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Castles at war : some reflections based on excavations of motte and bailey castles in Belgium

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CASTLES AT WAR: SOME REFLECTIONS BASED
ON EXCAVATIONS OF MOTTE AND BAILEY CASTLES IN BELGIUM[1]

In Belgium, the former National Excavations Service[2] and – since its regionalization – the new Directorate of Archaeology of the Walloon Region have always paid particular attention to the survey of earthen fortifications – ringworks and motte and bailey castles. Many of these fortifications – more especially the motte and bailey castles – have been the subject of large-scale excavations. The quantity of data documented by archaeological fieldwork and excavations in this region therefore allows us to address most aspects of the evolution and function of earthworks.

On the military level, the ringwork included several features favouring it over the motte and bailey castle; however, the virtual absence of ringworks in the Belgian region seems to show, a preference among our lords for the motte and bailey castle. The motte and bailey castle was a symbol of prestige for the medieval nobility, but its essential purpose was to provide defence. The physical aspects of the sites – their topographical situation, the choice of high ground or waterlogged areas, the water-filled ditches, the steep slopes covered with thorn-bushes, the palisades – leave one with no doubt about the basic intentions of the nobility. The motte and bailey castle, at least judged by the apperance of its motte, is a military work.

The efficacy of the defensive aspects of the motte and bailey castle is perhaps best indicated by the fact that there is documentary mention only a few castles being taken by violence. Insofar as excavated motte castles in Belgium are concerned, there seem to be five: Furnes, Adegem[3], Beveren-Waas, Grimbergen and Bouillon.

This article approaches the theme of the symposium „Castles at war" through the analysis of the archaeology of a series of particular sites. We will first examine some examples of the capture of a castle through both textual

and archaeological media, then we will deal a case in which an earth castle was transformed during wartime, and finally we will discuss an example which illustrates the efficiency of the palisade.

1. The capture and/or destruction of the castle

1.1. The „Singelberg"
motte and bailey castle at Beveren-Waas

The motte and bailey castle of the Singelberg is located at the edge of the polders of the Scheldt river. The mound now stands 8 m high and has a diameter of 60 m at its base. The bailey, still 2 m high, covers a surface of about 1 ha. The evolution of the motte castle includes five main periods, of which only the first and the third interest us here[4].

Archaeological and historical evidence suggest that the origins of the castle lie a few years before the middle of the 12th century. The bailey area was probably the first residential site: excavation has shown that the motte was about thirty metres north-west of the ditch that surrounded the circular to oval bailey; this latter was protected by an earthen rampart some 8 m across and by a wide (6 m) but shallow (1 m) ditch. The motte was undoubtedly erected while what was to become the bailey was functioning as a residence. This early occupation is unlikely to be much earlier than the 12th century.

The first motte had a base diameter of 40 m and a height of 6 m. The plateau at the top had a more or less square surface of about 225 m[2]; it surrounded by a parapet of which at least the base, which was 1,60 m wide, was constructed of small stones. The tower that occupied the south-easterly part of the summit had a stone base and a half-timbered superstructure. Excavation revealed two oblong foundation trenches, which may be interpreted as the remaining of the stone bases, which supported the half-timbered sections. The footprint of the tower measured 4,80 m by 3,50 m.

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[2] Regionalised in 1989 into two institutions: the Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium (Flemish Region) and the Direction de l'Archéologie of the Heritage Department (Walloon Region).

[3] The motte of Raverschoot, was abandonned after its destruction in 1127: P. R a v e s c h o t, M. V e r l o t, *De middeleeuwse versterking van Raverschoot (Maldegem). Een eerste archeologische verkenning*, „Vobov-Info", n° 22-23, 1986, p. 11-18.

[4] J. De M e u l e m e e s t e r, *De Singelberg te Beveren-Waas*, „Archaeologia Belgica", 208, Brussel 1978; *De Singelberg te Beveren-Waas*, „Archaeologicum Belgii Speculum", XI, Brussel 1979.
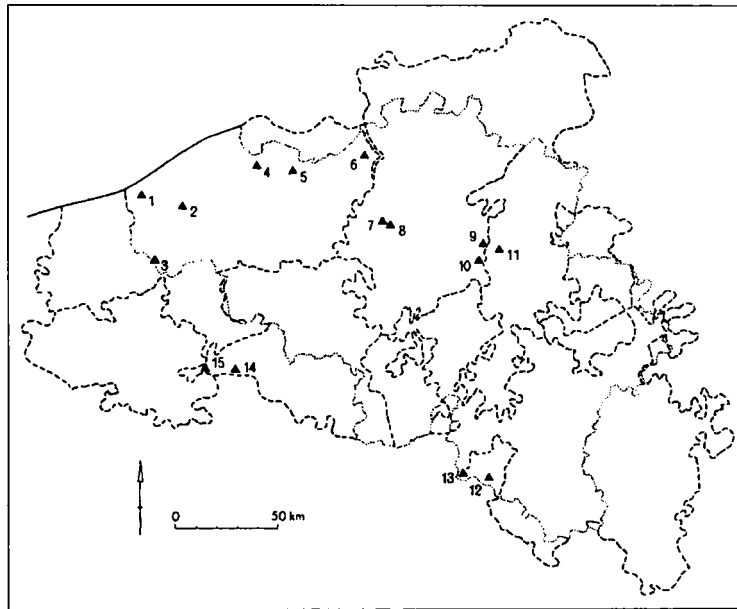
Fig. 1. Castle sites mentioned in the text: Adegem (4), Beveren-Waas (6), Bouillon (12), Brustem (11), Ertvelde (5), Estrées (15), Furnes (1), Grimbergen (7), Hordain (14), Landen (10), Loker (3), Sugny (13), Vilvoorde (8), Werken (2), Zoutleeuw (9).

In the course of war between the Count of Flanders, Philippe of Alsace, and the Count of Holland over the possession of some islands in Zeeland, Jordaen, the lord of Beveren-Waas, allied himself with the Dutch Count. A document informs us that, in 1158, the motte and bailey castle of Beveren-Waas was burnt down by the troops of the Count of Flanders, Jordaen's suzerain. The archaeological evidence confirms that this occurred since the whole of the first occupation layer on the motte is characterised by the presence of burnt earth mixed with fragments of burned loam from the half-timber structures of the tower; some archaeological objects from the layer also show signs of having been burnt. In addition, in the bailey, the mid 12th century layers were also touched by the fire. It is clear that we are looking at an archaeologically proven example of what is portrayed in the scene in the Bayeux Tapestry in which attackers are setting fire to the motte and bailey castle of Dinan.

In the second half of the 13th century a big square central *donjon* (210 m^2) replaced a hall, which had been built in the second occupation phase. The four corners of the *donjon* and its north wall, which was erected in the earth of the extension of the primitive motte were reinforced by buttresses. During this same period the bailey was entirely remodelled; it was levelled and a new ditch, larger and deeper, was dug to protect it. A wooden bridge connected the motte and its bailey.

A surprise attack on the castle of Beveren-Waas, in 1302, led to the capture of the bailey – its gate must have been wide open – and a short siege forced the *châtelaine*, who had taken refuge in the *donjon* on the motte, to surrender to the attackers. These latter consisted of two armed knights, acting under the orders of the bishop of Potenza, a member of the family of Beveren-Waas. About twenty peasants who had been assembled in the fields and

who were armed with their agricultural tools accompanied them. The reason for this quick surrender is explained in the document: in the *donjon* there were insufficient supplies to withstand a longer siege – the text specifies that they even lacked their clothes, which were stored in the occupied bailey. Naturally, the excavations could not bring any material evidence to confirm these elements of the written history. There is a well on the motte, so, in case of danger, those of the inhabitants who took refuge on the motte would have a water supply. On the other hand, the occupation layers of the motte contained kitchen refuse, which demonstrates that the normal activities of daily life were carried out on the mound. Coincidence or contradiction?

1.2. The „Senecaberg" the motte and bailey castle of Grimbergen

At Grimbergen[5], a number of wooden buildings were built in succession on the plateau of the motte and bailey castle. At the beginning of the 12th century a tower measuring 9 m by 6 m replaced a small watchtower built in the second half of the 12th century. During the first half of the 12th century it was in turn replaced by a timber building of about 13,50 m by 9,30 m. The excavations also uncovered a palisade.

This castle was abandoned in 1159 after its destruction by fire at the hand of the Duke of Brabant at the time of the „Grimbergen wars" between the Berthouts, lords of

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[5] R. B o r r e m a n s, *Grimbergen, onderzoek van de burchtheuvel (Senecaberg)*, „Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis", 1968-70, 40-42, p. 319-329; *Fouilles de la motte „Senecaberg" à Grimbergen*, „Château Gaillard", VI (Venlo 1972), Caen 1973, p. 23-26.

Fig. 2. The motte at Beveren-Waas.

Grimbergen and the Duke. However, the preliminary excavation reports make no mention of any trace of this destruction by fire, despite the fact that the excavations covered the whole plateau of the motte and bailey castle.

1.3. The motte and bailey
castle of „La Ramonette" at Bouillon

The representations of motte and bailey castles embroidered on the Bayeux Tapestry suggest that sites were sometimes defended by an outer rampart. Two examples of motte and bailey castles protected by outer ramparts are preserved in our study area, with one of these at Bouillon[6], where the outer rampart separates the motte from the rest of the plateau on which it was erected[7].

The castle of Bouillon is today presented to tourists as one of the best-preserved medieval castles in Belgium, unfortunately no trace of the medieval structure actually survives. However, a medieval earthwork dating back to the second quarter of the 11th century is to be found on the plateau of „La Ramonette", a site which actually dominates that of Bouillon castle. The motte was constructed around a small rock which was cut on one side to bring it to the desired height; the other side was built up using earth and rock from the digging of the ditch. The whole is protected by on outer rampart.

A coin minted around 1069 by Godfroid the Bearded, lord of Bouillon, provides a representation of an earthen castle as the one of „La Ramonette" with its tower, motte, ditch, and rampart. The site of „La Ramonette" was occupied by an hexagonal tower, which foundations ware cut into the rocky outcrop having a diameter of about 7 m. The tower itself was constructed in wood; a text of 1042 calls it *turris lignea*.

The fortification of „La Ramonette" was abandoned after its destruction by fire in 1141. A burned layer marks the definitive abandonment of the castral site. In 1141, the bishop of Liège, assisted by the Count of Namur, tried to recover the bishop's two fortifications in Bouillon. The bishop had purchased them from Godfroid of Bouillon in 1096 before the latter's departure for the First Crusade. On September 17th 1141, the bishop's men tried to set fire to the wooden tower at „La Ramonette". Wind made the flames turn in the wrong direction and as demonstrated by the excavations the stone basement prevented the fire from spreading. On September 21st, with „the help of the relics of Saint-Lambert", the first bishop of Liège, the two fortifications were taken by the Liégeois troops who set fire to the *turris lignea* of „La Ramonette". The site was left in ruins and it was abandoned to the profit of the stone castle, situated at a lower level but on a better protected rock. The excavations permitted research into the burnt layer that covers the whole site; it contained some crossbow bolt heads from the attack.

For a long time we considered the site of „La Ramonette" and its *turris lignea* as being anterior to the development of the stone castle which is currently presented to the public as the castle of Godefroid, King of Jerusalem. The chronological evolution of both castles established by André Matthys left little room for doubt. A big stone *donjon* was constructed by Godefroid of Bouillon at some point between 1082 and 1096 – the date of his departure for Jerusalem – or by one of his direct predecessors. Gozelon, Duke of Lotharingia, of the noble house of Ardenne-Verdun, who died in 1044, was associated by the chronicle of Gislebert of Mons with the *castrum* of Bouillon; he might have lived in the earthwork of „La Ramonette"[8].

Recent studies on Normandy, and on the castle of Château Gaillard (Les Andelys) in particular, show the existence of earthworks constructed as advance defences

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[6] A. M a t t h y s, *Les fortifications du 11e siècle entre Lesse et Semois, in* Boehme, H.W., *Burgen der Salierzeit. I. In den Nördlichen Landschaften des Reiches*, Mainz 1991, p. 226-230.

[7] The other site is situated at Bovekerke but has not been excavated.

[8] A. M a t t h y s, *Les fortifications du 11e siècle entre Lesse et Semois, in* Boehme, H.W., *Burgen der Salierzeit. I. In den Nördlichen Landschaften des Reiches*, Mainz 1991, p. 230.

Fig. 3. The motte at Landen.

for a central castle – in the case of Château Gaillard, for a stone castle[9]. This new development in research into earthen fortifications puts us on our guard as regards the interpretation of the Bouillon castral system. The two castles existed before Godefroid's departure on crusade; they still existed in 1141, when „La Ramonette" was destroyed by fire. However, one can no longer exclude the possibility that the role of the motte castle of „La Ramonette" was limited to the provision of advance protection for the stone *donjon* constructed in the second half of the 11th century to replace a timber castle. This would explain the modest scale of the hexagonal tower of „La Ramonette" as well as the absence of a true bailey at this site. The lack of a bailey would so severaly have compromised the residential function at „La Ramonette" that it may be disregarded; this fortification should therefore bette be interpreted as an advance military station that protected the residential castle. It would appear that in 1141 the Liégeois troops had understood that it was necessary to take and to eliminate this bastion before tackling the main *castrum*.

1.4. The motte and bailey castle of the Warande at Furnes

At Furnes, in the 12th century, a motte and bailey castle was built over a ringwork[10]. At its base, the body of the motte was reinforced by tree trunks and beams, which had been recovered from timber buildings, which had yielded their place for the erection of a motte. The bank of the ditch was also reinforced with beams and planks. A palisade made by setting planks vertically in a narrow foundation trench defended the summit of this motte.

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[9] Paper presented to the „Château Gaillard" Conference at Graz (1998) by Jacques le Maho.

[10] J. De M e u l e m e e s t e r, *Archéologie du peuplement au Moyen Age. Une approche archéologique de la société médiévale à travers vingt-cinq années de recherches de terrain, Atelier national de Reproduction des Thèses*, Université de Lille III, Lille 1996., p. 523-524.

In the 17th century Pauwel Heyndrickx, a local historian, wrote of a regional war that opposed the lower nobility of the district against the widow of the Flemish Count, who lived in the *castrum*. As a result the castle of Furnes was burnt in 1204. The excavation of the motte showed no trace of destruction, neither by fire nor by other means. At the beginning of the 13th century the motte and bailey castle was enlarged but lowered alteration, which led to the disappearance of the constructions on the platform of the first motte. However, the spatial scope of the excavation excludes the possibility that these early 13th century transformations may also have erased the traces of the destruction by fire. We are therefore left with the question as whether it was not sufficient that the attackers should have held – and eventually destroyed – the bailey in order to break the military and the residential characters of the castle?

2. The transformation of castles in time of war

The motte and bailey of **Vilvoorde**, the so-called *Notelarenberg*, was not constructed before the beginning of the 12th century[11]. In origin, Vilvoorde constitutes one of the rare sites of the ringwork type in Belgium; it formed the basis of a later motte and bailey castle. Unfortunately, the excavation revealed insufficient information to permit the reconstruction of the residential structures. The ringwork seems to have existed at the end of the 10th century but towards the end of the 11th century it was replaced by constructions erected on a slightly elevated plateau defended by a ditch and an earthen rampart. Towards the middle of the 12th century, during the Grimbergen wars (*cfr supra*), the Duke transformed the ringwork into a motte and bailey castle. Situated on the right bank of the river Senne, it controlled the motte castle of Grimbergen, the dynastic castle

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[11] R. B o r r e m a n s, *Fouilles et prospections de Mottes Féodales entre Dendre et Dyle (Belgique)*, „Derentiacum. Revue de la Société Drancéenne d' Histoire et d' Archéologie", janvier n° 3, 1979, p. 5.

Fig. 4. The motte at Brustem.

of the Berthouts, which is situated in front of the *Notela-renberg*, on the other side of the Senne. The Duke destroyed the Grimbergen castle in 1159. Together with Landen, this example shows that, in wartime, the Duke of Brabant opted for the motte and bailey castle rather than for the ringwork castle.

In **Landen**[12], at the site of *Ouderstad* (= the old city), the motte and bailey castle has, since the beginning of the 13th century, covered the remains of a „8-shaped" moated site the „high court" of which was surrounded by a circular earthen rampart. Inside its ditch, its diameter was about 40 m. The moated site was constructed during or immediately after the second quarter of the 12th century.

The creation of the castle is associated with the rise of a local family, the Giselberts, who, in Landen, shared feudal rights with the Dukes of Brabant and the Prince-bishops of Liège[13]. The relationship between these two Princes was not always cordial. In 1203 Landen acted as a base for the Duke's operations in Liégeois territory. The transformation of the moated site into a motte castle at the beginning of the 13th century must find explanation in this context of war.

The combination of archaeological data with a number of historical facts permitted the assessment of the motte and bailey castle of the *Burgh* (= the castle) in **Londerze-el**[14] in a broader context than that of the lordly site itself. It also constituted the first step towards an understanding of the political intentions of its occupants.

Currently, the motte has a height of 5 m, its base diameter is 65 m and that of its platform 40 m. The raising of a first motte has been dated by archaeology to around 1100; historical texts remain silent about the early history of the site. It was probably built by one of the Berthouts, lords of Grimbergen, who, in the western Brabant, occupied an allodial domain of major importance, allowing them to compete with the Dukes of Brabant. This competition culminated in armed conflict in the middle of the 12th century, leading to the destruction of the main residence of the Berthouts, the motte and bailey castle of Grimbergen, which is situated a few kilometres to the south of Londerzeel. This episode marked the end of the castle of Londerzeel as a motte structure and also of the first phase of occupation of the site. However, in neither the documentary nor the archaeological record is there any trace of the destruction of the castle of Londerzeel.

During the last quarter of the 13th century, the motte of Londerzeel was flattened and enlarged; the earth from the flattening was used for the enlargement. The motte was integrated into a new castle made up of a round dwelling tower and a curtain wall with three open-backed towers and a fortified entrance built into the flank of the motte. The new castle was constructed in brick by the Counts of Vianden and constitutes the material expression of the new politics of this noble family. As allies of the Dukes of Brabant against the Counts of Luxembourg, their traditional enemies, they were in the victorious camp at the battle of Woeringen in 1288. This battle was fought between several territorial princes of the regions between the Scheldt and Rhine; the family of the Counts of Luxembourg lost five of its leading members at Woeringen. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish whether the rebuilding of the castle of Londerzeel preceded the famous battle or whether it was a result of it.

The castle that the Viandens restructured around 1270 at Corroy-le-Château[15], in the southern part of the duchy

[12] J. D e M e u l e m e e s t e r, A. M a t t h y s, *De moten van het Sint Gitterdal te Landen,* „Archaeologia Belgica", 239, Brussel 1981.

[13] B. A a r t s, „ *Ter Borch"* *(Oisterwijk) en de Tombe van Pepijn" (Landen-België): twee motte-burchten en hun onderlinge relatie,* „Het Brabants Kasteel", 1987, 10, n° 1, p. 10-15.

[14] M. D e w i l d e, A. E r v y n c k, W. Van N e e r, J. D e M e u l e m e e s t e r, P. van der P l a e t s e n, *De "Burcht" te Londerzeel. Bewoningsgeschiedenis van een motte en een bakstenen kasteel,* Zellik 1994.

[15] W. U b r e g t s, *Le château de Corroy au Moyen Age et au début des Temps Modernes,* Gembloux-sur-Orneau 1978.

Fig. 5. The „stone" motte at Sugny.

of Brabant, defended the border of Brabant against the county of Namur, property of the Count of Flanders protector of the Luxembourg family. The castle reorganised by the Viandens in Londerzeel, protected the western border of Brabant from its neighbours in the county of Flanders.

3. The efficiency of timber castles at the time of an attack

Both motte and bailey were defended by ditches and ramparts. At the motte and bailey castles of Furnes, Grimbergen, Brustem[16], Werken[17], Loker[18], Beveren-Waas, Sugny[19] and Zoutleeuw[20] traces of ramparts or of a palisade survived on the edge of the platforms. Some sites, such as Beveren-Waas, Ertvelde[21], Hordain[22], Estrées[23], Werken and Sugny featured defensive devices in the bailey, tough Sugny provides a clear illustration of the efficiency of the palisade.

At **Sugny**, the castle rock was so well shaped into the standard form of an earthen mound, that this site can only be understood as a „motte and bailey castle of stone". During the first half of the 11th century the summit of the rocky spur of the „*Tchesté de la Rotche*" was reshaped and square block of 9 m side was carefully levelled and reserved for the construction of a multistorey timber *donjon*. Access was by an outside staircase, which climbed to the 1st floor. In one corner of the *donjon* a small cellar was cut into the rock along with a five-step staircase leading down to it. Next to the *donjon* a cistern and a timber kitchen were built against the curtain wall.

In the second half of the 11th century the platform was occupied by a tripartite structure. This was made up of a trapezoidal stone *donjon* of which the lower floor and the basement served both as a means of access and storage space, a hall and an open courtyard protected by a stone curtin wall built between the *donjon* and the hall.

The castle rock was surrounded by a ditch, which was dug during the second half of the 11th century; the ditch was in fact made up of a series of basins in which rainwater accumulated; between the basins the water could pass along overflow channels. This defensive device served to separate even more finally the military and residential parts of the castle, and it also formed a reservoir of water to supply the everyday needs of the human and animal intendants of the site as well as satisfying any demand generated by artisanal activity.

The motte was only accessible across a mobile footbridge laid over a square pit of side 1,70 m which was cut to a depth of 2,45 m into the rock in order to restrict access; in its raised position, the bridge would have acted as a door.

To the south and to the east, the slopes of the rock of Sugny were enclosed by a palisade, which formed the defensive device of a bailey with artisanal activity. To gain access to this bailey one had to cross a staircase of which remain traces in the rock over an height of 2 m. Livestock could not cross this staircase and one may thus suppose that the agricultural bailey was located at the north of the motte and bailey, in an unexcavated zone. The five timber constructions in the bailey housed artisanal activity (e.g. metal and leather working).

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[16] J. De M e u l e m e e s t e r, *Structures défensives et résidences princières: les châteaux à motte du comté de Looz au XIe siècle*, „Château Gaillard. Etudes de Castellologie médiévale XV (Schwäbisch Hall - 1990)", Caen 1992, p. 101-111.

[17] J. De M e u l e m e e s t e r, C. V a n t h o u r n o u t, De *"Hoge Andjoen"– motte te Werken (gem. Kortemark)*, „Archaeologia Belgica" II, 1, 1986, p. 105-108; C. V a n t h o u r n o u t, *The „Hoge Andjoen" Motte at Werken-Kortemark: Mode of construction, function and chronology*, [in:] J. T a u b e r, *Methoden und Perspectiven der Archäologie des Mittelalters*, Liestal 1991, 187-207.

[18] J. De M e u l e m e e s t e r, *De Singelberg...*, 1978.

[19] A. M a t t h y s, *op. cit.*, p. 244-260.

[20] M. V e r b e e c k, *De Castelbergh-motte te Zoutleeuw*, „Archaeologia Mediaevalis", 16, Gent 1993, 34-35; *De castrale motte de Castelberg te Zoutleeuw*, „Archaeologia Mediaevalis", 17, Brussel 1994, 26-27.

[21] J. De M e u l e m e e s t e r, *op. cit.*

[22] E. L o u i s, *Recherches sur le château à motte de Hordain (Nord)*, „Archaeologia Duacensis", 2, Douai 1989, p. 87.

[23] P. D e m o l o n, *Estrées (Nord)*, [in:] A. D e b o r d, (ed.), *Chroniques des fouilles médiévales. Constructions et habitats fortifiés*, „Archéologie médiévale", 1989, XX, 408.
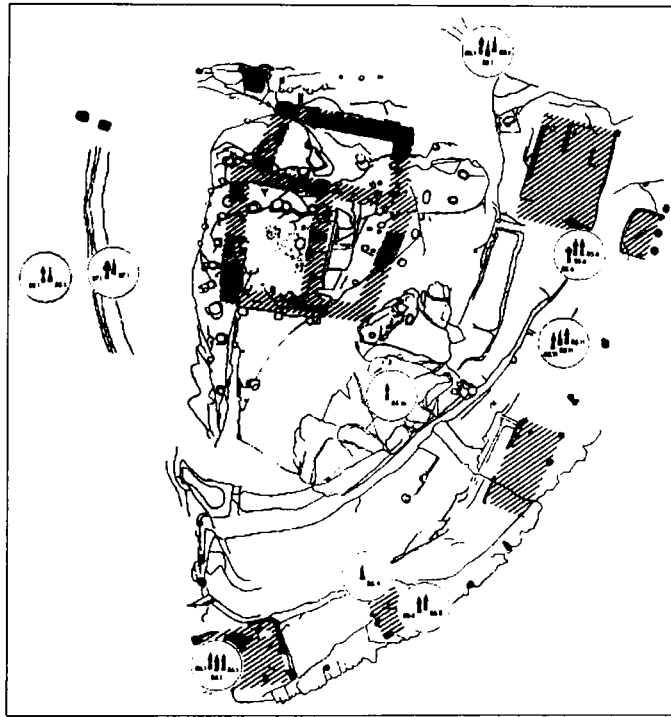
Fig. 6. Sugny. 2nd occupation period and location of the crossbow arrowheads.

The castle of Sugny shows no trace of having been destroyed by force. It would appear that, as some archaeological finds clearly demonstrate, the castle withstood all attacks. For example, all the crossbow bolt heads found in the course of excavation were concentrated at the height of the palisade: to all appearances the palisade stopped the arrows.

4. Conclusion

It is clear that, at the time of the development of feudalism in the Belgian regions, the majority of the nobility opted for the motte and bailey castle as its defended private residence. On the one hand the scarcity of ringworks and on the other the abundance of motte and bailey castles – almost 150 sites survive – seem to render this obvious. The symbolic impact of the motte and bailey castle was far more impressive and the motte was probably considered to be more effective from the military point of view. Furthermore some lords transformed the site of a ringwork into a motte[24] – according to „the fashion of the country" as related by Gautier of Thérouanne and as is proven by the excavations of Furnes, Vilvoorde and Landen.

The defensive value of the motte castle is indicated in the first place by the scarecity of documentary references to the taking of motte castles by force – at least in relation to the surviving number. Traces of this defensive efficiency are evident at the motte of Sugny. A lot of excavations of motte and bailey castles in Belgium reveal that sites were transformed, but these reorganisations were rarely stimulated by war. Thus the motte castle of Beveren-Waas

evolved from motte to *Wasserburg*, but it was solely in its first phase of occupation – of five – that its attackers destroyed the castle. In Furnes the motte castle of the beginning of the 13th century was destroyed – according to 17th century texts – and subsequently transformed. However, as the excavations show no trace of this destruction, it is not even clear whether the transformation was necessitated by the ruinous state of the site or whether it was a consequence of the desire of its inhabitants in the first half of the 13th century for a greater degree of comfort. In spite of an outright defeat of the lords of Grimbergen including the destruction of their dynastic castle at Grimbergen by the Duke of Brabant, investigation of their castle at Londerzeel revealed no archaeological sign of warlike action. The destruction of three other excavated sites – Adegem, Grimbergen and Bouillon – was followed by total abandonment. Beveren-Waas – which was captured twice – and Bouillon are the only castles at which there remain traces of violent destruction by fire, which was also recorded in the chronicles. Documents record that the motte castle of Grimbergen was burned down by the Duke of Brabant, but there was no obvious trace of this event in the excavations. The same is true of the destruction of the castle at Furnes, reportedly burned down in 1204, but where the excavation of the motte showed no trace of destruction by fire or any other agent. Are we to suppose that the capture of the bailey was sufficient to break the defensive and residential character of the castle in a such a way as to render the castle militarily redundant? Or does the archaeological evidenced raise doubts regarding the texts and their authors? As is often the case, archaeological reality and historical documents – tough almost as often complementary – present the historian with a contradiction.

24 J. De Meulemeester, *Archéologie...*, p. 393-398.