an enclosed or secret garden, thus making reference to virginity, and containing roses, lilies, and fountains, all being attributes to the Virgin Mary (Curl and Wilson 2015). Notably, it was Colvin (1986, 16) who suggested that the enclosed garden with its chambers and pools might have been inspired by the twelfth-century, British Romance of *Tristan and Isolde*. Likewise, Thomas Malory's late fifteenth-century *Le Morte D'Arthur* includes a recurring theme that the park 'was an ideal forest in miniature' (Stannard 1986, 74; Cummins 2002, 47; Norris 2008). We know that medieval parks functioned as extensions of the garden (Gilchrist 1999, 145), with Pluskowski (2007, 71 and 73) confirming that the 'distinction between the park and garden was not as sharp as imagined.'

Little parks were defined not by their size, but by their location *subtus castrum* (below the castle: Everson 2003, 27–9; Richardson 2007, 39; Richardson and Dennison 2014, 25 and pers. comm. Robert Liddiard, August 2018), and were generally in the 'form of a lobe appended directly onto the side of the castle' (Creighton 2002, 188). This lobe form can be argued for at Caernarfon, where the kidney-shaped former bailey of the late-eleventh-century castle lends itself beautifully for this purpose. Little parks, therefore, were intended as both the landscape setting of, and visual approach to, buildings, where the castle's external magnificence intentionally pervaded the wider landscape. From the early thirteenth century, park layouts with pools (for example, King's Pool at Caernarfon) were becoming commonplace amongst the elite (Harvey 1981, 11), and by the mid-thirteenth century, parks 'enjoyed a particular spatial relationship with grand apartments or lodgings, and appear to have functioned more as gardens than "conventional parks" ' (Landsberg 1995, 22; Richardson 2007, 39; Liddiard 2007b, 3).

Denbigh Castle, in the neighbouring cantref of Rhufoniog, Gwynedd, provides a potential parallel with the Queen's Gate at Caernarfon in arguing for a *parcus parvum* below the Queen's Gate. The castle was built by Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln from the same date (1283) as Caernarfon Castle. In 1282, Edward was with Henry at Denbigh, and James of St George might have been involved with siting and plan of Denbigh Castle (Peers 1917, 35; Taylor 1953, 18; Toy 1970, 244; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 333; Butler 1990, 7). Indeed, the castle was built in 1295 with the multi-angular towers found at Caernarfon (Taylor 1953, 17; Goodall 2009, 158). Frequently compared with Caernarfon Castle, therefore, it is notable that in the south-east of Denbigh Castle, stairs and passageways from the Green Chambers (lordly hall) led to a Postern Tower and lower Postern Gate at Denbigh (both to the south of the castle), which in turn led directly into the *parcus parvum* below the castle, mentioned in a survey of 1334 (Hemp 1926, 112).The 'highly elaborate and spacious' (Liddiard 2009, 195) postern gate led into a park, 'the almost processional passage way with its twin stairs and horse ramp lend[ing] a theatrical backdrop to the hunting ritual'

(Davies 2013). Indeed, we know that Henry was granted 'of the king's gift' forty bucks and does from the forest of Delamere in Cheshire in order to stock his part at Denbigh (Hemp 1926, 68; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 334, n.1).

Therefore, it could be that the name 'Green' is significant in a little parkland landscape (Butler 1990, 30), where the associated building was intrinsically, architecturally and symbolically connected. The Green Gate on the walls at Caernarfon Castle most likely had the same purpose: to provide restricted, private access to the here-interpreted little park-type garden within the area of the former bailey. Indeed, we know that Eleanor and Edward enjoyed hunting (Cockerill 2004, 73, 122, 235), just as Macsen did as an expression of status in *The Dream*. At Banstead manor in Surrey, for instance, Eleanor built a new timber-framed chamber with a new cloister and well-house and a park with ditches and hedges between 1276–79 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 2, 896; Gilchrist 1999, 121, 126). Edward and Eleanor might well have intended to recreate these chivalric concepts below Queen's Gate. The following is a new interpretation based on the likelihood that the Queen's Gate provided not only an elite view of a garden/little park, but also of a private landscape accessed from *Eryri* (Snowdonia) via *Segontium* (Elen's fort) and St Peblig (Elen's son's) Church.

Queen's Gate and an elite processional way

It is suggested here that Queen's Gate and the garden/little park below, were designed at least as an exclusively private entrance into the new Edwardian castle, and more specifically, that the Gate was designed to mark and overlook what was already by then an ancient route way. This processional way was called 'King's Way' (see above), and its starting, or indeed end, point was from the Roman fort of *Segontium* and Caernarfon's mother church of St Peblig, one kilometre away. This was to become Edward's and Eleanor's late-thirteenth-century processional way, the route way taking the private royal party and its privileged guests through a designed landscape of both inherited and newly created elite power, heavily infused with Arthurian and Welsh legend, and both masculine and feminine symbolism.

A castle's landscape context was not purely utilitarian, but involved the 'social zoning' of 'landscape manipulation' (Liddiard 2009, 195), where the Queen's Gate, in the case of Caernarfon Castle, manipulated the private, intimidating approach route into the castle buildings via 'a negotiation of a series of separate spaces' (Gregory and Liddiard 2016, 148). As we have seen, one of these spaces was the castle garden/little park, immediately below the Queen's Gate. As Fradley (2006, 171) rightly states, movement towards the 'not a low key' Queen's Gate 'would have taken on a formal and sophisticated air', and that the movement up the presumed ramp to the gate's entrance 'would have created a particularly potent performance of social differentiation [where] the "ascension" of those privileged individuals . . . [was] visually powerful, yet ultimately private' (ibid.). Clearly, only the royal household was to see this 'inner sanctum' (ibid.172) of the Queen's Gate and its garden below, its external build being 'a proclamation of royal strength' to the elite visitor to the castle, 'and a very conscious statement towards the church' (ibid.175). This author agrees with this analysis entirely. However, what is obviously missing from it, is an examination of the landscape between the Queen's Gate and St Peblig Church, and thus the significance in respect of the gate's 'longer view' purpose.

One point of fact is highly significant: the arch of the Queen's Gate and the Roman/medieval road of King's Way on the south- and castle-facing front at *Segontium* (and indeed St Peblig Church) were directly in line with each other, precisely on the central axis of the arch of the gate (see Fig. 1). Today, our inter-visible view is impeded by modern houses. However, in 1298 in Caernarfon town, there were fifty-nine burgage plots, and in 1309, sixty-three, indicating that the town was self-contained, and grew little beyond the town walls (Beresford 1988, 45). Indeed, we know from charters dating to 1321 and 1353 (Jones Pierce and Griffiths 1937–9, 236, 241–3)[18] that burgage plots were granted in the commotal settlements

of Caernarfon and Llanbeblig either end of King's Way, thus implicitly suggesting that plots were not built between them along this route. It is therefore likely that this private, elite route way was devoid of medieval buildings, and was intentionally designed to intermingle landscapes of past and present, which opened up to both the royal party and to the visitor as they moved along the route way to and from *Segontium* and St Peblig Church; importantly, this route way was also visible from the height of the hall and wall-walk behind Queen's Gate.

Let us take that route from *Segontium* and St Peblig Church. Although there were five or six chapels attached to towers and gateways within the castle (towers: Queen's, Chamberlain's, Black and Eagle; gates: King's, and possibly, Queen's Gates (Peers 1936, 20) and see above), there was no dedicated chapel in the castle; St Mary's chapel within the town walls was built later, in 1303 (Taylor 1953, 37; Fradley 2006, 166–7). Fradley (2006, 167) notes that 'it is interesting that a grand and prestigious ecclesiastical focus was not at the very least attempted', but does not discuss the significance of St Peblig Church. Notably, St Mary's was a chapel of ease to the mother church of St Peblig in the Caernarfon district of Llanbeblig (Taylor 1953, 37; Beresford 1988, 45), the latter situated up on the hill outside the town within its tangible Roman and Christian landscape — a landscape associated with Edward and Macsen, Elen and Eleanor, and *The Dream*.

Additionally, and generally overlooked, there was also an early medieval chapel of St Helen in this area, perhaps comparable to Capel Elen in Penrhosllygwy in Anglesey, and Llanelen in Monmouth, both of which attested to Elen's influence (Berresford Ellis 1995, 97); the ruins of St Helen's were still visible at the end of the eighteenth century, as well as those of St Helen's well (Pennant 1781; *Cassey's Directory* 1878[19]); both were situated in a landscape littered with likely late-attributed 'Helen' place and road names (Fig. 1).

Segontium Roman fort itself regularly appeared in medieval Arthurian literature, and Arthurian scenes were set amongst its ruins from the twelfth century (Ackerman 1959, 513; Micha 1959, 370–1; Sparnaay 1959, 460–1; Morrison 1998; Wheatley 2009, 136). Edward was the Knight of the Round Table (Cockerill 2014, 75; Field 2017, 952), and he built both the famous Winchester Round Table, and held a Round Table tournament in Nefyn north Wales in 1284 to celebrate his conquest of Wales (Cockerill 2014, 308; Morris 2016, 74; citing O'Keeffe 2018, 200). It is therefore particularly intriguing that documentary evidence dating to 1353 mentions a curtilage — an area of land attached to a house and forming one enclosure with it — which lay next to *le Roundetable* (the Round Table) (Jones Pierce and Griffiths 1937–39, 236).[20]A sub-rectangular-shaped Round Table Cae ('field') appears on the 1842 Llanbeblig Tithe Map and Award,[21] just north of Cefyn Hendre Farm (at SN 64266 29854). Cefyn Hendre (notably meaning 'original seat'), is the area of Llanbeblig with rich pre-Norman archaeological evidence for a Bronze Age burnt mound; a prehistoric enclosed farmstead; a Neolithic pit, Roman pit ovens, and early medieval mortuary enclosures (Hopewell 2003; 2007, 12; Brooks 2015; McNichol 2016; Fig. 1). There is one another 'Round Table' recorded in the Tithe and Award for Llanfihangel in Dinsylwy parish on Ynys Môn, which is indeed a round field, immediately adjacent to the church and yard. In this context, the 'Round Table' in both locations could be a reference to a prehistoric feature, or early medieval *llan* ('church enclosure') in the landscape (possibly evidenced at medieval Dodleston on the Anglo-Welsh border in Cheshire: Swallow 2014). The Old French (Norman) name certainly suggests that the unqualified Round Table feature at Llanbeblig existed during or prior to the thirteenth century, however. It is therefore tempting to think that *le Roundetable* in Llanbeblig was Edward and Eleanor's Arthurian creation, in addition to Edward's Round Table of neighbouring Nefyn. Nevertheless, whichever period or periods *le Roundetable* was created and used or reused, and for whatever purpose or purposes, there is little doubt that the symbolic, multi-period significance of the Llanbeblig district to Edward and Eleanor, linked by the ancient road (King's Way) to the Queen's Gate, was not lost on them.

As we proceed towards the Queen's Gate along the route way, the Edwardian royal party would have been aware of the highly visible Roman ruins of Hen Waliau, a third-century storage depot and Roman quayside (Pennant 1781; Taylor 1953, 3; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 371; Boyle 1991, 211). These extant remains are on the edge of a steep scarp, approximately eighteen metres above the right bank of the river Seiont, and about 200m west of *Segontium* fort; the river runs closest to the fort at this point (Boyle 1991, 191, 211).

The now non-extant Helen's Causeway, also at this point on the route, was believed in the early nineteenth century to have been a Roman bridge crossing the river Seiont, the road to it passing close to the gate of Hen Waliau (Boyle 1991, 211). The remains took the form of an immense wooden bridge, buried several feet in the sand, and extending over the river Seiont (ibid., citing John Wood's plan of Caernarfon, published in 1848;[22] Fig. 1).

Across from Hen Waliau is the now poignantly-named — and without evidence, probably late-named — Coed Helen ('Helen's Wood'). Coed Helen was clearly visible from the route, as it is on a west-facing hill. We know from the lost extent that Coed Helen — with probable associations with Elen and St Helena — was at one time called *Penchlan* (Jones Pierce and Griffiths 1937–39, 236–8, citing an extract from the account of Isgwrfai in 1351). *Penchlan* likely means 'chief glebe lands', and it is therefore notable that Pennant (1781) tells us that Coed Helen was at that time called *Tre'r Beblic*, Welsh for Peblig's lands. Coed Helen — which was possibly the woodland landscape described in *The Dream* — is set some distance from the castle, and could well have been the area of its likely albeit unrecorded Edwardian hunting park (see Swallow 2012, for a parallel in the interpretation of 'wood' and 'park' at Aldford Castle, Cheshire). Hunts were often elaborately planned and staged activities, involving hundreds of men and women, and were connected with hospitality (Coss 1998, 67; Gilchrist 1999, 145; Liddiard 2005, 105; Sykes 2007, 54–5). Hunting parks were emblematic of noble rank and hospitality, as indeed we have seen in *The Dream*, providing the 'castle across water' backdrops of Romance tales (Liddiard 2005, 113; Morris 2016, 362), such as at Caernarfon.

It is possible that a Roman signal tower was sited on top of Coed Helen with a guide beacon set at the entrance of the peninsular projecting into the convergence of the Seiont and Cadnant rivers once located there, the fort therefore overlooking approaches to Caernarfon, its river and harbour (Banholzer 1998, 38, 45). Indeed, more Roman ruins have been noted across from Hen Waliau in Coed Helen (Williams 1821; *Cassey's Directory* 1878[23]), as well as medieval fish weirs — commonly placed in parkland landscapes (Harvey 1981, 11; Stannard 1986, 124; Pluskowski 2007, 63). A number of medieval deer parks were designed first and foremost as pleasure parks, and included grandstands and pavilions (Creighton 2002, 73) with towers overlooking parks (Stannard 1986, 117). Interestingly, Coed Helen became the home to an early seventeenth-century house, remodelled and rebuilt in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (RCAHMW 1960, 158), with a park and (still extant) tower of a seventeenth-century summer house; it is a public park today (Figs 6–7).

From here, the medieval route took the visitor to other visible elite symbols of Romance in the landscape. On the right (to the east), there was the King's Pool (*Stagnum Regis*: for comment on the naming, see Liddiard 2005, 107), built in 1285 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 375; Taylor 2015, 38); the 'new mill' built in 1304–05 (RCAHMW 1960, 150; Taylor 1953, 38; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 372); a stone bridge to the East Gate of the town, built in 1301 (Taylor 1953, 10; Taylor 1953b, 41; RCHAMW 1960, 115; Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 375), notably under which Greengate Street passed (Taylor 1953, 41); and a dam built in 1305 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 383). Religious symbolism was associated with water (Liddiard 2005, 110), and also with the feminine — and water was inevitably linked to the Virgin (Gilchrist 1999; Liddiard 2005, 11). We are told about the building of a swan's nest in 1305 on the King's Pool at the same time it was dammed (*nidum cignorum in medio eiusdem stagni*: Allen Brown *et al.* 1963,

1, 383; RCHAMW 1960, 115), the swan associated with the Otherworld, and the late eleventh-century Arthurian epic, Parzival, The Swan Knight (Wagner 1959, 127–38; Nelson 1977; Mickel and Nelson 1977; Bryant 1997; Edwards 2006; Orme 2006, 298–300). Sailors thought the swan protected against shipwreck, and the swan also symbolised the purity of the Virgin (Gilchrist 1999, 111; Werness 2004, 396; Edwards 2006, 396).

At this point, the royal party and elite visitor were guided away from the newly created, dog-legged, more public road (Bridge Street) to the new borough and King's Gate on the right (north-bound). This idea to divert a once Roman road and create another was not new: at Castle Acre in Norfolk, it is possible that a Roman road was diverted to provide an approach to the castle that was more stage-managed, in which the visual juxtaposition of priory, settlement and castle were centre stage (Liddard 2000; Gregory and Liddiard 2016, 150). The royal party and elite visitor instead continued ahead, rather than taking the new diversion, thus accessing the garden below Queen's Gate via the likely still extant gatehouse to the former bailey (pers. comm. Stewart Ainsworth, June 2018). Similarly, private access to Ravensworth Castle, North Yorkshire, was via its gardens, rather than passing alongside them, where views to and from gardens were given equal importance (Richardson and Dennison 2014, 34).

Once through the bailey gatehouse, which was likely approached directly by the King's Way, the full power of the Queen's Gate was experienced, with its tremendous height and unique, bold architecture. The quayside to the west of the enclosed garden was constructed in 1285 (Allen Brown *et al.* 1963, 1, 375), and might have been the site of the horse's stables recorded as having been blown down in a great storm in 1300 (Peers 1917, 9). Indeed, this suggestion of the stables' location is reinforced with a reference in 1343 to a quay serving the Tour de Baner (Queen's Tower), which was then in need of repair 'against the sea' (ibid. 19); clearly, the quayside was meteorologically vulnerable. Although there is no architectural evidence for it, it has been interpreted nevertheless that Queen's Gate had been reached originally by a great stone-built ramp (Taylor 1953, 1986, 1989, 25); it was perhaps, therefore, the intended 'bridge to the ship' mentioned in *The Dream*.

CONCLUSION

Research approaches to date have been predominantly architectural, and largely limited to Caernarfon Castle and its post 1283 townscape. Surprisingly little consideration has been given to the role of Queen Eleanor de Castile in both the design of the castle, its accommodation, and its wider landscape beyond the town. This paper ignores the present general tension between the specifics of a castle site and the broader contextual knowledge. It instead attempts to offer an interpretation for the combination of architecture and elite designed landscape of Caernarfon Castle, with a particular focus on what became known as the Queen's Gate some centuries after its foundation. In doing so, it is suggested that Caernarfon Castle has been the victim of post-seventeenth-century — and probably more specifically, nineteenth-century — gender ideology, which has informed the later interpretation and presentation of its architectural spatial arrangements. Indeed, it is difficult to attribute the implementation of architectural and landscape requirements of fashion and status to any one individual. A close examination of Caernarfon's sea- and landscape approaches, in association with features highlighted in *The Dream* and related contemporary Romance tales, instead indicates that a persistent memory of intertwined male and female ancestry was expressed by both Edward and Eleanor in a cross-period, tangible form.

Therefore, it was not only the imperial nature of Caernarfon Castle's architecture that was the ultimate symbol of Edward's legitimacy through continuity, as traditionally interpreted, but also the Queen's Gate and its specifically designed landscape of theatrical approach, which may well have been designed for, and

posthumously dedicated to, Queen Eleanor de Castile. It is suggested that the Queen's Gate could have been one significant component of a gloriette and garden configuration centred on the eastern upper ward area of the castle. What we do know now, however, is that the ancient route way, over which the Queen's Gate's ceremonial triumphal arch looked, was known as King's Way. The masculine of the King's Way therefore provided a symbolic and physical link of an elite processional way between both the masculine and the feminine: from *Segontium* to the Queen's Gate — from Elen of the Ways to Eleanor's garden — from mother church to ecclesiastical gateway architecture — from Legend to Theatre. Merging traditions, the lordly and lady powers of the Queen's Gate and King's Way thus served to fuse the realms, dreams and elite characters of an imperial, legendary past into the presence of a new, dramatic royal castle at Caernarfon.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the following, who have kindly shared their time and expertise on various aspects of this paper: Stewart Ainsworth, Visiting Professor in Landscape History, University of Chester; Jeremy Ashbee, Head Historic Properties Curator, English Heritage; Peter Burton, expert in Islamic/Spanish castles, Castles Studies Group; the late Philip Davis, castles historian and creator of the *Gatehouse* website; Gary Duckers, Historic Record Environment Officer for Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust, whose GIS skills were invaluable in the creation of Figs 1–2; Neil Guy, architectural historian, and editor of the Castles Studies Group Journal; Malcolm Hislop, Independent Archaeological Consultant (historic buildings); Robert Liddiard, Professor of History, University of East Anglia; David Mercer, castles historian, Castles Studies Group; Danna Messer, Medieval Welsh historian and freelance editor; Carla Skinner, Medieval Welsh historian. Thanks are also due to Sian Rees, who kindly gave me advance sight of a relevant section of her forthcoming co-edited book, *Wales and the Sea*, and who also provided valuable comments upon an earlier draft of this article. Any errors of interpretation are entirely my own.

NOTES

1. The National Archives (TNA), SC 6/1171/7.
2. No. 250 (1221), 441–42; no. 316 (1251), 488–89; no. 85 (1258), 225; no. 367 (1269), 545–46; no. 458 (1272), 657–58; no. 319 (1246×67), 491–92, and perhaps relevant: no. 78 (1283), 213–14; no. 456 (1283) 655–56; no. 457 (1283), 655–56, the date of these latter three being when Dafydd ap Gruffudd (d. 3 October 1283), the last prince of an independent Wales, had been imprisoned at neighbouring Dolbadarn Castle.
3. Citing TNA, E 163/4/42.
4. Taylor 2015, inside cover illustration by John Banbury; Taylor 2015, 5; reconstruction drawing (1295) by Ivan Lapper available online at <http://www.wrexham.gov.uk/english/heritage/medieval_exhibition/conquest_aftermath.htm>, accessed November 2018.
5. Copper engraving after Paul Sandby published in 1778: 'Queen's Gate, at Caernarvon' *The Virtuosi's Museum, Containing Select Views in England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: George Kearsley), available online at <https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3323225&partId=1>, accessed November 2018.
6. TNA, E 163/4/42, cited in Peers 1917, 20 and 61.
7. Citing TNA, SC/12/17/86.

8. John Speed's Map of Caernarfon, 1611, reprinted in *The Counties of Britain: a Tudor atlas by John Speed*), National Library of Wales.
9. TNA, SC6/1171/7.
10. Citing Bangor University Archive, Baron Hill Manuscripts, nos 3153 and 3173, respectively.
11. Citing TNA E 372/146 and E101/486/9.
12. Citing TNA, E101/486/9.
13. Citing TNA E 372/146 and E101/486/9.
14. TNA, E163/4/42.
15. Citing reference TNA, E101/13/32, m.2.
16. Citing reference TNA, E 101/13/32, m.2.
17. Citing TNA, E101/480/21.
18. Citing Bangor University Archive, Baron Hill Manuscripts, nos 3153 and 3173, respectively.
19. *Cassey's Directory of Chester and the Chief Towns in North Wales*, transcription available online at <www.carnarvontraders.com/pennant.shtml>, accessed 10 June 2018.
20. Citing Bangor University Archive, Baron Hill Manuscripts, no. 3173.
21. Tithe Map and Apportionment Schedule for the parish of Llanbeblig in the County of Caernarvonshire, 1842: National Library of Wales, 'Welsh Tithe Maps – Places of Wales',<https://places.library.wales/>, accessed October 2018.
22. National Library of Wales, John Wood's Map of Caernarfon, 1848, MAP5480, available online at <https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/maps/town-plans/john-woods-welsh-town-plans/caernarvon-1848/>, accessed October 2018.
23. See note 19.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ackerman, R. W., 1959. 'English rimed and prose Romances', in Loomis 1959, 480–519.

Airs M. and Barnwell P. S. (eds), 2011. *The Medieval Great House* (Donington: Shaun Tyas).

Allen Brown, R., 1989. *Castles from the Air* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Allen Brown, R., Colvin, H. M. and Taylor, A. J. 1963. *The History of the King's Works: The Middle Ages*, 2 vols (London: HMSO).

Allen Brown, R. and Curnow, P., 1984. *Tower of London, Greater London: Department of the Environment Official Handbook* (London: HMSO).

Alvar, C., 2015. 'The matter of Britain in Spanish society and literature from Cluny to Cervantes', in Hook 2015, 187–270.

Ashbee, J., 2004a. ' 'The chamber called *Gloriette*': living at leisure in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century castles', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 157, 17–40.

——2004b. 'The royal apartments in the inner ward at Conwy Castle', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 153, 51–72.

——2009. 'The king's accommodation at his castles', in Williams and Kenyon 2009, 72–84.

——2011. ' 'Gloriette' in Corfe Castle, 1260', Henry III Fine Rolls Project, Fine of the Month for July 2011, available at <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-07-2011.html>.

Austin, D., Boland, P., Freeman, C. and Tallentire, L., 2007. *Acts of Perception: A Study of Barnard Castle, Teesdale*, Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report No. 6.

Banholzer, K. F., 1998. *Old Carnarvon – Outside the Town Walls. A Historical guide to Places of Interest Past and Present* (North Wales: KBS Design and Publications).

Barnwell, P. S., 2011. 'Conclusion: contexts and approaches', in Airs and Barnwell 2011, 243–50.

Barron, W. R. J. (trans.), 1974. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Bartrum P. C. (ed.), 1966. *Bonedd y Saint. Early Welsh Geneological Tracts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).

Beresford, M., 1988. *New Towns of the Middle Ages. Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing).

Berresford Ellis, P., 1995. *Celtic Women. Women in Celtic Society and Literature* (London: Constable).

Boon, G. C., 1960. 'A temple of Mithras at Caernarvon – Segontium', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 109, 136–72.

Bowen, E. G., 1954. *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).

Boyle, S. D., 1991. 'Excavations at Hen Waliau, Caernarfon, 1952–1985', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 38, 191–212.

Bromwich, R. (ed. and trans.), 2006. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain* (3rd edn, Cardiff: University of Wales Press).

Brooks, I., 2015. 'Hen Ysgol Hendre Geophysical Survey', Engineering Archaeological Services Report 2015/5.

Brooks, I. and Laws, K., 2002. 'Topographical and Geophysical Surveys at Dinas Emrys, Beddgelert', unpublished report, Engineering Archaeological Services Report 2002/138.

Bryant, N. (trans.), 1997. Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval, the Story of the Grail* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer).

Byerly, B. F. and Byerly, C. R., 1986 (eds). *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289* (London: HMSO).

Butler, L. A. S., 1990. *Denbigh Castle and Walls* (Cardiff: Cadw).

Cadw 2010. *Caernarfon Waterfront: Understanding Urban Character* (Cardiff: Cadw), available online at <https://cadw.gov.wales/docs/cadw/publications/Urban_Character_Caernarfon_Waterfront_EN.pdf>.

Calkins, R. G., 1986. 'Piero de' Crescenzi and the medieval garden', in MacDougall 1986, 157–73.

Carter, H., 1969. 'Caernarvon', in M. D. Lobel (ed.), *Historic Towns – Maps and Plans of Towns and Cities in the British Isles*, vol. 1 (London: Lovell Johns), 1–7.

Casey, P. J. and Davies, J. L., 1993. *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman fort, 1975–1979,* CBA Research Report 90 (London: Council for British Archaeology).

Charles-Edwards, T. M. Owen, Morfydd, E. and Russell, P. (eds), 2000. *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).

Cockerill, S., 2014. *Eleanor of Castile. The Shadow Queen* (Stroud: Amberley).

Coldstream, N., 1998. 'The castle builders: Harlech and Caernarfon', in B. Ford (ed.), *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain*, Vol. 2, *The Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 81–7.

——2009. 'James of St George', in Williams and Kenyon 2009, 26–45.

——2016. 'Architects, advisors and design at Edward I's castles in Wales', in Liddiard 2016, 41–60.

Colvin, H. M., 1986. 'Royal gardens in medieval England', in MacDougall 1986, 7–22.

Coss, P., 1998. *The Lady in Medieval England 1000–1500* (Stroud: Wrens Park).

Coulson, C. L. H., 2003. *Castles in Medieval Society. Fortresses in England, France and Ireland in the Central Middles Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

——2016. 'Fourteenth-century castles in context: apotheosis or decline?', in Liddiard 2016, 19–40.

Creighton, O. H., 2002. *Castles and Landscapes. The Archaeology of Medieval Europe, 1100–1600* (London: Continuum).

——2009. *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer).

Cummins, J., 2002. 'Veneurs s'en vont en Paradis: medieval hunting and the "natural" landscape', in J. Howe and M. Wolfe (eds), *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida), 33–56.

Curl, J. S. and Wilson, S. (eds), 2015. *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture* (3rd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Davies, J., Jenkins, N., Baines, M., and Lynch, P. I. (eds), 2008. *The Welsh Academy Encyclopaedia of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).

Davies, S. (trans.), 2007. *The Mabinogion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Davies, W., 2013. 'Denbigh Castle and Town Walls', unpublished paper, Cadw.

Davis, P. R., 2013. *Three Chevrons Red. The Clares: amarcher dynasty in Wales, England and Ireland* (Logaston: Logaston Press).

Dixon, P. 2011. 'The pacification of the castle', in Airs and Barnwell 2011, 31–42.

Edwards, C. (trans.), 2006. Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parcival with Titurel and the Love-Lyrics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Edwards, J. Goronwy, 1944. 'Edward I's castle-building in Wales', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 32, 15–81.

Edwards, N. (ed.), 1997. *Landscape and Settlement in Medieval Wales* (Oxford: Oxbow).

——2009. 'Rethinking the Pillar of Eliseg', *Antiquaries Journal* 89, 143–77.

Everson, P., 1998. ' 'Delightfully surrounded with woods and ponds': field evidence for medieval gardens in England', in P. Pattison (ed.), *There by Design: field archaeology in parks and gardens,* British Archaeological Reports, British Series 267 (Oxford: Archaeopress), 32–8.

——2003. 'Medieval gardens and designed landscapes', in R. Wilson-North (ed.), *The Lie of the Land: aspects of the archaeology and history of the designed landscape in the south west of England* (Exeter: The Mint Press), 24–33.

Field, P. J. C., 2017. *Sir Thomas Malory. Le Morte d'Arthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer).

Fradley, M., 2006. 'Space and structure at Caernarfon Castle', *Medieval Archaeology* 50, 165–78.

Gilchrist, R., 1999. *Gender and Archaeology. Contesting the Past* (London and New York: Routledge).

Goodall, J. A. A., 2009. 'The baronial castles of the Welsh conquest', in Williams and Kenyon 2009, 155–65.

——2011. *The English Castle* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).

Gracia, P., 2015. 'Arthurian material in Iberia', in Hook 2015, 11–32.

Gradín, P. L., 2015. 'The Matière de Bretagne in Galicia from the XIIth to the XVth century', in Hook 2015, 118–61.

Gravett, C., 2007. *The Castles of Edward I in Wales, 1277–1307* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing).

Gregory, J. and Liddiard, R., 2016. 'Visible from afar? The setting at the Anglo-Norman donjon', in J. Davies, A. Riley, J-M. Levesque and C. Lapiche (eds), *Castles and the Anglo-Norman World* (Oxford: Oxbow Books), 147–58.

Guy, B., 2018. 'Constantine, Helena, Maximus: on the appropriation of Roman history in medieval Wales, *c*. 800–1250', *Journal of Medieval History* 5, 381–405.

Hallam, E. M., 1991. 'The Eleanor crosses and royal burial customs', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Eleanor of Castile 1290–1990: Essays to commemorate the 700th anniversary of her death: 28 November 1290* (Stamford: Paul Watkins), 9–22.

Hamilton Thompson, A., 1912. *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Harvey, J., 1981. *Medieval Gardens* (London: Batsford).

Hemp, W. J., 1926. 'Denbigh Castle', *Y Cymmrodor* 36, 64–120.

Heslop, T. A., 1991. 'Orford Castle, nostalgia and sophisticated living', *Architectural History* 34, 36–58.

Hislop, M., 2016. *Castle Builders. Approaches to Castle Design and Construction in the Middle Ages* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books).

Hollwey, C., 2015–16. 'From Chilham via Caernarfon to Thornbury – the rise of the polygonal tower', *Castles Studies Group Journal* 29, 264–85.

Hook, D. (ed.), 2015. *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages. Vol. 8. The Arthur of the Iberians. The Arthurian legend in the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).

Hopewell, D., 2003. 'Roman Fort Environs 2002–2003', unpublished report, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust Report No. 479.

——2007. 'Roman Roads in North-West Wales: G1632', unpublished report, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust Report No. 668.

Impey, E. and Parnell, G., 2000. *The Tower of London: The Official Illustrated History* (London: Merrell Publishers).

James, T. B., 1990. *The Palaces of Medieval England, c. 1050–1550* (London: Seaby).

Jenkins, D. (ed.), 1990. *The Law of Hywel Dda. Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer Press).

Johnson, M., 2002. *Behind the Castle Gate. From Medieval to Renaissance* (London: Routledge).

Johnstone, N., 1997. 'An investigation into the location of the royal courts of thirteenth-century Gwynedd', in Edwards 1997, 55–69.

——2000. '*Llys* and *maerdref*: the royal courts of the princes of Gwynedd', *Studia Celtica* 32, 167–210.

Jones, A. (ed.), 1910. *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Jones, G. R. J., 2000. 'Llys and Maerdref', in Charles-Edwards *et al.* 2000, 96–318.

Jones Pierce, T. and Griffiths, J., 1937–39. 'Documents relating to the early history of the borough of Caernarvon', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 9, 237–8.

Keats-Rohan, K., 2015. ' 'Most securely fortified': Wallingford Castle 1071–1540', in N. Keats-Rohan, N. Christie and D. Roffe (eds), *Wallingford: the Castle and the Town in Context*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 621 (Oxford: Archaeopress), 34–270.

Keevill, G. D., 2000. *Medieval Palaces. An Archaeology* (Stroud: Tempus).

Kelham, E., 1776. *A Dictionary of the Norman or Old French Language* (London: Edward Brooke).

Kenney, J. and Parry, L., 2012. 'Excavations at Ysgol yr Hendre, Llanbeblig, Caernarfon: a possible construction camp for *Segontium* fort and early medieval cemetery', in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*161, 249–84.

Kightly, C., 1991. *A Royal Palace in Wales, Caernarfon* (Cardiff: Cadw).

King, A., 2016. *Edward I. A New King Arthur* (Milton Keynes: Penguin Random House).

King, D. J. C., 1983. *Castellarium Anglicanum: an Index and Bibliography of the Castles in England, Wales, and the Islands*, vol. 1 (Millwood, New York: Kraus International).

Labarge, M. W., 1965. *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Eye and Spottiswoode).

Landsberg, S., 1995. *The Medieval Garden* (London: British Museum Press).

Leyser, H., 1995. *Medieval Women. A Social History of Women in England 450–1500* (1996 edn, St Helens: The Book People).

Liddiard, R., 2000. *Landscapes of Lordship: Norman Castles and the Countryside in Medieval Norfolk, 1066–1200*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 309 (Oxford).

——2005. *Castles in Context. Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press).
—— (ed.) 2007a. *The Medieval Park. New Perspectives* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press).
——2007b. 'Introduction', in Liddiard 2007a, 1–10.
——2009. 'A research agenda for the Edwardian castles', in Williams and Kenyon 2009, 193–7.
——(ed.), 2016. *Late Medieval Castles* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).
Lilley, K. D., 2009. 'The landscapes of Edward's new towns: their planning and design', in Williams and Kenyon 2009, 99–113.
Lloyd-Morgan, C., 1991. '*Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* and later Arthurian literature', in R. Bromwich, A. O. Jarman, B. F. Roberts (eds), *The Arthur of the Welsh. The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press), 183–208.
Longley, D., 1997. 'The royal courts of the Welsh princes of Gwynedd, AD 400–1283', in Edwards 1997, 41–54.
——2009. 'Gwynedd before and after the conquest', in Williams and Kenyon 2009, 16–26.
Loomis, R. S. (ed.), 1959. *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages. A Collaborative History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
MacDougall, E. (ed.), 1986. *Medieval Gardens* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection).
Martin, M. A., 2019. *Castles and Space in Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer).
Matthews, C., 1989. *Arthur and the Sovereignty of Britain. King and Goddess in the Mabinogion* (Suffolk: Richard Clay).
Matthews, J. F., 1982–83. 'Maximus and Constantine', *Welsh History Review* 11, 431–49.
McNeill, T., 2006. 'The view from the top', in J. De Meulemeester (ed.), *Mélanges d'Archaéologie Mediévale: Liber amicorum en homage à André Matthys* (Namure: Les Cahiers de l'Urbanisme), 122–27.
McNichol, D., 2016. 'Ysgol yr Hendre, Llanbeblig. Archaeological Trial Trenching and Limited Desk-Based Assessment Report. Project No. G2464', unpublished report, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust. Report No. 1316.
Mesqui, J., 1991. *Chateaux et enceintes de la France Médiévale*, vol. 1 **(**Paris: Picard).
Messer, D. R., 2018. 'Impressions of Welsh queenship in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in E. Woodacre (ed.), *A Companion to Global Queenship* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press), 147–58.
Micha, A., 1959. 'Miscellaneous French Romances in verse', in Loomis 1959, 358–92.
Mickel, E. J. and Nelson, J. A. (eds), 1977. *The Old French Crusade Cycle. Vol. 1. La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne Elioxe* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press).
Moorhouse, S., 2007. 'The medieval parks of Yorkshire: function, contents and chronology', in Liddiard 2007a, 99–127.
Morris, R. K., 1998. 'The architecture of Arthurian enthusiasm: castle symbolism in the reigns of Edward I and his successors', in M. Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford: Paul Watkins), 63–81.
——2016. 'The architecture of Arthurian enthusiasm: castle symbolism in the reigns of Edward I and his successors', in Liddiard 2016, 349–74.
Mortet, V., 1911. 'Chronique de Lambert d'Ardres', in V. Mortet and P. Deschamps, *Recueil des Texts Relatifs à l'Histoire de L'Ârchitecture en France,* vol. 1 (Paris: A. Picard), 183–6.
Neaverson, E., 1947. *Medieval Castles in North Wales. A Study of Sites, Water Supply and Building Stones* (Liverpool and London: University Press of Liverpool, Hodder and Stoughton).

Nelson, J. A. (ed), 1977. *The Old French Crusade Cycle. Vol. 2. Le Chevalier au Cygne and La Fin d'Elias* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press).

Nichol, D., 2005. 'Geological provenance of Caernarfon Castle and town walls', in M. G. Bassett, V. K. Deisler and D. Nichol (eds), *Urban Geology in Wales* 2 (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales), 204–8.

Norris, R., 2008. *Malory's Library: The Sources of the Morte D'Arthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer).

O'Keeffe, T., 2018. 'Roscommon Castle, the Otherworld and the True Cross', in N. Guy (ed.), *Castles: History, Archaeology, Landscape, Architecture, and Symbolism. Essays in Honour of Derek Renn* (Castles Studies Group), 190–204.

Orme, N., 2006. 'The Lady of the Swans', in M. Meek (ed.), *The Modern Traveller to our Past. Festschrift in honour of Ann Hamlin* (Belfast: DPK Publishers), 298–300.

Oswald, A., Ashbee, J., Porteous, K. and Huntley, J., 2006. *Dunstanburgh Castle, Northumberland: Archaeological Research and Historical Investigations*, English Heritage Research Department Report 26/2006 (Swindon).

Owen, H. W. and Morgan, R., 2007. *Dictionary of the Place-names of Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer Press).

Owen, H. W., 2008. 'Place-names and the landscape of north-east Wales', in O. J. Padel and D. N. Parsons (eds), *A Commodity of Good Names. Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling* (Donington: Shaun Tyas), 239–52.

Peers, C. R., 1917. 'Carnarvon Castle', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 33, 28–74.

——1936. *Caernarvon Castle, Caernarvonshire* (London: HMSO).

Pennant, T., 1781. *A Tour in Wales*, vol. 2, taken from online transcription <www.carnarvontraders.com/pennant.shtml> accessed, 10 June 2018.

Phillips, A., 1961. *Caernarvon Castle. Castell Caernarfon. An Illustrated Souvenir* (repr. 1970, London: HMSO).

Pluskowski, A., 2007. 'The social construction of medieval park ecosystems: an interdisciplinary perspective', in Liddiard 2007a, 63–78.

Prestwich, M., 2009. 'Edward I and Wales', in Williams and Kenyon 2009, 1–8.

Pryce, H. (ed.), 2005. *The Acts of the Welsh Rulers 1120–1285* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).

RCAHMW 1960. *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Caernarvonshire. Volume II: Central*, Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire (London: HMSO).

Redknap, M. 2019. 'Seafaring in medieval legend', in M. Redknap, S. Rees, A. Aberg (eds), *Wales and the Sea. 10,000 Years of Welsh Maritime History* (Aberystwyth: RCAHMW), 20–1.

Reeve, M. D. (ed.) and Wright, N. (trans.). 2007. *Geoffrey of Monmouth. The History of the Kings of Britain: an edition and translation of De gestis Britonum (Historia regum Britanniae)*, Arthurian Studies 69 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press).

Richardson, A., 2003. 'Gender and space in English royal palaces *c.* 1160–*c*. 1547: a study in access analysis and imagery', *Medieval Archaeology* 48, 131–65.

——2007. ' 'The King's chief delights': a landscape approach to the royal parks of post-conquest England', in Liddiard 2007a, 27–48.

Richardson, S. and Dennison, E., 2014. 'A wall with a view? The gardens at Ravensworth Castle, N. Yorkshire', *Landscape History* 35, 21–38.

Roberts, Brynley F. (ed.), 2005. *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies).

Rollason, D., 2016. *The Power of Place. Rulers and their Palaces, Landscapes, Cities and Holy Places* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).

Rothwell, H. (ed.), 1957. *The Chronicle of Walter Guisborough: previously edited as the Chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*, Camden Series 89 (London: Royal Historical Society).

Salter, M., 1997. *The Castles of North Wales* (Malvern: Folly Publications).
Smith, L. Beverley, 1988. 'The governance of Edwardian Wales', in T. Herbert, and G. E. Jones (eds), *Edward I and Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), 73–95.
——2011. 'Llywelyn's Hall at Conwy', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 160, 205–18.
——2014. *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. Prince of Wales* (new edn, Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
Smith, S. G., 2018. 'Rills and Romance: gardens at the castles of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Edward I in Wales', in P. Skinner and T. Tyers (eds), *The Medieval and Early Modern Garden in Britain. Enclosure and Transformation, c. 1200–1750* (Abingdon: Routledge), 71–95.
Sparnaay, H., 1959. 'The Dutch Romances', in Loomis 1959, 480–519.
Stacey, R. C., 2000. 'King, queen, and *edling* in the Laws of Court', in Charles-Edwards *et al.* 2000, 29–62.
Stannard, J., 1986. 'Alimentary and medicinal uses of plants', in MacDougall 1986, 69–113.
Steane, J., 1993. *Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarch* (1999 edn, London: Routledge).
Stoker, R. B., 1965. *The Legacy of Arthur's Chester* (London: Convenant Publishing).
Suggett, R., 2011. 'Living like a lord: greater houses and social emulation in Late Medieval Wales', in Airs and Barnwell 2011, 1–95.
Swallow, R., 2012. 'Landscape of power: Aldford Castle, Cheshire', *Cheshire History Journal* 52, 5–28.
——2014. 'Palimpsest of Border power: the archaeological survey of Dodleston Castle, Cheshire', *Cheshire History Journal* 54, 24–51.
Sykes, N., 2007. 'Aminal bones and animal parks', in Liddiard 2007a, 49–62.
Taylor, A. J., 1953. *Caernarvon Castle and Town Walls, Caernarvonshire* (repr. 1956, London: HMSO).
——1986. *The Welsh Castles of Edward* I (London: Hambledon).
——2015. *Caernarvon Castle and Town Walls, Caernarvonshire* (Cardiff: Cadw).
Taylor, C. C., 1998a. *Parks and Gardens of Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
——1998b. 'From recording to recognition', in P. Pattison (ed.), *There by Design,* British Archaeological Reports, British Series 267 (Oxford), 1–6.
Taylor, P. (ed.), 2006. *The Oxford Companion to the Garden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Thurley, S., 1993. *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press).
Toy, S., 1970. *The Castles of Great Britain* (London: Heinemann).
——1985. *Castles, Their Construction and History* (New York: Dover Publications).
Turner, R., 2009. 'The life and career of Richard the Engineer', in Williams and Kenyon 2009, 46–58.
Wagner, A. R., 1959. 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', *Archaeologia* 97, 127– 38.
Ward, J. C., 1992. *English Noble Women in the Later Middle Ages* (London and New York: Routledge).
Werness, H. B., 2004. *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (New York: Continuum).
Wheatley, A., 2004. *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England* (York: York Medieval Press).
——2009. 'Caernarfon Castle and its mythology', Williams and Kenyon 2009, 129–39.
Whitaker, M. A., 1984. 'Otherworld castles in Middle English Arthurian Romance', in K. Reyerson and F. Powe, *The Medieval Castle. Romance and Reality* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing), 27–46.
Williams, A. B., 1821. *The Tourist's Guide through the County of Carnarvon, containing a short sketch of its History, Antiquities, &c*. (Caernarvon: J. Hulme).
Williams D. and Kenyon, J. (eds), *The Impact of the Edwardian Castle in Wales* (Oxford: Oxbow).
Williams-Jones, K., 1978. 'Caernarfon', in R. A. Griffiths (ed.), *Boroughs of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), 73–101.
Woolgar, C. M., 1999. *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).