

THE MEDIEVAL PALACE

Hello, and welcome to a podcast from Royal Collection Trust, in this lecture recorded in Windsor Castle Dr Steven Brindle explores the medieval history of the castle's development, he highlights new discoveries based on recent archaeological and documentary research. To find out more about our future events, see that What's On section of our website.

Thank you Richard. Sure I'll be reminded of the enormous longevity of my own connection with Windsor, with all of the disturbing implications that has ladies and gentlemen I'm going to talk today about Windsor's development as a royal palace over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

Windsor just, to recap, for the benefit of those of you who were at my Royal Fortress lecture and those of you who weren't, was founded on a hill in a parish called Clewer probably more or less on the parish boundary between Clewer and Windsor two miles from the place then called Windsor, probably in 1070 or '71, those being years when William the Conqueror held his Whitsun Court at Saxon Windsor this being a, really a very bad time for England indeed, years when England was going up in flames in rebellion, and the Conqueror didn't have time to deal with the Thames Valley so he delegated it to a number of local landowners and he ordered them to found three castles at Oxford, Wallingford and Windsor, and a number of baronies were rushed together, were created in order to owe it castle guard, provide it with a garrison and a motte and bailey was rushed up and a man called William FitzOther was appointed as its constable and is the first Warden of Windsor Forest. And there is no reason at all to think that the castle was a royal residence and that we, well we more or less know that it wasn't, it was a fortress run up to help control the Thames Valley, the reason for it being on its present site and not – not at Old Windsor are not obvious, the most plausible explanation that I can see are that it was to command a crossing place over the river, the difficulty being that we don't know when the Thames was first bridged.

So there is a degree, of mystery about the circumstances of its foundation, and I've produced an interpretation of that for the book but it is only that an interpretation. The castle became

a royal residence early in the twelfth century when Henry I moved the royal residence from Windsor up the hill to the castle, and he built the first stone buildings which very probably consisted of a group of buildings there, the core of the present state apartments, and there was no – and he probably built a great hall and maybe some adjoining buildings in the lower ward too, and it was probably in this period in the reign of Henry I, that the upper and lower wards were developed their present dimensions there'd have been no real need for the castle to have such large wards, such long defensive lines in its first incarnation so early in the 12th century the castle grew and it became a royal residence and it acquired stone buildings, and then the reign of Henry II, the stone, defe-

- the original earth and timber defences which we presume to have been there were rebuilt in stone and there is evidence of a stone wall being about the king's houses, and the fact that this needed to be built suggested that there was not a stone – that there weren't stone defences there previously. And this is the starting point for today this is our reconstruction of the castle during the 1216 siege one of the most dangerous moments in the castle's history, a mixture of things we definitely know and things we sort of know, and things we, are sort of hypothesising. There is, there was one rather embarrassing mistake in this in that I write in the text all about the vineyard on the south slopes which I then forgot to tell the reconstruction artist about,

and I had to send an apologetic e mail about it and ask him to turn this rather scrubby ground into a rather trashed looking vineyard which, he is now doing he is a very wonderful man as you, might imagine from the drawing. So there we have the castle at the start of the story in 1216, a somewhat unfortunate year for England in general and certainly for Windsor, the castle certainly suffered a lot of damage and there can be little doubt that the town did with a substantial French army camped all over it, it's pretty unlikely that locals got off scot free. So there we are, Windsor was one of the key fortresses in the south of England, Windsor and Dover held out for horrible old King John, under its constable Engelhard of Cygonya who was one of King John's henchman a figure for whom the word henchman surely is the applicable one, and Engelhard remained as the castle's Constable in the early years of the next reign John – John's little son Henry the Third. Now it was in Henry the Third's reign that Windsor's status rose appreciably, previously this had been one of a constellation of residences in what you might call the Thames Valley and Central Wessex area, and you could not really say that Windsor was pre-eminent among them. If you look at the itineraries of the King Henry I, King Henry II and of John, what you see is the place where they spent most time was Westminster,

and after that they tended time for preference in this Central Wessex, Thames Valley area, because that was where the English kings had most mean land, had most royal forest land and had most residences really, Windsor and Guildford and Winchester and Marlborough and Clarendon and Woodstock and at the far end Gloucester all of that rather fell out of use, um, and they itinerated around this area, and Windsor was probably somewhere behind Woodstock and somewhere about level with Clarendon in terms of royal usage in the reign of Henry I and the reign of Henry II in both of their cases they clearly preferred Woodstock to Windsor.

So one – can say it was important but you shouldn't make too great, um, too large claims for it, um, but in the reign of Henry the Third Windsor's status shifted appreciably not in the early reign, during the King's golden years of his reign if you like the 1230's and 40's this became, um, the second residence to Westminster the most important out of town residence,

it became the Versailles, and for the first part of this talk we'll be looking at the stages by which it became so. So this is the castle as it was in the 12th century, Henry II surrounded the upper wood with, um, with stone walls, and he very probably, um, built the first shell keep, though we don't absolutely know that.

And it's quite likely that much of the lower ward remained surrounded by earth and timber defences though we don't absolutely know that anyway, that is why the line is dotted as well as grey. Um, Engelhard de Cygonya the Constable of Windsor was, um, the man in charge of the castle during the turbulent minority of King Henry the Third,

very gradually the regency government of the young king gained political power, and in 1224 they managed to take back the royal castles from the constables who'd been running them and who'd really been much too independent. And a man called Hubert de Burgh who was by that stage the effective head of the government, um, became particular Keeper of Windsor and he appointed a number of junior constables beneath him,

and Hubert is a very important figure in Windsor's history, um, because he was himself a soldier a great renown, he was an expert on castle design and he was an expert on siege warfare. Hubert had defended the chateaux of Chinon in Touraine during a year long siege in 1204, while King John was busy losing Touraine and Normandy and Agneaux, Hubert bravely defended Chinon for a year as its walls were battered down and rammed in, and then spent, spent two years in a French prison. And he came back to England and King John gave him the charge of Dover Castle, and Hubert defended that successfully through two sieges in 1216 and 1217, so when Hubert became effectively the head of government and then the Keeper of Windsor in the 1220's, um,

he set about completing the castle's defences and there seems little doubt that the completion of Windsor's defences which we know to have happened in these years was essentially supervised by Hubert, and profited from the experience both of the siege of Windsor itself and Hubert's experience of the siege of Dover. And so the extension of the defences well it embodied, it took in all sorts of, um, fancy – fancy new ideas in castle design, and was generally greatly more sophisticated in design than 12th century walls built, um, by Henry II. And we think that the work probably included three sallyports, the south bow and the east bow which still exist under the upper ward, that's the one you've probably heard of which is accessible, the east bow is not we know it's still there from drawings, and there's the sallyport under the Curfew Tower some of you may even have seen that one too, and the castle reached its present dimensions and really it's been, remained defined by the stone carapace ever since. So here's a brief glimpse of what Hubert supervised and what the royal masons built in the 1220's, the most spectacular aspect to the work of the 1220's of course is the western curtain wall with its three great drum towers, and that still stands and still looks quite a lot as it did when it was first built give or take a, um, a pointy roof wall so, um, and there is the famous Curfew Tower a masterpiece of 13th century tower design, um, but the 13th century works round the castle are not complete of course because it would have had a gateway, we know from the accounts that the gateway had a tower to each side of it, we know that it had two chambers, um, above the gate so we know it was three floors high, we know roughly its dimensions from the dimensions of the Henry the Eighth gate which is 85 feet high, and I think it's reasonable to hypothesise that the new great gate at Windsor, um, took its place, um, in a well established, a well established sequence of gate houses with d-shaped towers which were built in England, um, in the late 12th and 13th and right through the 13th century actually, so chronologically speaking it would have been about somewhere between Chepstow on the left and Tunbridge on the right, and so I measured the gap and I had a look at various comparisons, and I designed something to, to fit the gap, um, because if you're going to produce a reconstruction drawing of the lower ward as we have you – obviously it would need a gate house, and obviously I'd need something to show the artist and I like to, um, be exact about these things so I designed something to scale as you can see, and I drew plans and based the design of the towers on the Curfew Tower as one would. Um, and so Henry the Third's, um, castle complete with curtain walls would probably have had a gate house which may have looked something like that,

and that's what the Henry the Eighth gate then replaced, um, in the, either in the late 15th or early 16th century we don't really know there's a considerable mystery about this, we have a rough idea when the Henry the Eighth gate was built because of the payment of a thousand pounds for work in the castle in about 1509-1510 we don't know what else that could apply to,

why was this done? Well Tim Tatton-Brown has suggested that because the 13th century gate house would have had a gate passage that was probably no more than 10 or 12 feet wide, when Richard Beacham Bishop of Salisbury wanted to built the new Saint George's Chapel and was given carte blanche to demolish whatever he liked in the lower ward in order to do so, that it may plausibly have been at that point that the old gate house went as being an inconvenient obstacle to the new works,

which is an inter- very interesting idea but is, um, is a hypothesis but Tim's really good at imaginative leaps of that kind. So I think there's a lot in it, now we come to my unfortunately fuzzy image of King Henry the Third I honestly, um, probably didn't have my glasses on when i, um, stole that from whichever website it was, um,

Henry the Third from his famous tomb effigy in Westminster Abbey, the first English king of whom we can confidently say that he was a patron of the arts he wasn't just a great builder, the man who rebuilt Westminster Abbey which I think by any standard has to count as the greatest single royal act of patronage of the arts in English history, sorry George the Fourth, um, I'm sorry the Royal Pavilion at Brighton does not really come close, nor even does your rebuilding of Windsor Castle itself when it's Westminster Abbey we're talking about. Um, remind you who Henry was because this kind of sort of becomes relevant, I seem to spend quite a lot of my time, um, explaining to the Royal Collections publicity departments why, why various abstruse passages of 13th century history are in my estimation relevant,

and then as the editorial red pencil wobbles alarmingly above them, um, there is King John, um, there is his somewhat unfortunate marriage en seconde not to a lady called Isabella of Angouleme, which contributed to the loss of Angevin France, there is his elder son our hero King Henry the Third,

and there is his younger brother Richard of Cornwall and these two brothers, um, married two sisters Eleanor of Province and Sanchia of Provence, um, and they were closely related by marriage by in fact, um, another sister to Louis the Ninth of France, um, and,

there were close connections between the Angevin dynasty and the Capetian kings of France in this generation so Louis the Ninth of France was both Henry the Third's, one of Henry the Third's in laws and his overlord as King of France where Henry was still the Duke of Gascony, and at times – at times friend and at times enemy, they were royal frenemies, um,

only King Louis by this time had a more stable throne and a lot more money, um, and he was building things like, um, the Saint Chappelle palace which threw poor King Henry into a frenzy of cultural status anxiety as we shall shortly see. Now Henry married Eleanor of Provence, when he was about 25 and she was about, um, 11 I think and the marriage was, um, consummated a few years later when she'd reached a more suitable age like 15 or something, and their first born child Lord Edward was born in 1239 and they had a family, um, five children of whom four lived to adulthood, and the family were brought up at Windsor Castle and that becomes a very important factor in this story as we shall surely, we shall shortly see. Now, Queen Eleanor, um, invited a whole load of her relatives to England, um, they were members of the ruling house of Savoy and were her relations through her mother, and there were four brothers Boniface and Theodore and William and Peter of Savoy, and Peter of Savoy, um, built the first Savoy Palace on the Thames on the site of the Savoy Hotel, and Boniface became the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas of Savoy just received a lot of land, and the Savoy faction who eventually numbered about 170 became a, um, a very powerful though not dominant influence at court. And shortly afterwards another rather smaller group of people arrived who you see up here, they're known to history as the Lucignans, and they were the children of Isabella of Angouleme's second husband Hugh of Lucignan Count of La Marche, they were Henry the Third's half brothers as you see they had their mother in common, and they came to France and they were given titles like the Bishop, Aymer became the Bishop of Winchester, Alice married a great heir John de Warren, William became the Lord of Pembroke, um, and, um, the Lucignans at court were the King's men, and the Savoyards were the Queen's men and so the court at Windsor, um, was heavily foreign dominated was obviously French speaking, um, was closely tied to the contemporary French aristocracy and to the French court and to the court of Provence, and over time, um, this continental character to the court and the King's mostly rather unsuccessful continental policies which were aimed recovering his lost French dominions tended to get up English people's noses so, um, although you, we all like to think of Windsor as being a great national symbol, in the reign of Henry the Third Windsor was a symbol of a rather kind, because it was run by these people, they were all from Savoy, they were all the Queen's men, and the fact that she put members of her own faction the Savoyard faction at court in charge of it would have had a particular meaning both within the court and the people around because if you ran Windsor that meant you ran East Berkshire,

and the Constable of – and the Sheriff of the rest of Berkshire had just, um, had to keep his mouth shut and keep out he had no actual right of entry. So this end of Berkshire was run by this succession of people who were in Queen Eleanor's faction and the reason I think that the castle had become so important to Queen Eleanor was because shortly after their first child Lord Edward was born,

the royal couple decided that this was going to be their children's home and it's less than six months after Lord Edward was born, um, a chamber was adapted was lengthened for him another chamber was added to it somewhere in the upper ward, and as more, as more royal children were born in that order so Windsor became the home of the royal children and a household was set up for them here,

and because the royal children lived here permanently, um, and had their household here in the road was full of deliveries of things like food stuffs and wine and clothes and liveries for the children of our household, Queen Eleanor spent a lot of time here and because Eleanor was here a lot of the time and his children here, Henry the Third started spending a lot of time here,

and if you analyse King Henry the Third's itinerary you find that although Windsor had no particular profile in the 1220's and the 1230 in the early years of his reign once his children have been born and are actually living here Windsor became the second most used royal residence after Westminster, it became the second royal residence outside London, a role which it has enjoyed on and off ever since and does to this day as you know it begins with this family, um, even if they were a family with a rather, with something of a foreign accent shall we say. So, we have the Savoyard constables, Bernard of Savoy was probably an illegitimate son of Thomas of Savoy,

Peter of Geneva was another sort of cousin, Maud de Lacey, um, was I think married to Peter of Geneva she was a great English noble woman, um, Stephen de Satonay was Bernard of Savoy's (nepot?) which probably means his illegitimate son, or that's the nearest translation to that I can essay, and I don't quite – quite know where they came from exactly but, certainly Savoy was somewhere there in the background and they're with the royal children, and here is there household they had two keepers one who was English and one of whom was yet another Savoyard so what a surprise, there were four unnamed ladies, there was someone called Richard, there's their chaplain who's called Simon Wickham, there's their cook who's English 'cos he's called Godwin, they had a laundress, and there were a number of young men of children of noble families who were staying with our children at Windsor for instance there's the heir to the lordship of Annick,

and because he was something of a prize on the marriage market he was married off, um, to yet another Savoyard woman, what a surprise, by Queen Eleanor at the great age of ten. So

there we are, um, Windsor simply full of royal children and noble children living with them, and eight boys and gentry pages as tending on them and a household probably numbering about 30,

which you think of as liv- of living more or less here, pretty well where we are now in the upper ward in the 12th century King's houses. And the children's household sits within the larger castle establishment in the 1250's, this is something that I've worked out from the close rolls and the pipe rolls and the liberal rolls and the fine rolls and the patent rolls and the charter rolls and I think there's another set which I forget about now but, ah,

they all kind of merge into a terrible medieval blur when you've been doing it for a whole year. Um, so there we are, and we have the constable who's a Savoyard, we have the chaplains who surprisingly weren't, we have the Keeper of the King's Houses until 1252 when the role was abolished, and we have the garrison which is paid for from the castle guard fees you may remember me refer- alluding to,

and probably about four knights, eleven sergeants, four watchmen, about 90 pounds in wages in the year so it cost rather more than the, um, the castle guard fees to keep it running there's a gate keeper, there are porters to keep the gate of the second ward that probably means the middle ward the one at the head of what's now the lower ward which has gone, there was a carpenter, there was an engineer,

there was an artisan of cross bows who made cross bows here and was periodically required to send large deliveries of them to other places where such things were deemed necessary.

Um, so there's a large permanent community, and the Constable himself would, and remember that this is only, um, the start of it because most of these people would have had either families or servants or both,

and so we're probably looking at a children's household of about 30 and a wider castle establishment of maybe a 100 as a permanent population in the reign of Henry the Third and that, um, is without the Queen's household when she was here, and the King's household when he was, and when they were all there then the castle's population probably rose to something like a thousand though that is a fairly wild guess.

Um, and there were chaplains to because King Henry the Third a man who heard mass every day, um, the most pious man probably ever to have sat on the English throne because I think Edward the – Edward the Confessor's piety is slightly a matter of, um, of Norman PR, Henry the Third's is perfectly real and genuine,

Henry loved chaplains, he loved friars, um, he is supposed to have entertained 50 friars to lunch every day in which ever royal residence he was living, um, and periodically at for instance Christmas and Easter he would send orders to his much harassed sheriffs and castle constables, and he would say things like,

I want you to feed as many poor children as will fit in the hall of the upper ward, and as many poor old people as will fit in the hall of the round tower, and the hall in the, um, in the lower ward, and you're to give them all shoes and see that you feed them properly. Or he would say, I want you to feed a thousand poor people on Easter Sunday, and – and give them shoes. And these orders would just come, and they were supposed to cope, you know, with about a week's notice, I don't know, terrible man to work for but, um, but very good to the poor, concerned to live up to his reputation the ideal of the King as a protector of the poor, so there's much to be said for King Henry, but I'm very glad I don't work for him.

Um, now there was a chapel in the outer bay and we don't really know where that was and it's gone, but certainly there would have been one because that was where the outer household, the hoi polloi lived they slept in the, and ate in the Great Hall in the outer bay and they had to have a chapel to work in, and the Queen had a chapel in the upper bay and I'm going to go over the geography a bit more shortly,

and there was a chapel in the Round Tower and there was a chapel in the, um, in the park too. Um, but in the 1240's Henry the Third built a whole other chapel in the lower ward, um, and he ordered another four chaplains to be appointed but actually it turned out that one of them was one of the ones that was already here so, so the total was probably seven, but, um, the salary bill proved slightly too much so by the 1250's that had drifted back down to four, but nevertheless there were a lot of chape- chapels and several chaplains here to go with them. Now to try and, um, fit functions to places a bit here, now here I have to admit that we have, um,

we have at great trouble and expense commissioned a beautiful new reconstruction drawing of the castle, um, as I think it would have appeared in 1272 that is to say at the death of good King Henry the Third, um, but unfortunately, um, I e mailed the wrong version of my presentation, um, to Richard so we don't have it,

I am showing you another four reconstructions, um, so I'm afraid you will just have to wait for the publication of the book to – for the exquisite excitement of seeing Windsor as it may have appeared in 1272 from the west, um, sorry about that but the publication department will be probably be glad, um, they want to keep a few surprises back for publication of a book so, so they would say I'd sent the right e mail and the right version.

Anyway moving on, because I feel I'm getting, starting to go round in circles, in the 12th century there were the King's houses up here and there was a Great Hall down there, and these represented the inner and the outer sides of the household but lots of people would have had access to the upper ward and if you wanted to see the King you would have had to go there because that's where he was.

But it would seem that when Windsor became the home of the royal children that the upper ward, um, became sort of cordoned off, became a more private inner area and the 12th century King's houses were given over for the children and new chambers were built. And, before very long new chambers were built for Queen Eleanor up here, and the hall in the upper ward was renamed the Queen's Hall and the chapel was renamed the Queen's Chapel, and the kitchen was renamed the Queen's Kitchen, um, and the Queen Eleanor got a new two storey chamber and, um, a new oratory and all that sort of thing, but we know that the King kept a chamber up here so he had somewhere to stay when he went to be with his family in private, and so as you see there is a whole new degree of privacy here for the royal family from 1239 onwards, because Henry the Third wants his children to be brought up and to – in seclusion and he wants to be able to have, to retreat with his family here and not be bothered by the hoards of people that are banging on the door and asking to be made the Bishop of Bath and Wells or whatever, um, or asking to be sent as, sent on embassies to Rome or something, or asked not to be sent on embassies to Rome, at any rate he wants to be, he wants a bloody peace and quiet. So there we are, upper ward becomes private, the Round Tower, um, which we know to have been rebuilt in the 1220's with a suite of timber buildings was probably a separate household, we know this because it had a kitchen and it had a well, and that probably housed the Constable, um, the Savoyard Constable with his Savoyard wife and Savoyard children and Savoyard servants. So the royal children are here, Queen Eleanor's here, the Queen's household's here, the Constable's there, the Constable's household's there, the Constable has a chapel with a chaplain here, the Queen has a chapel with a chaplain there.

The King has a chamber probably here which is where he goes when he's having down time with the family. That means the rest of the household, um, now only have the lower wards to live in or the lower and the middle wards, and the porter of the second gate well he's probably keeping that gate so that gate first, second, so this gate seems to mark either that gate or that gate but, because this one has two porters that may mark the boundary between inner and outer in this period. And in 1240, um, because the upper ward the previous year had become a home for – the royal family home, King Henry orders the building of a new suite apartments in the lower ward, so that can house more of the functions of a palace so,

the court and the household can be down here while the royal family are up there, and he orders, um, a new chamber or rather pair of chambers to be built, and a cloister and a grass plot and a great new chapel, and the Queen – the King's going to have a chamber 60 feet long, and the Queen's going to have a chamber 40 feet long, and that presumably means so that the queen could participate in a seemly and decent manner with her own space and her ladies around her, um,

in court events, in court entertainment, so the Queen can come out and take part in court life down there just as the King can retreat to his own chamber to have private time with his family. So there is a new degree, a whole new set of gradations of privacy and the use of space which is new in English court life,

and that sort of idea, um, that access to particular chambers and particular areas depends on your hier- your place in the hierarchy and your degree of access to the King, that really can be dated to the reign of Henry the Third, not at you might think to the Tudors. Um, now a certain amount remains of this, only not very much,

of the Great Chapel, um, what remains is the North Wall and the West End Wall and you doubtless know the areas I mean, um, the South Side of the Dean's Cloister and what was the West Wall of Henry the Third's Great Chapel with its wonderful doors, these date from 124-1248, and were designed by a man called Henry of (Raines?), and were by way of being a curtain raiser for the construction of Westminster Abbey,

Master Henry of (Raines?) began this in 1240 and he began Westminster Abbey in 1245, and they are intimately connected, though their architectural detail. Um, now I've, um, spent much time, effort blood sweat and tears reconstructing the 13th century chapel, um, because that's the kind of thing I do for fun, um,

well it's either that or Grand Theft Auto Five, [laughter] um – that was a joke. Um, and, um, it was undoubtedly a building of great splendour, probably not really anywhere to sit unless you were a priest or the King or the Queen, um, probably standing room only, um, and, um, but it certainly had a cloister which linked it to the royal chambers, um,

and, um, with, um, and by thinking about medieval geometry I have, um, attempted a reconstruction, we know that it was very high in proportion and if you use a medieval geometry which is a whole other lecture so please don't get me started on that now, um, you can come out at two – with two different heights,

and I elected for the, the higher version which comes out looking like this, this is based on the (Swiss?) dimension derived from the square root of two, please don't expect – please don't ask me to explain that now, I will be publishing on it because that's what historians do, um, and, um, basically if you, um, if you draw enough equilateral triangles, um,

based on the dimensions, um, 7, 10, 14, 20 and 28, that's what you end up with, um, if you follow, if you, um – and borrowed the detail from Amiens Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, um, you get something looking like that so there are the surviving doors, there are the gables which I think originally sat over them, and there is a window based on the windows also designed by Henry de (Raines?) at the same time of the Westminster Abbey Chapter House. So as I say if you're going to reconstruct thing- if you're going to reconstruct the Lower Ward, then really you've got to reconstruct the chapel so that's what that was all about. Now, um, the chapel as you may know was then demolished by horrid old King Henry the Seventh boo hiss, and rebuilt as the somewhat less interesting, a memorial chapel with apologies to Master William Virtue but I mean really, um, in, um, [sound loss] the –80's, and so there are only sad fragments of the extraordinary highly decorated marvel that was Henry the Third's chapel, you are probably aware of these two that's a reset stone which forms part of the decoration of the Henry the Third's chapel, and in strange isolation this, um, head of the king is actually in situ, um, but, um, why that survives when everything around it was scraped off I really can't imagine but I suppose you should be grateful that anything survives at all really. So Henry the Third paid for scenes of painted decoration in lots and lots of places, um, and very little of it survives this was done by a man called Master William the – the Monk of Westminster, and this is all that survives of the scheme in the Great Chapel on which he worked for three or four years from about 1246 to 1250. Um, and we have one or two other things there are the West Doors which you've seen in an earlier slide and there's this funny fragment in Saint George's Chapel about a quarter of a font of Purbeck stone a marvellous thing and there's Jill Averton's reconstruction of what the Purbeck font might have looked like, so there were just these sad fragments of this lost marble, and really Henry the Third's chapel was a marvellous thing it would have been the architectural climax of the 13th century castle. Now we know that King Henry did a lot in the Upper Ward he spent, um, a lot about ten thousand pounds remodelling the King's Houses in the Upper Ward as the private residence for the royal children and for Eleanor of Provence, but really nothing of that remains recognisable or visible at all. However, there is one room in the Lower Ward, um, which does survive from his time, um, and the shell of this is intact I don't know how many of you recognise this but this is what's now the Meeting Room in Number 25 The Cloisters in the Upper Ward, um, now this might not look very much the fact that you have a medieval door and a medieval window, but actually this is something very rare indeed, King Henry the Third was a great builder, um, he commissioned decorated chambers at lots and lots of residences I haven't actually reckoned up by how many but it would be at least 20, 30, 40 of them,

and the pipe roll – the liberal rolls and the close rolls are full of orders to his harassed officials to build chambers and, and paint them and paint them with the Siege of Antioch or paint them with the parable of the wise and foolish virgins or, um, paint them with the story Dives and Lazarus whatever was on King Henry's pious mind at the time, um, but of all this, um, very little have survived and we have, there are fragments of painting in a chapel at Chester Castle which date from Henry the Third's time, there is a little chapel at Clifford's Tower in York which dates from Henry the Third's time that doesn't have any decoration, we have the records of the Painted Chamber at Westminster which was the, you know, the biggest of them all, but that was destroyed in the Westminster fire of 1834, ah so the only residential chamber commissioned of the 30, 40 or so commissioned by Henry the Third which survived structurally at all is this room. And what's more it has 13th century wall paintings. Now if that was a big enough build up, um, I'm not sure that, and that might – might be something of a let down.

Um, you're going to have to take my word for it, um, but these are actually, um, evidence of a very fine and very finely painted scheme in very strong colours by artists who really knew what they were doing, but you have to spend quite a long time looking at them in order to make very much of this, um,

these are roundels, that is something like a fleur de lys in a sort of grey blue on a sage green background, that is the aquamarine background to a roundel, and this is and you really will just have to take my word for this, that is Aquarius.

Um, that is the flying hem of his robe, that is one of his arms, that is the mouth of his jar, and that is the water which Aquarius the water carrier is pouring from his jar as doubtless you will recall from your, um, signs of the zodiac and this is what we medievalists like to call fictive drapery, um, above a zig zag pattern.

So there you go, um, I owe this to my colleague Dr David Park of the Courtauld Institute I think you probably literally have to be David Park in order to recognise that that is Aquarius, [laughter] um, be that as it may he did God bless him and David made this drawing with, it was a picture of drapery and that is what, um, is rather charmingly called, um, I think it's called is that bent fold, I think that's bent fold, um,

and those little dots and those are more little dots and there's Aquarius with his missing body parts helpfully sketched in, um, and there are the, um, fleur de lys things, but that's all that David did now I thought well that's, um, just this limited reconstruction of the area which, um, survives insofar as this could be said to survive.

Now I thought to myself, here is something rather special this the only, this is one of – this is one of only two Henry the Third palace mural schemes to survive, and the other is a roughly

similar amount of painting in the Chapel of Saint Mary in Castro, um, in Chester Castle, you know, there's about two heads literally.

And I thought well actually is there enough to reconstruct the design? Um, and so I spent about, um, half a day in a room with a tape measure with some kind assistance from the Deputy Archivist of St. George's, um, and I produced this and, um, various other things like it and I found that if this a –

if this is a zodiac scheme, or as Dr Park suggests for it to be proportionate there were probably another set of roundels, we do have comparative evidence for this I assure you we don't just make this up, um, well, ah, much – [laughter] much though it might look as if we do, um, the upper set of roundels in the comparative schemes would have the labours of the months,

so you've got the signs of the zodiac below, you putatively have the labours of the months above, um, and that, and that fits rather better, and if you measure it you find that the only way in which you can get this to come out as a set of 12, if you measure it comes up to a point just opposite the window opening, remember the window?

That window, so we're on the opposite wall, I've measured it, I've reflected it on to the opposite wall, I've found that the roundel is about here, on which basis, um, you reflect it on to this side of the room then you reflect it about the axis? of the window having realised that the room is symmetrical about the axis of the window. And then i, um,

and then I prayed to the soul of William Burgess, um, and drew that, um, and then I went through a long bout of correspondence with various learned friends about the possible form of the, of the ceiling of this room, and then I had a long correspondence with our lovely artist Bob Marshall and he produced that, um, which is rather isn't it –

hence the long build up, ah, which is, you didn't know they had photography in 1240 did you? Um, well that is just, just one of the remarkable revelations which will be vouchsafed to those purchasing Windsor Castle A Thousand Years A Royal Palace, ah, yes King Henry the Third's favourite photographer fortunately was on hand, and the transparency has just been discovered in the Royal Library as you see, um,

so there we are, um, there is the roundel scheme, there's the window, there would be traces of red paint found on the window reveal and all that kind of thing and my – and various good friends of mine kindly supplied me with pieces of, um, of fashionable 13th Century furniture to put in it, ah, so there it is and I sort of designed this stuff to, ah, just to fill up the wall because it was looking a bit empty,

and I sort of, um – originally I had a flat ceiling there because I thought it would be warmer but my eminent friend Dr Christopher Wilson said he thought that was rather unlikely so I

based this on one in Salisbury [cough] instead. So there we are, um, the, um, the first residential chamber of Henry the Third ever to have been reconstructed, which sadly also will be the last because it's the only one for which we have any evidence at all. So there you go you have been vouchsafed a unique moment in experimental archaeology, um, right enough of this airy persiflage, um, where we've got to by the death of good old King Henry, um, feeder of the poor, harasser of constables and patron of interior decorators, is that the, um, at the end of his, ah, his somewhat turbulent reign when he's back on his throne it having proved somewhat wobbly for some part of his reign, is that the upper ward remember had become a kind of private residence, that this is partly 12th century and part from the 13th century buildings, that he's spent a mint of money there, but it's all being rebuilt in the next reign as shortly you will see,

but the Castle Constable's still living here, and that the King and the greater part of the household are here, and the chaplains are living, um, in happy, um, pious, um, amity down there, or not as the case may be, and they are giving food to the poor as the King (unclear) there, and the Zodiac Chamber is here so it's one of the chambers which the King had built in the lower ward but, um,

and probably around 1240 I think possibly as a temporary measure while this complex was going up and there's the (unclear) Gatehouse and all that kind of thing and there's the town, and there was the castle positively bursting with people, you know, if the court's here maybe a thousand or so and so lots of members of the court had been billeted on the poor towns people under something called the livery of marshalcy, which everyone thoroughly resented. This is where, by the way, this is where the wonderful reconstruction, um, of the, of the castle in 1272 should have been, so you will probably, you will have to imagine it and buy the book, um, oh what a shabby trick that was, ah, but honestly I forgot about it and I put a version of the Power Point then I sent the wrong version to Richard so I – I am honestly sorry about that.

We now, um, fast forward about 50 years until 1327 and the accession of King Edward the Third who is seen here in a reconstruction of part of his lost decoration of Saint Stephen's Chapel in Westminster being, um, being admonished in adoration of Saint Stephen by his patron Saint George.

And there he is, um, wearing his surcoat of England, and Edward the Third of course, ah, a paragon of medieval chivalry, um, a conqueror of the French, victor of the Battle of Crecy and founder in 1347-8 of the Order of the Garter based here at Windsor.

Windsor had had a somewhat inglorious, um, 30 or 40 years there'd been a fire which had damaged the, the accommodation in the Lower Ward quite badly and it remained in ruins for quite a long time through the reign of Edward II who preferred to live in seclusion in Royal

Manor House in the park. And when Edward the Third founded the Order of the Garter, of which I'm sure you'll all have heard, um,

he established a new religious foundation, um, the College of Saint George in order to serve it and to give the Order of the Garter a sort of institutional permanence. And he effectively gave the greater part of the Lower Ward as a freehold to the new college.

And the heart of this was the chapel the 13th century chapel built by Henry the Third and the existing Great Hall which was where the, um, the canons and the (vicars?) of the new college were going to eat communally in the sort of way that they were supposed to, but they had to live somewhere and so a new cloister the Canons Cloister was built for them, um,

using some of the 12th and 13th century walls, but essentially a new timber frame building and new stone buildings went up around the cloister which already existed and a chapter house for the Order of the Garter and a hall for the warden above it, and lodgings for the chaplains which are now the upper part of the military knights' lodgings,

and all that happened between about 1350 and 1355 and we have very detailed building

accounts for all of this work, so that can be reconstructed in great detail, um, and, um, but I'm

not talking about this very much today, this would be like a whole other talk I suppose, um,

but the architectural highlights of this are the cloister and the (arrowry?) with their wonderful early English perpendicular, early perpendicular tracery,

ah built by a mason called John Spoonley possibly using designs left by a very great mason

called William Ramsey who'd died in 1348 almost [cough] of the black death. Um, so this very

smart piece of perpendicular architecture went up in the Lower Ward, now these years the

early 1350's were not on the face of it very propitious years for major architectural

enterprise, um, for a number of rather large reasons,

although the King had won the battle of Crecy and he'd taken French prisoners, um, the cost

to the campaign had been astronomic, he owed huge debts to Italian financiers, the kingdom's

finances were a disaster, and in 1348 the black death had broken out, a terrible tragedy in

which a third of the entire population of England had died.

So these works at Windsor were necessarily modest in their character, apart from the fine

architectural quality of that cloister, um, because England was in raging economic crisis at the

time, and that probably is why the Canons Cloister was built, ah, with a timber frame, really a

fairly simple building the timber frame only cost about 120 pounds,

and was run up fairly modestly and quickly despite the importance of this foundation. The

other thing which happened around this time, actually which had already happened in 1344

was that Edward the Third had made his famous abortive attempt to found an order of

knights a round table of 300 knights,

and he began a huge circular building at Windsor to, um, to house it or to house its ceremonies, this is the predecessor to the Order of the Garter, in 1344 Edward had had this idea a fantastic idea he thought we'll have a round table and we'll have, there'll be 300 knights and I'll build a house with a round table at Windsor,

and there are building accounts, um, for the, um, for the construction of that, but after three months the project was abandoned. And it might sound like a sort of chronicler's fable, um, when Time Team carried out their excavation in the Upper Ward about ten years ago they did find that section of the footings, enough to project the line of this thing, and confirmed that this strange story was in fact true. [cough] So that gives one some hint of the way in which Edward the Third was starting to view Windsor, as a new Camelot, as a home for an Order of the Round Table, and then as the home for the Order of the Garter, and as the home for the new College of Saint George. Now between the foundation of the Order of the Garter in 1348 and, um –

the building of these buildings 1350 to '55, well in 1356, um, the Black Prince won an extraordinary victory at Poitiers in France where with a slightly smaller army he defeated the army of King John II of France and took John II himself prisoner, and King David II of Scotland was already King Edward's prisoner,

and so Edward had his principal adversaries the Kings of Scotland and France were both his prisoners, and he could look forward literally to receiving two Kings' ransoms. And for John II the English very properly demanded a quite staggeringly huge ransom which the French were finding it a little difficult to pay because they'd suffered from the black death too,

and since the Battle of Poitiers their country completely collapsed, ah, in internal chaos, um, and at the Treaty of Breteuil in 1360 the French agreed to, um, to surrender an enormous tract of their kingdom the, the Duchy of Aquitaine at its largest ever, um, dimensions to Edward,

and to relieve the Duchy of its duty to the French Crown and also to surrender Calais to England in perpetuity, and eventually King John II, well rather his son the Dauphin Charles paid something like 120 thousand pounds which was something like four years' total royal revenue for the Kingdom of England in a good year,

and so Edward the Third from being, ah, really on his uppers was suddenly absolutely awash with cash, and that is the essential background and context, um, victory and a whole ton of ransom money for what happened next which was the rebuilding of the Upper Ward of Windsor Castle as a spectacular palace as the Versailles of its age,

and that is the reason for the contrast in the scale and grandeur between the buildings in the Lower Ward built against a background of plague and financial austerity, and the buildings of

the Upper Ward, well things were pretty austere at home but there was a whole ton of cash extorted from the French, to play with.

So there you are, um, mind you labour was still in very short supply and this was built not merely with French money, um, but with English labourers who were, um, who were impressed, who were forced to come to work here from as far away as Devonshire and Yorkshire, ah, by the hundred, the King's sheriffs had to be ordered to send masons, um, and send carpenters and, um, and imprison them and make them come by force and all that kind of thing, um, and you read terrible laconic things in the close roll, you are required to send another 20 masons and 20 carpenters these orders would go out to each of, um, each of the sheriffs of six counties, the King needs them there by the following Easter, because the masons that were employed on his works are all dead of the plague. –

That is one of the close roll entries. They were, they were forced to come here, because there were so many of them cooped up together and some of them (unclear) they died of the plague, so he ordered the sheriffs to send a whole lot more, that is how it was. Um, the rebuilding of Windsor had its architectural influence, ah, this is probably an instance, here are tall square English style towers, um, for the bailey of the Chateaux of Vincennes built in the 1370's by John II's son Charles the Fifth of France, that of course is a page from the (unclear) of John Duke de Berry, um, what you notice about, would notice about medieval Windsor is that its skyline has been enhanced,

the 12th century curtain walls were preserved but the towers got a lot higher and the turrets got a lot higher still, um, almost certainly something done deliberately to give the castle a spectacular Camelot like skyline – visible from miles away, which of course it has ever since.

So although the castle remained enclosed from its 12th and 13th century curtain walls, this wonderful skyline was deliberately created by Edward the Third's masons to be, um, to be visible, to be a symbol of chivalry and of royal authority from miles around as it has been ever since. And that is, um, might be seen as a French parallel, the reason we think this is evidence of English influence,

is that French chateaux architecture tended to favour, um, rounded or round towers with pointed caps and for French castle architecture to have square shapes and flat top roofs in this period is very unusual. And within the rebuilt Upper Ward Edward the Third's masons built a great new palace complex which essentially, um, survives to this day though very much – remodelled as the State Apartments. [cough]

And, um – though there was a lot of 12th and 13th century fabric in there still, um, it was really completely remodelled and we really have very little idea of the plan of the 12th and

13th century apartments, um, because of the completeness with which it was now remodelled this was done according to designs by Master John Spoonley, and carried out by, um, a mason called William Winford to went on to work for William of Wickham and who designed Winchester College and the New College Oxford for him and this, um, became a key building in the development of the English perpendicular style, and although, um, having so many masons forced to come here and live in close proximity and so many of them die of the plague and it was doubtless very unpleasant for them all, um, it seems likely, um, that this experience contributed to the spread of the English perpendicular style in the later reign of Edward the Third and in the reign of Richard II and, we know the names of a lot of the masons who are employed here, and I want to publish an article all about it, and you can trace the careers of a lot of those masons, of for example Robert Skillington who worked here, went on to build the Great Hall of Kenilworth Castle for John of Gaunt, and John Cleeve who also worked here, built the central tower of Worcester Cathedral, um, and William Winford who directed the work, ah, built the New College Oxford and Winchester College, and there are several more examples that one could cite. Um, so architecturally it was certainly [cough] influential, it was staggeringly expensive because of its size, and because the King had to breach his own statute of labour- labourers in order to keep the labourers here because they kept absconding. Um, anyway what he did was to build a sort of palace complex on the north side of the Upper Ward, and the other sides were lined with apartments, this was an age when the idea of privacy, um, was gaining traction, privacy for the great of course, and the idea of this seems [cough] to have been that there were apartment suites of rooms off staircases, ah, as in an Oxford or a Cambridge college, um, and there were the smaller doors at ground floor level went into the ground floor rooms for the servants or quite possibly gentry servants actually, and the larger doors gave access to the rooms on the main floor and rooms in the towers for – for the great, um, and there were probably something like 40 sets of apartments, um, around the outer curtain walls of the, around south and east sides in all, enough to house the court, um, in – in much more comfort than it would have had anywhere else really. So those two sides what's now the private side of the Upper Ward, um, were then apartments for lodgings as they would have called them for members of the court. And, the Round Tower was rebuilt with a suite of timber lodgings which essentially survive there, you can see the timber frame at various points and that probably still housed the Castle Constable,

but the main focus of the attention was this huge complex of buildings a purpose built palace. Um, it was entered through a rebuilt gatehouse the Norman Gate which still largely preserves that appearance, um, a new sort of, um, classic design standard design for gatehouses emerged in the late 13th century in the architects of the royal works, I'm here comparing the Norman Gate to the gatehouse of Carisbrook Castle which was designed by, by Henry Yeavele, there are – who was the Royal, the Head of the Royal Works at Westminster, ah, one could cite the West Gate at Canterbury or the gatehouse of Saltwood Castle to other examples of this kind of design where the, ah, there's a corbelled out parapet between two towers, ah, which sit slightly forward of the, um, of the central, of the wall in the middle there.

So there's a gatehouse, um, but rather paradoxically when you get to the lodging themselves there are two more gatehouses, though clearly the gatehouses here are being used in a, in a sort of aesthetic way rather than reflecting defensive realities. Here is our reconstructive plan of the, the ground floor of the royal lodgings, this is a new interpretation though it is based on work by, by Christopher Wilson,

Christopher really [cough] unlocked, um, the essence of this plan in a major article he published in about 1998 and our work is very much, ah, owes a bit debt of gratitude to him, but I've sort of tweaked with the interpretation in a number of ways, um – there's a huge cellar under the hall [cough] which still survives,

there's a cellar under the King's Chamber which also still survives though that's now known as the State Entrance. Um, and there are a whole load of rooms whose functions we don't really know except they were below the reception of the King's lodgings and the Queen's lodgings, and were probably accommodation for respectively the knights and squires who served in the King's Chamber, and the ladies and also the squires who served in the Queen's Chambers, um, and we know there was a bath house on the ground floor of the Bain Tower probably somewhere like that. But one of the really curio- there were lots of things which are odd about this I don't have time to go through them all, but the – but the main odd thing about it is that this completely undercuts and subverts all the expectations you would have of a great noble residence in the 14th century.

Um, in the middle ages buildings were usually designed to be legible, you would have a Great Hall which would be obvious when you came into the building as it is at say Berkeley Castle or Ludlow Castle or at Kenilworth, you can see where the Great Hall is, you can see there's an entrance at its lower end, very often there's a bay window at its high end, there's a kitchen off the low end of the hall,

there's a solar or Great Chamber at the high end, you look at it and you see where things are and you can tell where everything is, medieval architecture tends to be legible in that kind of way. But at medieval Windsor at 14th century Windsor nothing was legible, um, the – the plan was complex and the functions of the buildings were hidden, were masked rather than expressed by the long slightly monotonous but formidably impressive facades, um, the – there is something strange going on here, the building deliberately masks rather than expresses its functions, and also it has this curiously labyrinthine plan, in most medieval domestic architecture the way into a palace is into the Great Hall there is an obvious entrance it takes you into the Great Hall, the Great Hall is the centre of the building, and you can either go down, down socially speaking to the kitchen or up socially speaking the chamber, and in Windsor none of that applied, and it's very curious and it's taken us quite a long time to work, work it out for this reason because it doesn't follow the medieval norms. But we think, and this is starting with Christopher's work and building on that, that what happened is that you would have come in through a gatehouse and then you would have turned either left, that door was probably only open to, ah, the very privileged and most people probably turned right, and you would have come round the cloister, and you've gone to another door, that still survives in the corner of what's now called the Black and White Corridor, it's in a broom cupboard, I'd quite like to persuade the Royal Household to take it out of its broom cupboard some day but we haven't really, um, got very far with that one yet but, you know, when the, the big plan, um, takes off maybe. You've gone through that to a great staircase on the site which is now, um, the Grand Reception Room. Beyond that, ah, there was a kitchen court which is still the kitchen court helpfully, and there was a gatehouse leading through to the kitchen court.

What we call the Steward's Hall was most probably the larder it would have had a floor a long way below the present floor, it would have been a cold quite dark place in which to keep meat, the great undercroft would have had a much deeper floor and it would have been a much higher space, that would have been where beer and wine for the bulk of the household were stored, opening off the kitchen would be ba- kitchen departments, the bake house, the saltery, the pastry, ah, the lardery probably here, um, and above in the towers, um, the yeomen and the members of the Royal Household who ran the kitchen department on behalf of the Lord Steward. The Lord Steward ran the Hall and the outer parts of the household, the Lord Chamberlain ran the inner side, um, the Chamber. Um, we haven't had, we haven't [cough] commissioned a reconstruction drawing of the – kitchen court but I made some myself a few years back,

so there's, um, the lardery, the back of Saint George's Hall, back of the Great Hall very much as it is now, the kitchen gate, um, here's one of English Heritage's [cough] fabric survey drawings, there are the blocked medieval windows, there's medieval – that's the medieval, what would have been the moulding course under the original battlements, that's the right hand wall in this view, there's the kitchen, there's a cover over the well which as you may know was discovered underneath the kitchen court, there are the windows which you can still see, um, the traces of the original arches on the north side of the kitchen, this would have been a hive of activity pungulating with members of staff rushing about producing food for, um, this huge human organisation, there it is as it is now, the Stewards' Hall, ah, originally the larder with quite a deep floor, the hall above, then an open courtyard, and the huge kitchen itself 80 feet long, this extraordinary survival [cough] with its great timber roof badly damaged in the 1992 fire, found to date from, partly from the 1360's and partly from a – a reconstruction in 1489, ah preserved and rebuilt during the fire restoration, um, there it is reconstructed, um, and there is the kitchen, so this is essentially a 14th century room with a 14th and 15th century roof as updated by white fill, and still in use as a kitchen, a remarkable, um, piece of continuity, um, [cough] and, ah, a great 14th century room in its original use, the heart of this sort of humming back stairs area of the household, and the undercroft, ah, reunited in the post fire restoration, and with the many partitions which once divided it taken out, this would have had, ah, far fewer windows and a much deeper floor, it would have been more like the one cellar at Hampton Court, a place where beer and, and wine were kept for, and in huge quantities for the household, because in Edward the Third's reign once this huge building was finished in about 1365 the greater part of the Royal Household settled here and then spent most of the year here.

Having built this huge complex, the household moved in and found it was far more comfortable than anywhere else, um, so they kind of settled down here, and then the King, but the – who by this time was rather elderly tended to be off elsewhere with his inner household his privata familia at somewhere like Sheen or the Royal Manor House in Windsor Park or, um, or at Eltham, it was a rather curious development, and the King fell into the hands of this clique called the Court Coven led by his mistress Alice Perrers who wanted to keep him away from the rest of the household. So the rest of the household in the 1360's and '70's were here at Windsor eating their heads off, bored out of their minds, while his mistress and her friends had kind of kidnapped the King after the death of Queen Philippa of Hainault,

and he was, and he was off in the Royal Manor House deep, secluded deep within Windsor Great Park it was a very strange end to his reign but that is nevertheless what happened. Um, the architecture of it as I said was deliberately inscrutable, instead of there being an obvious porch, you know, this is the way into the Great Hall, what you had was the castle gatehouse and yet,

in terms of military architecture to have the gatehouse with these huge windows to either side made little sense, clearly castle architecture was being used here in an explicitly aesthetic way, although the aesthetic is a pretty severe austere one as you see, and the likely source of this as a piece of architecture is this, this is the King's Gate at Carnarvon Castle which would have, um,

ranked very high in Edward the Third's mind because it was a great masterpiece of his great warrior grandfather King Edward I, and there's a point about the planning too and at Carnarvon, ah, the intention was when you went in there you would come into a vaulted chamber and either turn left into the upper ward or, um, or right into the lower, and Windsor was a bit like that too, when you came into, um, the Great Gate here you'd have turned, you'd have had – there would have been a blank wall ahead of you and you'd have turned either left or right. So remember you've come in through this gatehouse, you've turned right, um, you've come round a cloister, you've gone up a great staircase, so the approach is labyrinthine and not obvious,

um, and it's designed to control access and to impress you I think with the, with the remoteness and grandeur of the King, and so you'd come up the great stair- and you go through a door which was found behind the Grand Reception Room panelling here, and you'd come into this cloister, and at the end of the cloister there was a room above the gateway which was probably a guard's chamber,

and as you see the Great Hall is no longer really the centre of it, and the Great Hall doesn't really lead anywhere any more, um, the Royal Chambers no longer open off it, the Great Hall has been subtly downgraded by all this and the real heart of the palace is now the King's Great Chamber, and the Great Hall although doubtless used for great occasions, um, is now essentially the preserve of lower servants, that's where the lower servants would have eaten, that's probably where a lot of them slept, and the King would not normally have been there. And even the tradition that the high table would have had the door into the Great Chamber behind it has been completely reversed because we know this to have been the high end of the Great Hall,

and so all the norms of medieval residential architecture are subverted by the plan here and this was all done quite deliberately. So that is the Great Hall in a view you probably recognise

(Holler's?) view showing the vast feast of 1665 and with this magnificent timber roof made by a carpenter called Master William Hurland, and these great windows similar to those of New College Oxford or Winchester College, um, and the room which has really lost its former status as the heart of the household, ah, and it had become most of the time the preserve of the lower servants. Um, the Chapel occupied the other half of that range, but this has been given preferential treatment, the Chapel has the site nearer to the royal, ah, to the King's own lodgings, um, while the Great Hall is really, um, is now longer the, um, the focus and heart of the Palace.

And beyond, ah, the guard chamber, watching the chamber here, the King's Great Chamber, we think that the Queen's rooms would have been approached by a different route here, and would have centred on a Great Chamber in the area now occupied by Garter Throne Room, and that area still has its original 14th century roof frame, and I have crawled along the roof void with a torch and a tape measure and I have measured it, um, so that is based on evidence, and this is based on evidence, but when you get to this bit in the middle the evidence rather runs a little short shall we say, as we shall see.

So we've got, um, two suites of lodgings, one for the Queen and that's approached here, guard chamber, Great Chamber, something called the Mirror Chamber which had about 120 mirrors on its ceiling, and the Queen's inner chambers probably about here. And we know that the King had a sequence of chambers for which furniture was ordered, and from the furniture list we know that they were called the first chamber, the second chamber, the third chamber, the fourth chamber, the fifth chamber called La Rose, and then the Great Chamber, and that there was a Painted Chamber which I'll come to right at the end. And so what Christopher did and what I've followed him in doing is to reconstruct the plan using the furniture list,

and his first chamber I think was in this tower back here called, later called the Bain Tower from the bath house on its ground floor, and marked out by these buttresses, ah, these semi polygonal – semi octagonal buttresses on its outer face as being the King's place. And then there was another chamber which was probably also a bed chamber for the King and, ah, the third chamber may have been a private dining room and the fourth chamber is probably the one that was called the parlour, parlour in this sense meaning something like audience chamber. And the Great Chamber well that had become the new heart of the palace, the place where the King's esquires entertained the higher guests to the court, the court is becoming more stratified, more socially hierarchical, more class conscious, and there is now a sharp social division between the lower servants and the visitors' servants who are penned here in the Great Hall, and this doorway here to the Great Chamber and

this doorway to the King's Great Chamber and almost certainly you would have to be of gentry status to get this far, and to get any further past the – Great Chamber you would have to be there by invitation.

So this idea that access to the Royal Apartments is, is, um, a matter of gradations and, um, and there was kind of an axis of honour something you might think of as being, um, something – um, from the 17th century, has its origins as Christopher I think conclusively demonstrated here in the 14th century, um – [cough]

as the decoration of these rooms are the best source of this, ah, the best kind of general illustration of this that I found is this French manuscript, um, showing blue hangings with fleur de lys motifs giving you a sense of how they were hung and how you would have matching suites here we've got a dais cloth and a canopy and wall hangings and a floor covering, um, for, um,

which would be King Charles the Eighth of France in this case this is a rather later document, but we have no contemporary English images which give anything like nearly such a clear idea of how these hangings were used, um, but it seems clear that there was a uniform approach to the decoration and furnishing of royal interiors at this stage,

and we know from evidence found in the fire restoration project, um, that the State Rooms at Windsor were very, very plainly finished. We know that the fire places had really hardly any decoration at all, we know that the window openings were absolutely plain with just a simple chamber so with the door openings, we know that there was really, ah, pretty well no sculptural decoration anywhere,

ah, we know that the – the roofs, um, were treated with a uniform design of roof frames, massive roof frames and massive members, we know they were painted a gold ochre colour but they weren't actually painted with patterns, we know the floors would have been covered with pen tiles with repeating patterns. So the rooms essentially were big light white boxes, and the reasons they were like that was that they were going to be dressed, um, really for, probably for every great occasion, and the classic means of dressing these rooms as is suggested by this French manuscript, um, was with hangings with repeating patterns, which here of course is the lilies of France and here it's hangings for a Garter Feast,

and this is our reconstruction of the Garter Feast of 1476 or at any rate rooms being set up for it, so this is Edward the Third's Great Chamber, um, a huge room, um, eight bays long which would have been about 85 feet long and 30 feet wide, um, and here it's been hung with Garter hangings and with, um, a dais cloth and a canopy for the King and a high table for the King and three guests,

and long tables for on one side the Canons of Saint George and the other side for the Knights of the Garter and with buffets with gold plate. And the state rooms would be dressed with

hangings like this, with different hangings which meant different things and with, um, heraldic emblems or quasi heraldic emblems, probably at every major occasion and for many of these occasions liveries would be issued to members of the court in particular colours and headdresses and masks and visors, and the people were part of the decor. For the area beyond the Great Chamber which is here, we have a little evidence from, um, 16th century surveys made by a man called Henry Hawthorn the man who built Elizabeth I's gallery and he made a survey, ah, of the first floor which is absolutely invaluable to us because it gives us the plan of the next few rooms, ah, which were probably the king's second, third and fourth chamber, and there's the King's fifth chamber called La Rose.

And so my interpretation here is that the first chamber that's in the missing area was his private bed chamber, the second, may have been a chamber for, um, but for meetings and for ceremonial sort of, um, the King getting up and going to bed, and that may have been a dining room and this was probably the room which in the reign of Richard II was called the Parlour which, meaning something like audience chamber.

Um, so this is the plan again, um, nearly finished here, um, and I've, we've reconstructed the missing area from, well various fragments of evidence, but Norden's view which I know looks horribly inaccurate, um, has been quite important in this,

I don't think Norden had made any of this up, I think he just had trouble getting his proportions right and he couldn't really manage aerial perspective. So what we now think is reading from left to right, that's this tower, one which has gone which is on the site of Brunswick Tower, there's the kitchen with its lantern there.

This tower, this is the site of the Grand Reception Room, would be the Queen's Watching Chamber that's with its windows there, here this is the most difficult section of all but this zone is where the 14th century timber frame over the Garter Throne Room still exists. So how do you reconcile that with three windows, tower, three windows?

The only, given that we know that the masonry vessel 85 feet long still survives with a medieval roof frame, the only way I could resolve that and other 16th century views and the continuing existence of the roof frame was by making it like that, so that is a hypothesis but it's the only one which seems to fit.

This is the area which is most completely missing so that tower becomes the Queen's Mirror Chamber, this lower section which appears in all the 16th century view becomes one of the Queen's, perhaps the Queen's sort of most private closet or her oratory, and then this with two buttresses becomes the Bain Tower in the King's first chamber, and this one with the canted end becomes the King's second chamber. Um, and so we've, um, we've completed a reconstruction of the first floor of the royal lodgings, based on

Christopher's work and adding a bit more of our own. Finally, and the one area of this which really survives in anything like its original form of course is the Rose Tower, it's something of a puzzle, these quite small spaces opening off, um, the Great Chamber and it seems like this was intended as a suite of private rooms, you know, for the King to entertain very, very small groups very privileged guests as a kind of alternative to entertaining them in his own chamber and possibly for banquets that is for dessert courses taken after meals in the chamber or in the, um, or even in the Great Hall.

And on the first floor there's a high room, um, with a vault and a rose boss over it. And on the top floor there's this little room up here which you may have heard of which still has remains of 14th century painted decoration which covered the whole of its walls, and this was painted by an artist called William Burden, and the payments for the colours and the paints are there in the, um, in the accounts,

this was finished in 1365 just as the court moved into these buildings for the first time. And so the – the one room of all this other than the kitchen which really survives in anything like its original form is this little room at the top of the Rose Tower, although it was lined with panelling in the 18th century. And,

the fact that this one little room was the only one given painted decoration in contrast to Henry the Third's palaces where lots of chambers had painted decoration is very curious and striking, it was obviously very – it was obviously important in some way, important enough to be the one place that the King wanted given a permanent scheme of decoration, and a very curious scheme of decoration it was too.

Now you'll remember my talking, um, about hangings with repeating schemes, um, like this one, this is one I devised based on later images of Garter robes, this is a hanging with the Garter badge for the Garter Feast, which surely would have had such things, um, but what we have in the Rose Tower is something much more enigmatic. [cough]

It's painted in very strong colours although they've faded, there was a dark red maroon background and on it were painted these mandala shapes, there was a lattice pattern in green over the red, and there were white, little white spots, um, or pearls; and the mandalas were painted with leaves and in the middle of the mandala there were leaves,

and there were red roses painted, ah, and rose leaves painted with this very strong, ah, crimson colour, what does this mean? Well this is the first instance of the image of the rose appearing in English heraldic art, which of course in the 15th century came to mean the House of Lancaster – and the House of York and,

Edward the Third's fourth [cough] son Edmund of Langley adopted the image of the white rose as his personal badge. Here we have this tower which we know to have been called the Rose Tower, the room on its first floor was the fifth chamber called La Rose, there are

bosses in the shapes of roses on its ground floor and on its first floor, and here on its second floor there is this painted scheme of decoration, in which the emblem of the rose, a rose framed in a – a mandala, a shape associated with – with sanctity is repeated insistently again and again and again. So clearly the emblem has already in the 1360's come to have some special significance for Edward, and he doesn't want it to be represented in hangings, um, as was usually done, he wants it done in a permanent scene of decoration the only place in Windsor that, that this was done. Later on it was covered in lime wash, what you're seeing there is the pattern of the original paint, um, leaching through a layer of – lime wash and covered behind panelling. Um, but now that it's been discovered, ultimately I think the Royal Collection will be trying to put this on, on display in some way, although the pattern is quite difficult to see, it takes some reconstructing. So that of course is what we've done, again I've measured the room, I've had a lot of help from the very wonderful Dr Jane Spooner of Historic Royal Palaces, who was enormously helpful over reconstructing the significance of the scheme and its colours, and the wonderful Bob Marshall has reconstructed this, um, the, um – an inner sanctum of Edward the Third and members of his family, I've here imagined it being set for the King to entertain his daughter Isabella and her husband the great French nobleman Enguerrand de Coucy when they returned to England in May 1365, um, just about the time this room was completed. Um, this is the one room to receive a, a painted scheme of decoration and it's also the one room of Edward the Third's lodgings to remain – to retain both its original architectural form and some trace of its original decoration, when Edward re-cast the Upper Ward of Windsor to be the greatest palace in England, um, the Camelot of its age, the Versailles of its age.

Thank you very much.