‘I WAS NEVER MORE IN LOVE WITH AN OLDE HOWSE NOR NEVER NEWE WORKE COULDE BE BETTER BESTOWED’: THE EARL OF LEICESTER’S REMODELLING OF KENILWORTH CASTLE FOR QUEEN ELIZABETH I

Richard K Morris, FSA

Richard K Morris, Elgin House, 36 Southbank Road, Kenilworth CV8 1LA, UK.
E-mail: morris.elgin@btinternet.com

APPENDIX A: MODIFICATIONS TO THE TILTYARD DAM

It has been suggested that the height of the dam, which carries the tiltyard, was increased by about 3 feet (0.9m) in the sixteenth century,[1] because the ground-floor arrow-loops of Mortimer’s Tower are now too low in relation to it. A section cut through the dam in 1965 at the ‘Hawkesworth gap’ revealed its original twelfth-century level, and then a heightening by about 12 feet (3.60m) to the present level, which is generally interpreted as having occurred in the early thirteenth century when the great mere was created.[2] However, there was no evidence in the 1965 cut for a later heightening by, say, 3 feet, within the 12-foot section.[3] So it would seem more likely that the position of the arrow-loops in Mortimer’s Tower is to be explained by the fact that a ditch cut off the north end of the dam from the gatehouse, which originally had a drawbridge. The two large blocks on its drum towers are best interpreted as stops for a raised drawbridge.[4] It is proposed that this ditch was filled in Leicester’s time.

APPENDIX B: THE FABRIC OF THE GALLERY TOWER

An attribution to Leicester of the east wall of the Gallery Tower’s courtyard is suggested by the fact that its foundations consist of reused medieval stones, almost certainly monastic spoil, and that it is secondary to the east wall of Northumberland’s tiltyard. Foundations for a D-shaped projection in the south-west corner of the courtyard may relate to the new windows of Leicester’s Tower (figs 1 and 4). When the area of the sluice-gate directly below the tower was cleared in 1965-66, a number of loose worked stones were found which might well have fallen there at the demolition of the tower in the seventeenth century.[5] None of these stones is firmly identified today in the Atcham collection, but one possible candidate is half a door-head with typical sixteenth-century cyma and cavetto mouldings, and with distinctive carving in the spandrel, consisting of a stylised foliate pattern interspersed with drill-holes to give an effect not unlike strapwork (fig B).[6] Nothing like it is found in Leicester’s main works

elsewhere in the castle, so it might belong with work pre-dating 1570-72. Its decorative quality would be rather suitable for the 'ladies' room' in the Gallery Tower.

Fig B. Kenilworth Castle, spandrel from a door-head: English Heritage store, Atcham, No. 88112634 (scale, 25cm). Photograph: author

APPENDIX C: THE NEW STAIR IN THE GREAT TOWER

The new staircase in the south-west turret of the great tower is attributed to Leicester *c.* 1569-70 (see main text). The stair-well was created by cutting out the Romanesque rubble and mortar core which filled the lower part of the turret, which thus had been solid up to the principal floor level before this time. Nothing remains of the staircase but the surviving beam holes permit a reconstruction, based on a survey undertaken by Tom Cromwell (English Heritage) and the author in 2007 (fig C). Three square-headed windows in the south wall of the turret were originally intended to light this stair, one for each landing (fig C, windows 1, 2, 3), though the middle one was blocked in a restoration of *c.* 1870 and is only visible from the interior today (cf. figs 10 and D1). Their plain chamfered mullion profiles contrast with the ovolo mullions employed for all the other Elizabethan windows in the great tower, and on stylistic grounds these three windows could be late medieval. However, the evidence of the beam holes strongly suggests that there has only ever been one stair in this space and of a type not common before the second half of the sixteenth century. The windows belong with it.

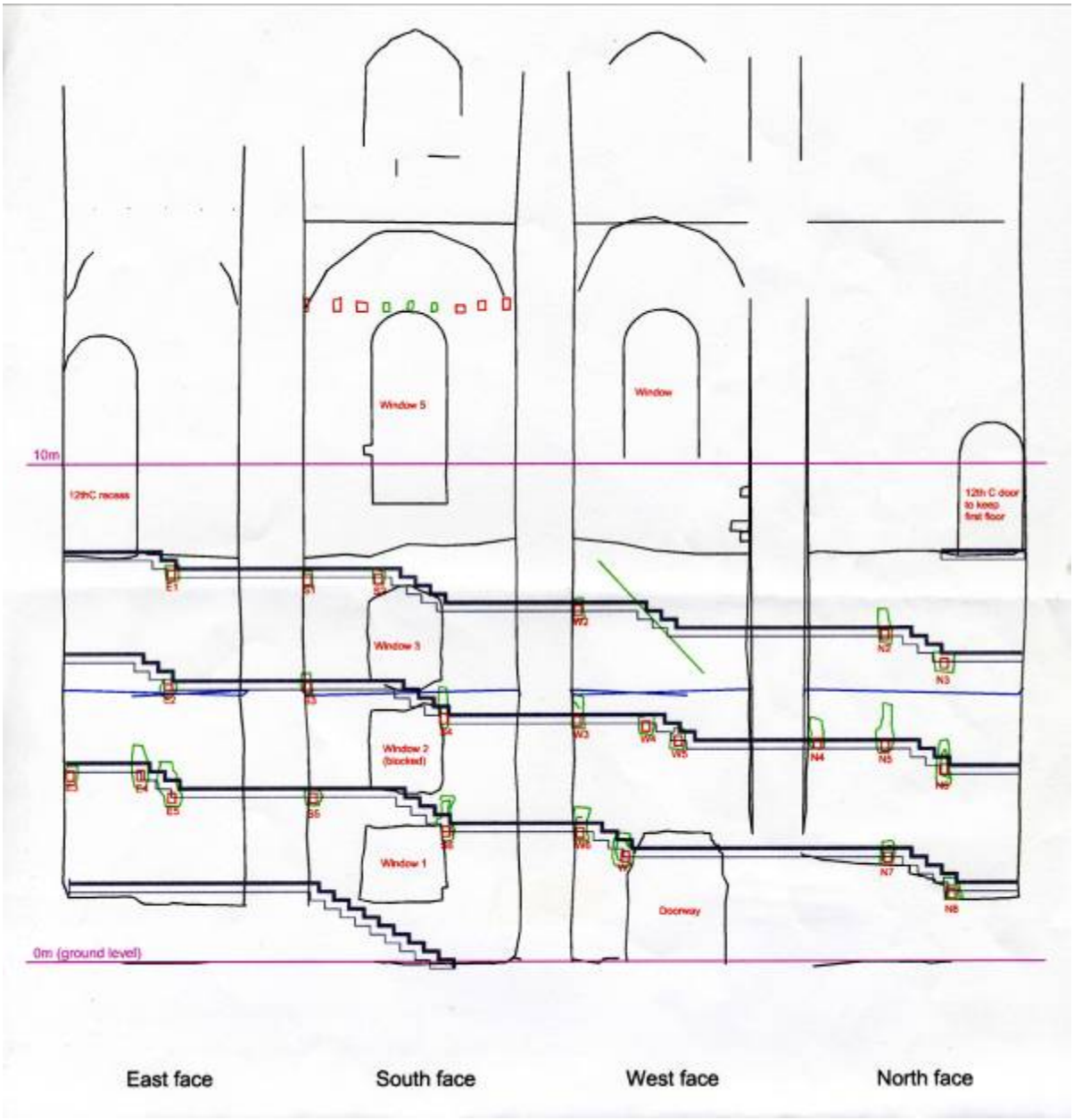

Fig C. Kenilworth Castle, the great tower, south-west turret: reconstruction of the elevations of the 16th-century staircase. Windows 1, 2 and 3 were inserted with the staircase, c. 1569; the window at 5, and a blind window 4 (visible only on the exterior), were added in or after 1570. Drawing: Tom Cromwell © English Heritage

APPENDIX D: THE FABRIC OF THE FOREBUILDING

On the courtyard elevation of the forebuilding, the evidence that the carvings have been cut *in situ* is that the forms continue across more than one block of stone – most obvious in the incomplete '5', where the next block to the left would have carried the rest of the numeral (fig 7). It is inconceivable that a mason would have chosen to carve the decoration in this way when the window masonry was being cut, and it must be an after-thought. The ragged staves of Leicester's favourite badge still show clearly on the window jamb (fig 11), but the bear is also present on closer inspection. In the carvings around the 1570 date, the bear's arm holding the staff can still be seen between the '5' and the '7', and the eared head on the block above (fig 7). The stonework appears somewhat confused in this area, but features like the trefoiled arch head must derive from the same scheme as the Gothic panelling of the window jamb (fig 11, bottom). The classical pediment (fig 11, right) is an insertion and might be evidence for another rearrangement of this facade in or before 1575. The slightly confused state of the carvings in this area may have occurred when very extensive ivy was removed and the south door rebuilt in the later nineteenth century (see below), but there can be little doubt that the date-stones and heraldic carvings are undisturbed.

Useful additional evidence for dating the forebuilding as a link to the garden might have been provided by the style of the doorway in its northern wall, but unfortunately this aperture is entirely a later nineteenth-century reconstruction, as is the entrance from the inner court in the south wall. Both are in an austere neo-Norman style, which old photographs prove is entirely a Victorian invention in the case of the south doorway, and thus probably for the north one as well (cf. figs 10 and D1).[7] Clark commented in 1884 that the Norman south doorway 'has in part been replaced by an entrance of Perpendicular date, now also broken away',[8] his evidence presumably being the left jamb which appears in the photograph of *c*. 1860 (fig D1). Clark's ability to distinguish Perpendicular features from Elizabethan is not sure-footed and, as this jamb no longer survives, it is impossible now to ascertain whether it was late medieval or actually forebuilding Phase 1 work of 1569. The present paving of the loggia, and the stone steps to the garden, are also unreliable, being twentieth-century (probably Ministry of Works) and later nineteenth-century respectively (fig D2).

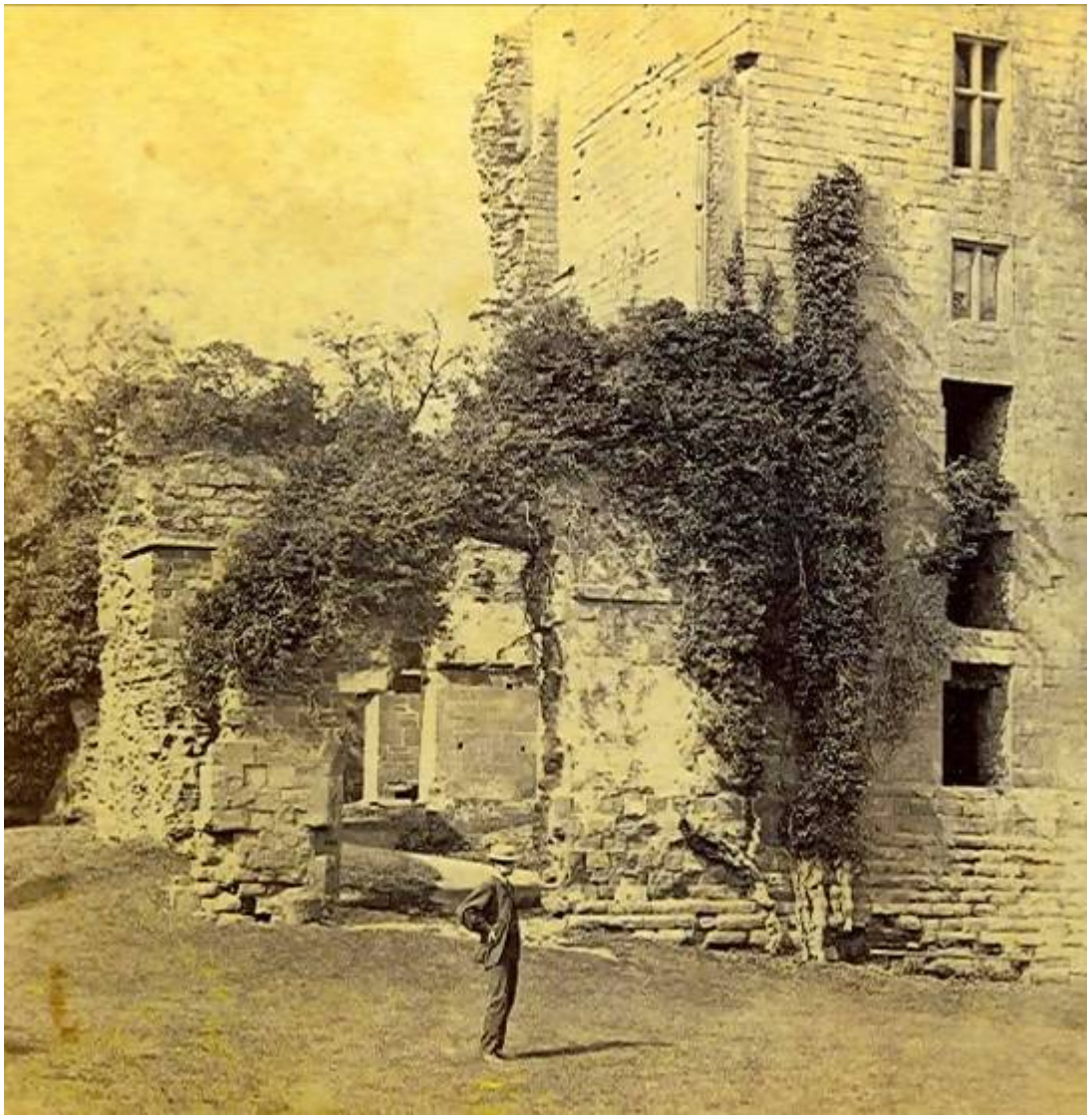

Fig D1. Kenilworth Castle, the forebuilding, south elevation; the south exterior c. 1860. Stereo pairs photograph © Graham Gould collection

Fig D2. Kenilworth Castle, the forebuilding: the loggia, looking south, probably c. 1900. Photograph: © English Heritage

APPENDIX E: SOME SOURCES AND PRECEDENTS FOR THE 'OVOLO STYLE'

The Elizabethan preference for ovolo mullions begins to appear about 1570, though its usage had been introduced in England by the time of Henry VIII's Nonsuch Palace (1537-47)[9] and is known to have been used subsequently at Somerset House in the Strand (1547-52).[10] The next firmly dated examples appear to be three recently discovered windows belonging to Sir Walter Mildmay's state apartment (1560-62) at Apethorpe Hall (Northants.),[11] but survivals remain rare nationally until the 1570s. The ovolo windows at Kirby Hall and Southwick Hall (Northants.), attributed to 1570,[12] are useful in corroborating a date at the beginning of the 1570s for the main campaign at Kenilworth, especially as Kirby and Kenilworth share several features which may suggest an exchange of masons.

The 'tramline' detail on mullions and transoms was introduced and widely used in works of the Somerset Circle, including Somerset House, and continued to remain popular throughout Elizabeth's reign, especially in the south and midlands.[13] Thus its distribution is not especially helpful for dating, but demonstrates that its employment at Kenilworth was fashionable.

The usage of an attic base profile as a continuous ground-course moulding is rather idiosyncratic, an ingenious Elizabethan idea to substitute a classical set of mouldings for the traditional medieval ground-course mouldings. The earliest parallels appear to be in the courtyard ranges especially at Sudeley Castle (Glos., 1570-72) and Kirby Hall (1570-75); at the latter, only the lower part of the profile is employed. Both works provide a valuable dating clue in relation to Kenilworth, because the Kirby ground-course, at the base of the walls, must have been amongst the first work laid down there, whilst there is a documentary link between Sudeley and Kenilworth in 1571 (see main text).

Doors with Tudor four-centred heads are a consistent feature in Leicester's Building and the gatehouse (where fireplaces also take the same form), and may well have been chosen to complement the Gothic features of the medieval castle. Their frames have up-to-date northern Renaissance mouldings, which terminate in vase-stops, early examples of which occur in Somerset Circle works such as Sharington's Tower at Lacock Abbey (Wilts., before 1553) and work attributed to the mid-1550s at Acton Court (Glos.).[14] An early instance of a Tudor-arched door set in a Renaissance-style frontispiece may be seen in the porch at Dingley Hall (Northants.), dated 1558, and presents a general prototype for the Kenilworth doors.[15] A closer parallel is found in the doors of the outer courtyard at Sudeley Castle (1570-72), where the cyma recta moulding is similarly extended to create the label around the four-centred head, as at Kenilworth.

APPENDIX F: THE LOST NORTH ELEVATION OF THE GREAT TOWER

It would be very interesting to know how the lost north elevation of the great tower was treated in Leicester's time, and especially whether the treatment of the ground floor as a loggia was repeated on the garden side (fig F). The only two known views of it before the seventeenth-century slighting are two Hollar engravings in Dugdale, but close examination of them unfortunately suggests that they have no value as accurate records (fig 3, centre).[16] Internally, on the stub of the former north wall adjoining the north-east turret, the jamb of a Romanesque rere-arch is still visible (though heavily restored), suggesting that the lower floor originally had splayed apertures similar to those in the south wall (fig 18, bottom left); but there is no clue as to whether they were altered by Leicester.

Fig F. Kenilworth Castle, the great tower and forebuilding from the north (garden side). Photograph: Alan Watson c. 1980 © History of Art, University of Warwick

APPENDIX G: THE '1571' DATE TABLET FROM LEICESTER'S BUILDING

In fact, Leicester's Building was dated to 1571 more than 200 years ago in the local guidebooks,[17] quite possibly on the evidence of a tablet bearing this date and once reported to be 'in [its] east front'.[18] No trace survives of this tablet on site today, but it may quite

possibly be one and the same as part of an incomplete Elizabethan sandstone carving, still bearing the numerals '71', in the English Heritage store at Atcham.[19] It appears that it was loose on a window sill in Leicester's Building for many years, and was probably amongst the stone collection noted there in 1923 (fig G).[20] There is no evidence that it was actually a date-stone on the building: it seems to belong with other fragments at Atcham which derive from fittings such as an overmantel.

Fig G. Kenilworth Castle, stone fragment carved with [15?]71: English Heritage store, Atcham, No. 88112843 (scale, 10cm). Photograph: author

APPENDIX H: THE DOOR-FRAMES IN LEICESTER'S BUILDING

A curiosity of Leicester's Building is the distribution of the stone door-frames (fig 16), which are only applied to one side of the aperture, the other side being plain wall with a timber lintel (e.g. fig 24). Doubtless this plainness was masked originally by a carved wooden frame or by an interior porch. The actual door would have been hinged from the stone frame, opening inwards. One searches in vain for an overall logic behind the arrangement, which is used almost consistently throughout the three upper floors; for example, in area B a plain frame appears in the same position in each chamber (fig 24, right). In the withdrawing chamber on the principal floor, three of the doors possess stone frames, whilst the fourth one at the north-west corner is plain (fig H, right). The latter may have been concealed originally by an interior porch as a waiting area, perhaps extended into a screened corridor across the north

end of the chamber when the cross-mullioned window and seat were added after the 1572 visit (see main text).

Fig H. Kenilworth Castle, Leicester's Building, interior: area B, west and north walls, from the basement. Photograph: author

APPENDIX I: LEICESTER'S BUILDING – THE WARDROBE, STORAGE AND SECURITY

For the movement of large items of Elizabeth's wardrobe in the basement of Leicester's Building, the exterior door into area C and the doors from C to B and from D to A are 4 feet wide (fig 22, bottom). The only exception is the door from C to D (3 feet), though this is still a few inches wider than a typical lodgings' door in Leicester's works (average 2ft 9ins). A

former straight stair from the basement to the ground floor, indicated by the staggered windows in the west wall of D, permitted the movement of items from the basement to the upper floors. The two doors coming off the ground-floor landing at the north end of D are wider than the others on this floor, probably to facilitate such movement, particularly of chests (fig 39). The north door is exceptionally wide (4ft 6ins) and suggests that the large unheated chamber A on the ground floor was also for storage. The access around these rooms was doubtless tightly controlled, not only for the security of the queen's person but also for the safe custody of her wardrobe. In addition, the south section of the outer bailey around Leicester's Building – called 'the court at the left hand' in the Chirk survey – was cut off from the base court by a cross-wall and gate (figs 1 and 36). Also for security, uncontrolled access between the head of the basement stair and the main stair was almost certainly prevented by one or more doors in the timber-framed transverse wall or walls which must originally have subdivided both the ground and principal floors in area D (fig 22).

There is an interesting if enigmatic observation concerning the wardrobe in William Spicer's letter of 26 June 1571 – 'Every man that sees the new wardrobe that is appointed thinks that your lordship will make lodgings of them because the rooms have a very good prospect every way and there will be better coming to those lodgings than to those under the gallery' (modern transcription).[21] The previous section of the letter is concerned with 'the new tower', so 'the new wardrobe' must be in Leicester's Building and almost certainly on the ground-floor because of the 'good prospect'. The lodgings under the gallery probably refers to the Henrician lodgings in the east range. Thus, it would appear that Spicer's advice was heeded and that the ground-floor rooms B and C, originally intended as part of the wardrobe, became lodgings. One possible interpretation is that Spicer was thinking of accommodation for Leicester himself ('your lordship will make lodgings of them'), but in my view his lodgings remained in the east range.

APPENDIX J: THE LOST EAST RANGE

Dugdale's plan appears to show that the Henrician lodgings were not demolished but were linked to Leicester's Building by an irregular structure, triangular in plan, within the line of the inner curtain (fig 4); Knowles also favoured this interpretation.[22] However, Dugdale's plan is contradicted by Hollar's north-east and east prospects in the same volume, which appear to show that the east range linked directly to the north-east corner of Leicester's Building. The evidence in the fabric of the north wall of Leicester's Building tends to corroborate this interpretation. The door halfway up (fig 29, E) presumably linked the privy

chamber (on the principal floor) to the upper floor of the east range. Yet it is almost certain that the Henrician east range was lower than the head of this door and, indeed, the door apparently was housed in a lobby above roof level, the evidence for which is visible in the north wall as joist holes for a flat roof (or ceiling) and larger holes to secure its east wall (fig 29). The east range at its southern end was probably no higher than the sill of the large Leicester window to the left of the door (fig 29), which lit the privy chamber from the north. Had the east range been higher, it would have taken some of the light away; and had it been rebuilt to the full height which the toothings imply, the window would have been blocked completely, unless some form of internal light-well was created next to it within the east range. Indeed, in the Newnham Paddox painting, the east range is depicted no higher than the ground floor of Leicester's Building (fig 5), and in the Hollar prospects in Dugdale, both the north-east and east prospects imply that the east range linked directly to the north face of Leicester's Building at a similar height (fig 3, bottom and centre); in the east prospect the large north-facing window of the privy chamber is visible above the range. Also, in the fabric of the north wall, the wall-core in the toothings projects from the wall plane only for about half the height of the elevation (fig 29), whereas higher up it is recessed, as if it had been consolidated in the absence of anything being built against it.

APPENDIX K: LEICESTER'S GATEHOUSE BEFORE MODIFICATION

Leicester's original gatehouse structure straddled the medieval curtain wall, removed in 1650, and it replaced an earlier gatehouse, described in the Chirk survey of 1563 as 'another fair gatehouse of stone with a portcullis, going into the town, much in decay and desiring speedy help'.[23] His gatehouse is a completely new structure, and though it is probably on about the same site as its predecessor, little if any trace of the latter exists. A length of wall, running north/south on a slightly different axis to the gatehouse, was uncovered in the basement in 1996 (no longer visible), and might relate to the earlier gatehouse.[24] Knowles argued that Leicester's gatehouse was built considerably further east than its predecessor, in order to free up space for the new garden, but recent archaeology (2005-6) has shown that the garden did not extend as far east as formerly thought.[25] The original carriage passage of Leicester's gatehouse can be recreated from parts of the jambs of its northern arch surviving in the basement and ground-floor room. There is no evidence for incorporating a portcullis like its predecessor and the passage was secured by a pair of gates. On the ground floor, the northern pair of polygonal turrets served as porter's lodges, whilst a door in the south-west turret gives access via a spiral stair to the two upper floors. The first floor retains its original form as a

two-room suite of lodgings, and the second floor must have been similarly organised but is now a single space.

APPENDIX L: ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE FOR DATING LEICESTER'S GATEHOUSE

Two other forms of evidence are worth consideration in attempting to date the gatehouse more closely. First, though the results of the recent dendrochronological survey were generally disappointing for dating the primary structure, one sample – from a post in the partition wall of the first-floor lodgings – produced a 'last measured date' of 1536.[26] When adjusted to compensate for missing softwood rings, this gives an estimated felling date-span of up to *c*. 1571, which tallies closely with the dating proposed above. Second, the external masonry of the gatehouse retains about a hundred designs of masons' marks, which were thoroughly recorded from scaffolding by Graham Gould and Derek Boyce of the Kenilworth History and Archaeology Society in 1996.[27] Their record has been checked and amended by Kevin Booth from the scaffolding in 2004, but the analysis of the marks has yet to appear.[28] It is evident that the walls of Leicester's Building retain an extensive series as well, though without scaffolding it is only possible to decipher those on the walls of the basement and ground floor. Should higher level access become available, a close analysis of all the marks from both structures could prove valuable. The benefits of such a study of post-medieval masons marks has recently been demonstrated by Jennifer Alexander's research at Apethorpe Hall (Northants.).[29]

APPENDIX M: WILLIAM SPICER AND LONGLEAT

A small but unusual masonry detail of Leicester's Building may have its source in Spicer's past at Longleat. The external corners of Leicester's Building have a delicate double-step in plan, a curious conceit which has the effect of heightening the linear quality of the edges (fig M1). In this period, the most likely parallels are found in the bay windows at Longleat, in the way the pilasters are set back from the corners (fig M2). It has been suggested to the author that there is a resemblance to the corners of the twelfth-century great towers at Rochester Castle (Kent) and Castle Hedingham (Essex), but these are only single-stepped. It is also less clear how they would relate to Leicester's Building, especially as the great tower at Kenilworth does not employ this feature. Presumably the masonry of the bay windows is no earlier than 1572, and so slightly later than Leicester's Building, but it is possible that the idea originates in the pre-fire Longleat of Spicer's time. Robert Smythson generally does not

make use of this device after his departure from Longleat – for example, it is absent at Wollaton Hall – though double-stepping appears on the corners of the porch at Barlborough Hall (Derbys., 1583-4). The only other example known to the author is the south range of Moreton Corbet Castle (Shrops., *c*. 1576-9), where the angles are also double-stepped (though hidden behind detached columns) and where influence from Longleat has been noted.

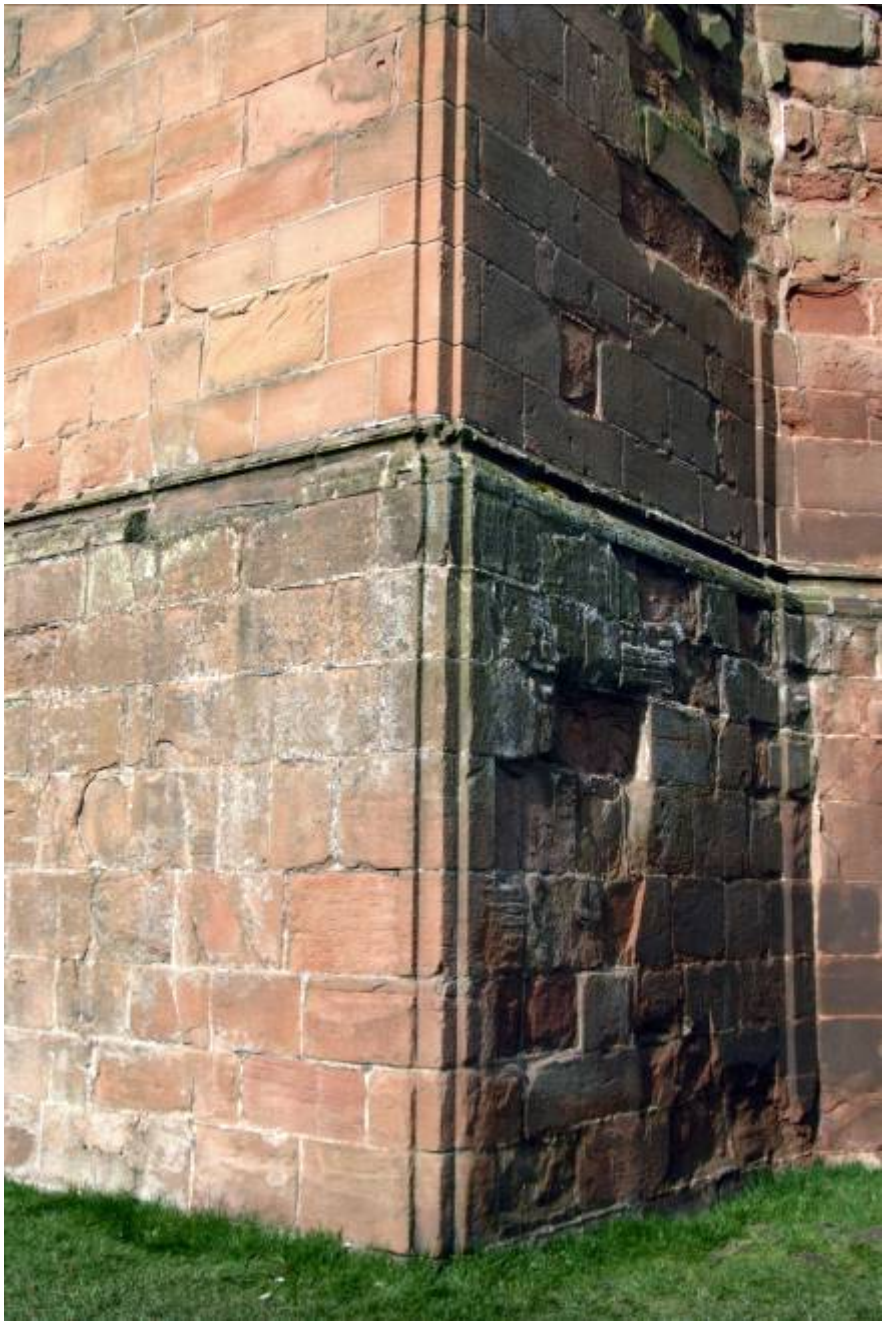

Fig M1. Kenilworth Castle, Leicester's Building, a corner detail. Photograph: author

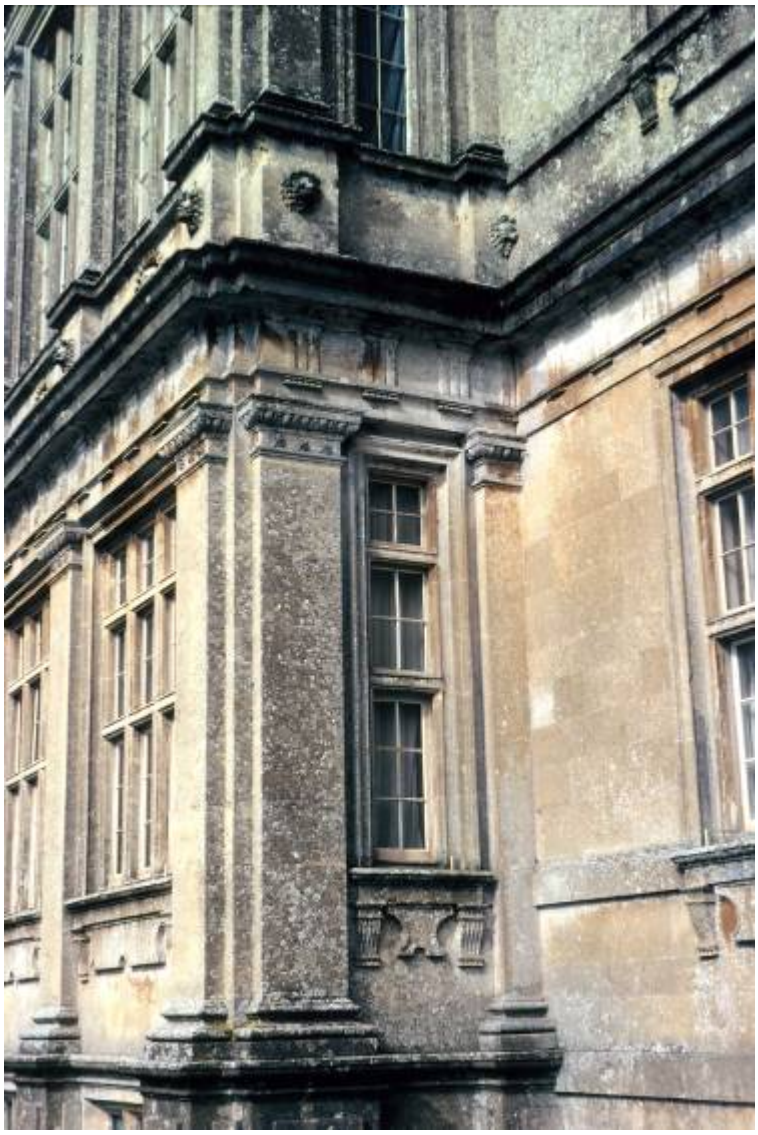

Fig M1. Kenilworth Castle, Leicester's Building, a corner detail. Photograph: author

[1] Thompson 1969, 219.

[2] Thompson 1965, 160; Sunley 1983, 13-14 and fig 13.

[3] Harry Sunley, who drew the section, pers.comm. to the author, July 2008; he would not accept that 'the upper part of the original causeway must have been obscured' in 1965, as suggested in Boucher, Eisel and Morriss 2001, section 7.5.3.

[4] Boucher, Eisel and Morriss 2001, 47, though the date given there for Mortimer's Tower is too late.

[5] Thompson 1965, 159 and fig.31, 'medieval and Tudor moulded stones'.

[6] Stone No.88112634 in the English Heritage Atcham store. The author contacted Michael Thompson in 2006 about the stone: his reply was that it 'looks familiar but I cannot confirm that it is one of the pieces referred to in my note [article]', pers.comm. 24/10/06.

[7] Morris 2005, 3-4; a northern doorway, probably a sally-port, was already present in the Middle Ages.

[8] Clark 1884, 136. His analysis of the forebuilding is confused stylistically, because he thought it was remodelled in the 'Lancastrian' Perpendicular, though he considered that its piers and arches might be Elizabethan even though their mouldings are 'the work of the Lancastrian owners'.

[9] The author's unpublished research on the worked stones from Nonsuch Palace, excavated by Martin Biddle in 1959.

[10] I am most grateful to Mark Samuel for allowing me to inspect worked stones from Somerset House recovered during the archaeological monitoring undertaken by Gifford & Partners during redevelopment work there, 1999-2000. See also Samuel 2000.

[11] *English Heritage Research News*, No.5 (Winter 2006-07), 8.

[12] Heward and Taylor 1996, 5.

[13] Morris 1989, 131-5. Elizabethan examples include Longleat House, Burghley House, Wollaton Hall and Sudeley Castle.

[14] At Acton Court, doors and fireplaces of Period 4.3 have four-centred heads, vase stops and sunk chamfer and cyma recta mouldings; Rodwell and Bell 2004, figs 5.3, 5.7.

[15] Heward and Taylor 1996, 30.

[16] See further Morris 2005, Appendix 2.

[17] e.g. Anon. [probably H. Sharpe] 1809, 18; the first edition was 1777.

[18] Cooke *c*. 1865, 25. Knowles 1872, 17, states that Leicester's Building bears the date 1571 'on a broken tablet not on site [i.e. not *in situ*]'.

[19] Accession No. 88112843, moved from Kenilworth about ten years ago; at the time of writing, it is on display in the Stable at Kenilworth Castle.

[20] In 1923 it was reported that on the ground floor of the north wing of Leicester's Building, 'the floor of the window recess is used to store fragments of carved stones from various parts of the castle'; anon. 1923, 55. I am grateful to Joanna Illingworth for permitting me to see a copy in the possession of Derek Ainscough, a relative of the 2nd Lord Kenilworth.

[21] Longleat, DP II, fo.321.

[22] Knowles 1872, 30-1

[23] Chirk survey, lines 22-23.

[24] Atkins and Booth 2007, 2.5.1.

[25] Knowles 1872, 64.

[26] Arnold, Howard and Litton, 2007, 13, Table 1, sample C36; actual felling date estimated using Appendix, section 4.

[27] Gould *c*. 1999, Appendix E.

[28] Atkins and Booth 2007, 5.5. passim.

[29] Alexander and Morrison 2007, especially 64-71.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

Longleat DP Longleat Dudley Papers

RHCM Royal Commission on Historical Monuments

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Longleat House archive, DP, box II

National Library of Wales, Chirk Castle MS F13310 (the 'Chirk survey')

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