A New World

Emperor Charles V and the Beginnings of Globalization

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The archaeology of the medieval Castle of Lecce (2004-2019)

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Abstract: Some of the most significant discoveries made during the archaeological excavations at Lecce Castle are presented in this article. They include information indicating a probable date of Norman foundation and a renovation during the reign of emperor Frederick II. Its current appearance is largely due to a substantial reinforcement and extension that took place during the reign of emperor Charles V. The excavation of the fill of one of the 16th century galleries brings the story up to modern times, with evidence of military use before and during the Second World War. It is hoped that this document will contribute to a better understanding of the monument, also in view of a much-needed permanent exhibition of its history.

Keywords: Byzantium, Normans, Frederick II.

Most people refer to the Castle of Lecce as the Castello di Carlo V. Nothing could be so wrong. The castle was certainly aggrandized and refurbished during the reign of emperor Charles V so to as to both bring it in line with modern defences and heavy artillery firepower and to make it suitable for the court and early modern government (figure 1). This is indicated by the enlarged enceinte with its enormous polygonal bastions, by the monumental architecture in and around the central courtyard, including the restructuring of the great hall, as well as by documents, in particular the diary

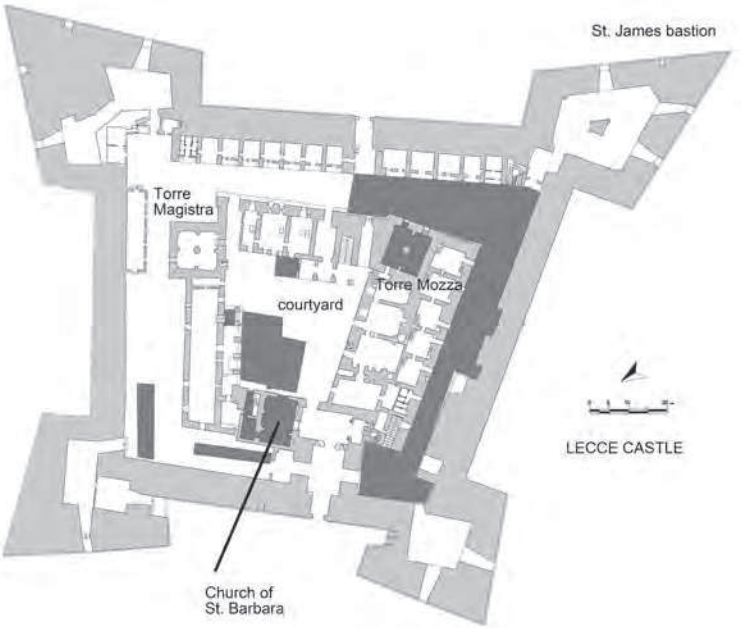

Figure 1. *Plan of the Castle of Lecce, with excavated areas in dark grey. Dis. Laboratory of Medieval Archaeology.*

of building works signed by Don Ferrante Loffredo, governor of the Terra d'Otranto under Charles V, in 1544-5 (*Dipendenze della Sommaria, Reg. 188, incartamento 3*). Much has already been written about these subjects.

New evidence for the history of the castle has, instead, come from ongoing systematic archaeological excavations carried out since 2004 by the University of Lecce (now renamed University of Salento), under the direction of the writer. The first years were spent excavating beneath the Torre Mozza (see figure 1), one of the two surviving medieval angle towers, the other being the Torre Magistra (see figure 1), and in the sixteenth-century galleries behind the enlarged enceinte, in collaboration with conservation work carried out under the direction of Antonio Bramato for the Superintendency of Architecture[1].

1. Arthur (2014).

Figure 2. *The excavations within the courtyard. Photo Debora Lagatta.*

Even though little of medieval date came to light, there were various significant finds dating to early modern times. In 2006, excavations were concentrated within the church of St. Barbara, ahead of restoration. Work in the courtyard in front of the church (figure 2) began the following year. Contexts from the latter area, in particular, have revolutionized our knowledge about the castle's beginnings and its subsequent history until the major refurbishment carried out during the reign of emperor Charles V, as well as providing important information regarding the economic relationships of Lecce during the Middle Ages.

Although nothing resembling its former status as a *municipium* during the Roman Empire, Lecce apparently remained both a town and diocese through the 6th century A.D. and probably continued to play a significant role as a garrison, perhaps principally in military and civic affairs, during the long Byzantine occupation of the Salento. However, it is hardly likely to have been able to maintain its lengthy Roman urban walls during the Byzantine period, given a reduced population, whilst it is more probable that the old Roman amphitheatre was used as a fortification and indeed, perhaps, housed the entire surviving populace of the settlement.

Although almost half of the amphitheatre was unearthed at the beginning of the 20th century without any stratigraphic control whatever, with most finds being discarded and others lost, the rest of the building and its fills still remain to be excavated. It may be no coincidence, however, that the late 16th century church of Santa Maria della Grazia lies almost exactly on the eastern margin of the amphitheatre, perhaps recalling the existence of a much earlier ecclesiastical building, as in other Roman amphitheatres in Italy and beyond[2]. The reuse of both Roman amphitheatres and theatres for housing and defence is also well attested. One need only think of the splendid example in Lucca, which arena now hosts a market, although examples may be cited from Santa Maria Capua Vetere, near Naples, to Tours in France[3].

Lecce was still sufficiently significant towards the middle of the 6th century to have had a bishop, a certain Venantius, who, moreover, was present in Constantinople in 553 to sign the *Constitutum* concerning the dispute of the Three Chapters. Some forty years later, the episcopal see, as also in Brindisi and Gallipoli, had fallen vacant (Greg. *Ep.* VI, 21). The population of the town may have declined since the early 6th century, perhaps largely due to the bubonic pandemic, known as the Justinianic plague, from

2. Christie (2009), esp. p. 228. See the list in Iacobone (2008). See in general, on the end of their original function, Puk (2014).

3. See Dattolo (2008), regarding southern Italy or, in general, Christie (2016).

541 to 750[4], to such an extent that the presence of a diocese became less and less functional and too costly. In such a context, it is likely that a large proportion of the remaining population will eventually have concentrated in the amphitheatre, one of the few large buildings in Lecce at the time that was constructed of solid masonry.

Lecce seems to have fallen definitively to the Norman invaders in 1048[5]. It is quite possible that during the early years of occupation the Normans reused the Byzantine fortifications. Around 1119, Guido of Pisa updated the *Geographica*, a text written much earlier by an anonymous author at Ravenna. If we may give his words credit, he describes the area of the theatre (or amphitheatre) of Lecce as a small, almost dilapidated village, rather than as a palatial area, and he does not describe the Palace of the counts of Lecce or the castle, perhaps both erected sometime after that date[6].

Indeed, in much of Europe, castles built largely of stone were not common before the 12th century and were usually only found in the main urban centres. Smaller towns sometimes possessed defences based on earlier constructions or were fortified through the erection of an earthen motte, essentially of earth, wood and rubble. This appears also to have been the case in Salento. To the south of Lecce, the town of Nardò, for instance, still bears evidence of the Norman-era motte erected in the north-western part of the old town, next to its ancient Roman walls. In fact, this, the only high point of Nardò, is traditionally identified as having been a castle, the *castellum veteris* built by Goffredo d'Altavilla, count of Conversano, in 1055[7]. It was thus presumably an earthwork from the Norman period, later converted into a Capuchin monks' convent in 1271, when the new castle was built on the southern edge of the walled town.

4. Cf. Harper (2017).

5. Poso (1988); Corsi (1993), pp. 40-41; Gay (1904), p. 470; Chalandon (1907), pp. 107, 115.

6. Lombardo (1992), p. 222. See also Fagiolo, Cazzato (1984), p. 20; Vetere (1993).

7. Fuzio (1981).

Returning to the excavations in the castle of Lecce, the earliest recognised contexts appear to represent extramural agricultural cultivation. Within the Torre Mozza are a number of elongated pits cut into the limestone bedrock that appear to be vineyard trenches (*sulci*) of Roman date. They are similar to examples that have been found in other extra-mural parts of the town and in other parts of Salento. In the courtyard, where very little bedrock has been exposed, is a layer of dark soil that is also probably of agricultural origin. It contains abundant small abraded fragments of Roman pottery and does not seem to date much later than the 6th century. The upper surface of this layer may have been the ground level around the year 1000. In any case, it was subsequently cut by two large circular pits (figures. 3-4: US 8086 and 8087[8]) presumably originally intended for storage, which contained pottery, including broad-line painted ware, that would appear to date to the first half of the 12th century[9]. These contexts were later sealed beneath a layer of dark organic soil (US 8002) that, amongst other ceramics, yielded a few fragments of Byzantine dotted slip-painted ware, common to the north-east Peloponnese that, again, does not appear to date much after the mid 12th century[10]. This same layer also contained some 168 examples of carbonised broad beans of a variety of *Vicia faba* var. *minor* not usually found in southern Italy. These legumes may have represented an attempt to better the agriculture of the region by fixing nitrogen in the soil[11]. The broad beans, infested with maggots, were found alongside remains of tussock or bunchgrass (*Phalaris minor*) weeds. It is possible that the remains represent the intentional destruction of spoiled crops. Three further pits (US 8202, 8434 and 8446: figure 3, bottom left) were dug at around the same time and were probably also intended for storage.

It is probable that these features were associated with structures which remains are not attested in the excavated area. However,

8. The abbreviation US stands for the Italian *unità stratigrafica* or stratified context.
9. Arthur, Leo Imperiale (2018).
10. Cf. Morgan (1942), pp. 95ff.; Yangaki (2008), p. 600; Vroom (2014), p. 81.
11. Nicolì (2015); Grasso, Primavera, Fiorentino (2018).

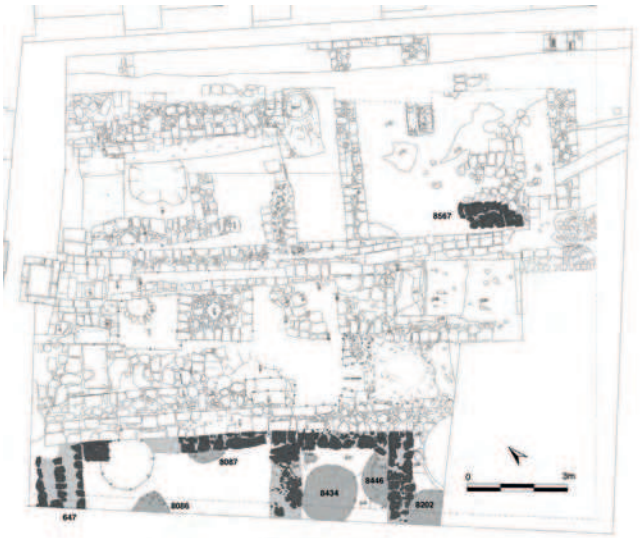

Figure 3. *Norman contexts revealed within the courtyard. Dis. Laboratory of Medieval Archaeology.*

Figure 4. *Norman pits US 8086 and 8087 (right and bottom), pit US 910 with an Angevin-period fill (centre left), and the Norman wall US 968/979 covered by the Swebian-period wall US 619. Photo author.*

perhaps not much later, buildings occupied the area. The foundations of a long drystone wall (US 968/979/8125) were brought to light. The wall was abutted by two perpendicular walls (US 8416 and 8405) which contained vertical post-holes that suggest that the superstructure was timber framed (figure 4). A similar wall, possibly of the same date, has recently been discovered in the north-western part of the excavation. Once again, dating evidence would appear to place the remains in the later 12th century. The only finds of pre-Norman date found in post-classical layers in the courtyard excavations were, at least, five 11th century anonymous Byzantine bronze *folles*. In the absence of the usually far more ubiquitous locally-made Byzantine pottery, they are probably all to be interpreted as residual coins that had dropped out of circulation in Italy following the monetary reform of Norman king Roger II in 1140[12].

Thus, on current evidence, the earliest post-Roman activity in the area of the castle cannot be shown to date earlier than around the mid 12th century.

Andreas Kiesewetter[13] has proposed that the castle of Taranto was built during the reign of the Norman king Roger II, perhaps between 1139 and 1142. His suggested dating is intriguing and, together with the evidence from Lecce, might indicate that we are seeing the results of a centralised programme of territorial defence and control instituted by Norman kingship towards the mid 12th century. Thus, it would not be at all surprising if the first stone castle in Lecce was actually built during the reign of Roger II, who was apparently responsible for the construction and restoration of several other significant monuments. These would seem to include the palace of the counts of Lecce, the cathedral, as well as a number of churches and monasteries, including the still standing Church of Sts. Nicholas and Catald. However, given the current state of chronological evidence, it is also possible that the castle was built by his successor, Tancred of Altavilla (Hauteville), count of Lecce from 1159 to 1190,

12. Guzzetta (1989), p. 54; Travaini (2001), pp. 182-3.
13. Kiesewetter (2009), p. 27.

to whom it is attributed in the traditional history told by the 16th century scholar Iacopo Ferrari (1728, p. 209). In its position, the Castle of Lecce would have commanded movement along the road that led to the town's Adriatic port at San Cataldo.

Various of the archaeological features of Norman date illustrated above were subsequently covered with a thin layer of powdered limestone or *tufina,* a thin layer of ash and then a dump of shattered roof-tiles (US 8126), that may represent demolition debris. Within the last context was a small hoard of five gold coins, consisting of four gold tarì and a fragment of a fifth, intentionally cut down. Two of them may be attributed to king Roger II, two are ancient counterfeits, one of Roger II and the other of William II, whilst the fragment appears to be piece of a Swebian coin, purposefully cut down in a period when the use of such a practice was fairly commonplace[14]. It is tempting to link the chronology of the hoard and the possible demolition debris itself with a known moment of probable restructuring of the Castle of Lecce under emperor Frederick II.

The *Reparatio castrorum,* datable to 1241-1246, is the earliest written document that attests to fortifications in Lecce. It speaks of the costs of maintenance and eventual modernisation of the *castrum Licii,* which expenses were to be met by the *Universitas Licii* or citizen-body of the town[15]. Unless we are to interpret the words *castrum Licii* as referring to a walled town, with or without a separate redoubt, it would imply that the castle was already in existence and in need of upkeep. Whatever the exact interpretation of the text, it may be observed that excavations by the northern town walls suggest that the urban defences were also renewed during the reign of emperor Frederick II[16].

The only surviving section of the medieval castle wall lies near the north-western corner of the early structure (figure 5). Whether it dates from Swabian or Angevin times remains to be seen. However,

14. Arthur, Sarcinelli (2017), p. 52.
15. Sthamer (1995), p. 106.
16. Arthur (2017), p. 16.

Figure 5. *The only surviving section of the medieval castle wall. Photo Luigi Oliva.*

it seems to belong to the castle when it had a 'typical' quadrilateral form with angle towers[17]. The digging of the mediaeval moat presumably took place at around the same time as the construction of this wall. Traces of the moat and particularly its connection with the moat surrounding the town walls of Lecce, have been found within the southern gallery of the castle restructured under Charles V[18].

The archaeological evidence from the excavations in the castle courtyard may confirm that major rebuilding took place during the first half of the 13th century. In the area of the present courtyard two

17. An excavation at the south-west corner of the castle did not provide any evidence of an angle tower in that spot.

18. Arthur (2014).

long parallel walls, largely of ashlar masonry, were built (US 619 to the S. and 919 to the N.: see figure 2, and figure 4 for part of wall US 619). Between them lay a stone-paved floor[19]. For a good part of their length, the walls are of precise ashlar masonry. The southern wall was abutted by the beginning of a staircase and a bench-like feature. The floor appears to have covered a bell-shaped grain silo, around 2,20 metres deep. Its fill yielded ceramics dating to the first half of the 13th century, including various fragments of protomaiolica, local green-glazed ware and polychrome ware and a few sherds of imported Byzantine pottery[20]. These classes of pottery were also attested in the layer immediately covering the stone paving.

The space between the two parallel walls was subdivided by another wall with a door, whilst another similar structure was found to the north of the northernmost parallel wall.

Unfortunately, there is no clear relationship between the structures unearthed beneath the castle's courtyard and contemporary contexts found beneath the church of St. Barbara. The structures revealed in the two areas are not closely aligned, although the stone paving beneath the courtyard may have continued with a slightly different paving in small squared stone blocks that came to light beneath the church, eventually leading to an original entrance to the castle from the town that was revealed during the excavation of part of the castle's enceinte to the west (figure 6).

In the decades following the end of Swebian domination, various structural modifications took place, both in the area of St. Barbara and in the area of the courtyard, as well as in other parts of the castle[21]. Luigi Oliva's study of the castle's architecture suggest that the south-east medieval angle tower (the Torre Mozza) was likely erected between the end of the 13th and the early decades of the 14th century, during the reign of the

19. Some of the blocks of this floor look as though they may have originally been used as paving stones for a Roman road.

20. Scoditti (2013).

21. For ceramics and other discoveries relating to this period see also Tinelli (2013).

Brienne family[22]. Its interior sculptural decoration and carved column capitals suggests that a particular regard was given to this building[23].

In the courtyard area, a large rectangular structure (US 763/800) was built, its foundations cutting the 13th century stone paving (figure 2, lower centre). It looks as though it may have been a foundation or pier for something fairly heavy, probably dating to the later 13th century. Furthermore, it is possible that it may have been connected to another even large structure, at least 7.60m long and more than 2.42m wide, that was built along with part of the castle's walls unearthed beneath the church of St. Barbara in 2006 (figure 6). This last may have been part of a guard-tower that appears to correspond to a blocked-in entrance in the walls themselves. The entrance, although narrow, is central to the façade of the castle that meets the town, and may have been the original gateway between the two. Indeed, a pier of squared blocks was found in front of the opening, just outside the walls and within the backfilled moat, a few metres to the west of where St. Barbara now stands. It may have been part of an associated drawbridge. Perhaps around the same time, a couple of doors in the courtyard area were blocked up.

Another major intervention regards the creation (or rebuilding) of a channel that conducted water from a well-head immediately in front of the church of St. Barbara[24]. It led to a large rectangular basin that was cut into the limestone bedrock (figure 7), which upper part was built of ashlar masonry. The ashlar blocks are scarred by numerous graffiti, including a large cross, the face of a bearded man (Jesus?) and numerous tally marks and other unintelligible incisions. It is tempting to interpret this hydraulic system as being part of a watermill, as an aquifer that is known to run beneath the castle, the so-called river Idume, may have been

22. Oliva (forthcoming).
23. Bertelli (forthcoming).
24. For some inexplicable reason, the well-head was removed by the Superintendency a couple of years ago during restoration works.

Figure 6. *Excavations within the Church of St. Barbara showing the castle wall and blocked-in entrance (upper centre) and large ashlar masonry structure (on the right). Photo Marisa Tinelli.*

Figure 7. *Large rectangular basin, possibly part of a watermill. Photo Alessandro Rizzo.*

tapped and forced under pressure to flow up the well and into the channel, thus providing a mill race so as to turn a vertical water-wheel located within the basin. Unfortunately, we still do not have enough evidence to confirm this hypothesis, although a mill is attested at the castle in the *Quaderno del tesoriere regio,* a document dating to 1473-74.

Together with another document dating to 1478, we know of various elements at the castle dating to Aragonese times, including a new *sala magna* with a vaulted soffit (perhaps the present grand hall that abuts the Torre Mozza), two fresco figures of giants to the sides of the entrance to the castle, treasury and customs offices, a bailiff's apartment, a room above the *supporticus* next to the chapel of the Archangel (Michael?) in the courtyard. The courtyard gave access to the *domus curie in cortilio castri*, the *domus de furno*, a storeroom or *camera de conservanda robba*, the mill, the kitchens, which have been identified in the rooms to the north of the church of St. Barbara, and the main stables *stabulum mangnum* (probably the gallery on the northern side of the medieval castle). There was also a *scala labidea*, and a *scala de ligno sale magne veteris de castro Licii*. The foundations of the *scala labidea* may be those that have come to light during our excavations in the courtyard. Furthermore, there were prisons, perhaps to be identified with partly subterranean lower floor of the Torre Mozza, which walls are bedecked with graffiti probably scratched by inmates, as well as two gardens, baths, a well (see above) and a *palmentum ingenie balneorum*.

Around the same time, the courtyard itself, more or less as it now appears, was laid out. This was done by demolishing the various walls and structures and backfilling the spaces with soil and rubble. In the north-western part of the excavated area a staircase was built, with foundations cutting some of the earlier structures. This may have been the *scala labidea* (stone staircase) mentioned above, in which case the buildings in the courtyard would already have been in disuse by 1473-74. During backfilling a bell casting pit (figure 8) with associated pit furnaces were created in front of the

Figure 8. *Bell casting pit. Photo author.*

staircase, perhaps so as to raise the bell up the stairs when it was ready[25]. This may have taken place at the beginning of the 16th century. It further suggests that one of the churches or chapels of the castle was located in this area. The bell may have been intended for the church now known as Santa Barbara that, in 1507, was apparently dedicated to St. Anthony[26]. However, there are other possibilities, such as the *chapelle de nostre chateau de Liche* which was mentioned in 1347, and which has not yet been located (perhaps it was placed in the semi-subterranean chamber below the Torre Magistra). It may be noted that a few minor fragments of painted wall-plaster were found during the excavations in the courtyard, as was a small ceramic bread-stamp, which last further suggests that the Greek liturgy was also performed at the castle, perhaps to cater for a select few.

25. Bells were often made close to their site of use so as to minimize costs and the possibility of damage during transportation.

26. Zacchino (1993), pp. 64-5.

Whilst the backfilling of the razed structures in the courtyard area may have been a lengthy process, starting towards the late 15th century, the first proper new ground surface, consisting of small packed stones, appears to date after 1516-19, as is suggested by a bronze coin (*sestina*) struck in Naples under Charles V, during the regency of his mother queen Joanna of Aragon, found lying on the crest of one of the medieval walls, just beneath this primary ground surface. Various further surfaces were laid over the years, right down to the present day, beginning with the packed-stone and continuing with further surfaces of beaten-earth consisting essentially of powdered limestone or *tufina*.

The creation of the large courtyard right at the end of the Middle Ages or at the very beginning of post-medieval times, more or less as we now see it, is one of the great surprises revealed by the archaeological excavations. It had previously been assumed that the medieval castle was a quadrilateral fortification with angle towers and a substantial central courtyard. Clearly its original ground plan was more articulated and the area of the present courtyard was largely occupied by buildings. This immediately sheds doubt upon the plan of the many castles which have been assigned a Swebian or Angevin date (sometimes on plan alone) and shows how important it is to conduct excavations within their central courtyards even if, on first sight, they may appear to have been part of the original building project.

The courtyard excavations have not revealed much of the history of the castle following the creation of the current courtyard towards the end of the Middle Ages. Only a number of post-holes cutting the ground surface appear to indicate the presence of wooden structures, presumably temporary, that were erected from time to time, and it is possible to see how the courtyard surface was gradually raised some 60cm to its present level over the centuries.

New evidence for the 16th century complex and its subsequent phases comes, instead, from the excavations conducted beneath the Torre Mozza and from areas between the medieval castle and

the sixteenth-century enceinte. The excavations beneath the Torre Mozza, which seems to have been used as a prison in post-medieval times, brought to light a number of features cutting the natural limestone bedrock, including a backfilled garderobe pit. The discovery was of great importance because of the substantial quantity of 16th century finds in its fill, including abundant locally-produced and imported ceramics, and will soon be fully published[27]. The chronology of the finds was greatly aided by the discovery of 124 coins, of which 100 were identifiable, the latest being a possible *cavallo* attributed to Philip III of Spain and Naples (1598-1621). Along with these was a Nuremberg token, a rare find in Italy[28]. Another important element of the tower are the abundant graffiti on the walls, likely incised by prisoners. They range from heraldic shields, many of which can be identified[29], to holy images, buildings, figures, ships and so on (figure 9). The heraldic graffiti have been systematically analysed by Roberto Costanzo[30].

Although the entire standing castle complex has been planned by Luigi Oliva, apart from two angle towers and the remains of the curtain-wall mentioned above, not much above ground dates prior to the massive building works carried out during the reign of emperor Charles V.

On a final note regarding the medieval history of the castle, it is a pleasure to recall the discovery of two incised helms (figure 10), alongside other graffiti, that appear on the blocks of a wall in the corridor leading from the Torre Mozza to the grand hall. They are clearly late medieval in date. The one on the right is apparently only sketched, whilst a finished example is on the left. The latter

27. The archaeobotanical and archaeozoological remains from the pit are the subject of papers by Grasso, Calò, D'Aquino and Fiorentino, this volume, and De Grossi Mazzorin, Minniti, Naime and Prillo, also this volume, respectively. Glass finds have been presented in Arthur, Catacchio (2012), whilst some ceramics are in Tinelli (2008).

28. Arthur, Sarcinelli (2017).

29. They include the Royal House of France in Naples, duke Alfonso of Calabria (later King Alfonso II of Naples) and Vittorio de' Prioli of the Prioli family that had concerns in Lecce.

30. Costanzo (forthcoming).

Figure 9. *St. George and the dragon in bas-relief, amongst other figures and graffiti, on the walls of the lower floor of the Torre Mozza. Photo Alessandro Romano.*

Figure 10. *Two incised medieval helms. Photo author.*

is particularly well represented, with even the ventilation holes in the visor, and both helmets bear the same crest.

They are of a type known as the 'great-helm' *(heaume)* or large helmet that appeared in the late 12th century and which continued to be employed in battle until the mid or late 14th century. Afterwards, they continued to be used in jousting, particularly with the variant frog-mouthed helm (German: *Krötenkopfhelm* or *Stechhelm*). In heraldry, the large helmet became an essential part of the complete arms design. The helmet with its heraldic crest was considered to be of such importance, particularly in German-speaking lands, that it appeared in place of the coat of arms, as can be seen in the Bellenville Armorial, dating from c. 1355/1360-1380. Keith Dowen of the Royal Armories, to whom I am grateful for guidance in this paragraph, is inclined to date the helmets incised on the wall of the castle at Lecce to the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Both helmets bear a crest representing a pair of medieval jugs that are certainly not of Apulian type. Although we have not been able to discover precise comparisons for the crests, they may be intended to represent some family such as the Pignatelli, of Neapolitan origin, whose coat of arms, through a play on words, was usually composed of three squat, single-handled jars. Pignatelli recalls the small pignatta, a small rounded jar, roughly in the shape of a pine cone (= pigna), from which the Italian word derives. A member of the Pignatelli family is attested in southern Apulia from the end of the 13th century, when a Martuccio Pignatello seems to have become feudal lord of the village of Castrignano (LE) through marriage. However, a Scipione Pignatelli, justice of Terra d'Otranto and commander of the garrison of Taranto in 1481, might be a likely candidate in inspiring the incised representations of the helmets[31].

However, another consideration may be made. The jugs represented by the graffito, whether in the illustration or above a

31. Foscarini (1927), p. 244.

helmet would appear quite clumsy and are not at all typical of local examples. Had the graffito intended simply to be an artistic representation one might ask why more elegant jugs were not depicted. The jugs on the graffito appear to have finger impressions around their bases. Jugs with such finger impressions are quite common in northern Europe, including England and France, but even more so in Germany, and can be dated to the 14th-15th centuries in particular[32]. The German examples, as in the tradition of Siegburg stoneware, which dates from the 14th century onwards, almost always bear digital impressions around the base. If the helmets with jugs are intended to represent a seigneurial family of German origin, it may be remembered that the medieval Krug (Eng. jug) family used to illustrate them on their coat of arms, even though I have not been able to find similar comparisons to these helmets. Clearly, the question as to the exact meaning of the two helms remains open.

It is a great pity that, despite years of attempting to promote the creation of a permanent exhibition that could explain the story and use of the castle to the general public there is still no museum and visitors are left to their own devices or to the words of the local guides, unprepared in the details of the building and its functionality across the centuries.

To conclude, although the many archaeological excavations and analyses relating to the massive 16th century building works are not the subject of this paper, they may be briefly explained. They entailed the total excavation of the substantial fill of the southern gallery, which revealed fascinating finds regarding the use of the castle up to the Second World War, including the employment of the St. James bastion as an air-raid shelter and camp hospital. Excavation of the deposits above the eastern gallery brought to light construction details, whilst a survey of the standing structure revealed new details such as the anti-mining gallery built behind the eastern curtain wall. Together with the recent archaeology of

32. Jennings (1992), p. 35; Gaimster, Hildyard (1997).

the walls of Lecce, the modernized castle represents an excellent example of the sort of impressive spending, organisation, logistics and energy that was necessary in early post-medieval times so to achieve "the military hard ceiling" so well illustrated by Ian Morris in his masterful book *The Measure of Civilization* (2013).

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