PEMBROKE CASTLE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION 2018

DAT Archaeological Services

Prepared by DAT Archaeological Services
For: Castle Studies Trust and
Pembroke Castle Trust;
Cambrian Archaeological
Association;
Castle Studies Group

REGISTERED ORGANISATION CIfA

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PEMBROKE CASTLE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION 2018

Gan / By

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PEMBROKE CASTLE: ARCHAEOLOGCIAL EVALUATION 2018

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PEMBROKE CASTLE:

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION 2018

SUMMARY

The Castle Studies Trust provided funding for an archaeological evaluation within the outer ward of Pembroke Castle, Pembrokeshire (SM9815 0165), which was undertaken by Dyfed Archaeological Trust and Neil Ludlow during September 2018. The castle is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (PE005; PRN 4518).

Only two small areas of the building were revealed, in two separate trenches, and the evidence was insufficient to confirm that it was a fifteenth-century hall-house, with an open central hall flanked by a storeyed wing at either end. The building was shown to be a substantial masonry structure containing several discrete spaces or rooms. The nature of the northern wing could not be determined. The southern wing is still regarded as containing a kitchen.

The presence of Roman pottery may provide further evidence that Pembroke Castle originated as an Iron Age defended site and continued in use throughout the Roman period.

Much of the other finds material found appears to be secondary, imported onto the site during the nineteenth century, when the outer ward appears to have been used by the townsfolk as a rubbish dump, and later as part of the backfill for the excavations of the 1930s.

CRYNODEB

Darparodd Ymddiriedolaeth Astudiaethau'r Castell noddiant ar gyfer gwerthusiad archeolegol o fewn ward allanol Castell Penfro, Sir Benfro (SM9815 0165), a gynhaliwyd gan Ymddiriedolaeth Archeolegol Dyfed a Neil Ludlow yn ystod mis Medi 2018. Mae'r castell yn Heneb Rhestredig (PE005; PRN 4518).

Dim ond dwy ran fach o'r adeilad a ddatgelwyd, mewn dwy ffos ar wahân, ac nid oedd y dystiolaeth yn ddigonol i gadarnhau ei fod yn dŷ neuadd o'r bymthegfed ganrif, gyda neuadd ganolog agored gydag adain lawr ar y naill ben a'r llall. Dangoswyd bod yr adeilad yn strwythur gwaith maen sylweddol yn cynnwys sawl lle neu ystafell arwahanol. Ni ellid pennu natur yr adain ogleddol. Mae'r adain ddeheuol yn dal i gael ei hystyried yn cynnwys cegin.

Efallai y bydd presenoldeb crochenwaith Rhufeinig yn darparu tystiolaeth bellach bod Castell Penfro yn tarddu fel safle wedi'i amddiffyn o'r Oes Haearn ac wedi parhau i gael ei ddefnyddio trwy gydol y cyfnod Rhufeinig.

Mae'n ymddangos bod llawer o'r deunydd darganfyddiadau eraill a ddarganfuwyd yn eilradd, wedi'i fewnforio i'r safle yn ystod y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg, pan ymddengys bod y ward allanol wedi cael ei defnyddio gan y treffol fel domen sbwriel, ac yn ddiweddarach fel rhan o'r ôl-lenwad ar gyfer cloddio'r 1930au.

EXTENDED SUMMARY

The Castle Studies Trust provided funding for an archaeological evaluation within the outer ward of Pembroke Castle, Pembrokeshire (NGR SM 9815 0165), which was undertaken by Dyfed Archaeological Trust and Neil Ludlow during September 2018. The castle is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (PE005; PRN 4518).

Only two small areas of the building were revealed, in two separate trenches, and the evidence was insufficient to confirm that it was a fifteenth-century hall-house, with an open central hall flanked by a storeyed wing at either end. However, neither was the suggestion seriously challenged. The building was shown to be a substantial masonry structure containing several discrete spaces or rooms. Wall thicknesses, and two masonry stairs, indicate more than one storey. The presence of roofing slate, apparently as in situ collapse, shows that the northern wing, at least, was unvaulted.

The nature of the northern wing could not be determined. No stair nor fireplace was revealed, but the former may have been of timber, while the ground floor may have been unheated.

The southern wing is still regarded as containing a kitchen. An annexe, adjoining the southern end of the building, appears to have been divided internally into a cess-pit, possibly serving a first-floor latrine, and a rubbish-pit for kitchen waste. A flagged floor appears to belong to a passage, leading into the annexe and perhaps also representing a screens-passage between the hall and kitchen wing. Evidence for an associated service room is however slight, and no access between it and the screens passage was revealed.

A helical stair accessed from the passage may have given on to accommodation at first-floor level. A second stair, adjoining the annexe, was accessed from the exterior and may have led to a parapet at roof level.

The presence of Roman pottery may provide further evidence that Pembroke Castle originated as an Iron Age defended site and continued in use throughout the Roman period.

The sheer volume of finds material retrieved from the evaluation has represented a project, and a challenge, in itself. Much of it appears to be secondary, imported onto the site during the nineteenth century, when the outer ward appears to have been used by the townsfolk as a rubbish dump, and later as part of the backfill for the excavations of the 1930s.

The opportunity has been taken within this report to present, with permission, the results of research funded by the Cambrian Archaeological Association and undertaken by Stephen Priestley in 2017, which examined manuscript source material relating to the castle (Appendix 5). In addition, the results of research by Neil Ludlow on the initial castle at Pembroke, its origins and its form, is included as Appendix 6, and his additional research on castle-guard obligation and its impact on outer ward development – and the use of its towers – is included as Appendix 7.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Project Commission

1.1.1 Dyfed Archaeological Trust undertook a small-scale evaluation in September 2018 over the site of a building lying in the outer ward of Pembroke Castle, which has been identified by parchmarks on aerial photographs and geophysical survey (centred on NGR SM 98189 01574; Figures 1 and 2). The project was funded through grant funding from the Castle Studies Trust, with additional support from Pembroke Castle Trust. Further grants have been provided by the Cambrian Archaeological Association and the Castle Studies Group.

1.1.2 The project was designed in conjunction with Neil Ludlow to learn more about the complex of buildings identified through aerial photography in 2013 by RCAHMW lying in the southern part of the outer ward (Photos 1 and 2). This building was part-excavated, though without record, in the 1930s, and has been suggested as a mid/late 15th-century winged hall-house – and the potential birthplace of King Henry VII (Ludlow and Driver 2014).

1.1.3 The on-site fieldwork included the undertaking of a detailed topographic survey of the interior of the castle, and the opening and recording of two trial trenches over the site of the building remains, labelled as Building ***G*** following previous investigations and studies of the castle. The topographic survey was undertaken by Hubert Wilson and the fieldwork was managed by James Meek, both of DAT Archaeological Services, the fieldwork arm of Dyfed Archaeological Trust with support from Neil Ludlow, and the invaluable assistance of Jason Kenniford, the castle caretaker.

1.1.4 The castle is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (PE005; Dyfed Historic Environment Record reference PRN4518) and is owned and managed by the Pembroke Castle Trust. Scheduled Monument Consent was granted for the evaluation works.

1.2 Scope of the project

1.2.1 A Written Scheme of Investigation (WSI) for trial trench evaluation was prepared by DAT Archaeological Services and Neil Ludlow which was used to support the Scheduled Monument Consent application (Part 1, Appendix I).

1.2.2 The WSI outlined the following tasks to be completed:

- Provision of a written scheme of investigation to outline the methodology for the topographic survey and intrusive trial trench evaluation which DAT Archaeological Services will undertake;
- To conduct a detailed topographic survey within the open spaces within the interior of the castle and the production of a contour survey to accurately show the variations in ground levels tied in to openings within the castle walls;
- To establish the state of preservation, character, extent and date range for the possible Tudor mansion within the Outer Ward;
- To determine the extent of remodelling / truncation of the walls that may have occurred after the 1930s excavations by Ivor Philipps to create the level grassed area as survives today;
- To provide an opportunity for volunteers and members of the community to be involved in the archaeological intrusive investigation and to engage with

visitors to the castle to explain the purpose of the works being undertaken, the aims of the Castle Studies Trust and results from the works;

- Production of a report and an archive of the results.

1.2.3 The general aim of the survey was to implement a scheme of non-intrusive archaeological topographic survey of the interior open spaces of the castle and intrusive trial trench evaluation of Building ***G*** that lies within the southern side of the Outer Ward.

1.2.4 The work also much part of an ongoing project being undertaken by Neil Ludlow, incorporating the results of research and field study of the castle spanning twenty years, with a fully-defined outcome – the publication of a detailed analysis of the castle, which is hoped will be a companion volume to his Carmarthen Castle book published by the University of Wales Press in 2014.

1.3 Report outline

1.3.1 Part I of this report provides a summary and brief discussion of the results of the topographic survey and trial trench evaluation.

1.3.2 Part II of this report forms a discussion of the results by Neil Ludlow, using the results of the 2018 work, as well as information gleaned from the previous geophysical surveys undertaken at the castle in 2016, also funded by Castle Studies Trust (Day and Ludlow, 2016).

1.3.3 References to cartographic and documentary evidence and published sources will be given in brackets throughout the text, with full details listed in the sources section at the rear of the report.

1.4 Abbreviations

1.4.1 All sites recorded on the regional Historic Environment Record (HER) are identified by their Primary Record Number (PRN) and located by their National Grid Reference (NGR). Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM). Listed Building (LB). Altitude is expressed to Ordnance Datum (OD).

1.5 Illustrations

1.5.1 Printed map extracts are not necessarily produced to their original scale.

1.6 Acknowledgements

1.6.1 Many grateful thanks are extended to the Castle Studies Trust for providing the funding for the evaluation, as well as for the geophysical survey in 2016, and to Pembroke Castle Trust for additional funding and generous assistance in kind. Thanks also to the Cambrian Archaeological Association for additional grant-aid towards finds analysis, and their award of a grant in 2016 to undertake the documentary research and for permission to include the results in this report as Appendix 5; also to Stephen Priestley for undertaking the work. Thanks also to all those individuals who have so kindly stood as referees for the grant applications: Will Davies, Neil Guy, John Kenyon and the late Rick Turner. The project would not have been possible without the good-natured assistance of all at Pembroke Castle, in particular Jon Williams, Victoria Bruce, Jason Kenniford and Carys Mills. Neil Ludlow also wishes to thank Dr Kathleen Thompson for assistance in grappling with the House of Montgomery-Bellême, founders of Pembroke

Castle in 1093, and Jeremy Knight and Peter Purton for comment and opinion; the views expressed here his own.

1.6.2 The topographic survey was undertaken by Hubert Wilson of DAT, assisted by Joe Wilson and Hazel Wadey. The on-site works were supervised and managed by James Meek of DAT, with the assistance of numerous volunteers. The report was compiled by James Meek, with a contribution to the discussion from Neil Ludlow who also provided Appendixes 6 and 7 and contributed, along with Stephen Priestley, to Appendix 5.

1.6.3 The environmental sample analysis was undertaken by Elizabeth Pearson of Worcestershire Archaeology, who also provided the information on small animal bones. Alice Day of DAT identified the larger animal bone.

1.6.4 Medieval and post-medieval ceramics were identified and assessed by Dee Williams. The Roman pottery was identified by Robert Hopkins.

1.6.5 Throughout the works Showboat TV were present recording the archaeological investigation process.

1.6.6 Aerial photographs of the parchmark were taken by Toby Driver of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales who also provided permission to use the images within this report.

1.7 Timeline

1.7.1 The following timeline (Table 1) is used within this report to give date ranges for the various archaeological periods mentioned within the text.

Period	Approximate date	
Palaeolithic –	*c.*450,000 – 10,000 BC	Prehistoric
Mesolithic –	*c.* 10,000 – 4400 BC	
Neolithic –	*c.*4400 – 2300 BC	
Bronze Age –	*c.*2300 – 700 BC	
Iron Age –	*c.*700 BC – AD 43	
Roman (Romano-British) Period –	AD 43 – *c.* AD 410	Historic
Post-Roman / Early Medieval Period –	*c.* AD 410 – AD 1086	
Medieval Period –	1086 – 1536	
Post-Medieval Period –	1536 – 1899	
Modern –	20th century onwards	

Table 1: Archaeological and Historical Timeline for Wales.

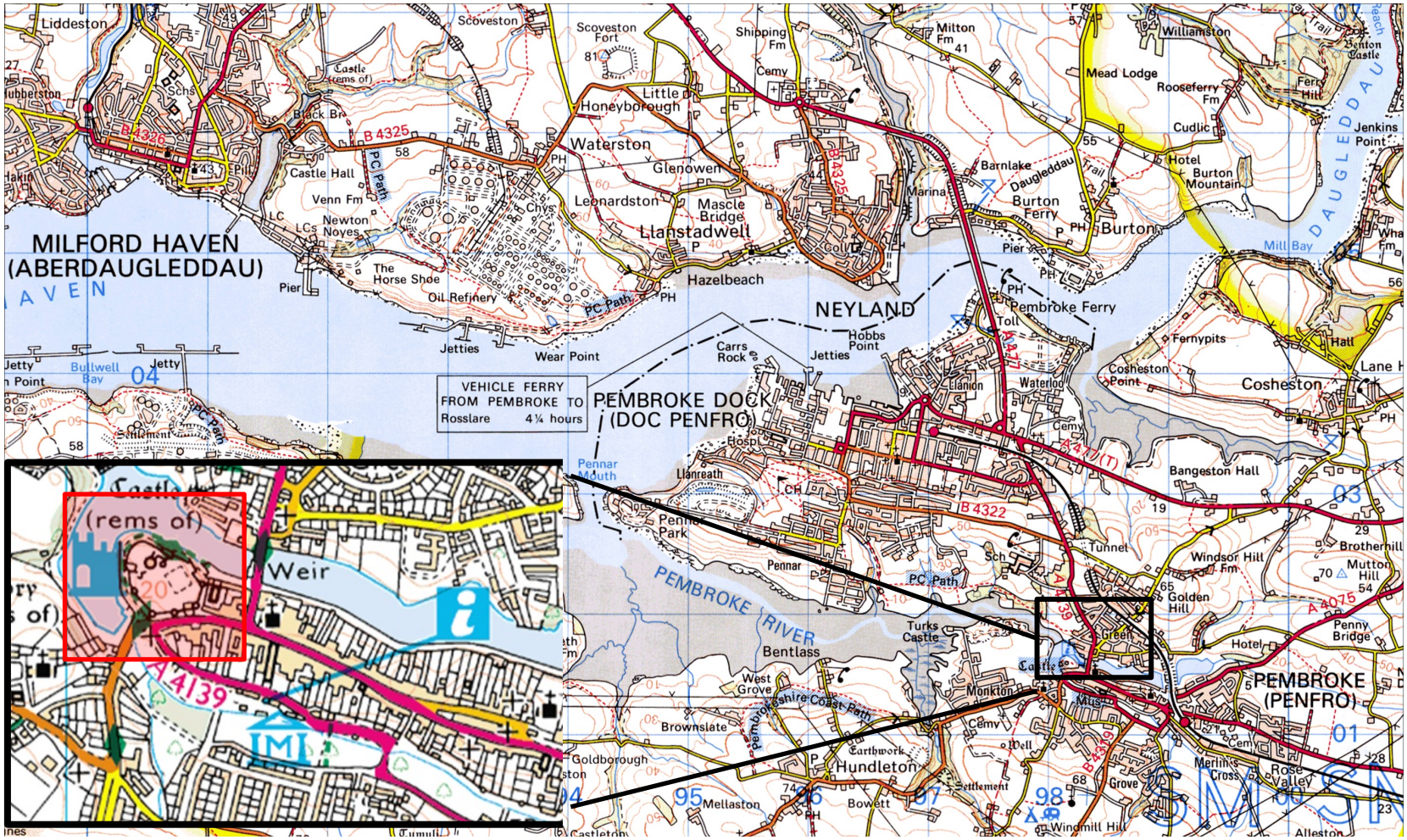

Figure 1: Map showing the location of Pembroke Castle, Pembrokeshire

2 LOCATION, TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

(adapted from Day and Ludlow 2016)

2.1 Pembroke Castle is situated on the tip of a limestone peninsula that lies between two arms of Milford Haven; Pembroke River to the north and west, and Monkton Pill to the south and west (NGR SM 9815 0165; Figure 1). Both were tidal; Pembroke River is still wet, now controlled by a tidal barrage across the river to the west of the castle, but Monkton Pill has been mostly reclaimed and is now a low area of marshy ground known as 'The Common'. The town of Pembroke developed along the peninsula, eastwards from the castle, with later development to the south and to the north across the river. The castle lies at a height of about 20m above OD.

2.2 The bedrock beneath both castle and town comprises Carboniferous limestone and is part of the Pembroke Limestone Group (Tournaisian–Viséan stage), which runs east-west across south Pembrokeshire in three major synclines; it is the source of much of the characteristic building stone of the region, including that of Pembroke Castle itself. It lies close to the surface, outcropping in several locations within the castle and forming the steep cliffs on which it lies; where exposed during excavations in the castle, it is deeply fissured and uneven. Chemical dissolution of this limestone has also created a large cave, known as the 'Wogan', beneath the castle inner ward. A second, much smaller cave lies beneath the Barbican Tower of the outer ward; it was seen in the 1880s (Cobb 1883, 212), was re-exposed in the 1970s, and it is now sealed off. There may be others, as yet undetected.

2.3 The castle was founded in the late eleventh century but, in its present form, it is largely a creation of the thirteenth century. It was extensively, but sympathetically restored in the 1930s. It comprises two large baileys and, with an overall area of roughly 1ha, it is one of Wales's larger castles (Figure 2; Photo 1). The interior is largely level though the southwestern half slopes very gently to the southwest. This area has been subject to a detailed topographic survey as part of this project and the results are included below to provide more detail.

2.4 The outer ward of the castle is mostly under grass with the large square tarmac area with the map of Wales on it to the northeast and some gravel surfaces around the perimeter and entrance to the castle. The inner ward also has a grassed area, with the remainder gravelled and occupied by the remains castle buildings.

2.5 Photo 1 shows an aerial photograph of the castle from 2013 when the cropmarks and parchmarks showed very clearly the outline of buildings next to the Henry VII tower, and other features elsewhere within the castle grounds. An interpretation of this and similar photos was made by Ludlow and Driver (2014).

2.6 Within that report numerous parchmarks were identified across the outer ward, with the parch marks of the buildings next to the Henry VII Tower referred to as Building ***G*** (embodying the main area of parchmark wall lines) and Building ***H*** (a smaller area of parchmark wall lines to the southeast). The two Buildings were connected by a single linear parchmark identified in 2013, although potentially a second connecting wall could be seen as a further parchmark in 2018 joining Buildings ***G*** and ***H***.

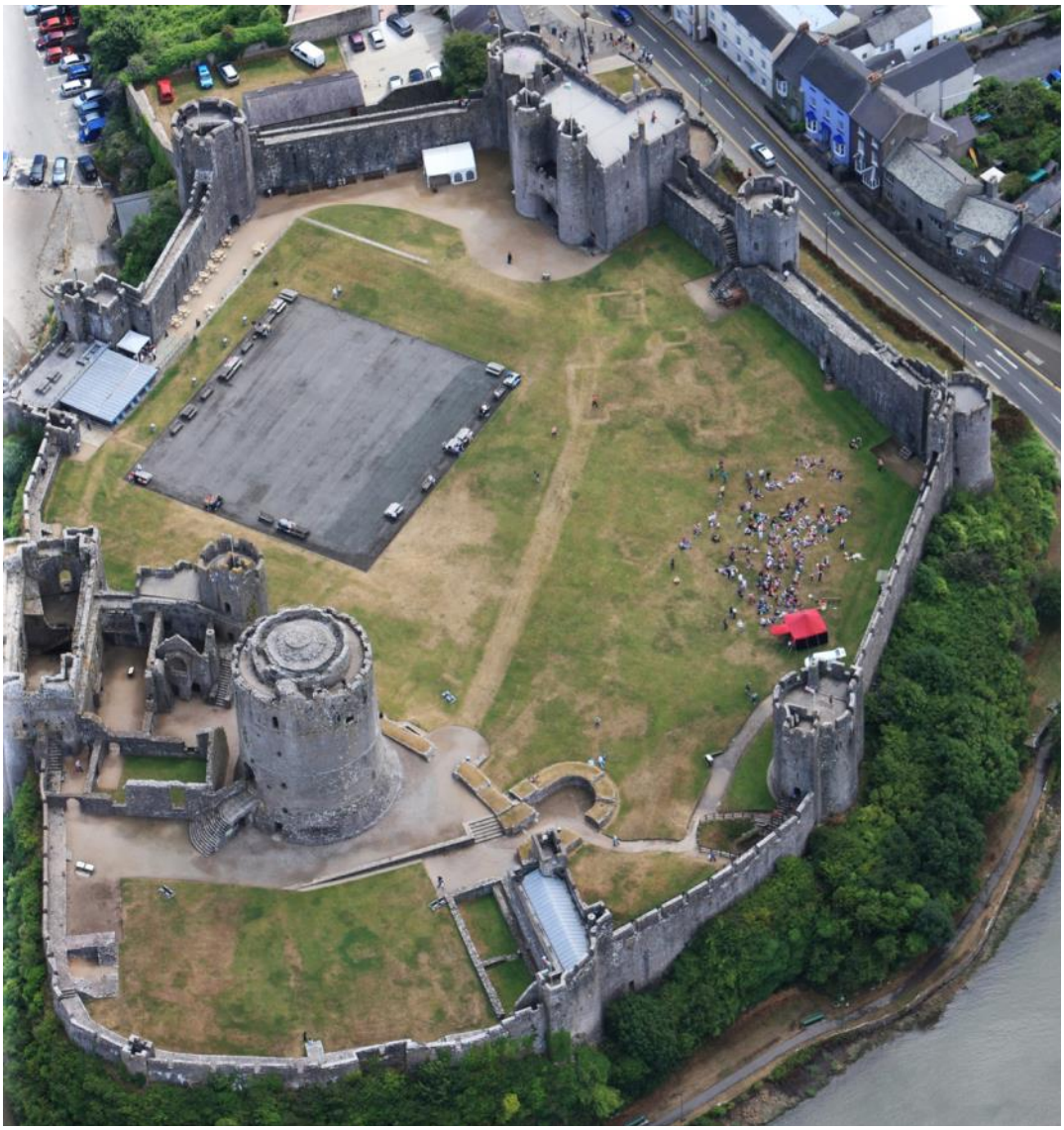

Photo 1: Aerial view of Pembroke Castle from WNW, taken in July 2013 by Toby Driver (Crown Copyright RCAHMW, AP_2013_5162).

Photo 2: Detail of building parchmarks on southern side of the outer ward from aerial photo (Crown Copyright RCAHMW, AP_2013_5163).

3. TOPOGRAPHIC SURVEY

3.1. The topographic survey was undertaken using a Trimble Total Station and to provide an accurate contour survey of the interior open spaces within the castle.

3.2 The survey included measurements of the bases of all walls and their entries and other features where it was possible. Surveys of the inner ward buildings were completed. Externally an area along the southern side of the castle, west of the main entrance was also subject to survey, but it was not possible to survey the entire exterior of the castle within the time available.

3.3 The survey was tied in to the Ordnance Survey National Grid and Ordnance Datum.

3.4 The survey is the first detailed and accurate survey of the interior of the castle. Plots of the contour survey and bases of walls and openings have been.

3.5 The survey results can be tied in to the previous geophysical survey results and previous archaeological investigations within the castle.

3.6 The results of the topographic survey are shown in Figure 2.

3.7 The data has been kept in both raw survey files and in various GIS compatible formats.

: General contour plot from topographic survey with all internal walls of the castle surveyed supplemented with existi
data (Ordnance Survey) where survey was not possible around the perimeter or for widths of some walls

4 TRIAL TRENCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Two trenches were hand dug over the location of the parchmarks of Building ***G***.

4.2 Trench 1 was located to specifically target the possible area of the cess pit on the southwestern side of the building footprint. It was initially excavated to a size of 10m x 3m, aligned roughly northwest to southeast. The trench was extended by a further 1.5m to the southeast during the evaluation, creating a final trench size of 11.5m x 3m.

4.3 Trench 2 was located on the northern part of Building ***G***, to target the outer corner of the walls on its northeastern wing. This was initially excavated to a size of 3m x 5m, aligned northwest to southeast and later extended to the northwest by a further 1m, creating a final trench size of 6m x 3m.

4.4 Trenches were de-turfed by hand (Photo 3) and the turf stored on a grassed area directly outside the southern side of the castle.

4.5 Topsoil and loose unstratified material/modern infill was then removed using hand tools (shovels, mattocks, trowels, spades). Excavated soil was placed in containers and these were then stored away from the excavation area on gravelled areas around the perimeter of the castle.

4.6 Material removed from the trenches included topsoil and backfill material dating from the 1930s excavations of the site. Some later post-medieval collapse layers were also removed from the trenches. In one area a sample of sealed archaeological deposits, presumably associated with use of the castle, were excavated.

Photo 3: Initial turf cutting of Trench 1

4.7 All finds were recovered from the site, excluding broken oyster shells. Samples of potentially environmentally significant deposits were taken from an area in Trench 1 where a potential cess pit was investigated.

4.8 All deposits have been recorded by archaeological context record sheet, scale drawing, photography and site notebooks, using the DAT Archaeological Services' Recording Manual[1]. All deposits were individually recorded and given context numbers. Section drawings of the perimeters of the trench were drawn at a scale of 1:10; Plans of the trenches were drawn at a number of points during their excavation at a scale of 1:20. Levels of all deposits were taken across the site during excavation and related to the ordnance datum. The hand drawn plans were supplemented with survey using the Trimble TST.

4.9 A digital photographic record was maintained throughout the works using a high resolution camera, with photographic information recorded for all photographs taken. Additional photographs and digital video were taken by Showboat TV, documenting the entire evaluation.

4.10 Ceramic material of medieval and post-medieval date has been assessed and spot dated by Dee Williams. Roman material has been assessed and spot dated by Rob Hopkins. Environmental samples have been processed and assessed by Worcestershire Archaeology.

[1] DAT Archaeological Services use the general guidance of the Recording Manual developed by English Heritage Centre for Archaeology, supplemented by bespoke guidance materials and the Archaeological Data Reference Sheets developed by Past Horizons. A copy of all guidance can be made available for inspection if required.

5 RESULTS FROM TRENCH 1

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 The following sections describe the archaeology encountered within Trench 1 in a roughly reverse chronological order with some interpretation. All walls were of local limestone and bonded with mortar. Figures and photographs associated with the various areas of the trench are located within the relevant sections of the text.

5.2 Initial topsoil strip and backfill removal

5.2.1 Trench 1 measured 11.5m x 3m and was aligned northwest to southeast, targeting the southwestern side of Building ***G*** identified through aerial photography and geophysical survey.

5.2.2 Turf, context (1001), removed from the trench was of varying depths, mostly around 0.05m, but in some places over underlying walls, was almost non-existent.

5.2.3 Below the turf was a layer of relatively recent topsoil (1002) presumably laid down during the latter part of the 20th century below the turf. The topsoil and turf layers are shown as one layer on section drawings as the distinction between the base of the turf and underlying topsoil was merely defined by the base of the matted grass roots (labelled 1001 / 1002 on section drawings).

5.2.4 The tops of three walls were encountered directly below the turf/topsoil. Wall (1003) was aligned northeast to southwest, southeast of centre of the trench, parts of which were almost visible at the original ground surface. A further northeast to southwest aligned wall lay 0.65m east of this, wall (1004). Both of these walls joined or abutted a northwest to southeast aligned wall (1005) visible along the northern edge of the trench (Photo 4).

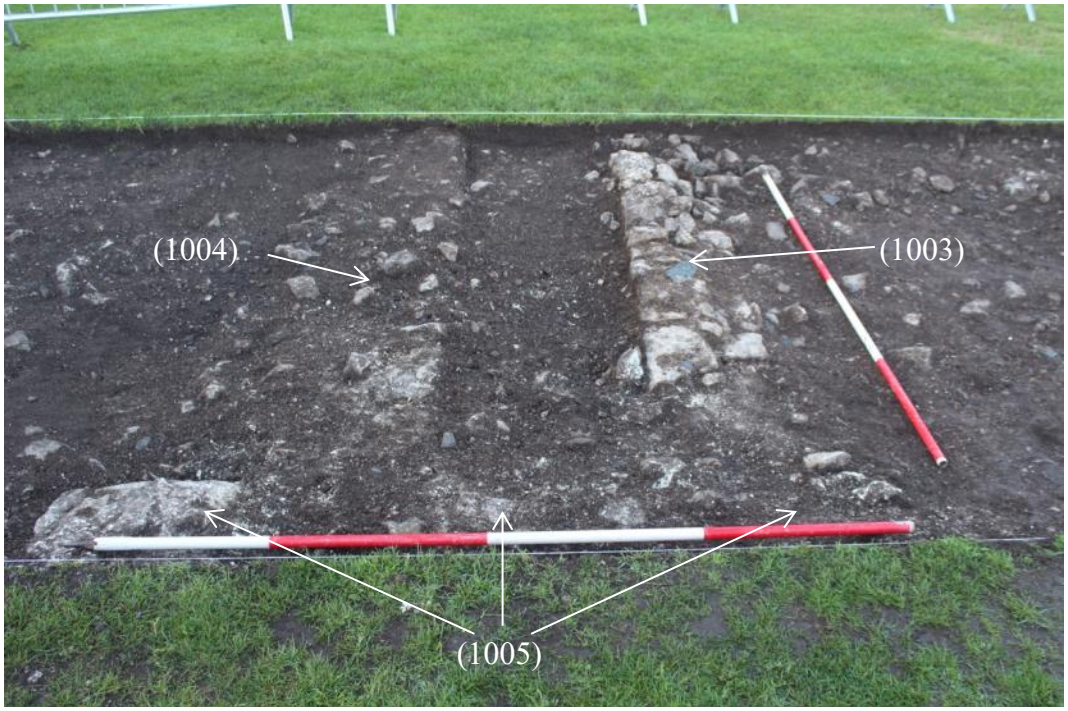

Photo 4: View northwest along Trench 1 following removal of turf (1001) and topsoil (1002) showing the tops of walls (1003), (1004) and (1005)

5.2.5 To the northwest of wall (1003) a layer of backfill material was encountered across the northwestern part of the trench (Photo 5), comprising a dark brown sandy silt soil (1006). This was quite friable and contained modern debris as well as earlier material and was assumed to be associated with backfilling after the 1930s excavations.

Photo 5: View east during the removal of layer (1006) northwest of wall (1003)

5.2.6 Between walls (1003) and (1004) was a further 1930s backfill layer of similar characteristics to (1006) was encountered, context (1008), comprising a relatively loose dark brown silty soil (Photo 6).

Photo 6: Layer (1008) after partial removal between walls (1004) and (1003), viewing southwest

5.2.7 A further backfill layer was present across the southeastern end of the trench, which was given two context numbers (1007) and (1028) but represent the same layer. During its removal a third northeast to southwest aligned wall was encountered, wall (1012) (Photo 7).

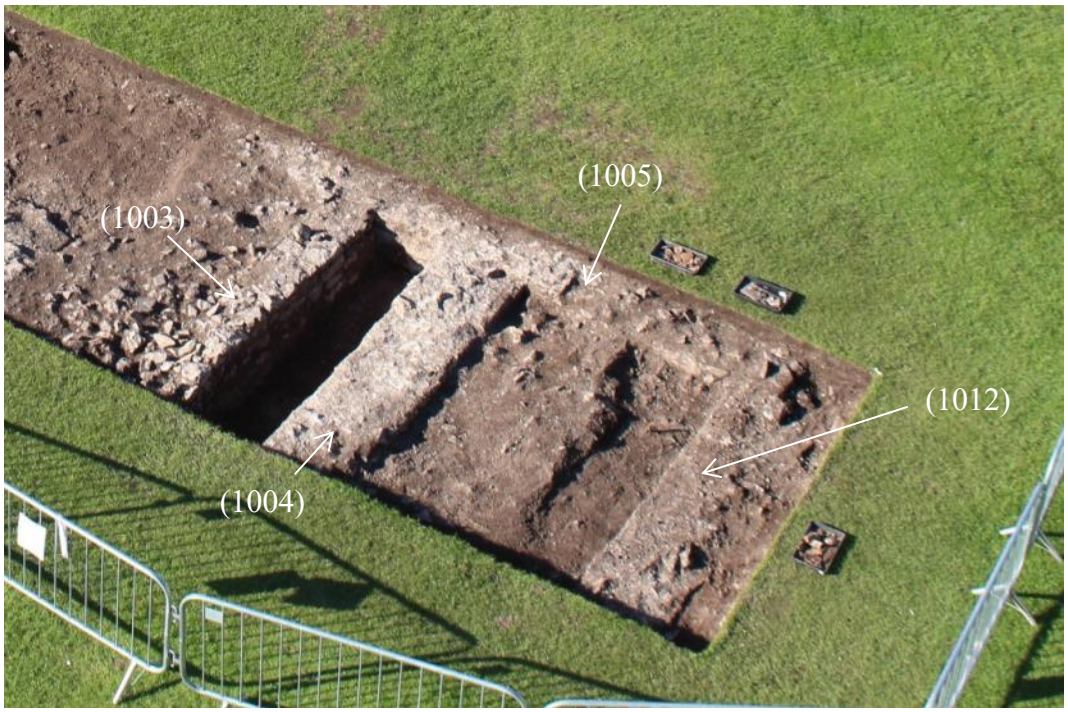

Photo 7: Exposure of wall (1012) during removal of layer (1007) / (1028), viewing north from Henry VII tower (prior to extension of trench to southeast)

5.2.8 The four walls exposed in the trench represented different areas within the underlying building, each having a different sequence of backfill and earlier layers associated with them. The trench is thus discussed in four parts below, separated by these walls:

- Northwestern end of the trench beyond wall (1003);
- Narrow chamber between walls (1003), (1004) and (1005);
- Chamber between walls (1004), (1012) and (1005); and
- Southeastern end of the trench beyond wall (1012).

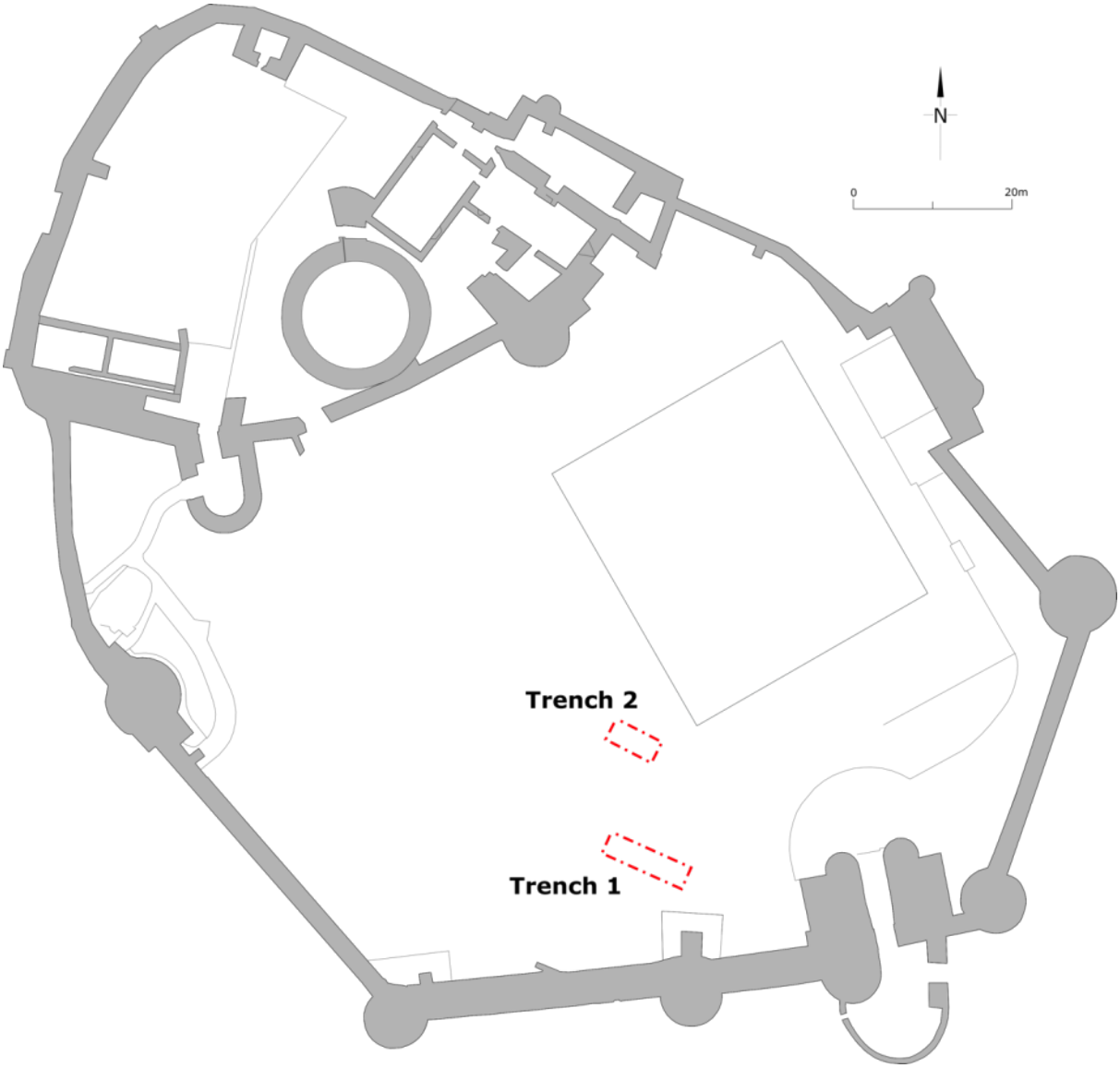

Figure 3: Trench location plan based on topographic survey

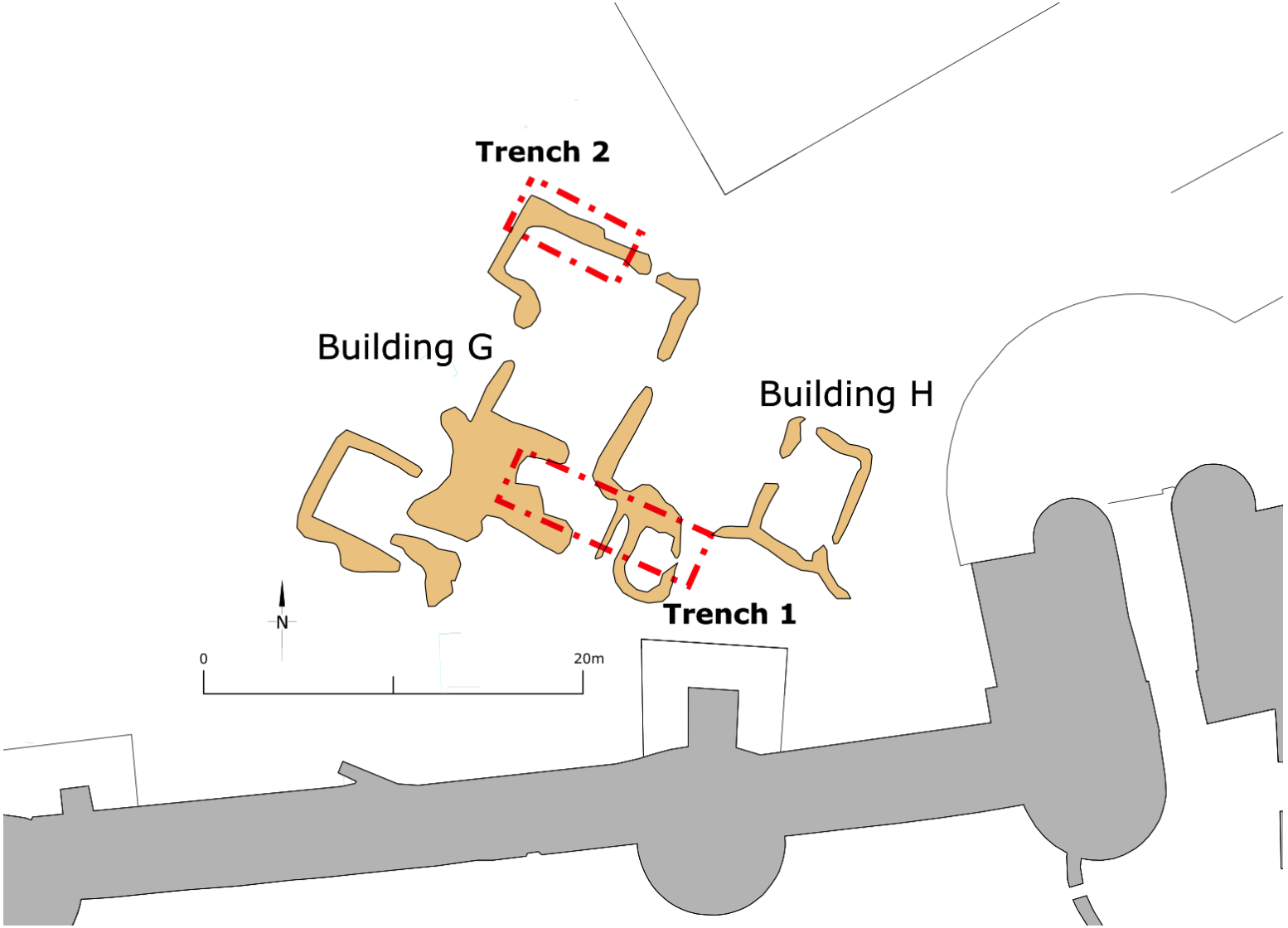

Figure 4: Trench location plan overlaid on an approximation of the parchmarks layout (after Ludlow and Driver 2014) with the two areas of Building ***G*** and Building ***H*** highlighted

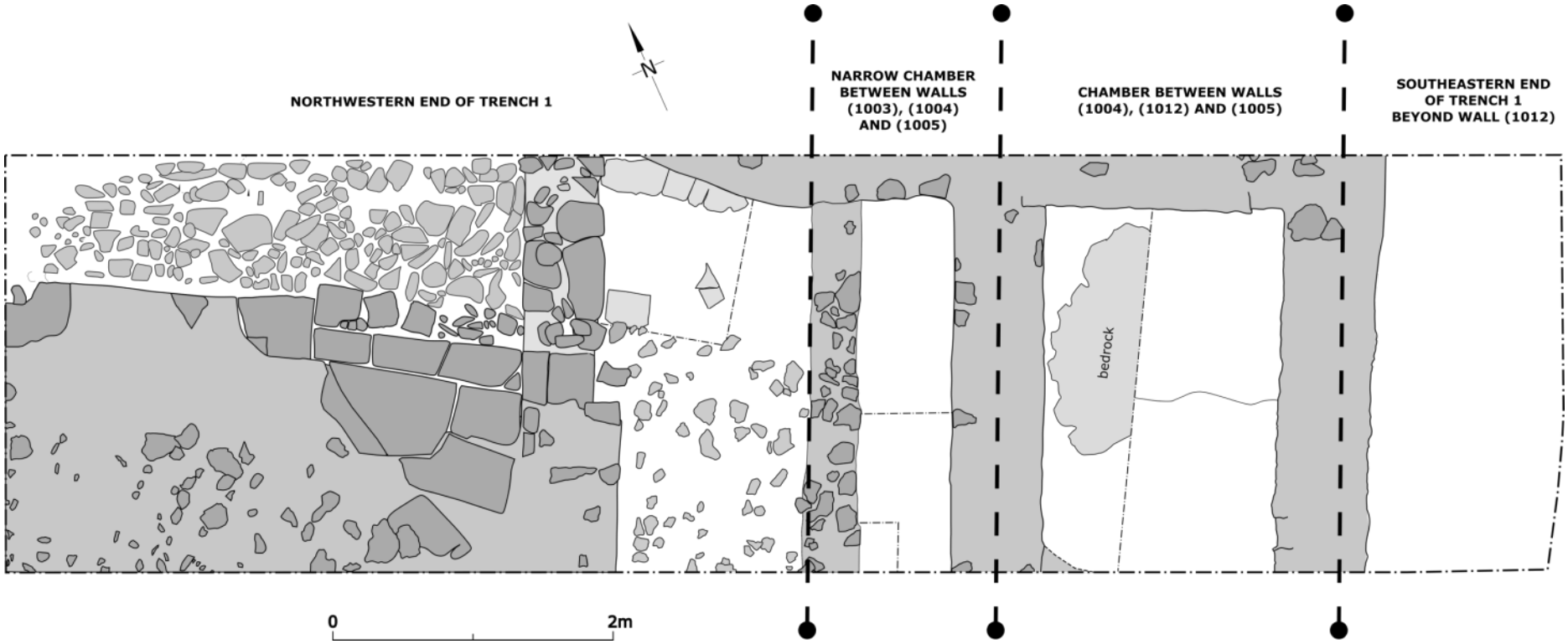

Figure 5: Defined areas of Trench 1 as discussed in results

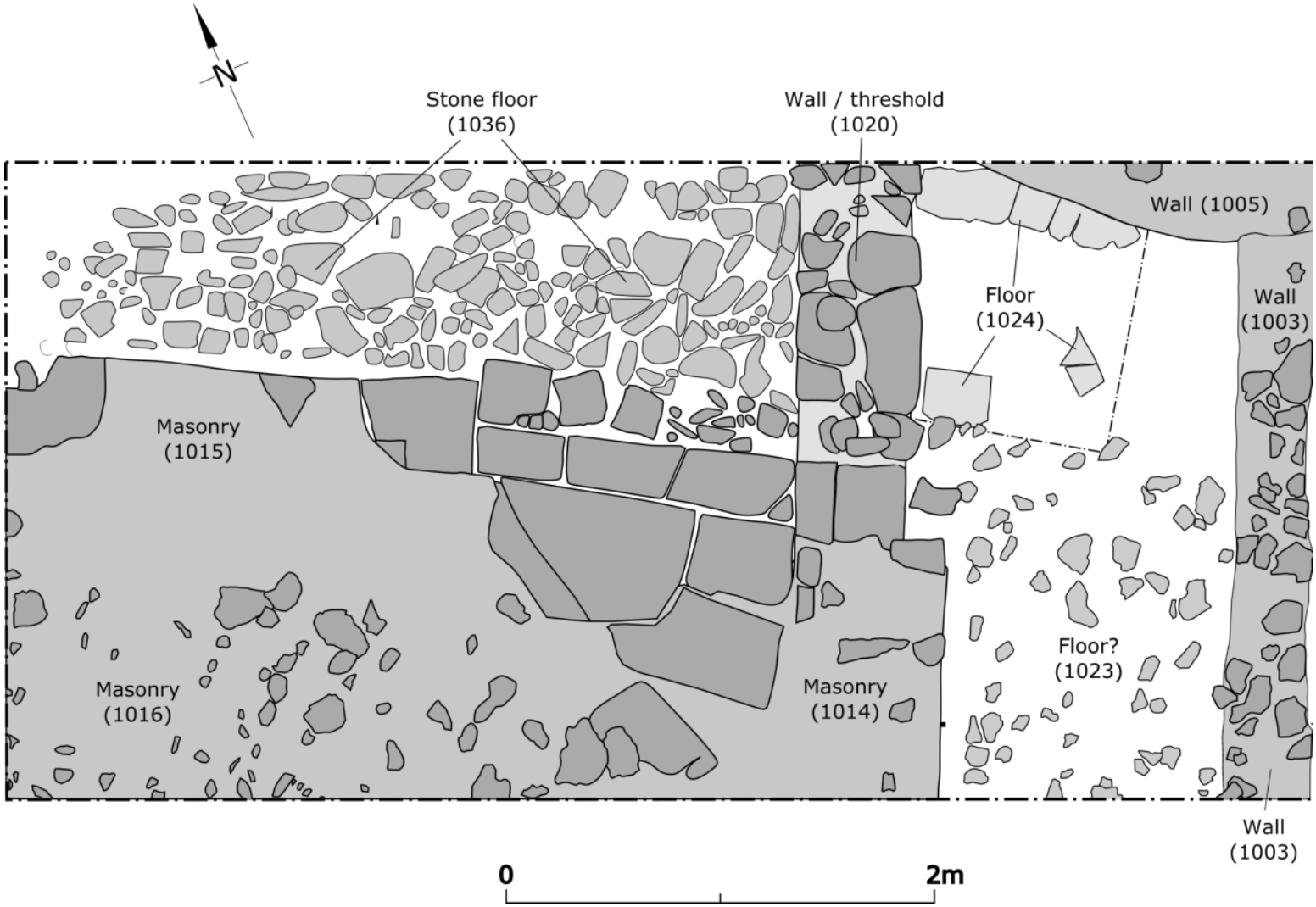

Figure 6: Detailed plan of Northwestern end of Trench 1

5.3 Northwestern end of Trench 1 (Figures 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9)

5.3.1 The backfill layer (1006) over the northwestern end of Trench 1 was very shallow on the northwestern side where a substantial block of masonry was present comprising three elements (1014), (1015) and (1016). Layer (1006) was only around 0.05m – 0.08m deep over this masonry (Photo 8).

5.3.2 There was a gap of 1.3m between the masonry block element (1014) and wall (1003). In this area the backfill layer (1006) was a maximum of 0.15m deep, overlying a further backfill layer (1016) of around 0.12m maximum depth. This in turn overlay a deeper rubble filled layer (1017) with a maximum depth of 0.36m.

5.3.3 The masonry block did not extend as far as the northeastern edge of the trench, with a 0.6m to 1m wide area of backfill exposed. In this area the backfill layer (1006) was a maximum of 0.30m deep and overlay a rubble layer (1013). Layers (1013) and (1017) represented the same layer but were numbered differently due to their location within the trench. Layer (1016) did not extend into the northeastern part of the trench.

5.3.4 Layer (1013) / (1017) contained large quantities of stone rubble and is likely to represent the lowest of the 1930s backfill, but potentially could be an earlier episode of collapse or levelling.

5.3.5 Underlying (1017) was a shallow layer of silty soil containing crushed mortar and slate fragments (1019), of between 0.03 and 0.08m in depth. This was present across the area adjacent to wall (1003) but did not stretch to the northwestern end of the trench. This in turn overlay a grey gritty silt layer (1023) comprising a number of angular stones laid flat. These may represent a former disturbed floor surface, but not enough stone was present to demonstrate it had been a continuous stone flooring, nor did it contain any quantities of mortar or other bonding material.

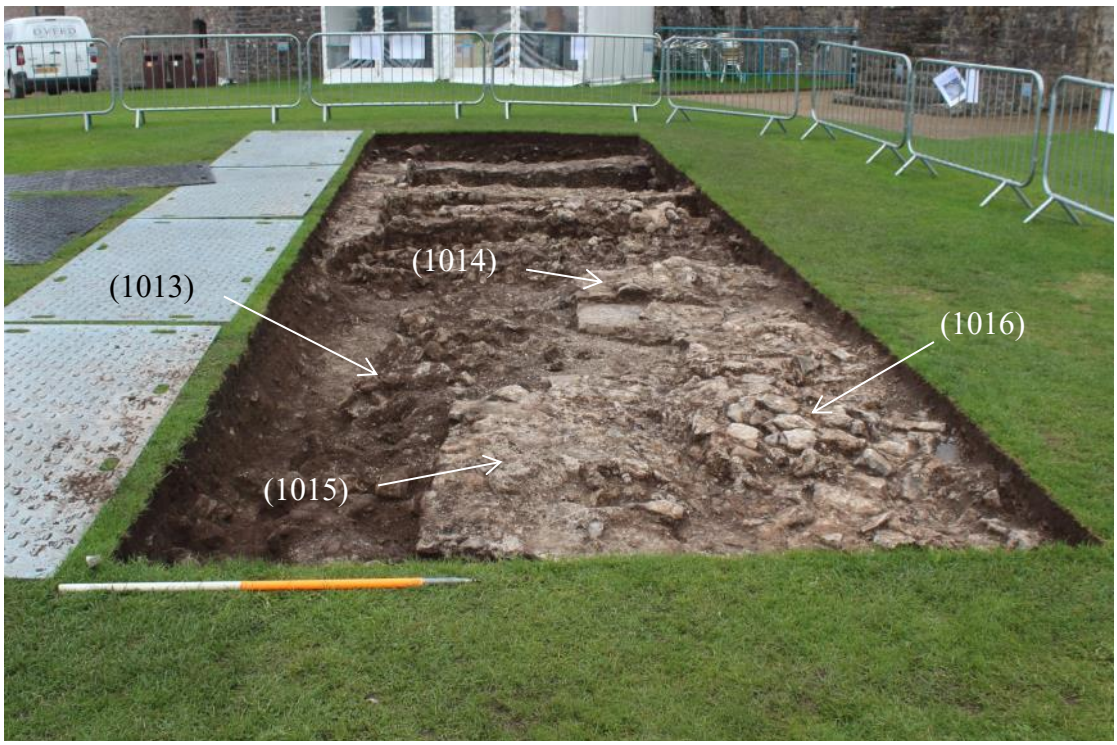

Photo 8: Northwestern end of Trench 1, viewing southeast, with layer (1017) exposed and the emerging large masonry block

5.3.6 The large block of masonry covering the northwestern part of this area of the trench comprised three main elements: a large rectangular block faced

to the southeast and seemingly to the northwest as well (1014); a flat block faced to the northeast to the north (1015); and the rough rubble and mortar core of the masonry block in the western part of the area (1016). As the layers (1006), (1013), (1016) and (1017) were removed from the trench the block became far more defined and other features within it were exposed (Photo 9; Figure 7).

5.3.7 The area of (1014) became more apparent to be a northwest to southeast aligned wall bonded to the larger area of mortared rubble (1016). A series of probable steps became visible on the northeastern side of (1016), seemingly curving into the large block of masonry, as though a stone stair running within a thick wall (Photo 10). It also became clear that the faced area at the northwestern end (1015) was the outer face of this wall the stairs were running through. The southwestern side of the wall was not exposed within the trench.

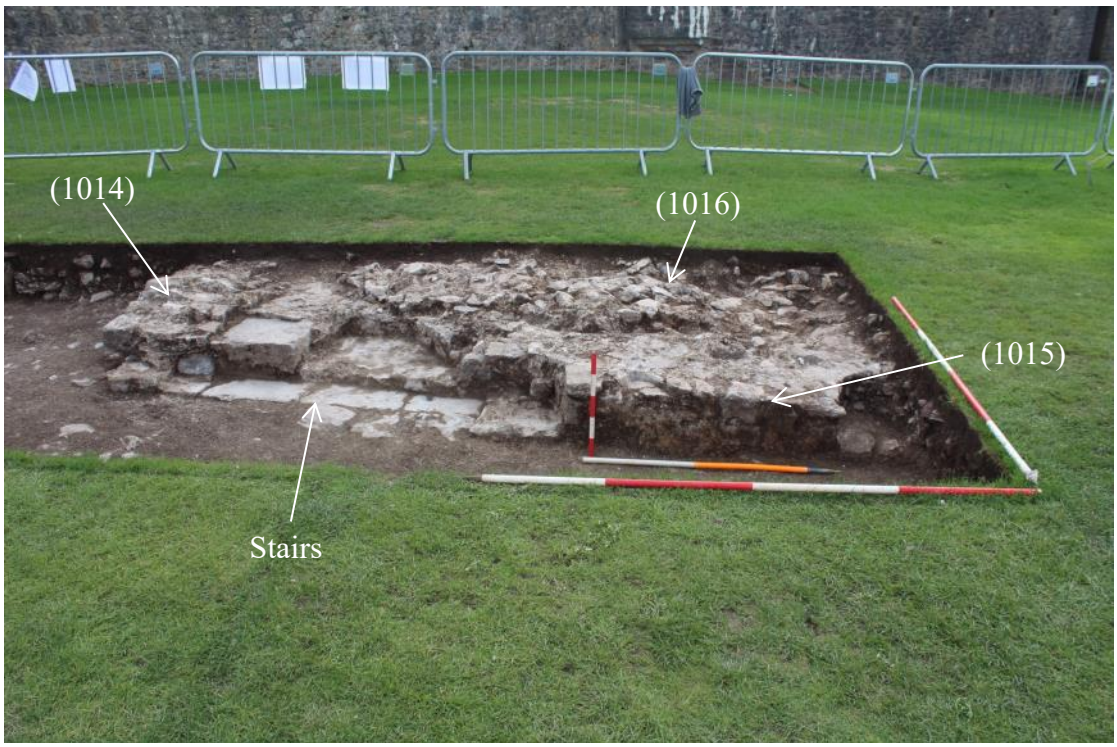

Photo 9: Masonry block comprising (1014), (1015) and (1016) showing faced areas and possible steps leading into it

Photo 10: View of steps leading into large masonry block, with 0.5m scales showing mortar lines of former steps

5.3.8 On the northeastern side of this block of masonry, removal of layer (1017) exposed a thin layer of fine clay silt soil and mortar (1021). Removal of layer (1021) exposed a layer of firmly set stones beneath. The stones were of differing sizes and slumped to the northeast (Photo 11). They clearly represented a rough limestone floor (1036). This floor was located directly in front of the steps running into the large masonry block. At the southeastern end of this floor the remains of a possible stone wall (1020) were partly exposed, running northeast from the end of (1014) within the masonry block. Based on its juxtaposition to the floor level, it is probable that it formed a threshold at the base of a doorway through the wall (Photo 11 and 12). To the southeast of this threshold (1020) was a disturbed probable flooring layer (1023), although this was at a slightly lower level than (1024) (Photos 12).

5.3.9 A small sondage was excavated on the southeastern side of the probable threshold (1020) into layer (1023). This revealed the partial remains of another, lower stone floor (1024) comprising larger and flatter limestone blocks although a number had been previously removed (Photos 11 and 12).

5.3.10 Partly projecting into this area of the northwestern end of Trench 1 was a continuation of wall (1005) running along the northeastern trench edge. This wall was angled further to the north beyond the line of wall (1003) (Photo 12). The flat stones within floor layer (1024) may have abutted this wall, although it is also possible that the visible stones may have been part of it. Floor layer (1024) was some 0.10m below the level of floor (1036) and the threshold level of (1020) but is considered probably contemporary due to it being similarly substantial and due to its juxtaposition with the adjacent walls and threshold. This would imply that a small step down originally existed from floor (1036)/threshold (1020) and the floor level of (1024).

Photo 11: View northwest along Trench 1 showing large bock of masonry to left, possible threshold (1020), slumping stone floor (1036) and lower floor (1024)

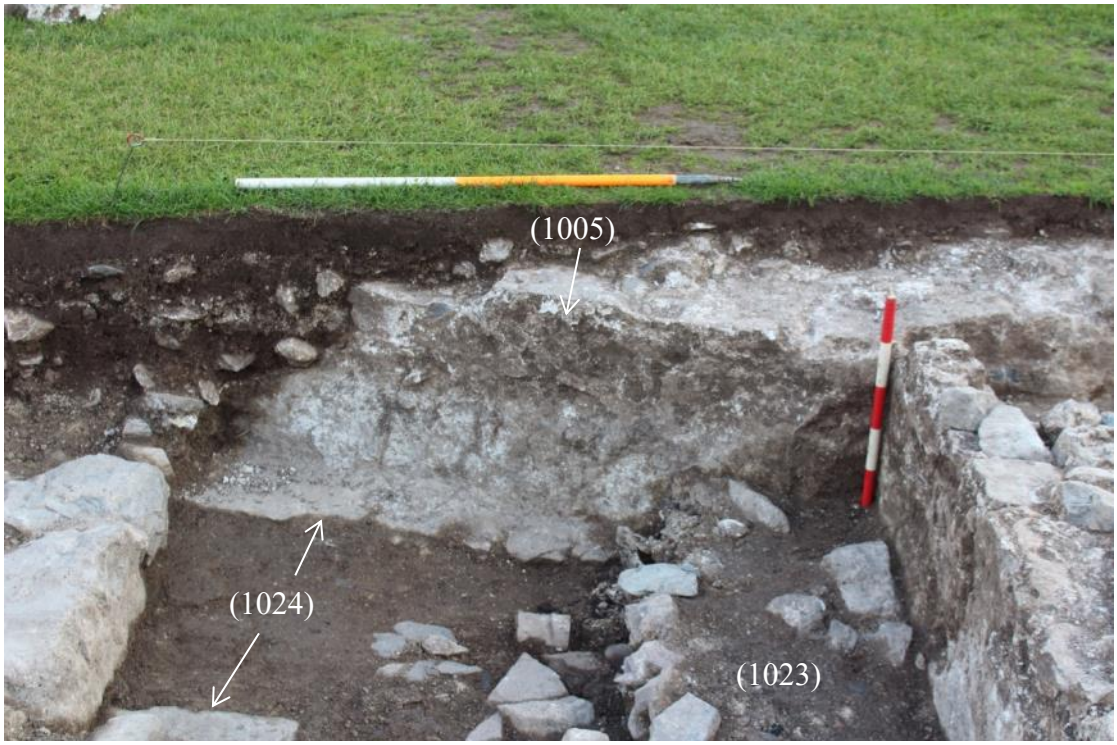

Photo 12: Wall (1005) in northeastern side of trench, with abutting floor level (1024) visible and possible later floor layer (1023)

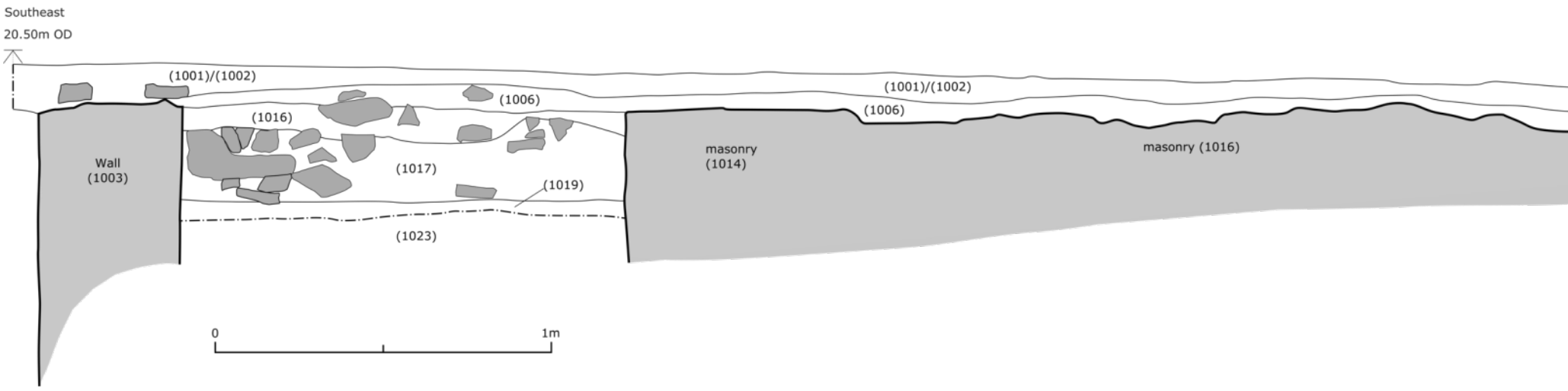

Figure 7: Northeast facing section of Northwestern end of Trench 1

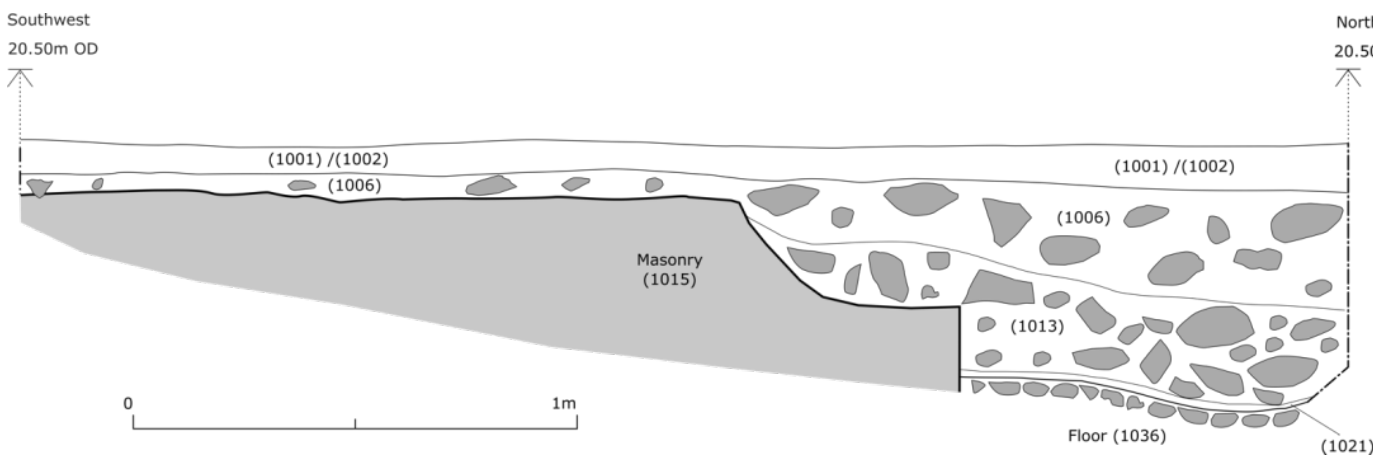

Figure 8: Southeast facing section of Northwestern end of Trench 1

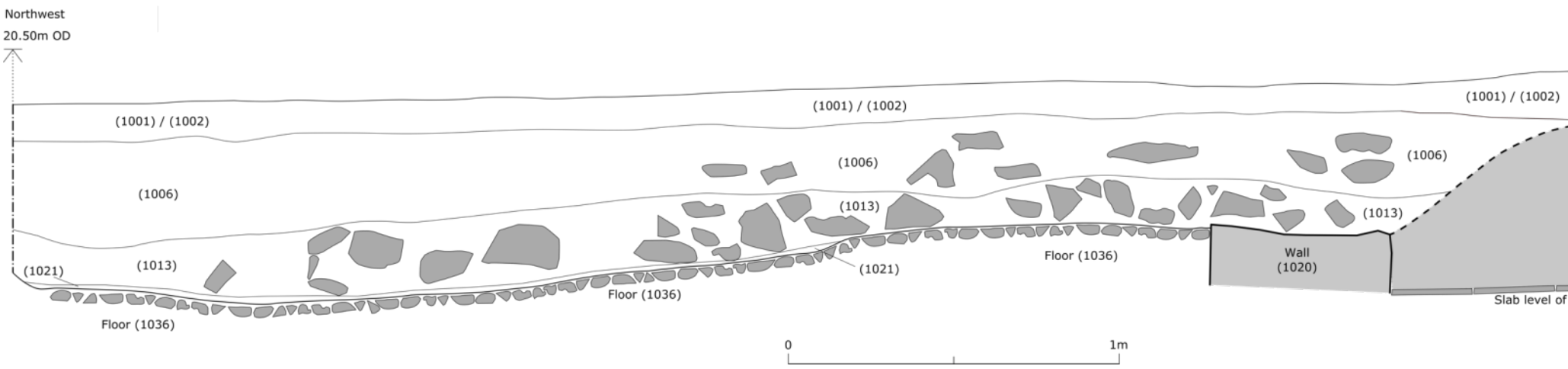

Figure 9: Southwest facing section of Northwestern end of Trench 1

5.4 Narrow chamber between walls (1003), (1004) and (1005)
(Figures 5, 10 and 11)

5.4.1 A narrow chamber formed by three walls, (1003) to the northwest, (1004) to the southeast and (1005) to the southwest (Photo 13). The chamber measured around 2.7m in length and 0.65m in width. No wall was visible at the southwestern end of the chamber.

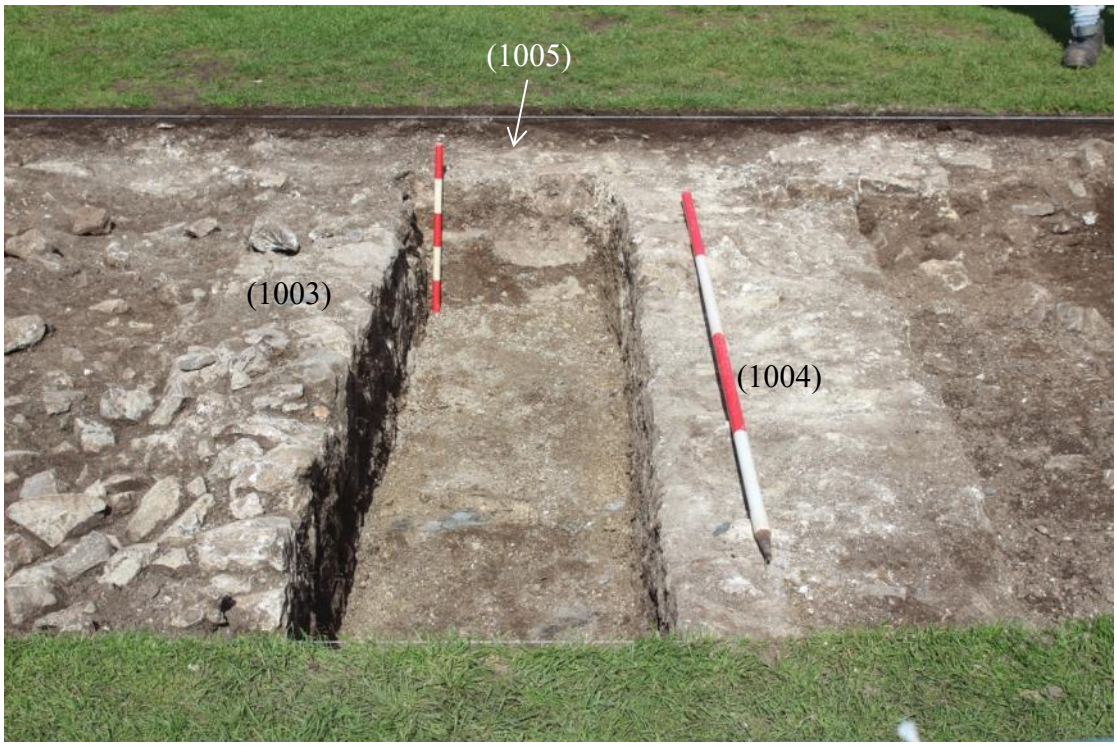

Photo 13: Narrow chamber following removal of (1008) with layer (1009) exposed beneath showing walls (1003), (1004) and (1005), viewing northeast

5.4.2 Beneath the topsoil were two distinct layers of backfill that probably date from the excavations undertaken on the site in 1931, layers (1008) and (1009). These were very silty fills containing some rubble and 20th century and earlier debris.

5.4.3 Below (1009) was an area of mortar rich soil with large amounts of slate fragments all lying relatively flat, which reduced in number lower down within the layer. The dark soils of this layer were loose and friable, with occasional oyster shells (1026). This layer was environmentally sampled, although the slate was not collected. Finds recovered from the layer (other than oyster shell and slate) included a number of fragments of animal bone and a small amount of pottery and tile, iron objects and also some copper alloy fragments and pins. Its character and make-up indicated it was a probable context contemporary with the use of the building. Potentially the mortar and slate may have been deliberately placed in the deposit to seal or cap whatever the main components of the layer (and those below) were composed of.

5.4.4 A darker layer, with more clay in its components lay beneath this, layer (1027), with large quantities of oyster shell and bone within it. Pottery was also recovered from this layer, seemingly of late medieval or post-medieval date. A number of small copper alloy rings and a glass bead were also recovered from the environmental samples.

5.4.5 The two layers (1026) and (1027) clearly suggest that the narrow chamber was used for rubbish deposition of some sort, and this was likely to be

associated with the use of the building. Only small areas of the deposit were removed during the investigations. Analysis of the environmental samples do not indicate the deposits were related to the fill of a cess pit.

Photo 14: View southwest within narrow chamber between walls (1003) and (1004), showing excavated layers within and rough rubble base of wall (1003) just visible to the bottom right

5.4.6 At the very end of the investigations a further test slot was excavated into layer (1027) which identified that the base of this layer corresponded roughly with the bottom of wall (1003) at around 0.80m depth. A further dark reddish-brown layer (1035) was present below layer (1027) and this layer ran below the base of wall (1003). It could be seen that wall had been constructed into layer (1035) as it ran below the wall and was present amongst the lowest rough stones forming its limited foundation. Roman pottery was recovered from this layer, although it is considered most likely that this would be residual material.

5.4.7 As layers (1027) and (1026) were not present on the northwestern side of wall (1003) it is presumed there were deposited after its construction and not truncated by the wall. The area lies to the southeast of an area interpreted as likely to be kitchens associated with the building and it is suggested that the material within layers (1026) and (1027) contains some kitchen waste. This is particularly likely with the large quantity of animal bones recovered from layer (1027).

5.4.8 Whether a wall existed to the southwest, further beyond the edge of the trench is not known. Potentially that end of the narrow chamber may have been open to allow it to be emptied of whatever material was accumulating within it.

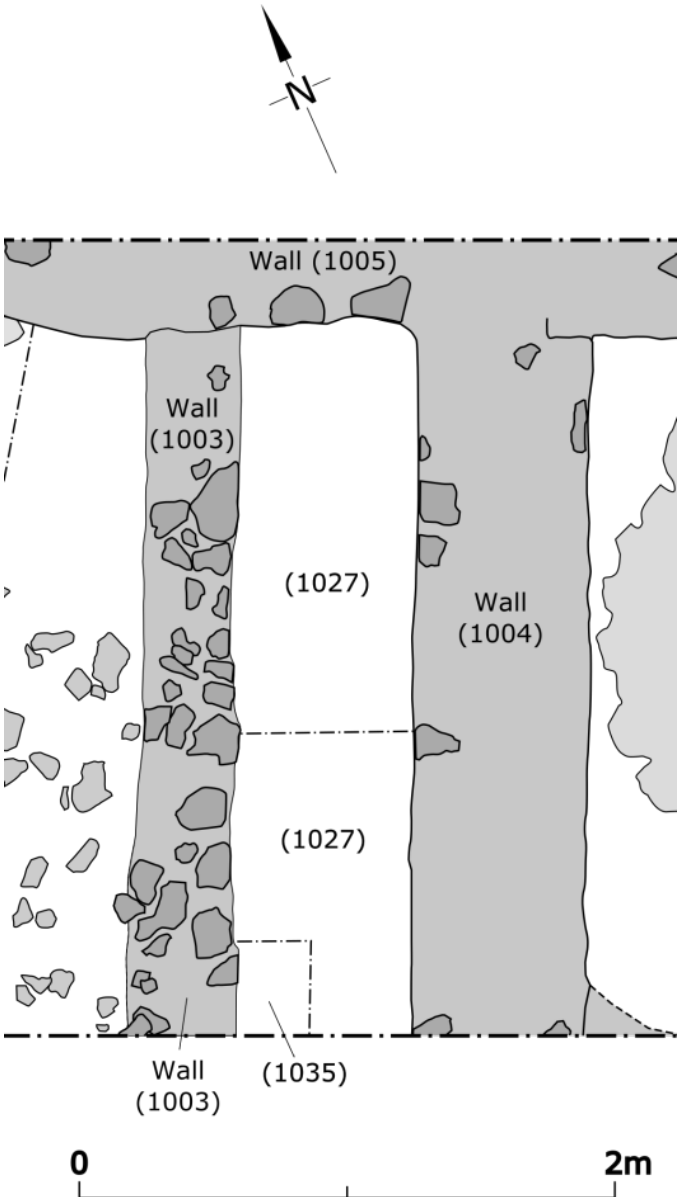

Figure 10: Plan of the Narrow chamber formed by walls (1003), (1004) and (1005)

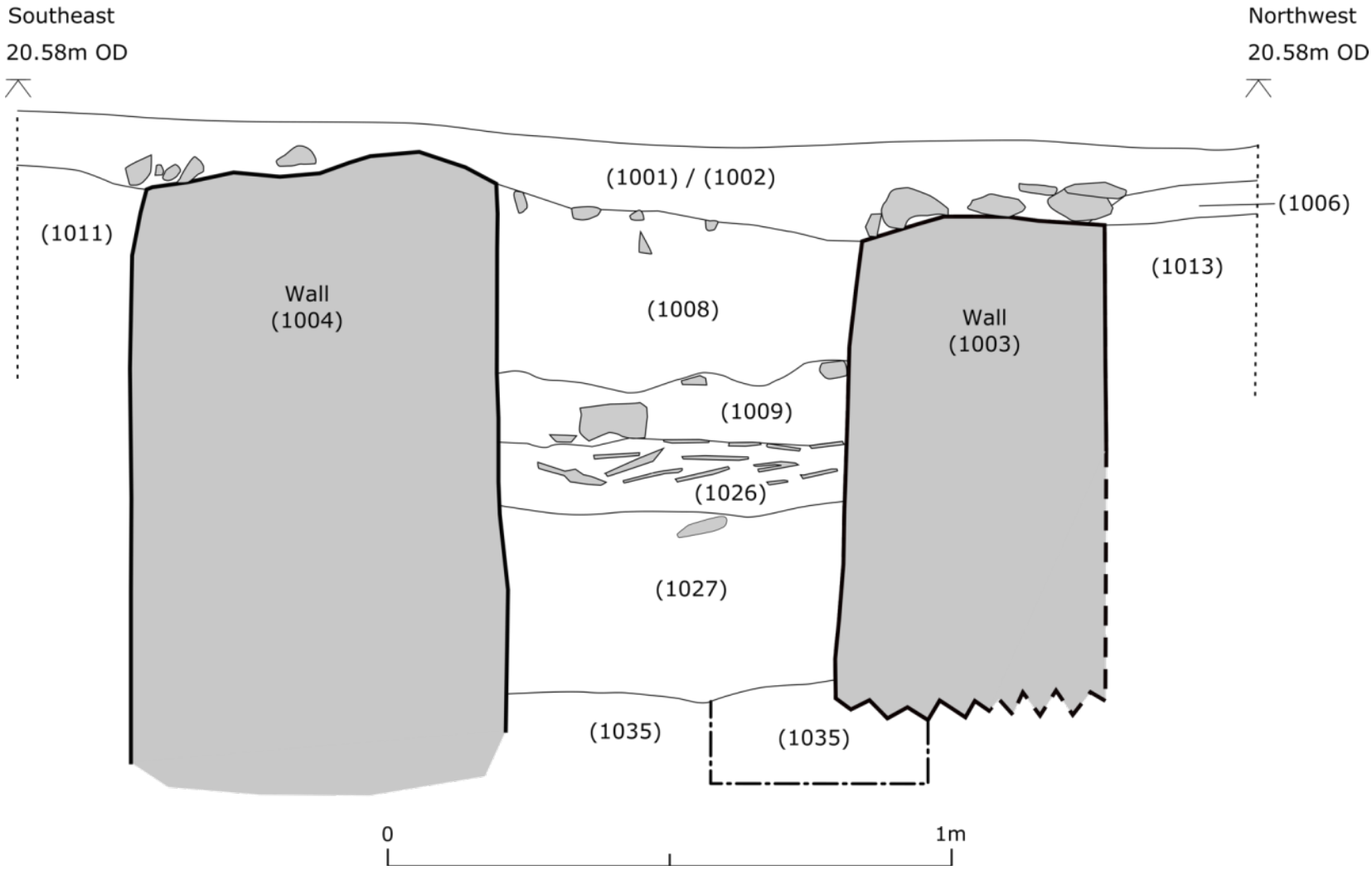

Figure 11: Northeast facing section across chamber between walls (1003) and (1004)

5.5 Chamber between walls (1004), (1012) and (1005)
(Figures 5, 12, 13 and 14)

5.5.1 The upper backfill layer encountered below the topsoil between the walls (1004), (1005) and (1012) was layer (1011). This merged with 1930s backfill layers below which stratigraphically from top to bottom were layers (1011), (1037), (1038), (1039), (1022), (1030) and (1031) (Figures 14 & 15). These are all most likely to be backfill layers from after the 1930s excavations, based on finds recovered from within the layers and from photographic evidence which shows that the chamber was mostly excavated.

5.5.2 The walls of the chamber, (1004), (1012) and (1005) were all of identical construction and merged with each other indicating a single build phase (Photo 15). The full width of walls (1004) and (1012) was visible, measuring a maximum of 0.65m, but only a 0.40m width of (1005) was visible from the trench edge. A depth of 1.05m of wall (1004) was exposed in the northwestern part of the chamber, but the base of the wall was not seen. Wall (1005) was exposed to a depth of 0.90m, but again the base of the wall was not seen. The exposed depth of wall (1012) was 0.57m, but again was not bottomed.

5.5.3 The internal faces of the walls forming the chamber were all roughly mortar rendered. The start of a curved return to wall (1004) could be seen in the southwestern edge of the trench, but this was only partly exposed though it is anticipated that it would have joined with wall (1012) to the south east (Photos 15 & 16). Assuming a similar curve to this wall was present where it joined wall (1012), it would indicate that the chamber was rectangular on three side with a slightly apsidal (curving wall) to the southwest. The chamber measured a maximum of 1.70m northwest to southeast and at least 2.60m southwest to northeast (possibly slightly larger at the maximum extent of the curving southwestern wall).

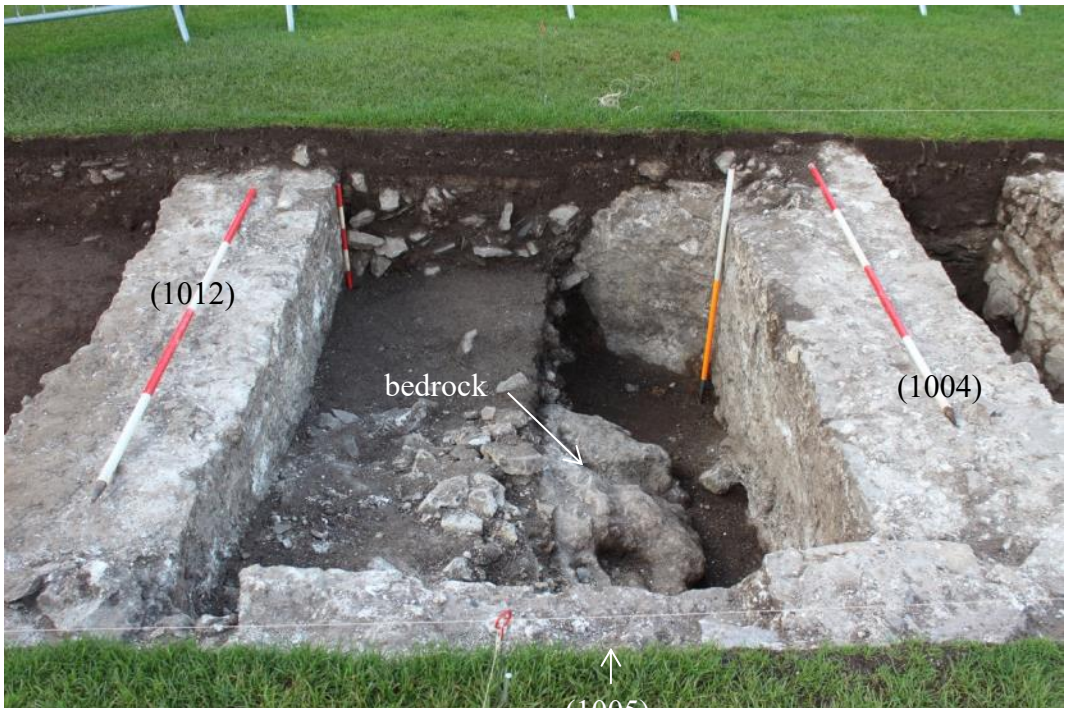

Photo 15: View southwest across chamber formed by walls (1004), (1005) and (1012) showing backfill layers in section, outcrop of bedrock in centre and the curved return of wall (1004) in trench edge

5.5.4 Part of the base of the chamber was exposed, which comprised a very uneven mound of limestone bedrock. The bedrock mound was over 1.3m deep from ground level at the edges of the chamber but rose to 0.75m below ground level in the centre. It is presumed that when the chamber was excavated there was no requirement for a level floor, presumably based on the intended use of the space, which is suggested to have been a possible cess pit for a chamber and garderobe above. A hole was noted within wall (1005) on the northeastern side which ran the width of the wall (at least 0.60m) measuring 0.15m x 0.20m in height (Photo 16). It is possible this was either an air vent or a drain to/from an adjacent room or chamber. As the southwestern wall of the chamber was not fully exposed it is not known if a further drain or access point was present.

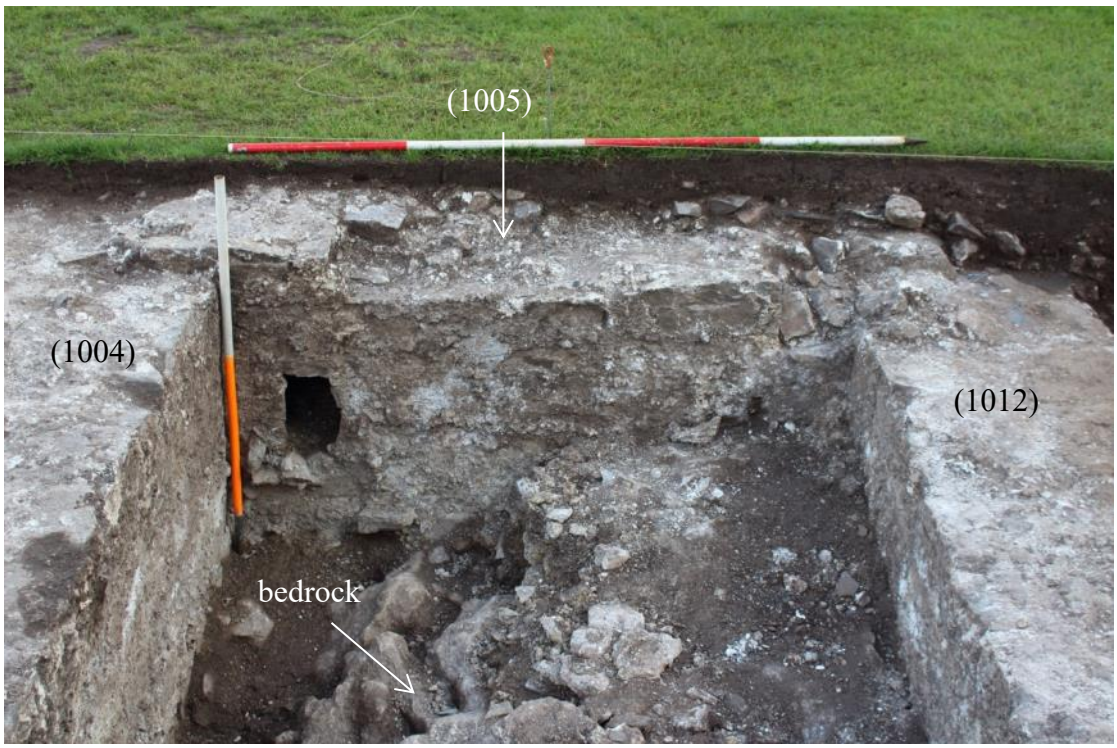

Photo 16: View northeast of chamber formed by walls (1004), (1005) and (1012) showing part of bedrock outcrop and vent or drain in wall (1005)

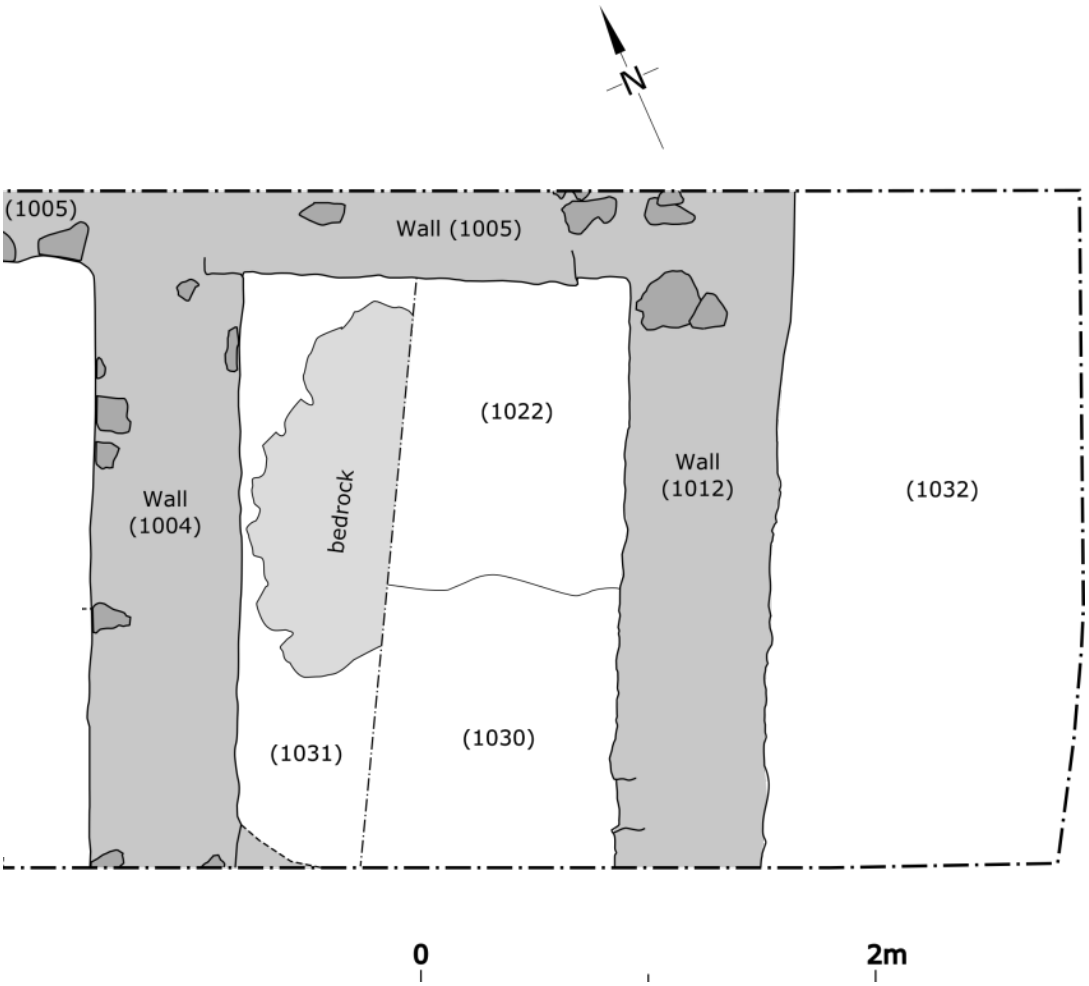

Figure 12: Plan of the Chamber between walls (1004), (1005) and (1012) and the area Southeast of wall (1012)

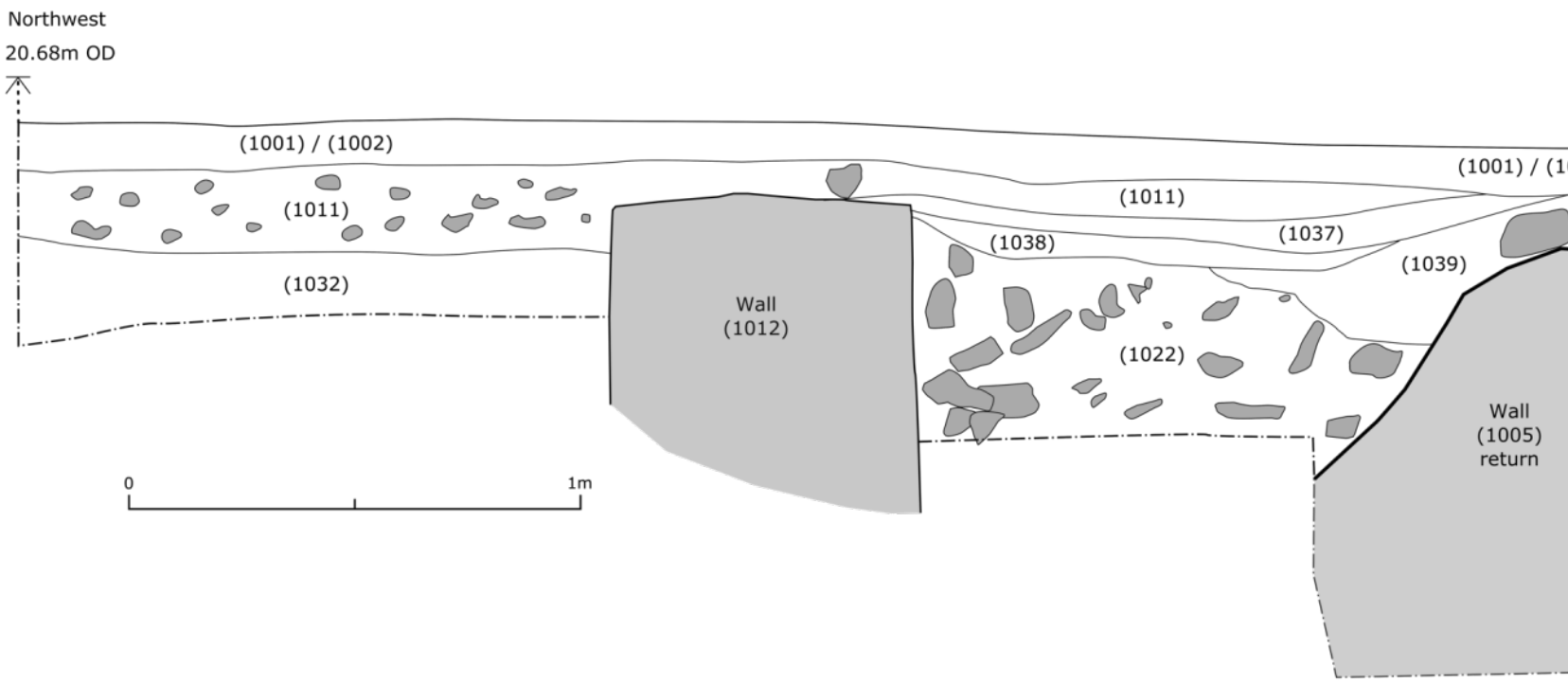

Figure 13: Northeast facing section through Chamber between walls (1004), (1005) and (1012), and the area South

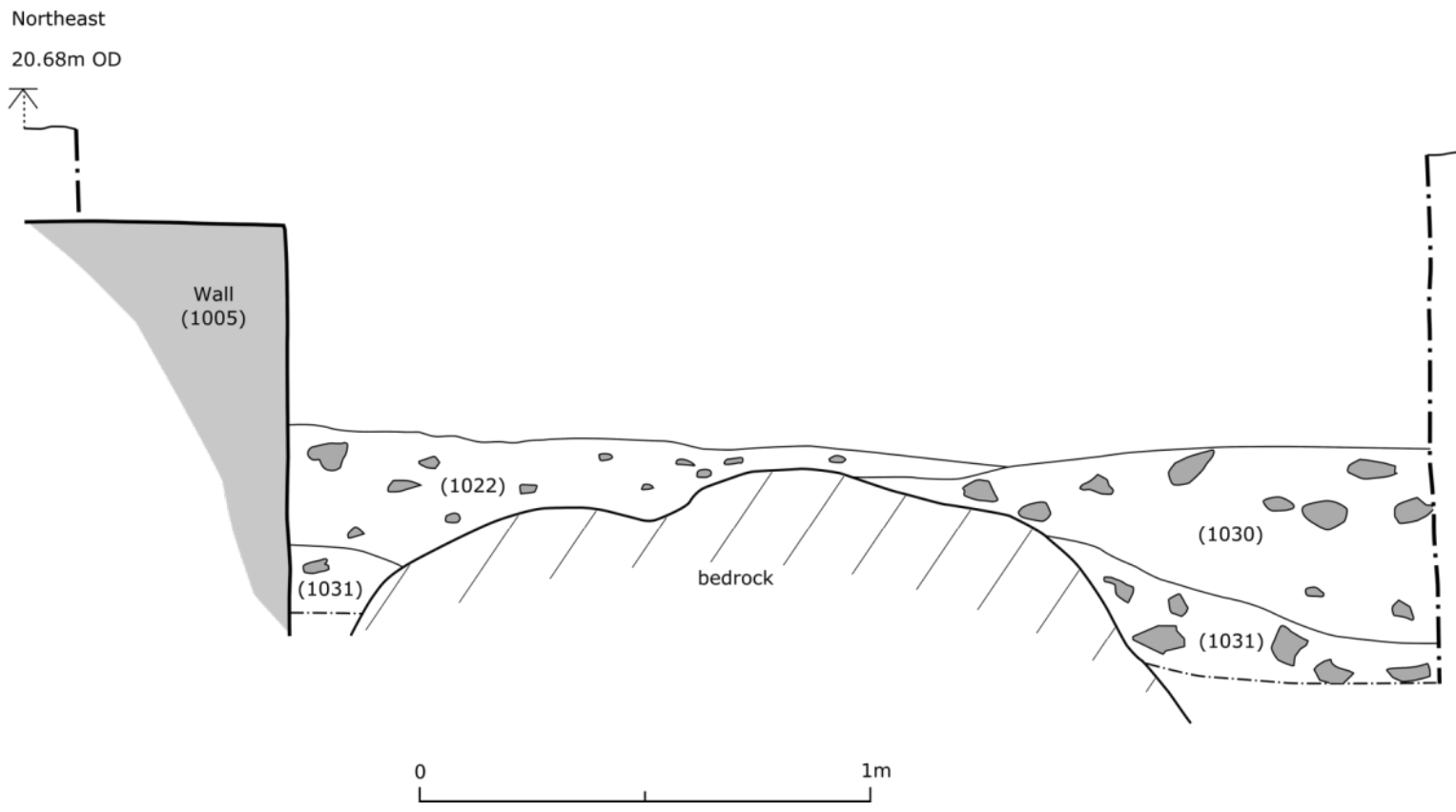

Figure 14: Northwest facing section and profile across centre of Chamber between walls (1004), (1005) and (1012), sh

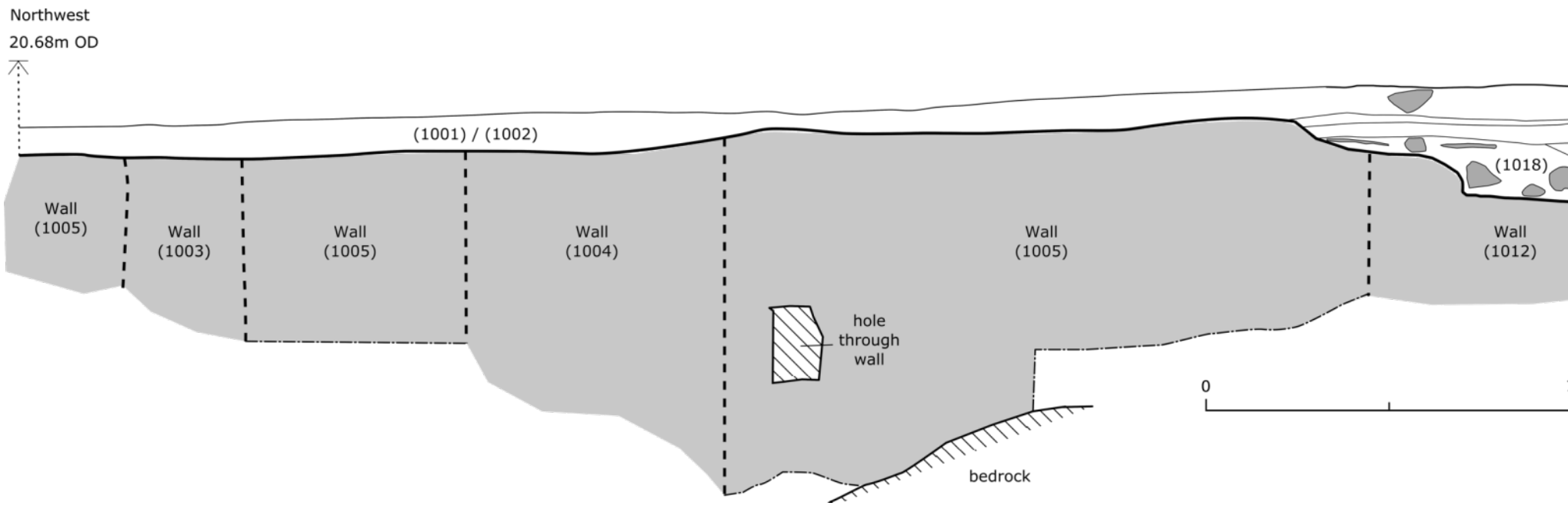

Figure 15: Southwest facing section of Trench 1 along wall (1005) and Chamber between walls (1004), (1005) and (1012), and also

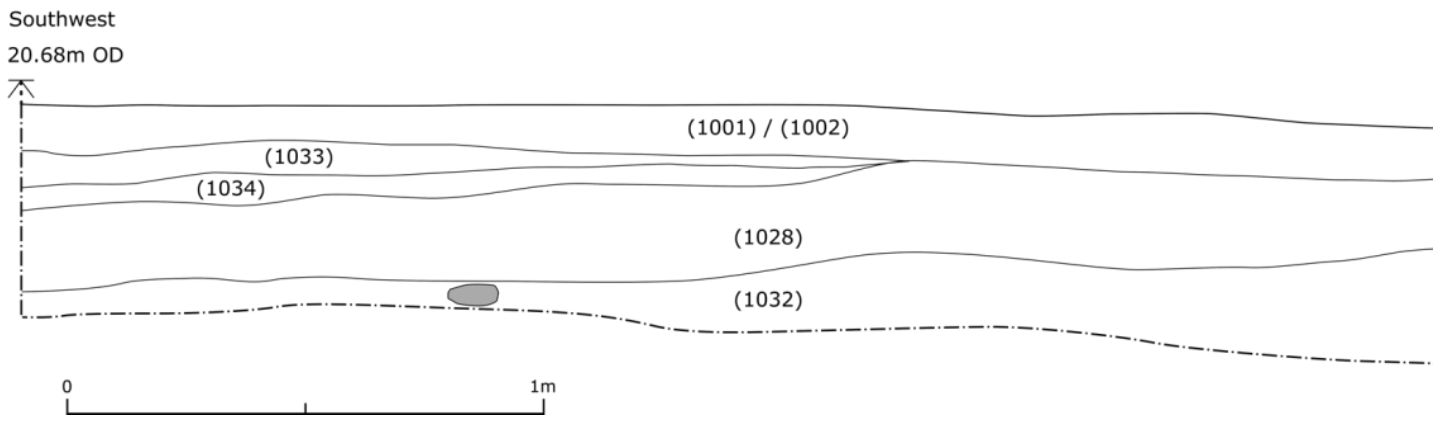

Figure 16: Northwest facing section of Trench 1 at Southeastern end beyond wall (1012)

5.6 The Southeastern end of Trench 1 beyond wall (1012) (Figures 5, 12, 13, 15 & 16)

5.6.1 After wall (1012) was revealed, the trench was extended by 1.5m to the southeast to enable investigation of the area outside of the wall. This extended the trench from its original 10m length to the final 11.5m length.

Photo 17: Original 10m length of Trench 1, with wall (1012) at southeastern end prior to extension (see Photo 7)

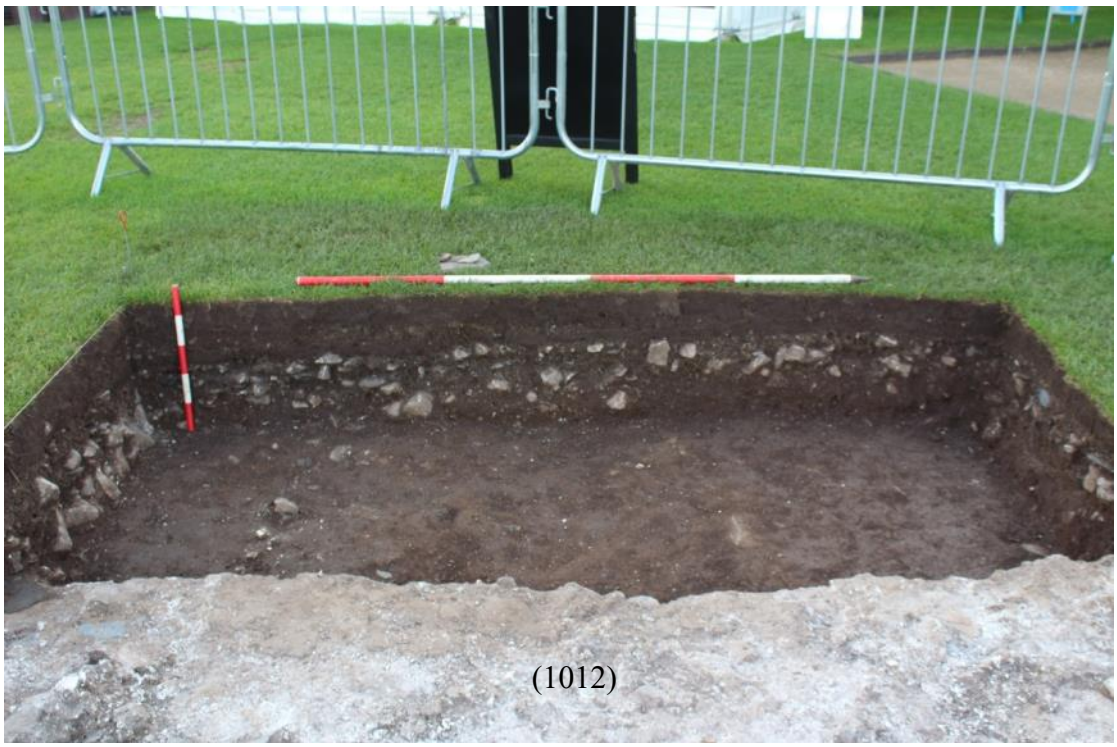

Photo 18: View southeast across extension to Trench 1, with wall (1012) in foreground and the infilled hollow area (buried topsoil) to left

5.6.2 Following the trench extension it was evident that the area lay outside of the building being investigated.

5.6.3 An area in the southeastern corner of the trench contained a relatively recent buried topsoil layer (1033), where it appeared a small hollow in the ground level of a maximum of 0.15m had been infilled with soil (1034) and then re-turfed over the top (1001 / 1002). This was only visible in the junction of the northeastern and southeastern edges of the trench. These layers overlay the 1930s backfill layer (1028).

5.6.4 Below (1028) was a quite friable layer of slightly clayey silt sand soil containing abundant oyster shell and animal bone as well as lots of ceramic material and other finds of post-medieval and earlier date. This was not a 1930s backfill layer but appeared to be an earlier deposit.

5.6.5 A further layer was partially exposed below (1028), layer (1032). This was a sand silt layer with a fair amount of stone present. The layer was only partially investigated and identified during recording. It is very likely that some finds recovered from layer (1028) were actually from this lower layer.

5.6.6 An area of backfill was recorded located above wall (1012) on the southeastern side of the trench, layer (1018) presumably associated with the 1930s excavations. A further area of silty fill was present adjacent to this, (1035), which seemed to cut through layers (1018), (1028) and (1032). It was located directly beneath the former topsoil layer (1033) and may be modern in date, perhaps associated with a former tent peg or fencing put up within the outer ward of the Castle in the later 20th century.

Photo 19: Simulated aerial photograph of Trench 1 at the end of the evaluation created using Agisoft photogrammetry software

6. RESULTS FROM TRENCH 2 (Figures 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21)

6.1 Trench 2 initially measured 3m x 5m, before being extended a further 1.5m to the northwest to a maximum length of 6.5m. It was aligned roughly northwest to southeast targeting a linear parchmark thought to represent the northeastern wall of Building ***G.***

Photo 20: Trench 2 after initial topsoil strip with Gatehouse behind and former trackway with compact smaller stones to right of dotted line

6.2 The turf (2001) and topsoil (2002) was removed by hand exposing a compacted layer of small and medium sized angular stones within a clay silt sand soil matrix across the southwestern side of the trench (2003) (Photo 20). This represented the remains of a track way that was constructed across the outer ward in the 1930s, as evidenced on photographs from the excavations. The track way is often visible as a parchmark and was present as an anomaly on the on the geophysical survey results. It width of 2m was seen within the northwestern end of the trench reducing to around 1m width to the southeast. Only the northeastern edge of the trackway was exposed. It had a maximum depth of 0.15m, but on average around 0.05m deep.

6.3 The former track way surface overlay a backfill layer likely to date from the 1930s excavations, layer (2004) to the northeast and (2005) to the southwest which contained large quantities of stone rubble, including patches of red sandstone. It was soon apparent that a wall was visible running roughly northwest to southeast along the trench surrounded by the

layer (2004)/(2005) corresponding with the parchmark. The wall (2007) was a minimum of 0.15m below ground level. Two small baulks were initially left in as the wall was defined (Photo 21).

Photo 21: Wall (2007) becoming exposed following removal of the road surface (2003) and during removal of rubble deposit (2004)/(2005), view northwest

Photo 22: View southeast along Trench 2 showing full width of wall (2007) exposed

6.4 The full width of wall (2007) measured 1.03m and was made of local limestone and mortar and was faced on both exposed edges (Photo 22). Following removal of rubble deposits (2004) and (2005), two further rubble

deposits were encountered which may represent 19th century of earlier collapse layers (2009) to the northeast below (2004) and (2008) to the southwest below (2005) (Photo 23). Layer (2008) contained mortar, rubble and slate, whereas layer (2009) contained less stone rubble with only a few smaller fragments of slate and mortar.

Photo 23: Further excavation in Trench 2 showing state of preservation of wall (2007) with layers (2008) and (2009) becoming exposed

6.5 On the northeastern side of the trench a thin layer of an apparent buried garden soil was recorded (2006). This dark layer covered the northern half of the section and was less than 0.20m in depth.

6.6 It was agreed with Cadw and Pembroke Castle that the trench should be extended to the northwest to try and reveal the return of wall (2007) which could be seen as a parchmark turning to the southwest. In this area only layers (2003), (2004) and (2005) were removed to expose the wall (2012) (Photos 24). Although of the same construction wall (2012) was narrower at 0.91m. Wall (2012) had the appearance of being butted up against wall (2007). Whether this represents different phases of construction or the blocking of an earlier opening could not be ascertained.

6.7 Removal of the layer (2009) on the northeastern side of wall (2007) exposed an underlying cobbled surface (2011) made of pebbles and rounded limestone (Photos 24, 25 and 26). Although the surface was not very level, it was clearly a distinct and contiguous layer. The layer was only present on the northeastern side of wall (2007) and thus assumed to be an exterior path or yard outside of the building.

Photo 24: View southeast along Trench 2 showing junction between walls (2012) and (2007)

Photo 25: View northwest along Trench 2 at the end of excavation showing walls (2007) and (2012), with slate and rubble layer (2010) to the southwest and cobbles (2011) to the northeast

6.8 Removal of layer (2008) on the interior of the corner formed by walls (2007) and (2012) revealed a lower compact layer containing far more mortar and

many fragments of flat slates, layer (2010). This layer continued down on the inside of wall (2007) deeper than the cobbled surface identified on the exterior of the building (2011). No floor surface or other layer indicating where the ground level may have been was identified to the southwest of wall (2007). Layer (2010) was not bottomed during the investigations.

6.9 One part of layer (2008) was left in-situ during the evaluation as it was not certain if the stone revealed within it formed part of a heavily truncated wall (as shown on Figure 18). Further investigation indicated that it was unlikely to form a wall, but due to the uncertainty it was thought better to leave the material in place.

6.10 Two further layers were also noted covering the tops of the walls (2007) and (2011) in section. These related to loose material previously disturbed directly on top of the structures, with (2013) above wall (2011) and layer (2014) above (2007).

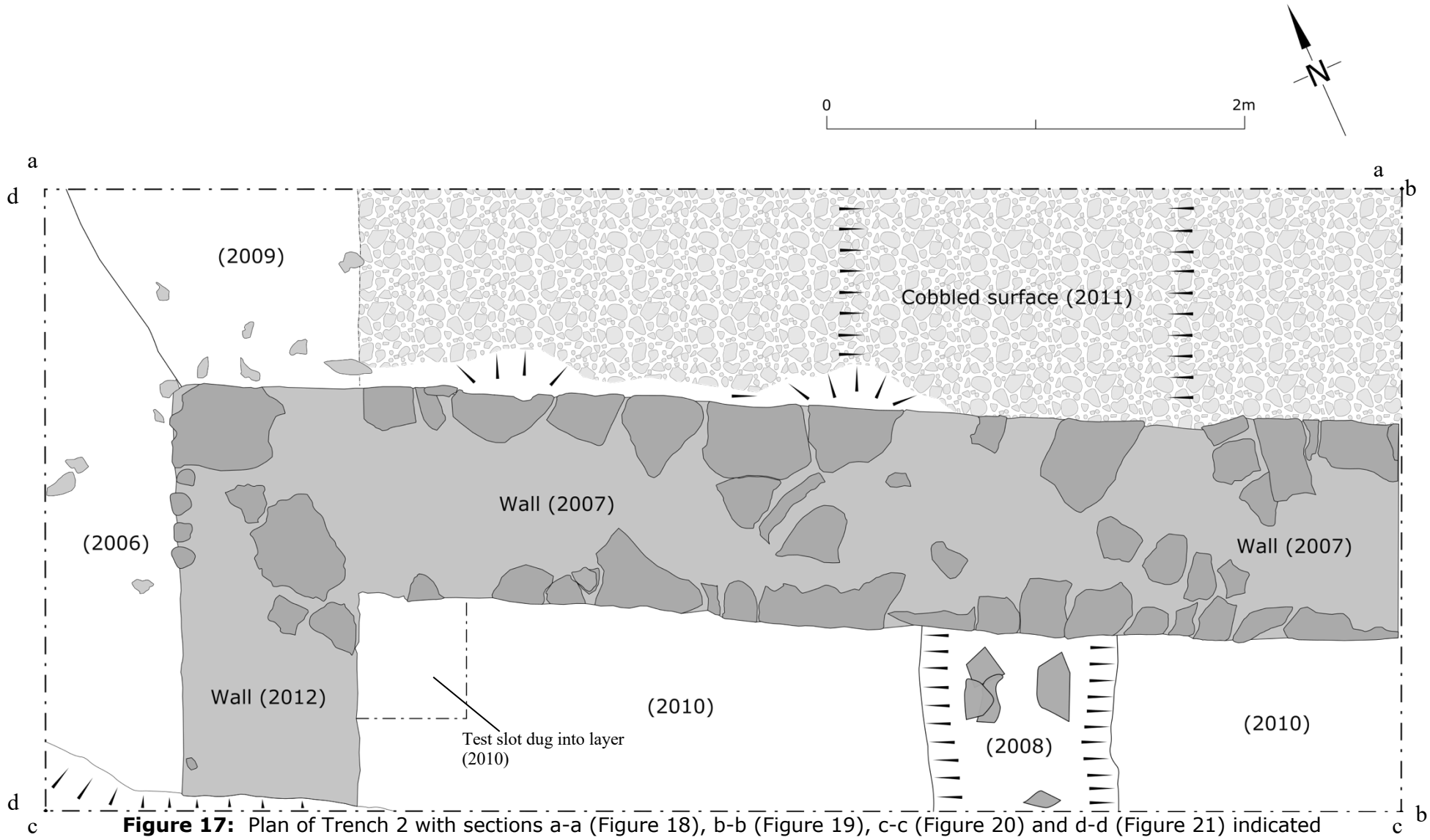

Figure 17: Plan of Trench 2 with sections a-a (Figure 18), b-b (Figure 19), c-c (Figure 20) and d-d (Figure 21) indicated

Photo 26: Simulated aerial view of Trench 2 at the end of excavation created using Agisoft photogrammetry software

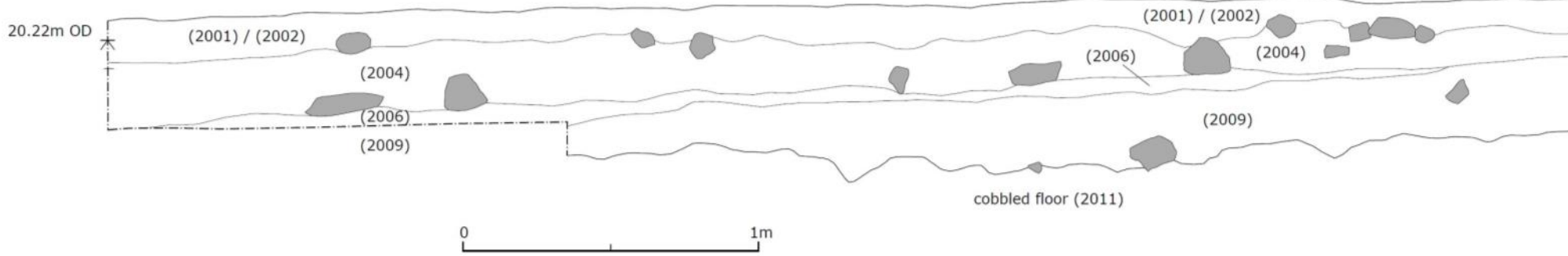

Figure 18: Southwest facing section a-a of Trench 2

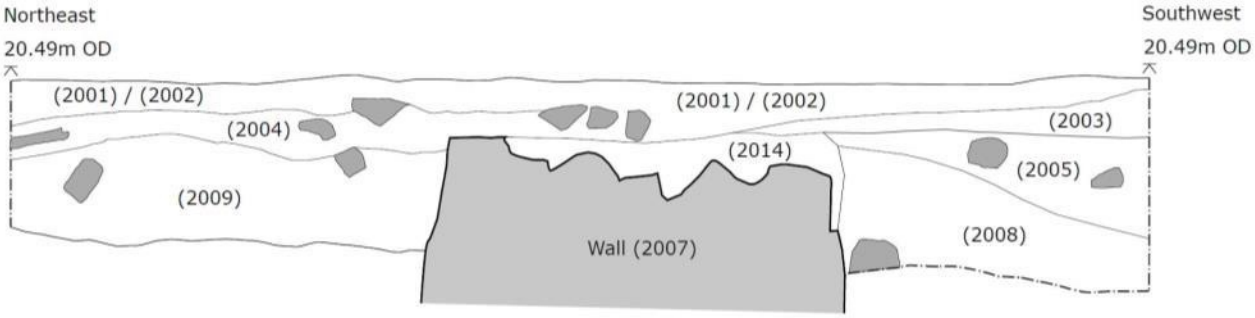

Figure 19: Northwest facing section b-b of Trench 2

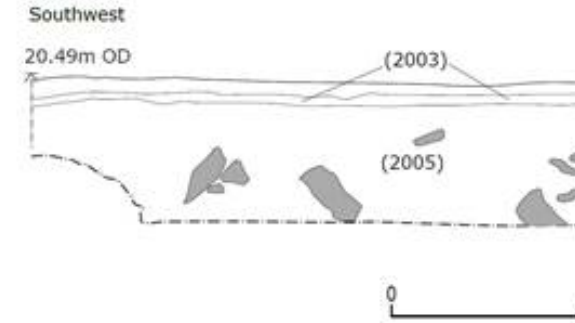

Figure 20: Southeast fa

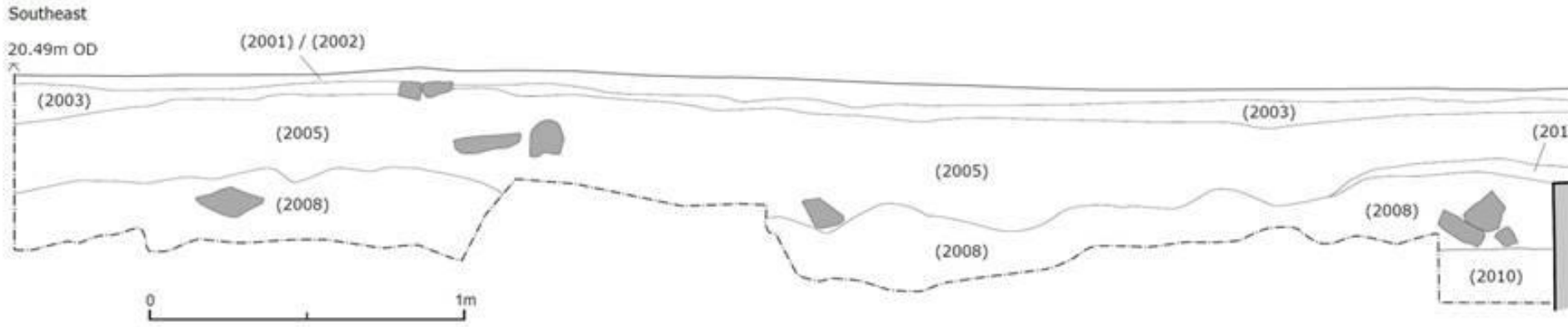

Figure 21: Northeast facing section d-d of Trench 2

7 FINDS AND ENVIRONMENTAL INFORMATION

7.1 Pottery and Ceramic Building Material

7.1.1 The pottery and ceramic building material assemblage has been assessed by Dee Williams supplemented with additional information on the Roman material by Rob Hopkins.

7.1.2 The full pottery and ceramic building material assessment report is included in Appendix 1. The results of the assessment were summarised as follows:

The earliest pottery is Roman, most probably 2nd century in date.

The bulk of material that was presented for assessment is 15th-16th century or later in date. Isolated sherds of 13th to 14th century medieval pottery are most certainly residual.

The pottery represents a broad mix of fabrics, of which many are just small abraded sherds, and more than likely re-deposited from a nearby location (a number of drinking vessels of later post-medieval date are recorded perhaps indicating waste from an inn within the town was dumped here)*.*

A total of 457 fragments of ceramic building material (CBM) weighing 19,485g were recovered. These represent roofing material and a small number of construction bricks. The date range is medieval (probably 13th-14th century) through to modern. The large sample of unsourced ridge/pantiles (flat tile) are post-medieval and date anywhere from the 15th/16th centuries through to recent times. A handful of wheel-thrown sherds recovered from Trench 1 (U/S, (2006) and (2023)) are parts of unglazed heavy-duty drainage or water pipe.

7.1.3 Obviously modern pottery (357 sherds, Table 2) and ceramic building material of late 19th and 20th century was collected but has not been assessed. The assemblage evidently relates to a time when the castle was used for agricultural purposes in the late 19th and early 20th century, and subsequently the period of restoration by Major-General Sir Ivor Phillips, K.C.B., D.S.O., use by the military and more recent visitor activity. A modern button, three fragments of wood and a few plastic items were also collected. The material will be discarded.

Trench 1 Contexts	Sherd count	Trench 2 Contexts	Sherd count
1001	22	2001	3
1002	69	2002	1
1006	31	2003	11
1007	43	2004	37
1008	2	2005	6
1009	1	2006	1
1010	5	2008	6
1011	82	2009	17
1013	12	T2 total	**82 sherds**
1018	3		
T1 total	**270 sherd**s	U/S	**5 sherds**
		TOTAL	**357 sherds**

Table 2: Modern pottery by context

7.1.4 The majority of Roman sherds were recovered from layer (1035) within the narrow chamber in Trench 1, followed by layer (1032) at the southwestern end of Trench 1. A final report on the pottery is awaited but a brief review of the material indicates it is mostly 2nd and 3rd century, with a few possible later fragments. Mortaria is present as well as Black Burnished ware. The material recovered from layer (1035) was notably unabraded.

7.2 Metal Objects

7.2.1 Iron nails of all periods were recovered from both trenches, although the majority were of square profile and likely to be of medieval or post medieval date. In total 88 nails were recovered: 52 from Trench 1; 35 from Trench 2 and 1 recovered during backfilling.

7.2.2 A further 60 fragments of iron objects were also recovered from the evaluation: 45 pieces from Trench 1; 10 from Trench 2 and 5 fragments recovered during backfilling. These pieces have not all, mostly comprising fragments of metal plates or straps, hinges, rods, bolts or nuts, the majority of which are modern waste and only a few fragments could be earlier date.

7.2.3 A single medieval coin was recovered from layer (1028) at the southeastern end of Trench 1 (Photo 27). It is of silver and likely to represent a groat although it has not been formally identified or dated as yet. It is retained for further analysis and conservation.

Photo 27: Probable medieval silver Silver groat found in context (1028) obverse and reverse of coin prior to cleaning and conservation

7.2.4 Further coins recovered from the site included the following, all of 20th century date: pennies dating from 1912, 1917, 1932 and one new pence from 1991; half pennies dating from 1932, 1938 and 1939; three penny bits dating from 1937 and 1944.

7.2.5 Two keys were found within the excavations, one of poor quality iron thought to be of modern date. The second key found in the upper backfill layer of the larger chamber in Trench 1 (1011) was a far more intricate and interesting one, known as an Odell or French Latch Lifter Key which may date from between the late 18th through to end of the 19th century (Photo 28).

Photo 28: Late 18th or 19th century Odell or French latch Lifter Key found in context (1011)

7.2.6 Copper alloy objects were also found, including three buttons, a piece probably from a weighing scales as well as two other unidentified pieces.

7.2.7 Three very small hand gun shell casings of possible late 1930s German origin were found during the evaluation. Three rifle bullet shells were also recovered. These are likely to relate to the use of the castle by the military in the mid-20th century. A single lead musket ball was also found in Trench 1.

7.2.8 Two small rods, initially identified as lead, were found within Trench 1 which have been subsequently identified as the insides of batteries and may be carbon rods.

7.2.9 Further metal objects were recovered from the environmental samples taken from the narrow chamber between walls (1003), (1004) and (1005). In context (1026) a small Cu Alloy ring (less than 5mm diameter), two Cu Alloy pins, two Cu Alloy possible aglets (lace ends), an unidentified iron object and a few pieces of hammerscale (iron working waste) were found. In context (1027) 3 small (less than 5mm diameter) Cu Alloy rings were recovered. In context (1035) nine iron nails/fragments of nails and a number of pieces of hammerscale were identified. The Cu Alloy pins and rings are shown in Photo 29.

Photo 29: Copper Alloy pins, aglets and ring from layer (1026) to left and three Copper Alloy rings from layer (1027) to the right

7.2.10 All metalwork has been retained at this stage in case further analysis is deemed worthwhile if further stages of investigation are undertaken at the site.

7.3 Miscellaneous finds

7.3.1 A single struck flint flake was found within the topsoil of Trench 1. It is only a small fragment, but has clearly been snapped. Its form suggests it was originally a bladelet, possibly of later Mesolithic or Neolithic date.

7.3.2 Within context (1006) in Trench 1 three small smooth stone balls were recovered measuring *c.*14mm, 15mm and 16mm in diameter. A further smooth stone ball was found in context (2004) in Trench 2 of *c.*14mm diameter. Two are of local limestone of light grey colour neatly rolled, one if of a darker stone with striations in it and the fourth slightly less well rolled of a mottled light grey and red stone. These are likely to be marbles and could date from the medieval period onwards.

Photo 30: Rolled stone marbles, with the three layer to the left from layer (1006) in Trench 1 and that to the right from layer (2004) in Trench 2

7.4 Clay Pipes

7.4.1 A number of fragments of clay pipes were recovered from the evaluation trenches (Table 3). The majority were represented by clay pipe stems and only a few bowl fragments were recovered. Two of these were clearly larger and decorated pieces presumably of late date. A single complete bowl was found within context (1023) of small barrel shaped, with a slight milling around its top which may date from the 17th century. The material is presently retained, although is likely that all stems will be discarded and only the bowl fragments retained.

Trench 1 Contexts	Stem fragments	Bowls	Trench 2 Contexts	Stem fragments	Bowls
U/S	6		2002	1	
1001	3		2003	1	1 broken large bowl fragment
1002	8	Half a bowl, large and decorated	2004	3	
1002	11		2006	2	
1006	2		2009	13	3 fragments of broken bowl, one quite large with heel
1007	4				
1011	8				
1017	2				
1019	4				
1021	1				
1023	8	Small bowl with heel			
1028	1				

Table 3: Clay pipe fragments recovered from the evaluation

7.5 Environmental Evidence

7.5.1 The three contexts revealed within the narrow chamber formed by walls (1003), (1004) and (1005) in Trench 1 were sampled for environmental analysis: contexts (1026), (1027) and (1035). Each of the contexts appeared to be quite secure and associated with use of the building.

7.5.2 The samples were processed and assessed by Elizabeth Pearson of Worcestershire Archaeology and the full report is included in Appendix 2.

7.5.3 The results of the environmental assessment can be summarised as follows: *A moderate quantity of large mammal bone fragments (totalling 0.67kg, 560 fragments) was recovered from all three samples. This material was dominated by unidentifiable fragments, within which a small number were identifiable. Well preserved identifiable fragments included sheep or goat, and one sheep/goat/deer tibia bone, horse/cattle-size fragments, a pig incisor, and small phalanx bones. This assemblage presumably derived from kitchen waste deposited between the cavity of walls (1003), (1004) and (1005), or in the case of (1035) may predate the walls.*

Other food waste included fish bone, bird bone, oyster and clam shell, and eggshell. Terrestrial molluscs, as also noted, are likely to derive from the immediate local environment.

A moderate quantity of identifiable charcoal was recovered from layer (1035) predating wall (1003). This appeared to be dominated by oak, but also included non-oak species such as lime (Tilia sp) and hazel (Corylus avellana). Smaller quantities of charcoal in fills (1027) and (1026) between walls also included occasional non-oak fragments. This is likely to derive from domestic hearths, based on its association with food (presumably kitchen) waste.

Occasional charred wheat (Triticum sp) and hulled barley (Hordeum vulgare) grains, and a couple of fragments of hazelnut shell were also noted.

Uncharred remains, consisting of mainly root fragments are assumed to be modern and intrusive, as they are unlikely to have survived in the soils on site for long without charring or waterlogging.

7.5.4 Two charcoal samples were identified and processed for radiocarbon dating from layers (1027) and (1035) which were sent to SUERC for dating. The sample from context (1027) was unfortunately unsuccessful in obtaining a date. That from (1035) produced a

7.5.5 Animal bone was also recovered from the environmental samples and is discussed in 7.6.7 below.

7.6 Animal Bone

7.6.1 As noted above in the environmental report, the three contexts sampled for environmental remains contained quantities of animal bone. A large quantity was recovered from the site in general, which is atypical of the general area of Pembrokeshire due to the acidic soils meaning bone does not survive. Pembroke Castle lies on a limestone outcrop and thus the soils are more alkali and better for preservation.

7.6.2 It should be noted that many of the contexts from which animal bone was recovered represent backfill from after the 1930s, and there is an indication that waste material from outside of the castle was being dumped inside the outer ward, possibly during the 18th and 19th centuries, perhaps the area being used as a midden.

7.6.3 Animal bone not found within the environmental samples was quantified and identified by Alice Day of DAT. The results are shown in Tables 4 and 5, with information separated into two categories Table 4 showing counts of small fragments or complete (small) animal bones and Table 5 showing counts of the larger fragments or complete (large) animal bones.

7.6.4 In terms of the smaller animal bones, there are a number of fragments of larger animals that could be identified, typically sheep and cow, with a possible deer bone also noted. A number of fish bones were recorded, as also noted in the environmental samples – but none of these have as yet been identified. The highest concentration was in layer (1027). Bird bones were also identified including blackbirds, chicken, a possible goose bone and also swan bones which may be significant in terms of the consumption of more exotic animals. Rabbit and hare bones were also recorded, as was one dog tooth.

7.6.5 Larger animal bones were typically represented by cow, sheep, sheep/goat, pig and horse. Other large mammals included further rabbit bones, badger, squirrel and deer. Further dog, fish, chicken and swan bones were identified.

7.6.6 In terms of the more secure contexts that would pre-date the 1930s excavations and 19th century land use the following contexts could be considered: (1019), (1023), (1024), (1025), (1026), (1027), (1028), (1032), (1035) and (1036) in Trench 1. In Trench 2 only the following contexts may be considered more secure: (2008), (2009) and (2010) although even (2008) and (2009), although (2008) and (2009) did have modern pottery within them although due to the method of excavation it is very possible this originated from the layers (2004) and (2005) above. Table 6 lists merely the material from those contexts and overall the general picture remains much the same. Cow, sheep and pig represent the larger domesticated farm animals used for consumption; hare, rabbit and deer may indicate game or hunting. Of note is that in the bird bones identified from these contexts this is where the swan bones have originated as well as chicken, blackbird and goose bones. Overall the animal bone seems to represent food waste. A few dog bones are also present.

7.6.7 A small assemblage of animal bone was recovered from the environmental samples. It was in good condition, with no fresh breaks or refitted fragments. Two fragments bore signs of canid gnawing, suggesting they were not buried immediately but were available for dogs to chew. There were no butchery marks or observations of burning on the material recovered from the samples. A diverse number of taxa were recorded for such a small assemblage including domestic and wild mammals and birds as well as fish (including cod and herring). While the assemblage is too small to make any inferences regarding cuisine, food ways or economy, it is worth noting that this kind of diversity combined with the prevalence of pigs is consistent with high-status diets of this date (Holmes 2018).

Context	No. of bones	Weight (g)	% bird	% fish	% small mammal	% large mammal	Identified species?	No. of teeth
1002	87	65	20%	1%	40%	34%	sheep, cow, chicken	3
1006	37	120	20%	0%	80%	0%	rabbit, sheep	0
1008	2	2	50%	0%	50%	0%	x	0
1009	7	19	70%	0%	0%	30%	sheep	0
1010	1	6	0%	0%	100%	0%	x	0
1011	50	105	10%	0%	2%	70%	blackbird, deer(?), sheep, cow	5 (deer(?), sheep, cow)
1013	1	4	100%	0%	0%	0%	x	0
1019	4	4	50%	0%	50%	0%	x	0
1023	10	10	90%	5%	5%	0%	swan	0
1024	1	2	100%	0%	0%	0%	x	0
1027	5	12	20%	60%	20%	0%	x	0
1028	4	8	75%	0%	25%	0%	goose(?), hare	0
2003	2	9	100%	0%	0%	0%	rabbit	0
2006	3	6	30%	0%	70%	0%	sheep, rabbit	4
2009	7	11	70%	15%	15%	0%	rabbit, blackbird	1
2010	11	5	70%	0%	30%	0%	chicken, dog	1 (dog)
TOTALS	**232**	**388g**						

Table 4: Small animal bone fragments and complete counts and identifications (where possible)

Context	No. of bones	Weight (g)	% bird	% fish	% small mammal	% large mammal	Identified species?	No. of teeth
1001	47	426	6%	0%	2%	92%	sheep, cow	1 (sheep)
1002	109	1350	1%	0%	2%	97%	cow, sheep, pig, dog	4 (cow, pig)
1006	54	255	4%	0%	0%	96%	swan, sheep, cow, horse	1(horse)
1007	21	89	0%	0%	5%	95%	sheep, cow	1 (cow)
1008	13	103	0%	0%	0%	100%	sheep, cow	0
1009	63	2300	1%	0%	1%	98%	horse, badger(?), cow, sheep, pig	6 (horse, cow, pig, badger(?))

1010	28	718	0%	0%	0%	100%	cow, sheep	1 (cow)
1011	56	300	2%	0%	8%	90%	cow, sheep, swan, rabbit	4 (sheep, cow)
1013	7	26	0%	13%	0%	87%	sheep	0
1017	11	60	0%	0%	9%	91%	squirrel, sheep, pig	0
1019	9	50	0%	0%	0%	100%	cow, sheep	0
1021	1	35	0%	0%	0%	100%	cow	0
1022	9	84	0%	0%	0%	100%	sheep	0
1023	64	510	0%	1%	0%	99%	sheep, cow, pig	1 (pig)
1024	21	66	0%	0%	5%	95%	sheep, dog	0
1027	107	1180	3%	0%	0%	97%	sheep, cow, pig	5 (sheep, cow, pig)
1028	130	1100	2%	0%	4%	94%	sheep, cow, pig, deer	6 (pig, cow)
1035	6	311	0%	0%	0%	100%	cow	0
2001	4	15	0%	0%	0%	100%	sheep	0
2002	17	120	0%	0%	6%	94%	sheep, cow, pig, horse, dog?	1(horse)
2003	9	100	0%	0%	0%	100%	cow, sheep	1 (sheep)
2004	72	127	1%	0%	0%	99%	sheep	4 (sheep)
2005	29	220	2%	0%	0%	98%	sheep, cow	1 (sheep)
2006	2	7	0%	0%	0%	100%	sheep	0
2008	15	100	6%	0%	0%	94%	cow, sheep, swan	1 (sheep)
2009	141	1115	2%	0%	2%	96%	cow, sheep	3 (cow, sheep)
2010	12	95	0%	0%	20%	80%	cow, pig, dog	1 (pig)
U/S	27	630	44%	4%	0%	52%	Cow, sheep/goat, chicken	0
Totals	**1084**	**11,492g**						

Table 5: Large animal bone fragments and complete counts and identifications (where possible)

Context	No. of bones	Weight (g)	% bird	% fish	% small mammal	% large mammal	Identified species?	Small / large	No. of teeth
1019	4	4	50%	0%	50%	0%	x	Small	0
1019	9	50	0%	0%	0%	100%	cow, sheep	Large	0
1023	10	10	90%	5%	5%	0%	swan	Small	0
1023	64	510	0%	1%	0%	99%	sheep, cow, pig	Large	1 (pig)
1024	1	2	100%	0%	0%	0%	x	Small	0
1024	21	66	0%	0%	5%	95%	sheep, dog	Large	0
1027	5	12	20%	60%	20%	0%	x	Small	0
1027	107	1180	3%	0%	0%	97%	sheep, cow, pig	Large	5 (sheep, cow, pig)
1028	4	8	75%	0%	25%	0%	goose(?), hare	Small	0
1028	130	1100	2%	0%	4%	94%	sheep, cow, pig, deer	Large	6 (pig, cow)
1035	6	311	0%	0%	0%	100%	cow	Large	0
2008	15	100	6%	0%	0%	94%	cow, sheep, swan	Large	1 (sheep)
2009	7	11	70%	15%	15%	0%	rabbit, blackbird	Small	1
2009	141	1115	2%	0%	2%	96%	cow, sheep	Large	3 (cow, sheep)
2010	11	5	70%	0%	30%	0%	chicken, dog	Small	1 (dog)
2010	12	95	0%	0%	20%	80%	cow, pig, dog	Large	1 (pig)
	547	4579							

Table 6: Animal bone complete and fragments, counts and identifications (where possible) only from relatively secure contexts

7.6.7 One piece of decorated bone was recovered from layer (1028) at the southeastern end of Trench 1, a context pre-dating the 1930s excavations and 19th century activity. The object is likely to be the handle of a former knife or similar. The animal bone type has not been identified as yet, but may be from a young lamb. The object was 4cm long and covered in dot and ring decoration in various layouts, different on every face (Photos 31 and 32).

7.6.8 All bone will be retained at this stage for more detailed analysis assuming further stages of archaeological investigation is undertaken.

Photo 31: Face of decorated bone handle and side view below (rolled upwards)

Photo 32: Opposite face and side view of decorated bone handle below (rolled upwards)

7.7 Shellfish

7.7.1 Abundant quantities of oyster shell were recovered from the site, with more collected from the environmental samples, a total weight of 17,014g. The material by context is listed in Table 7.

7.7.2 Other shellfish were also recorded, including cockles, whelks and mussels (Table 8), but these were found in far smaller quantities.

7.7.3 All of the shellfish would have been brought to the site for consumption. Those in the secure contexts are likely to date from the late medieval period. The remainder from other contexts are more likely to be later waste disposal associated with the wider town of Pembroke (such as layers (1002) and (1003) and material disturbed by the 1930s excavations and landscaping works.

7.7.4 It is noteworthy that the vast majority of oyster shell was retrieved from the contexts within the narrow chamber in Trench 1, including the two upper

contexts thought to be 1930s backfill layers contexts (1008) and (1009). This may suggest that these layers were partly dug into and then backfilled relatively quickly with the same material. Other finds in these layers indicate that they contain 20th century material.

7.7.4 The shell will not be retained.

Trench 1 Context	Weight (g)	Trench 2 Context	Weight (g)
1001	440	2002	33
1002	3464	2002	9
1003	3597	2004	201
1006	362	2004	15
1007	129	2004	99
1008	1098	2005	25
1009	3026	2006	89
1010	102	2008	14
1011	186	2009	11
1013	22	Total	**496g**
1017	34		
1024	14		
1026 (env)	775	**U/S**	**371g**
1027	770		
1027 (env)	256	**TOTAL**	**17,014g**
1028	1128		
1035	91		
1035 (env)	653		
Total	**16147g**		

Table 7: Oyster shell recovered from the evaluation, including material from the environmental samples (env)

Trench 1 Context	Type	Quantity	Trench 2 Context	Type	Quantity
1002	cockle	25	2004	cockle	1
1002	mussel	4	2005	unknown	1
1002	cockle	1	2008	cockle	13
1002	cockle	1	2008	whelk	1
1007	cockle	2	2009	cockle	1
1008	mussel	1	2010	mussel	1
1011	cockle	22		**T2 Total**	**18**
1013	cockle	1			
1028	whelk	3			
	T1 Total	**60**	U/S	cockle	1
				TOTAL	**49**

Table 8: Other shellfish recovered from the evaluation

7.8 Glass

7.8.1 Large quantities of glass were recovered from the site, mostly representing 19th and 20th century bottle glass. No earlier material was identified.

7.8.2 It is likely that the majority of the glass relates to later waste deposition within the outer ward of the castle, perhaps with it being used as a midden at some point. The glass bottles and the number of drinking vessels noted in the pottery report could suggest waste from a nearby inn or similar.

7.8.3 The glass has been quantified (Table 8) but will not be retained.

Trench 1 Context	Weight (g)	Trench 2 Contexts	Weight (g)
1001	186	2001	36
1002	638	2002	13
1006	1044	2003	4
1007	151	2004	128
1008	695	2006	49
1011	207	2005	5
1013	206	2009	319
1017	48	2010	49
T1 Total	**3175g**	**T2 Total**	**603g**
U/S	**436g**		
Total	**4214g**		

Table 9: Glass recovered from the evaluation

7.9 Radiocarbon dates

7.9.1 Radiocarbon dating was undertaken of two samples of charred material recovered from context (1027) and (1035), both secure contexts pre-dating the 1930s backfilling and thought to be associated with the use of the building (Appendix 3).

7.9.2 Unfortunately the sample from context (1027), a charred hazelnut shell, failed to produce a date (SUERC-87329 (GU51593)).

7.9.3 The sample from context (1035) was taken from hazel wood charcoal and did produce a date of 335 cal AD (SUERC-87330 (GU51594)). This is a clear 4th century AD Roman date, possibly associated with waste material mixed in with the Roman pottery recovered from the context.

Photo 33: Overview of the two evaluation trenches from Henry VII tower with the approximate parchmark alignments associated with Buildings ***G*** and ***H*** from Ludlow and Driver (2014) overlaid

8 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 General Discussion

8.1.1 It should be noted that the scheme of the evaluation undertaken in 2018 were small scale and will hopefully be part of a larger scheme of investigation on the site. Excavations were restricted to removing later deposits at the site (backfill from the 1930s excavations and later) with minimal sample excavation of earlier deposits. All in-situ structural remains were left *in-situ.*

8.1.2 The topographic survey surveyed the bases of the outer walls within the inner and outer wards, and also recording the locations of openings. Survey was not undertaken within buildings, other than in the unroofed buildings of the inner ward. This is the first accurate survey of the layout of the castle.

8.1.3 A contour survey has been produced of the topography of the outer ward and grassed area of the inner ward. This highlights the general western slope on the western side of the outer ward, with a distinct steeper slope dropping down to the Postern gate north of Monkton Tower.

8.1.4 It was not possible to survey the exterior of the castle, excluding the area along the southern side between the Westgate Tower and Barbican. This was due to timescales involved in the survey and the difficulty of surveying some of these areas.

8.1.5 The parchmarks of the structure were very visible prior to the evaluation being undertaken aiding the understanding of the layout of the trenches (Photo 33). Also during the evaluation it was better able to determine the positions of the trenches in relation to the excavations undertaken in the 1930s.

8.1.6 Photographs 34a and 34b show a view roughly north across the 1931 excavations showing a series of surviving walls and the construction of the pathway seen in Trench 2 during the 2018 investigations to the rear. Photograph 35 shows a similar view taken during the 2018 evaluation. The 1931 photo shows a large block of masonry to the left of the picture with a rectangular chamber in the foreground. A narrower wall lies between the two. These elements correspond with the features seen in Trench 1, with the large block of masonry represented by contexts (1014), (1015) and (1016); the chamber in the foreground represented by walls (1004), (1005) and (1012); and the narrower wall between (1003).

8.1.7 The 1931 photograph implies other elements on the northeastern side of wall (1005) beyond the rear of the chamber not investigated during the 2018 evaluation. Indications of a small chamber lies directly behind wall (2005), with a further area bounded by walls beyond that. A possible spiral stair case can be seen to the north, the outer curve of which corresponds with the angle seen in the length of wall (1005) at its northwestern end. A possible doorway or threshold is also visible at the northwestern end of wall (1005), which would lie immediately beyond the 2018 trench edge, but the threshold could correspond with the wall or threshold (1020) seen in the northwestern end of the trench.

8.1.8 The height of the surviving masonry was evidently reduced after the 1931 excavation as can be seen in the height below the top of wall (1005) of the vent or drain in Photo 28 with that of it in Photo 29 from 2018.

Photo 34a: Outer ward building under excavation in March 1931 (© Pembroke Castle Trust).

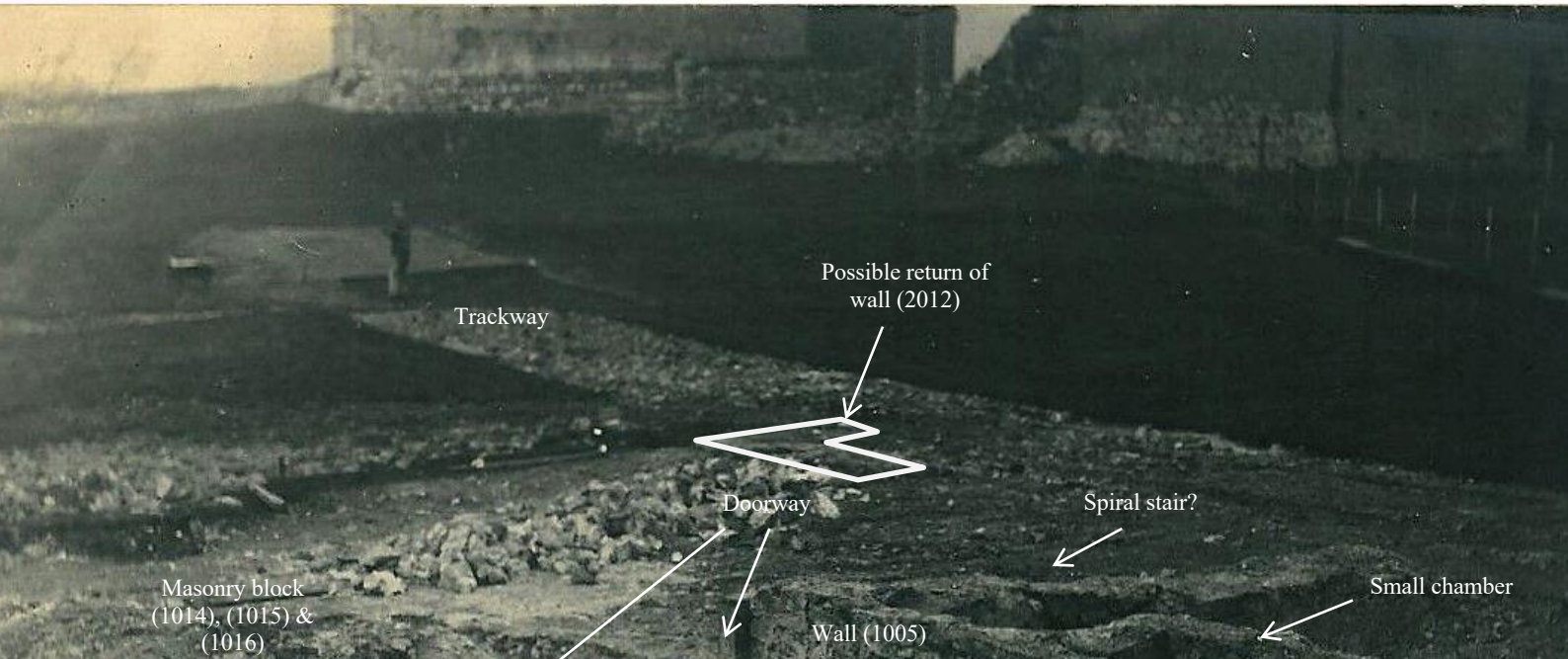

Photo 35: Similar view to Photos 28a and 28b, facing roughly north with the keep in the background. The large, deep chamber is in the foreground and corresponds exactly with that on the above photo, although the height of the walls has been reduced, as can be seen by the height of the drain or vent through wall (2005)

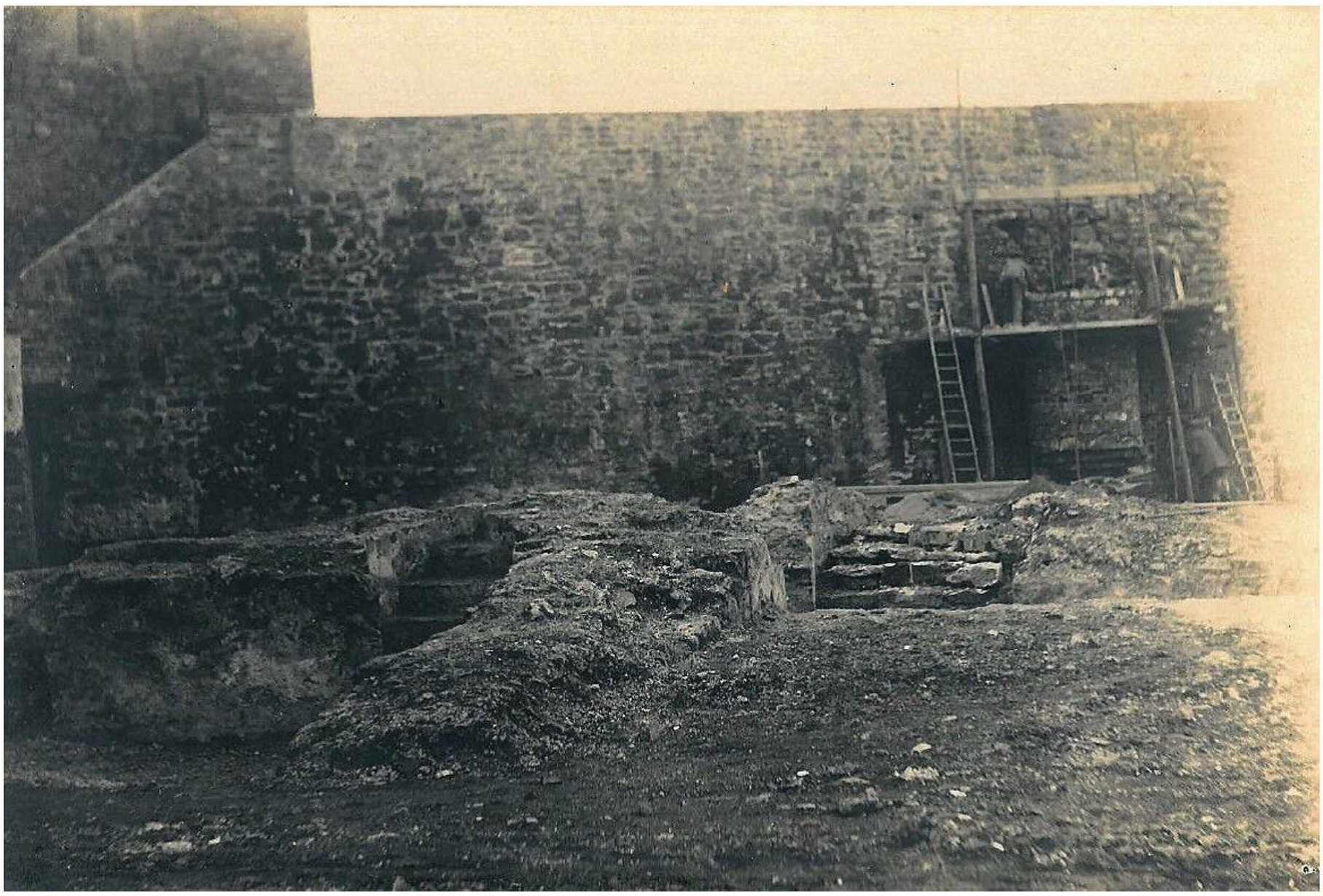

Photo 36a: Building under excavation in March 1931, facing roughly southwest with the Henry VII tower, recently restored, to the left. The photo corresponds with a view southwest across Trench 1 of the 2018 evaluation (© Pembroke Castle Trust).

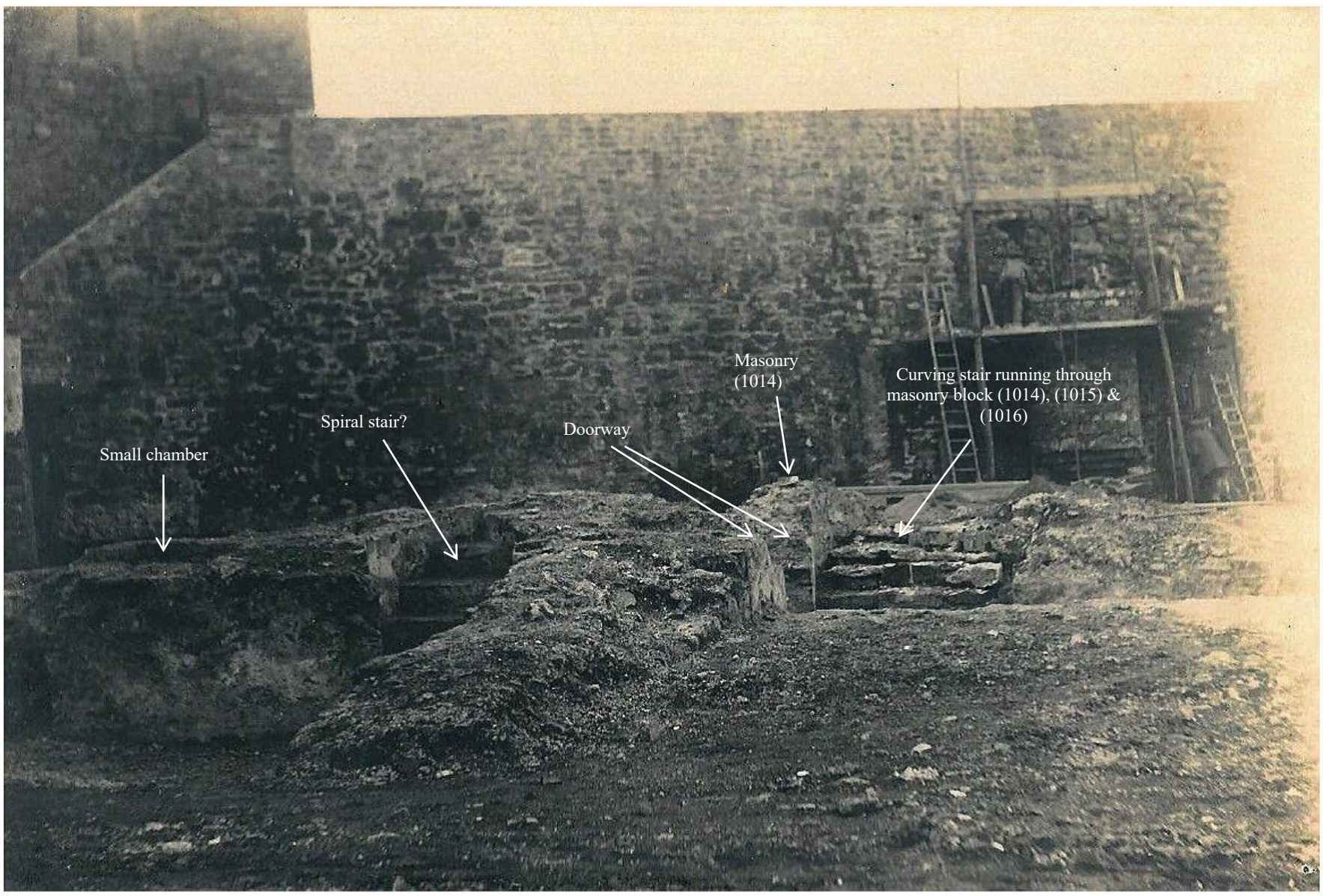

Photo 36b: Building under excavation in March 1931with numbers of masonry identified in Trench 1 and other features highlighted (© Pembroke Castle Trust).

Photo 37: View southwest across Trench 1 roughly corresponding with the view in the 1931 Photos 30a and 20b. The stairs through the large masonry block (1014), (1015) and (1016) clearly visible corresponding with the steps in the 1931 photograph. The spiral stair would be located under the grass to the bottom left of the photo.

8.1.9 The second photograph from 1931 (Photos 36a and 36b) shows a view from the other side of the excavation area, probably taken from on the newly constructed trackway. The photograph shows similar features to those in Photos 34a and 34b, including the spiral stair, small chamber and a probable doorway between wall (1005) and masonry block (1014). The photograph also shows a set of steps leading into the block of masonry, corresponding with the curving steps seen leading into the block of masonry (1014), (1015) and (1016). It is also clear from the level of the steps compared to the height of adjacent masonry to the south (comparing with Photos 35 and 37 from 2018), that the height of the walls was reduced after the 1931 excavation.

8.1.10 The 1931 photographs also confirm that the masonry block (1014) was a taller wall, adjacent to the internal curving stair, although bonded to the larger masonry block below the stairs level. It would correspond with the location of the probable doorway crossing from wall (1005) to that point at (1014), encompassing the threshold (1020) seen in Trench 1.

8.1.11 Neither photograph shows whether any floor levels within the building were exposed. Evidently the survival of floor (1036) in the northwestern end of Trench 1 indicates that even if exposed, it was left *in-situ.*

8.1.12 The location of Trench 2 is visible in Photos 34a and 34b in the background partly under and adjacent to the trackway. There is a possible right angle of masonry visible to the southwest which could correspond with the return of the wall (2012) to the southeast. The photo is not clear and this is not certain. Wall (2007) was partly exposed when the trackway was constructed, as could be seen in the 2018 evaluation.

8.1.13 Photographs and postcards pre-dating the 1931 excavation indicate that the area of the building was visible as a series of low earthworks within grassland used for grazing (Photos 38 and 39). The images clearly show that much of the area was undulating, excluding the location of the tennis courts (now the map) which had already been levelled. Comparing these images with the location of the building exposed in the 1930s and the relatively level area that survives today, it is clear that significant landscaping was carried out after 1931. What is also clear is that the works merely removed piles of rubble and reduced the standing wall heights to the required level and did not destroy archaeological remains any more than was thought necessary. This demonstrates more of an understanding of the importance of the preservation of these archaeological remains within the Outer Ward by Major-General Sir Ivor Phillips, K.C.B., D.S.O. than we may have initially thought.

Photo 38: Photograph *c.*1914 of the view across the Inner 'Horseshoe Gate' towards the Gatehouse, with earthworks visible in the area of the building (Photograph provided by Adrian James)

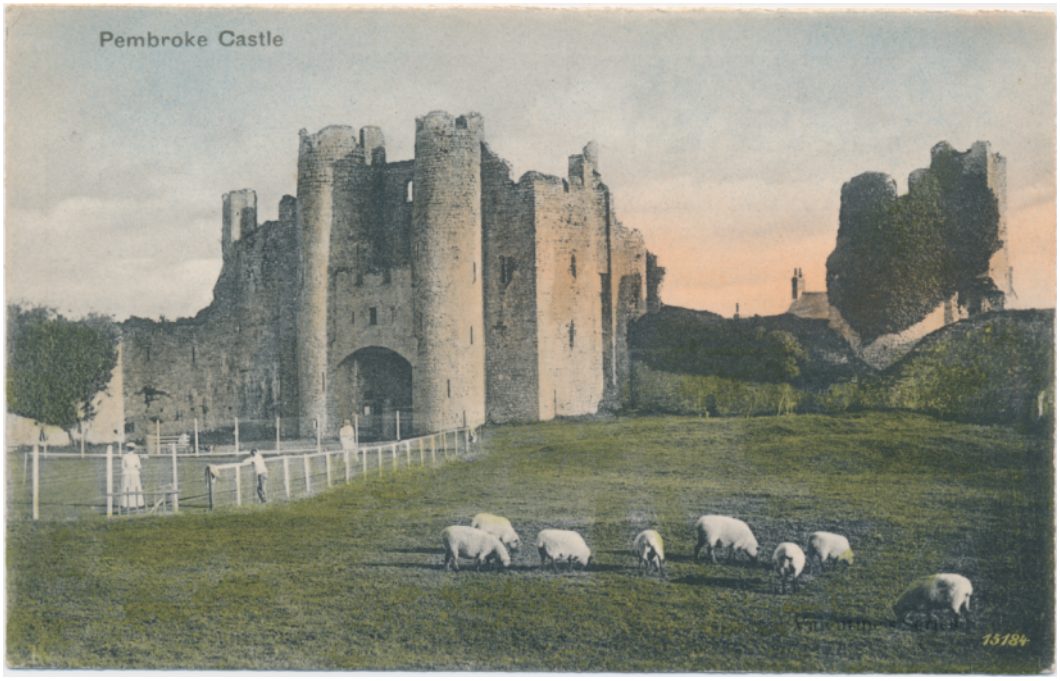

Photo 39: Postcard from the early 20th century showing the gatehouse and tennis courts, and the earthworks visible in the area of the building (Postcard provided by Adrian James)

8.2 Building G: the excavated evidence (Neil Ludlow)

8.2.1 Only a very small area of Building ***G*** was exposed in the 2018 evaluation trenches. However, enough was revealed to confirm that it was a substantial masonry structure, containing several discrete spaces or rooms, with wall thicknesses that appear to show that it was of more than one storey. It was suggested, in the report on the geophysical survey, that the building was a late-medieval, winged hall-house, possibly built by Humphrey Plantagenet in the 1440s, by Jasper Tudor in the 1450s, or by William Herbert I during the 1460s (Day and Ludlow 2016, 104-6). In summary, the report stated –

*Building **G** appears to be a U- or H-plan house, a form which appeared in the fourteenth century and persisted into the seventeenth century (Smith 1988, passim; Wood 1983, 55). In these houses a central hall, open to the roof, is flanked at each end by a transverse storeyed wing containing, at one end, the services, and a solar at the other. Building **G** is c.20m long overall with an average width of c.7m; the wings project to a maximum east-west dimension of c.15m in the south wing (Figure 22). The relative narrowness of its walls suggests that the building rose no higher than two storeys and, taken along with the building's total destruction, also suggests that it did not carry the stone vaults that were so characteristic of buildings in south Pembrokeshire during the late medieval and early post-medieval periods (Owen 1892, 76–7; Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield 2004, 51; Parkinson 2002, 550; et al.); it may therefore have been of a style more 'cosmopolitan' than regional or vernacular. The double-winged U- or H-plan was moreover not frequently adopted in southwest Wales, where the end-hall with a single wing is for more widespread (Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield 2004, passim, et al.), and its use at Pembroke may by itself indicate origins within the upper strata of society. And where it does occur in Wales, mainly in the north and east, the double-winged plan is generally rather late and does not become prevalent until the mid-fifteenth century* (Smith 1988, *passim*).

8.2.2 Comparison with buildings of similar plan, eg. Cothay Manor, Somerset, suggested that the thicker walls in the southern wing of Building ***G***, implied by the parchmarks and geophysics, might represent fireplaces, and/or ovens, partly lying within a north-south division. It was thought they might belong to a kitchen and therefore the 'low' end of the building where, in addition, a screens passage, at the south end of the hall, is suggested by the parchmarks. The kitchens and services were normally, in houses of this type, overlain by private chambers, possibly for an official or guests. The northern wing was accordingly interpreted as the main accommodation wing, possibly housing a solar overlying a parlour/store-room.

8.2.3 The rectangular annexe on its eastern side was considered to be the key to understanding Building ***G*** and was chosen as the location for Trench 1. It lies at the suggested low end of the hall and was therefore thought to be a candidate for the 'latrine with its cesspit' which was revealed in the 1931 excavations (Anon. 1931, 177–9). It was suggested that it, too, may have been a two-storeyed block with the latrine, and a wardrobe or dressing-room, on the first floor. This arrangement is seen in a large number of late-medieval houses, eg. at East Meon, Hants. (Roberts 1993, 463, 466), and is suggested during the fifteenth century at the Western Hall, Lamphey Palace (Turner 2000, 18).

8.2.4 How much of the above is confirmed by the evaluation results, and how much is challenged? In general, the physical evidence, and the finds retrieved, do not by themselves show that the building was a late-medieval winged hall-house. The excavated area was insufficient to confirm the

ground-plan suggested in 2016 – the side-walls of the proposed central hall were not exposed, for example, and it is not known whether the space between Building ***G*** and the smaller Building ***H*** to the southeast, was an open yard, or roofed (see below). But the results are not inconsistent with the overall interpretation – which receives a measure of support from the apparent nature and function of the elements revealed in 2018, although some of the details are certainly open to question.

8.2.5 The rectangular annexe does seem as if it may have housed a cess-pit in its eastern half, ie. between walls (1004), (1005) and (1012), which was vented or drained via a shaft in north wall (1005); the curving line of the internal face of its southern wall was not necessarily matched on its external face. The western half of the annexe appears to have been subject to a similar type of use, as a rubbish-pit for kitchen waste (and more general items including pins and small rings, whose loss may have been accidental?) – perhaps confirming that the annexe lay at the low end of Building ***G***, adjacent to the kitchen and services. However, this usage appears to post-date the secondary insertion of N-S wall (1003), which butts annexe north wall (1005); the waste was confined to the east of this wall, while flagged floor surfaces (1023-4) lay to the west.

8.2.6 To the west of the annexe, in the main body of Building ***G***, Trench 1 revealed a very substantial wall (1014-1016), not fully exposed but at least 2 metres thick, which – according to the suggested model – may be seen as the dividing wall between the hall to the north, and the service wing to the south. The flagged floor (1036) to the north of this wall was rather rough, potentially asking questions about the status of the building. However, it may be appropriate for the flooring of the screens-passage which was suggested here. Its east end communicates with the annexe via threshold (1020), and it is therefore possible that the passage also provided access from the kitchen to the rubbish-pit, although access to the latter from the south, through an opening in the annexe south wall (which was not exposed here), cannot be ruled out.

8.2.7 The southern wing, ie. to the south of thick wall (1014-1016), was interpreted in 2016 as housing a kitchen to the west, separated by an equally thick wall from a service room to the east containing the buttery and pantry. In the conventional arrangement, this service room would be accessed from the screens passage to the north through its own, separate doorway. No evidence for a doorway was however revealed in wall (1014). There may have been a gap in the annexe south wall, at its junction with the main block, providing access between its western space and the suggested service room. While this would represent an awkward and unusual arrangement, it may relate to the secondary insertion of N-S wall (1003) as part of an overall change in design of this area. It is possible that the services were instead, or originally accessed from the kitchen, rather than directly from the passage, but this too would be a highly unusual arrangement. Moreover, the parchmark and geophysical evidence for this suggested service room are faint or, in areas, even absent. It may be that the remains of its external walls lie at a deeper level, or have been heavily-robbed. Nevertheless, the interpretation of this area of Building ***G*** is clearly open to question.

8.2.8 Another challenge to the 2016 interpretation is posed by the helical stair revealed in the thick wall (1014-1016). In the 2016 report, this stair was suggested, through misinterpretation of 1930s Photo 36a, to have occupied the southern wall of the southern wing and the thickness of wall (1014-1016) was attributed to possible ovens and/or fireplaces (Day and Ludlow 2016, 101). However, sufficient evidence exists, in the form of waste, to

locate the kitchen at this end of Building ***G*** and it may be that the equally thick N-S dividing wall suggested in the southern wing, may instead have contained the ovens and fireplaces. It would, in addition, be more consistent with the suggested status and use of the building for any accommodation overlying the service wing, and its stair, to be accessed from the screens passage; access from the service rooms themselves, at Cothay Manor, may be the result of later alteration (Emery 2006, 532; Pevsner and Orbach 2014, 226).

8.2.9 A stair of similar, helical form is also present at Monkton Old Hall, just over the river from Pembroke Castle, in work from *c*.1414-30 (Ludlow 2017, 10-11). Stairs of this form, while far from unknown, are not common features locally, or in Britain generally. Interestingly, Monkton Old Hall was, like the castle, the property of Humphrey Plantagenet, from 1414 until 1447 when it passed to St Albans Abbey (ibid., 23-4)

8.2.10 Building ***G*** shows a second stair, of uncertain form, in the external angle between the annexe and the suggested central hall; it can be seen in Photo 36a and, though it was not revealed in 2018, the angled face of the west end of annexe north wall (1005) may reflect the curve of its shaft. It also shows as a parchmark (Photo 40), in which its tight footprint may indicate a spiral stair rather than a helical stair. Photo 36a shows that it was entered from the north, ie. from outside Building ***G*** (as suggested) and is therefore unlikely to have communicated with any living quarters. Might it represent access to a parapet, at roof level?

8.2.11 Parchmark evidence suggests that this area, ie. north of the annexe, was an enclosure with a wall on its north side connecting Buildings ***G*** and ***H***. Was it an open yard, or a roofed space? It might be a little too large to be roofed without arcades and is in a rather odd location for an aisled building relative to the rest of the complex. And it is unlikely that the stair turret would intrude into a roofed space. So, unless it was secondarily roofed, or unless the suggested central hall in Building ***G*** proves to be otherwise, this area is perhaps best interpreted as an open yard. The evidence suggests that the area to the east of the annexe was also an unroofed, external space.

8.2.12 Turning to the northern wing, the evidence from Trench 2 over its north wall was rather more straightforward. The trench location was chosen, in part, on the strength of an account of the 1931 excavation in which 'two spiral staircases' are mentioned (Anon. 1931, 177–9); at Cothay, there is a spiral stair in each wing, on the end walls of the building (Emery 2006, 532; Pevsner and Orbach 2014, 226). No stair was however revealed and, assuming the northern wing did comprise two storeys, it may have been of timber – by the late medieval period, internal stairs of timber were becoming more widespread. The two stairs revealed in 1931 are more likely to be those mentioned above, and visible in Photo 36a.

8.2.13 Neither was there any evidence for a fireplace in this wall. It is possible that the ground floor was unheated, as in the solar wing at Cothay where the ground floor was an unheated store-room (Pevsner and Orbach 2014, 226). Alternatively, any fireplace may have occupied the east or west wall; this might in fact be more likely as, though the north wall is nearly 1 metre thick, a thickened and projecting breast might be expected for any first-floor fireplace.

8.2.14 Nor was there any firm evidence for any internal division at ground-floor level; the possibility that a wall was represented by context 2008 was concluded to be unlikely, and it does not line up with the west wall of the suggested central hall. The room may then have been a single space as at

Cothay. There is neither parchmark nor geophysical evidence for a wall separating this room from the suggested central hall, but the division may have been of timber – again as at Cothay. And a masonry wall may have been unnecessary here: the presence of roofing slate, apparently as *in situ* collapse, shows that this wing of Building ***G***, at least, was unvaulted.

8.2.15 External to the northern wing, on its north side, was a cobbled surface. This lies outside the yard between Buildings ***G*** and ***H***, and the cobbling may relate to a path between the inner and outer gatehouses of the castle, the line of which would pass alongside the northern wing.

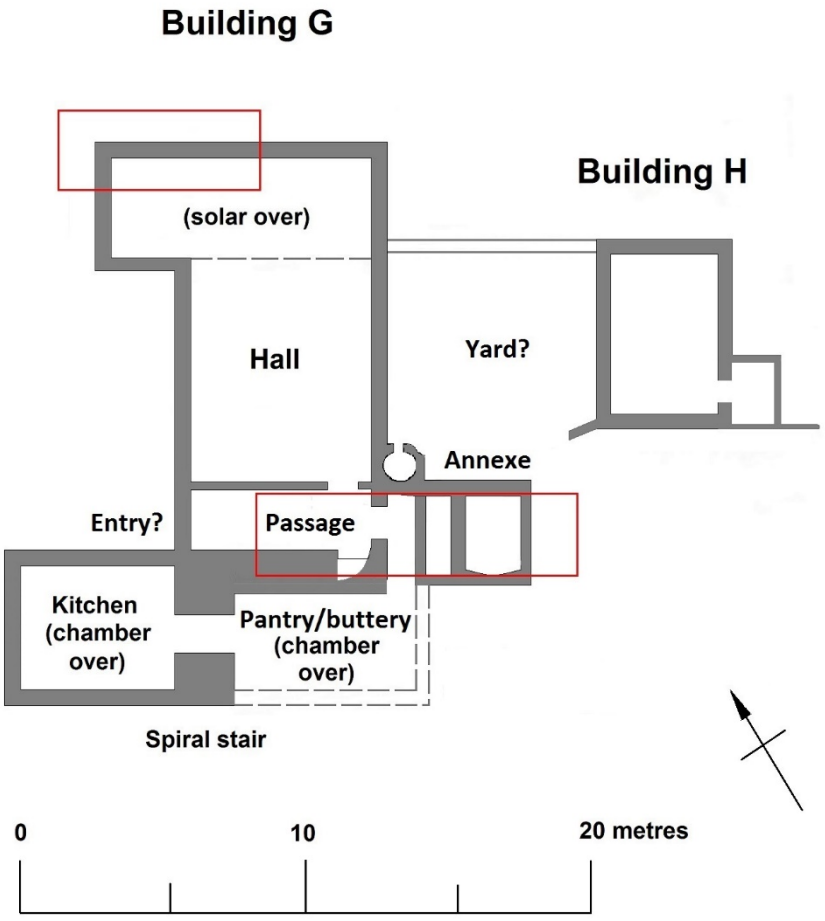

Figure 22: Revised conjectural layout of Buildings ***G*** and ***H***, based on the excavated evidence and comparison with Cothay Manor, Somerset (Emery 2006; Pevsner 1968), and other sites. Evaluation trenches in red.

Photo 40: Building ***G***, the parchmarks in 2018 before excavation, looking southwest. The second spiral(?) stair can be seen in the centre.

8.3 The wider context (Neil Ludlow)

8.3.1 The Roman pottery revealed in the annexe may be residual, but the deposits appeared to slump into an earlier feature from which the pottery may have been derived. The presence of a large, earlier cut feature may have dictated the location of the cess-pit and rubbish-pit, and possibly lies behind the curving internal face of the cess-pit as a provision for extra strength. The pottery recovered predominantly dates from the 2nd and 3rd century, but late Roman coins have also been found at the castle (Cobb 1883, 197). The radiocarbon date recovered from context (1035) was 335 cal AD (SUERC-87330 (GU51594)). The possibility that Pembroke Castle occupies an Iron Age defended site, with continued (or resumed) occupation during the early medieval period, was introduced in the 2016 report (Day and Ludlow 2016, 63), and is explored further in Appendix 7.

8.3.2 Pembroke Castle is suggested to be a likely site of a late Roman fortlet by Jeff Davies (pers. comm.). The evidence may suggest that this is indeed a possibility, indicating a continuation of occupation and administration by the Roman Empire within Pembrokeshire. Up until relatively recently clear Roman activity had been absent from the area, but recent finds of a fort and settlement at Wiston (Meek 2017) and villa sites at Crosswell and Wolfscastle are beginning to significantly alter our understanding of Roman occupation in the region.

8.3.3 It was suggested in 2016 that Pembroke's outer ward was laid out as a *de novo* addition of the mid-thirteenth century, over part of the town (Day and Ludlow 2016, 68). It was also suggested that it may have been of fairly high status from the first, rather than an enclosure for low-grade ancillary buildings. A garden was present by the 1480s, and perhaps from c.1300 (Day and Ludlow 2016, 92). The construction of Building G within it may be set against this backcloth. It is aligned NNE-SSW, respecting the line of the medieval route from the Great Gatehouse to the inner gate, suggesting

that the inner curtain and gate were still standing when it was built. As the latter appear to have been demolished during the Civil War (1642-48), the building is probably earlier. While the suggested fifteenth-century date was not fully confirmed, much fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pottery was retrieved, and later pottery appears to be confined to debris deposits. There was a small amount of thirteenth/fourteenth-century pottery, which was regarded as residual, but some of the ridge tile was apparently of similar date: was it re-used? Perhaps even late re-use during a re-roofing episode? It was noted in 2016 that close parallels for the building, at this or any other date, are few in number. But there may be comparison fairly close to hand – a private dwelling, 'Plas House', was built within the south-west quarter of the outer bailey at Swansea Castle (Morris 1993, 69). It may be the 'tenement of John de Horton' mentioned in a deed of 1383-4 (ibid.): when demolished in 1840 it was found to be 'mainly Tudor', although also featuring 'some fourteenth-century trusses' (Morris 1993, 79).

8.3.4 It was speculated in 2016 that Building G represents the building in which King Henry VII was born in 1457 (Day and Ludlow 2016, 108). Further examination of the outer ward towers in 2018-19 appears to confirm that the traditional site of the birth, the so-called 'Henry VII Tower' hard by Building ***G***, was a 'public', military space for the use of the garrison (discussed in Appendix 7). Sadly, the surviving private correspondence of the king's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, mentions neither the birth, nor her stay at Pembroke Castle 1456-58 (Halstead 1839, 206-7; Norton 2011, 222-8; Wood 1846, 116-20). Nor can any of the building work mentioned in the late fifteenth-century manuscript sources transcribed and translated by Stephen Priestley in 2017, in a separate project funded by the Cambrian Archaeological Association, be confidently linked to Building G (see Appendix 5).

8.3.5 It is not known when Building ***G*** was abandoned. If it did indeed house 'the chamber where Henry VII was born', seen by John Leland in around 1538 (Smith 1906, 115–16), then it was still in good repair. A lease of the 'outer green in the precinct of the castle' was recorded in the 1560s (Day and Ludlow 2016, 99), but the phrasing used does not necessarily imply that the building had gone – the baileys at Monmouth and York castles were similarly called 'greens' during a period of at least partial use (ibid.). It may have been demolished during the Civil War of 1642–8, as one source for the stone used for thickening the south curtain wall, or soon afterwards when the castle was comprehensively slighted. Only vestiges remained in 1787 (ibid.). The finds confirm the building's decay during this period, and the number of drinking vessels and bottles may suggest the area was used as something of a dumping ground for the town's waste during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, much of it possibly from nearby pubs.

8.3.6 Much of the finds material was however recovered from deposits associated with backfill after the 1930s excavation. The abraded condition of many pottery sherds suggests that this backfill included secondary deposits, perhaps derived from a source well outside the castle, as compensation for removal of masonry for restoration, and additional levelling and landscaping. It is notable that the two previous modern-day excavations in the castle – an evaluation in the Norman Hall, and investigation within St Ann's Bastion in advance of the new café – produced very little in the way of finds.

8.3.7 Twentieth-century finds from Building ***G*** include military material from World War II, when the outer bailey was used for the accommodation of troops. This is described in full in Day and Ludlow 2016, 85-7.

8.3.8 In short, much remains to be confirmed – and much remains to be discovered. It is hoped that future archaeological investigation will take place, and that some of the questions raised in 2018 will be answered.

8.4 Final Conclusions (Neil Ludlow)

8.4.1 Only two small areas of Building ***G*** were revealed, in two separate trenches, and the evidence was insufficient to confirm that it was a fifteenth-century hall-house, with an open central hall flanked by a storeyed wing at either end. However, neither was the suggestion seriously challenged. The building was shown to be a substantial masonry structure containing several discrete spaces or rooms. Wall thicknesses, and two masonry stairs, indicate more than one storey. The presence of roofing slate, apparently as *in situ* collapse, shows that the northern wing, at least, was unvaulted.

8.4.2 The nature of the northern wing could not be determined. No stair nor fireplace was revealed, but the former may have been of timber, while the ground floor may have been unheated.

8.4.3 The southern wing is still regarded as containing a kitchen. An annexe, adjoining the southern end of the building, appears to have been divided internally into a cess-pit, possibly serving a first-floor latrine, and a rubbish-pit for kitchen waste. A flagged floor appears to belong to a passage, leading into the annexe and perhaps also representing a screens-passage between the hall and kitchen wing. Evidence for an associated service room is however slight, and no access between it and the screens passage was revealed.

8.4.4 A helical stair accessed from the passage may have given on to accommodation at first-floor level. A second stair, adjoining the annexe, was accessed from the exterior and may have led to a parapet at roof level.

8.4.5 The presence of Roman pottery may provide further evidence that Pembroke Castle originated as an Iron Age defended site and continued in use throughout the Roman period. But with more evidence being discovered recently in Pembrokeshire indicating a more substantial Roman presence than previously thought, it is also a possibility that the defended site of Pembroke Castle was used a later Roman military fortlet (Jeff Davies pers. comm.).

8.4.6 The sheer volume of finds material retrieved from the evaluation has represented a project, and a challenge, in itself. Much of it appears to be secondary, imported onto the site during the nineteenth century, when the outer ward appears to have been used by the townsfolk as a rubbish dump, and later as part of the backfill for the excavations of the 1930s.

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Database

Dyfed Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record, housed with Dyfed Archaeological Trust at Corner House, 6 Carmarthen Street, Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire, SA19 6AE

Photographic

Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments Wales

APPENDIX 1:

PRELIMINARY ANALYSES OF THE POTTERY AND CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL FROM THE 2018 EXCAVATIONS AT PEMBROKE CASTLE (ERN 113212).

By

Dee Williams

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PRELIMINARY ANALYSES OF THE POTTERY AND CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL FROM THE 2018 EXCAVATIONS AT PEMBROKE CASTLE (ERN 113212). By Dee Williams

Methodology

The pottery and ceramic building material (CBM) are assessed in context order. Any material that was misidentified (pottery as CBM, CBM as pottery etc.) was removed and added to the correct boxes. The original on-site finds record will be amended accordingly.

Quantification: A sherd count and weight was undertaken but no real attempt has been made at this stage to quantify the number of vessels. Where sherds are seen to join, they are counted as one. The number of sherds assessed was 254, weighing a total of 4091g.

Where possible, the fabric types follow the series that was established for the Carmarthen Greyfriars assemblage (O' Mahoney, 1995). Local wares that come under the Dyfed gravel-tempered ware tradition are sub-divided here into unglazed and glazed wares. Any further attempt at sub-division (O'Mahoney types A1-A18) is problematical and can be misleading.

Summary

The earliest pottery is Roman, most probably 2nd century in date.

The bulk of material that was presented for assessment is 15th-16th century or later in date. Isolated sherds of 13th to 14th century medieval pottery are most certainly residual.

The pottery represents a broad mix of fabrics (see below), of which many are just small abraded sherds, and more than likely re-deposited from a nearby location.

A total of 457 fragments of ceramic building material (CBM) weighing 19,485g were recovered. These represent roofing material and a small number of construction bricks. The date range is medieval (probably 13th-14th century) through to modern. The large sample of unsourced ridge/pantiles (flat tile) are post-medieval and date anywhere from the 15th/16th centuries through to recent times. A handful of wheel-thrown sherds recovered from Trench 1 (U/S, (2006) and (2023)) are parts of unglazed heavy-duty drainage or water pipe.

Recommendations:

- Further work is necessary in order to identify the source of unclassified regional and imported wares.
- It is recommended that a number of diagnostic sherds of pottery and fragments of CBM be illustrated for inclusion in the final report for the site.

Both of these would be done at a later date following further stages of evaluation at Pembroke Castle which are hoped to be undertaken over the next few years.

MEDIEVAL-POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY FABRIC SERIES

LOCAL

DGTW unglazed (O'Mahoney 1995, A types).

Total sherds: 12 / ***Weight:*** 68g.

Forms present: Jars/cooking pots.

DGTW glazed (O'Mahoney, A types).

Total sherds: 16 / ***Weight:*** 261g.

Forms present: Jugs and some later jars.

Fabric: See: O'Mahoney (1985). As with other West Wales medieval assemblages' slight differences in the fabric (quantity and size of inclusions) would suggest more than the one production centre.

Date: C13th/C14th through to C16th.

West Wales calcareous (Cf. O'Mahoney, Llanstephan-types B9-B12).

Total sherds: 10 / ***Weight:*** 102g

Forms present: Jugs.

Fabric: Reduced grey fabric with small white calcareous inclusions and small voids where inclusions have leached or fired-out. The glaze colour is usually green. The Carmarthen estuary is a possible place of manufacture although no kiln sites have yet been found. Their distribution is estuarine and coastal. First identified at Llanstephan Castle (Knight). Cf. Carmarthen Castle (Courtney 2014), and Carmarthen Greyfriars (O'Mahoney 1995) for parallels.

Date: C13th-C14th and possibly into C15th.

REGIONAL

Unsourced Medieval calcareous.

Total sherds: 3 / **Weight:** 38g

Forms present: Jugs?

Fabric: Isolated sherds are uncertain English/West Wales.

Date: C13th-C15th?

Unsourced Medieval regional wares.

Total sherds: 16 / ***Weight:*** 154g

Forms present: Jugs and possible other unidentified types.

Fabrics: Various, including gritty whitewares. Glazed and unglazed sherds are present.

Date: Medieval-late medieval/transitional.

Ham Green ware jugs (O'Mahoney, type B4).

Total sherds: 4 / ***Weight:*** 30g

Forms present: Type A jugs? See: Barton (1963).

Fabric: Handmade green-glazed jugs in light grey sandy fabrics. From the Bristol area. One sherd (context (1006) is possibly from a later wheel-thrown Redcliffe jug (O'Mahoney, type B16).

Date: Late C12th-end of C13th. Bristol Redcliffe types are mid C13th-C15th.

Cistercian ware (O'Mahoney, type B36)**.**

Total sherds: 1 / ***Weight:*** 4g

Forms present: Drinking cup of globular form.

Fabric: Wheel-thrown and thin-walled. Fabric corresponds with type B36A at Carmarthen Greyfriars. Several possible sources include the Bristol area, Abergavenny, Monmouth and Hereford.

Date: C16th-early C17th.

NDGTW: North Devon gravel-tempered ware (O'Mahoney, type B39)**.**

Total sherds: 67 / ***Weight:*** 1923g

Forms present: Jars and bowls/pancheons. See the revised type series in Allan, Horner & Langman (2005, 191-192).

Fabric: Wheel-thrown, A hard gritty coarseware with frequent inclusions of white & colourless angular & sub-angular quartz grits. The occasional smaller black and opaque white inclusions are also seen. Pots are internally glazed olive-green or brown, exterior surfaces are normally unglazed.

Source: Barnstaple, Bideford and Great Torrington.

Date: Post-medieval – 16th-19th century, the main period of importation into Wales is late 17th-18th century.

NDGTW/DGTW? A few sherds of gravel-tempered ware have either a North Devon or West Wales origin. The similarity in geology between the two areas makes certain identification difficult. A near complete unglazed shallow basin or pancheon recovered from contexts (1009), (1011), & (1018) in Trench 1, is possibly a late medieval vessel from a North Devon kiln.

North Devon calcareous and gravel-free (O'Mahoney B33 & B41).

Total sherds: 13 / ***Weight:*** 312g

Forms present: Jugs and jars.

Fabric: Similar to the gravel-tempered ware but with noticeably fewer inclusions. The calcareous fabric is understood to be slightly earlier in date.

Source: As for NDGTW.

Date: Late C16th-C17th.

Unsourced miscellaneous post-medieval.

Total sherds: 14 / ***Weight:*** 177g

Forms present: Various.

Fabrics: Various.

Unsourced post-medieval redwares.

Total sherds: 21 / ***Weight:*** 129g

Forms: Various.

Fabrics: Various.

Bristol/Staffordshire type wares (O'Mahoney 1995, types B57-B59).

Total sherds: 12 / ***Weight:*** 63g

Forms present: Tankards (Ale mugs), press-moulded dishes, and hollow-ware.

Fabric: Buff fabric with mottled or slip-trailed decoration. Bristol or Staffordshire are two possible sources but other areas (coal measures) were producing the same wares.

Date: Late C16th-C18th.

Lead-glazed redware (O'Mahoney, types B46-B53).

Total sherds: 19 / ***Weight:*** 190g

Forms present: Jars and bowls/basins/pancheons.

Fabrics: Red earthenware with amber or darker brown glazes. Possible sources are Somerset and Glamorgan. Many of the small country potteries were producing very similar wares.

Date: C17th-C19th.

Black-glazed red earthenware (O'Mahoney, type B56).

Total sherds: 23 / ***Weight:*** 440g

Forms present: Large storage jars and bowls/basins.

Fabrics: Red earthenware with a black glaze on one or both surfaces. Very often referred to as Buckley-type, after the Buckley potteries of North Wales. Potteries across the country were producing very similar pots using similar clays.

Date: C17th-C19th.

English stoneware.

Total sherds: 1 / ***Weight:*** 13g

Forms present: 1 sherd from T2 (2008). Jar or bottle.

Date: C18th.

Industrially produced wares: refined whiteware and stoneware.

Total sherds: 4 / ***Weight:*** 31g

Forms present: From T1 (1011) there is 1 stoneware preserve jar, 1 whiteware container and two whiteware plates. The Staffordshire potteries are the most likely place of manufacture.

Date: C19th-early C20th.

IMPORTS

Merida-type micaceous (O'Mahoney, type C5).

Total sherds: 1 / ***Weight:*** 8g

Forms present: Uncertain jug or costrel/flask.

Fabric: Micaceous oxidised ware. Iberian, probably Portuguese.

Date: C15th-C16th.

Saintonge green-glazed (O'Mahoney, type C2).

Total sherds: 1 / ***Weight:*** 1g

Forms present: Indeterminate.

Fabric: A fine-grained off-white fabric with a mottled copper-green glaze. South West France.

Date: C13th or C14th.

Martincamp type I flask? (O'Mahoney, type C21).

Total sherds: 2 / ***Weight:*** 7g

Forms present: Flask?

Fabric: Wheel-thrown thin-walled, off-white with pinkish-buff exterior surface. Very finely sanded with sparse red grog? inclusions. Normandy, France. Fabric needs confirmation. An alternative source is Saintonge.

Date: Late C15th-C16th.

German stoneware: Siegburg? (O'Mahoney, type C14).

Total sherds: 2 / ***Weight:*** 31g.

Forms present: One jug or drinking vessel. Joining contexts (1008) & (1013).

Fabric: Wheel-thrown grey stoneware, light buff exterior glaze with orange coloured ash glaze patches, Interior is unglazed.

Date: C15th or later.

German stoneware: Frechen/Cologne
(O'Mahoney, types C12 and C13)

Total sherds: 3 / ***Weight:*** 17g

Forms present: Drinking vessels.

Fabric: Grey stoneware with variable brown or mottled brown surfaces.

Date: 16th-C17th century. See Hurst et al (1986) for the different fabrics, their dating and distribution.

German stoneware: Cologne or Raeren? *(O'Mahoney, type C11).*

Total sherds: 1 / ***Weight:*** 4g

Form: Drinking mug with pronounced cordon at the neck.

Fabric: Grey stoneware with speckled brown exterior glaze, interior colour the same but less obviously speckled.

Date: Early to mid C16th.

Unsourced stoneware. Total sherds 1 (34g).

From T2 (2004) Uncertain thick-walled form.

CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIALS

DGTW glazed (O'Mahoney 1995, Types A, B, and R/M).

Total fragments: 91 / **Weight:** 4391g

Types present: Glazed ridge tiles including few apex fragments with low triangular crests.

Fabric: See: O'Mahoney (1985). As with other West Wales medieval assemblages' slight differences in the fabric (quantity and size of inclusions) would suggest more than the one production centre.

Date: Medieval, C13th-post-med.

West Wales calcareous
(Cf. O'Mahoney 1995, Type H, Llanstephan-type).

Total fragments: 11 / ***Weight:*** 324g

Types present: Glazed ridge tiles. None are decorated and there are no surviving crests.

Fabric: Usually reduced with pinkish-buff surfaces. Denser than the DGTW tiles and with fewer inclusions. No surviving crests.

Date: Medieval, C13th-C14th or later.

Malvern (O'Mahoney 1995, Type F/G).

Total fragments: 10 / ***Weight:*** 194g

Types present: Ridge tiles.

Fabric: A fully oxidised red sandy fabric with little or no glaze.

Date: C15th-C16th.

NDGTW glazed (O'Mahoney 1995, Type C/P).

Total fragments: 5 / ***Weight:*** 71g

Types present: Glazed ridge tile. One or two small fragments may in fact be parts of large pancheons.

Fabric: Standard North Devon gravel-tempered ware.

Date: C16th-C17th.

Unsourced ridge tiles/pantile.

Total fragments: 233 / ***Weight:*** 7127g

Types present: Curved and flat fragments. Includes some flanged pieces and a few with nibs?

Fabric: Fully oxidised red sandy ware similar to the Malvern tiles. None are glazed.

Date: Post-medieval-C18th/C19th.

Brick.

Total fragments: 42 / ***Weight:*** 6169g

Types present: Handmade and industrially-produced bricks. Includes C20th ventilation bricks?

Fabric: Various oxidised.

Date: Post-medieval-late C19th/20th.

Unclassified miscellaneous CBM.

Total fragments: 56 / ***Weight:*** 522g

Types present: Mostly fragments that are too small to identify with certainty.

Fabric: Oxidised red sandy ware.

Date: Post-medieval.

Quarry tiles.

Total fragments: 3 / ***Weight:*** 215g

Fabric: Hard-fired and fully reduced greyish-blue.

Date: Late C19th-C20th.

Water/drainage pipe?

Total fragments: 6 / Weight: 472g

Types present: Curved sherds that might easily be identified as vessel sherds. Wheel-thrown.

Fabric: A very hard light grey gritty ware.

Date: A post-medieval date is likely.

OTHER MATERIALS

Daub/low-fired clay

Total fragments: 11 / Weight: 89g

Mortar.

Total fragments: 28 / Weight: 626g

Miscellaneous unworked stone.

Total fragments: 64 ***Weight:*** 2207g (These are not tabulated below)

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POTTERY FABRICS BY CONTEXT *(Abbreviations after O'Mahoney, 1995).*

TRENCH 1

Context: Trench 1 (1001) U/S (from turf & topsoil, from backfilling, and bag without number).

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW unglazed (A types)	2	23	Cooking pot(s) Two joining rim & 1 body.	Medieval
DGTW glazed (A types)	1	8	Jug rim. **Illustrate.**	C13th-14th
West Wales calcareous (Llanstephan-types B9-B11)	1	18	Jug or jar body sherd.	C13th or later
Unsourced calcareous	1	15	Globular form, cup? Possibly North Devon. **Illustrate.**	C15th-C16th
Unsourced medieval regional wares	2	12	Indeterminate body sherds. **Second opinion needed.**	Med/late Med
Merida-type micaceous (C5)	1	8	Jug or costrel/flask.	C15th-16th
NDGTW (B39)	6	28	1 jug rim & other internally glazed utility vessels.	C17th-C18th
Unsourced late med - post-medieval redwares	2	16	1 jug base possibly Malvern-Chase?	Post-medieval
Bristol/Staffs type wares (B57, B59)	1	27	Tankard (Ale mug) in B/S mottled (B59)	Late C17th-mid C18th
Lead glazed red earthenware (B46-B53)	3	24	Utility vessels.	C17th-C19th
Black-glazed red earthenware (B56)	1	74	Rim of large bowl form - found loose in box.	C17th-C19th
Total	**21**	**253g**		

Context: Trench 1 (1002)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Roman: Unsourced slipware	1	4	Lid?	C1st-C2nd
DGTW unglazed (A types)	1	3	Cooking pot body.	Medieval
DGTW glazed (A types)	2	6	Indeterminate.	Med or later
West Wales calcareous (Llanstephan-types B9-B11)	3	48	Jug(s). **Illustrate rim and base.**	C13th or later
Unsourced medieval regional wares	8	73	**Fabrics needing second opinion. Illustrate jug.**	C13th-14th and later?
German Stoneware	1	4	Jug or drinking vessel. Frechen/Cologne (C12 or C13)	Late C16th-C17th
NDGTW (B39)	7*	109	Includes 1 bowl cf. Allan type 3G (1984).	C17th-C18th
North Devon: calcareous & gravel-free	3	77	Jug & indeterminate.	C17th-C18th
Unsourced miscellaneous post-medieval	7	115	**Includes 1 jug rim needing second opinion.**	C15th-C18th
Unsourced late med - post-medieval redwares	3	21	Unglazed body sherds.	Late Med-Post-med
Lead glazed red earthenware (B46-B53)	3	12	Body sherds.	C17th-C19th
Total	**39**	**472g**		

*Two sherds identified as NDGTW might be DGTW – uncertainty based on similar geology.

Context: T1 (1006)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Roman: Severn Valley ware (See Webster, 1976)	1	3	Small handle from tankard?	C1st-C4th
DGTW unglazed (A types)	1	9	Cooking pot body.	Medieval
Ham Green ware	1	4	Jug body. Second opinion needed.	Late C12th-C13th
West Wales calcareous (Llanstephan-types B9-B11)	2	13	Jugs.	C13th or C14th
NDGTW (B39)	6	109	2 bowls, the larger cf. Allan's type 3G (1984); 1 jar cf. type 11.	C17th-C18th
Unsourced late med-post-medieval redwares	2	10	Nothing very diagnostic.	Post-medieval
Total	**13**	**148g**		

Context: T1 (1007)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced calcareous	1	16	Jug - floor of base	C13th-C14th
NDGTW (B39)	4	99	Includes 1 type 11 jar (Allan, 1984).	C17th-C18th
Unsourced late med - post-medieval redwares	2	25	Nothing very diagnostic.	C15th-C18th
Black-glazed red earthenware (B56)	1	3		C17th-C19th
Total	**8**	**143g**		

Context: T1 (1008)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
German Stoneware	1	12	Siegburg? **Needs second opinion.** Joins sherd in context (1013)	C15th or later
North Devon: calcareous & gravel-free	1	8	Probably a jug	C16th or later
Total	**2**	**20g**		

Context: T1 (1009)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced miscellaneous post-medieval	1	8	Small handle, cup?	C15th-C16th?
NDGTW (B39)	1*	38	Unglazed bowl. See (1011) & (1018) for the same.	C17th-C18th or earlier?
Total	**2**	**46g**		

*Sherd identified as NDGTW might be DGTW – uncertainty based on similar geology.

Context: T1 (1010)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW glazed (A types)	1	8	Jug or jar.	Late med/transitional
Total	**1**	**8g**		

Context: T1 (1011)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced medieval regional wares	1	22	Green-glazed whiteware. **French or English?**	Med/late Med.
Cistercian ware (B36)	1	4	Cup of globular form.	C16th-early C17th
NDGTW (B39)	15	954	1 unglazed shallow bowl*. See (1009) & (1018) for same.	C17th-18th or earlier?
North Devon: calcareous & gravel-free	3	51	Jar or jug body sherds in a gravel-free fabric.	C17th-C18th
Unsourced miscellaneous post-medieval	1	1	Indeterminate. Yellow glaze i.e. clear glaze over white slip.	Post-medieval
Unsourced late med - post-medieval redwares	1	13	Jug or jar body, nothing very diagnostic.	Post-medieval
Lead glazed red earthenware (B46-B53)	8	75	Utility wares. Dish sherd with yellow slip decoration.	C17th-C19th
Black-glazed red earthenware (B56)	18	328	Large jars bowls/basins.	C17th-C19th
Industrially produced: Refined whiteware & stoneware	4	31	Mass-produced: 2 plates and 1 small hollow form. 1 stoneware preserve jar.	C19th-C20th
Total	**52**	**1479g**		

*The NDGTW vessel in this context may be the product of a West Wales kiln – uncertainty based on similar geology.

Context: T1 (1013)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
German Stoneware	2	24	2 wares: 1 Siegburg joining* (1008); 1 Frechen/Cologne.	C15th-C17th
Total	**2**	**24g**		

*A second opinion needed to confirm. Siegburg rarely found on sites in West Wales?

Context: T1 (1018)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
NDGTW (B39)	1*	18	Base of bowl. See (1009) & (1018) for same.	C17th-18th or earlier?
Total	**1**	**18g**		

*The NDGTW vessel in this context may be the product of a West Wales kiln – uncertainty based on similar geology.

Context: T1 (1022)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced medieval calcareous	1	7	Jar/cooking pot.	Medieval
North Devon: calcareous & gravel-free	1	95	Jug base	C17th-18th or earlier?
Total	**2**	**102g**		

Context: T1 (1023)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW unglazed (A types)	1	2	Jar/cooking pot. Body sherd with horizontal grooves.	Late Med-Post-med
North Devon: calcareous & gravel-free	1	17	Jug body.	C17th-18th or earlier?
Unsourced late med - post-medieval redwares	1	10	Jug body.	Post-medieval
Total	**3**	**29g**		

Context: T1 (1024)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced Late med - post-medieval redwares	1	2	Indeterminate thin-walled vessel.	C15th-C16th?
Total	**1**	**2g**		

Context: T1 (1027)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Roman: Severn Valley ware (See Webster, 1976)	1	6	Jug or jar body sherd, partly burnished externally.	Mid C1st-C4th
DGTW unglazed (A types)	2	5	Cooking pot(s) Two joining rim & 1 body.	Medieval
West Wales calcareous (Llanstephan-types B9-B11)	2	12	Jug thumb-pressed base & 1 other body.	C13th or later
Unsourced medieval regional wares	1	3	Indeterminate gritty whiteware **Second opinion needed.**	C13th or C14th
French: Saintonge ware	1	1	Indeterminate form. Mottled copper-green glaze.	C13th-C15th
Total	**7**	**27g**		

Context: T1 (1028)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Roman: Samian	1*	5	Plain dish or bowl form.	C1st-C2nd
Roman: Black-burnished ware (BB1)	2	19	1 jar rim, 1 base of dish or bowl. See Gillam (1976) for forms.	C1st-C4th
Roman: Severn Valley ware	1	17	2 joining body	Mid C1st-C4th
Ham Green Ware	2	11	Jug body.	Late C12th-C13th
DGTW glazed (A types)	6	61	2 jug rims**. Illustrate.**	Med-late Med
West Wales calcareous (cf. Llanstephan-types B9-B11)	1	10	Jug rim. **Illustrate.**	C13th or later
Unsourced medieval regional wares	3	34	Misc. fabrics variously glazed. **Second opinion needed.**	C13th or C14th
Total	**16**	**157g**		

*The Samian dish/bowl should be identifiable – check Dragendorf for classification. A C2nd-C3rd century date is likely for the Roman BB1.

Context: T1 (1035)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced miscellaneous post-medieval	1	11	Jug body. Transitional/post-med?	Post-med or earlier
Total	**1**	**11g**		

Context: T1 (1036)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
NDGTW (B39)	1	3	2 joining body.	C17th-C18th
Total	**1**	**3g**		

TRENCH 2

Context: T2 U/S (2001)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
North Devon: calcareous & gravel-free	1	5	Jug rim. Cf. Allan's revised type series (2005), type 2D.	C17th-C18th
Unsourced Late med - post-medieval redwares	1	1	Indeterminate.	Post-medieval
Lead glazed red earthenware (B46-B53)	1	11	Dish or bowl with trailed slip decoration. Ewenny?	C18th
Total	**3**	**17g**		

Context: T2 (2002)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
NDGTW (B39)	4	17	Jar/bowl* and Indeterminate base.	C17th-C18th
Unsourced miscellaneous post-medieval	1	2	1 rim of dish or shallow bowl. Yellow glaze over white slip.	C17th-C18th
Lead glazed red earthenware (B46-B53)	4	68	Jar or large bowl.	C18th-C19th
Total	**9**	**87g**		

*The NDGTW vessels in this context may be the product of a South Somerset or West Wales kiln – uncertainty based on similar geology.

Context: T2 (2003)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW unglazed (A types)	1	4	Cooking pot/jar	Medieval
NDGTW (B39)	1	34		C17th-C18th
Unsourced miscellaneous post-medieval	2	26	Bowl. Body sherd has yellow-trailed slip decoration.	C18th-C19th
Unsourced Late med-post-medieval redwares	3	9		Post-medieval
Total	**7**	**73g**		

Context: T2 (2004)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW glazed (A types)	3	122	Jars. **Illustrate.**	Late Med-Post med
Ham Green ware	1	15	Jug body? **Second opinion needed.**	Late C12th-C13th
Stoneware	1*	34	Thick-walled**. Second opinion needed for form and source.**	Post-medieval
NDGTW (B39)	2	41	Large bowl or pancheon.	C17th-C18th
North Devon slipware	2	45	Dish & jug?	C17th-C18th
Unsourced Late med - Post-medieval redwares	3	18	Indeterminate body.	C17th-C18th
Total	**12**	**275g**		

*Stoneware – German or English? uncertain form and origin.

Context: T2 (2005)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW unglazed (A types)	3	18	Jar/cooking pot.	Medieval-Late med
German Stoneware	1	8	Jug or drinking vessel. Frechen/Cologne.	Late C16th-C17th
NDGTW (B39)	1*	1	Indeterminate.	Late Med-Post med
Total	**5**	**27g**		

*The NDGTW vessel in this context may be the product of a West Wales kiln – uncertainty based on similar geology.

Context: T2 (2006)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
NDGTW (B39)	5	138	Bowl* and large basin/pancheon	C17th-18th or earlier?
Bristol/Staffs type wares (B57, B59)	1	3	Press-moulded dish with slip-trailed decoration	Late C17th-mid C18th
Black-glazed red earthenware (B56)	1	4	Indeterminate.	C17th-C19th
Total	**7**	**145g**		

*The NDGTW vessel in this context may be the product of a West Wales kiln – uncertainty based on similar geology.

Context: T2 (2008)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
NDGTW (B39)	5	167	1 type 3G bowl (Allan, 1984) and other.	C17th-C18th
Bristol/Staffs type wares (B57, B59)	4	16	Press-moulded dish with slip-trailed decoration. Also 1 bowl or cup base sherd.	Late C17th-mid C18th
English stoneware?	1	13	Jar or bottle/flask. **Second opinion needed.**	C18th?
Total	**10**	**196g**		

Context: T2 (2009)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW glazed (A types)	3	56	Jars.	Late Med-Post-med
West Wales calcareous (Llanstephan-types B9-B11)	1	1	Indeterminate, too small.	C13th or C14th
Unsourced medieval regional wares	1	10	Indeterminate body sherd. **Second opinion needed.**	Med/late Med
French wares	2	7	Flask? Possibly Martincamp-type? **Second opinion needed.**	Late C15th-C16th
German Stoneware	1	4	Drinking mug of globular form. Raeren/Cologne?	Early to mid C16th
NDGTW (B39)	8	167	Includes 2 x type 11 jars (Allan 1984).	C17th-C18th
North Devon: calcareous & gravel-free	1	14	Jug or jar. Possibly North Devon?	C17th-C18th or earlier
Unsourced misc. Post-medieval	1	14	Jug? Internal yellow glaze over white slip.	C18th-C19th
Unsourced Late med - Post-medieval redwares	2	4	Indeterminate.	Post-medieval
Bristol/Staffs type wares (B57, B59)	6	17	Tankard (Ale mug) in B/S mottled (B59)	Late C17-mid C18th
Black-glazed red earthenware (B56)	2	31	Jar and large jar/bowl.	C17th-C19th
Total	**28**	**325g**		

Context: T2 (2010)

Fabric	Sherd Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW unglazed (A types)	1	4	Cooking pot possibly modified to shape?	Medieval
Total	**1**	**4g**		

CBM AND OTHER MATERIALS BY CONTEXT (Abbreviations after O'Mahoney, 1995).

TRENCH 1

Context: Trench 1 U/S (1001) (from turf & topsoil, from backfilling, and bag without number).

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	3	172	1 apex fragment with low-cut triangular crests	Medieval
West Wales calcareous ridge tile (Type H)	1	66		Medieval
Malvern ridge tile (Type F/G)	1	10		C15th-C16th
NDGTW ridge tile (Type C/P)	4	62		C16th-C17th
Unsourced ridge/pantile	4	289		Post-medieval
Unclassified miscellaneous tile/brick	13	286		Post-medieval
Water/drainage pipe?	1	9	See also: (1006), (1023)	Post-medieval
Total	**26**	**894g**		
Other materials: Daub/low-fired clay	3	22g		
Other materials: Mortar	4	89g		

Context: Trench 1 (1002)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	5	237	2 apex fragments with low-cut triangular crests	Medieval
West Wales calcareous ridge tile (Type H)	2	72		Medieval
Unsourced ridge/pantile	17	1075		Post-medieval
Brick	4	286	Handmade & industrial. Ventilation brick from E. end.	Post-medieval
Unclassified miscellaneous tile/brick	7	50		Post-medieval
Quarry tile	1	69	From east end of trench.	C19th-C20th
Total	**36**	**1789g**		
Other materials: Daub/low-fired clay	2	11g		

Context: Trench 1 (1006)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	7	326	1 apex fragment with low-cut triangular crests	Medieval
West Wales calcareous ridge tile (Type H)	4	66		Medieval
Unsourced ridge/pantile	5	56		Post-medieval
Water/drainage pipe?	1	89	See also: (1001), (1023)	Post-medieval
Total	**17**	**537g**		

Context: Trench 1 (1007)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
West Wales calcareous ridge tile (Type H)	2	92		Medieval
Unsourced ridge/pantile	1	22		Post-medieval
Unclassified miscellaneous tile/brick	4	20		Post-medieval
Quarry tile	2	146		C19th-C20th
Total	**9**	**280g**		

Context: Trench 1 (1008)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	3	652		Medieval
Unsourced ridge/pantile	23	813		Post-medieval
Unclassified miscellaneous tile/brick	7	95	Includes fragment with part of impressed maker's mark	Post-medieval-modern
Total	**33**	**1560g**		

Context: Trench 1 (1009)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	9	1008		Medieval
Total	**9**	**1008g**		
Other materials: Mortar	1	50g		

Context: Trench 1 (1010)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	3	177		Medieval
Malvern ridge tile (Type F/G)	2	44		C15th-C16th
Total	**5**	**221g**		

Context: Trench 1 (1011)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	2	61		Medieval
Unsourced ridge/pantile	15	568		Post-medieval
Brick	3	551	Handmade.	Post-medieval
Total	**20**	**1180g**		
Other materials: Daub/low-fired clay	1	9g		

Context: Trench 1 (1013)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	1	15		Medieval
Total	**1**	**15g**		

Context: Trench 1 (1017)

Other materials	Count	Weight
Daub/low-fired clay	2	21g

Context: Trench 1 (1022)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	2	324		Medieval
Unsourced ridge/pantile	1	61		Post-medieval
Total	**3**	**385g**		

Context: Trench 1 (1023)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	14	444		Medieval
Water/drainage pipe?	4	374	See also: (1001), (1006)	Post-medieval
Total	**18**	**818g**		

Context: Trench 1 (1024)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	1	1		Medieval
Total	**1**	**1g**		
Other materials: Mortar	4	63g		

Context: Trench 1 (1027)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	1	2		Medieval
Total	**1**	**2g**		

Context: Trench 1 (1028)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	3	63		Medieval
West Wales calcareous ridge tile (Type H)	1	11		Medieval
Total	**4**	**74g**		

Context: Trench U/S (2001)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced ridge/pantile	3	15		Post-medieval
Brick	2	33	Handmade.	Post-medieval
Total	**5**	**48g**		

TRENCH 2

Context: Trench 2 (2002)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced ridge/pantile	39	1435		Post-medieval
Brick	16	3857	Handmade. C16th-late C18th.	Post-medieval
Unclassified miscellaneous tile/brick	18	57		Post-medieval
Total	**73**	**5349g**		
Other materials: Daub/low-fired clay	1	4g		

Context: Trench 2 (2003)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced ridge/pantile	48	1146		Post-medieval
Brick	9	907	Handmade. C16th-late C18th.	Post-medieval
Unclassified miscellaneous tile/brick	7	14		Post-medieval
Total	**64**	**2067g**		

Context: Trench 2 (2004)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	2	77		Medieval
NDGTW ridge tile (Type C/P)	1	9		C16th-C17th
Unsourced ridge/pantile	44	924		Post-medieval
Brick	1	25	Handmade.	Post-medieval
Total	**48**	**1035g**		
Other materials: Mortar	2	110g		

Context: Trench 2 (2005)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	4	66	1 fragment with low-triangular cut crest.	Medieval
West Wales calcareous ridge tile (Type H)	1	17		Medieval
Unsourced ridge/pantile	1	9		Post-medieval
Total	**6**	**92g**		

Context: Trench 2 (2006)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced ridge/pantile	4	123		Post-medieval
Total	**4**	**123g**		
Other materials: Mortar	2	116g		

Context: Trench 2 (2008)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
Unsourced ridge/pantile	28	591		Post-medieval
Brick	7	510	Handmade.	Post-medieval
Total	**35**	**1101g**		

Context: Trench 2 (2009)

Fabric	Count	Weight	Comments	Date
DGTW ridge tile (Types A, B, & R/M)	31	766	1 apex fragment with low triangular crest.	Medieval
Malvern ridge tile (Type F/G)	7	140		C15th-C16th
Total	**38**	**906g**		
Other materials: Daub/low-fired clay	2	22g		
Other materials: Mortar	3	8g		

Context: Trench 2 (2010)

Other materials	Count	Weight
Mortar	5	103g

APPENDIX 2:

ASSESSMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL REMAINS FROM AN EXCAVATION AT PEMBROKE CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE

By

Elizabeth Pearson

Worcestershire Archaeology

Assessment of environmental remains fom an archaeological excavation at Pembroke Castle, Pembrokeshire

for

DAT Archaeological Services

February 2019

Find out more online:
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REGISTERED CIfA ORGANISATION

worcestershire county council

Assessment of environmental remains from an excavation at Pembroke Castle, Pembrokeshire

Worcestershire Archaeology
Archive and Archaeology Service
The Hive, Sawmill Walk,
The Butts, Worcester
WR1 3PD

Central NGR:	SM 98154 01638
Commissioning client:	James Meek behalf of DAT Archaeological Services
Client project reference:	ERN113212
WA project reference:	P5376
WA report reference:	2700

Issue	Date	Status	Details/prepared by	Checked by
1	24/02/2019		Elizabeth Pearson	Derek Hurst

ASSESSMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL REMAINS FROM AN EXCAVATION AT PEMBROKE CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE:

Elizabeth Pearson
With animal bone by Matilda Holmes

INTRODUCTION AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

An analysis of environmental remains from a small-scale archaeological evaluation at Pembroke Castle, Pembrokeshire (NGR SM 98154 01638; Scheduled Ancient Monument PE005; Dyfed Historic environment record PRN4518) was undertaken on behalf of Dyfed Archaeological Trust.

The site of the evaluation was a building lying in the outer ward of the medieval castle. Samples were taken from the fill of a chamber between two walls within Trench 1 located on the southwestern side of the building footprint (DAT Archaeology 2018).

The soils and geology on which the castle is situated will have had an important affect on local food resources coming into the settlement, and the resulting deposition of remains. The castle stands on free-draining, slightly acid but base-rich, and highly fertile soils (Cranfield Soil and AgriFood Institute 2019) overlying three types of solid geology, which include tidal-flat deposits around the edges of the peninsula on which the castle stands, Black Rock subgroup, and gully oolite formation (undifferentiated) with limestone at the northern end. The geology to the south, is Pembroke Limestone formation (British Geological Survey 2019).

PROJECT PARAMETERS

The environmental project conforms to guidance by CIfA (2014) on archaeological excavation and guidance by English Heritage (2011).

AIMS

The aims of the assessment were to determine the state of preservation, type, and quantity of environmental remains recovered, from the samples and information provided. This information will be used to assess the importance of the environmental remains.

METHODS

Sampling policy

Samples were taken by the excavator from deposits considered to be of high potential for the recovery of environmental remains. A total of three samples (each of 20 litres) of potentially medieval or late medieval date were assessed from the site (Env Table 1).

Context	Sample	Feature type	Description	Fill of	Position of fill	Period	Sample volume (L)	Volume processed (L)	Residue assessed	Flot assessed
1026	2	layer	fill of chamber between walls		3rd	medieval	20	20	Yes	Yes
1027	1	layer	fill of chamber between walls	1003, 1004, 1005	2nd	medieval	50	20	Yes	Yes
1035	3	layer	layer below wall 1003			?medieval	20	20	Yes	Yes

Env Table 1: List of bulk samples

Processing and analysis

The residues, during assessment, were scanned by eye and the abundance of each category of environmental remains estimated. A magnet was also used to test for the presence of hammerscale. The flots were scanned using a low power MEIJI stereo light microscope and plant remains identified using modern reference collections maintained by Worcestershire Archaeology, and a seed identification manual (Cappers *et al* 2012). Nomenclature for the plant remains follows the *New Flora of the British Isles*, 3rd edition (Stace 2010).

At assessment, animal bone and oyster shell from residues was quantified by count and weight (g), with smaller unidentifiable fragments being estimated. Subsequently, the animal bone was catalogued (see below). The counts and weight for oyster shell from assessment work are included in the report.

Charcoal from layer (1035) was examined under a low-power MEIJI stereo light microscope in order to determine the presence of oak and non-oak charcoal. The cell structure of identifiable fragments of charcoal was examined in three planes under a MEIJI dark illumination microscope and identifications were carried out using reference texts (Schweingruber 1978; Hather 2000) and reference slides housed at the Worcestershire Archaeology office.

Discard policy

Samples will be discarded after a period of three months following submission of this report, unless there is a specific request to retain them.

Report

Results are summarised in Env Tables 2 to 5.

Food waste included large mammal bone, fish bone, bird bone, oyster and clam shell, and eggshell (Env Table 3). This assemblage presumably derived from kitchen waste deposited between the cavity of walls 1003, 1004 and 1005, or in the case of (1035) may predate the walls.

Charcoal was recorded which may derive from hearths and ovens, having been deposited along with the food waste. Terrestrial molluscs are likely to derive from the immediate local environment.

context	sample	large mammal	small mammal	fish	frog/td	bird	mollusc	eggshell	charcoal	charred plant	hammerscale	artefacts
1026	2	mod	occ	occ	occ	occ	occ*	occ	occ			abt oystershell, lime mortar, building stone; mod coal, occ pot, tile, Fe objects, slate, fired clay, Cu alloy
1027	1	mod	occ	occ	occ		occ*		occ	occ	occ	abt building stone, mod oyster shell, slate; occ coal, fired clay, pot, bead, clinker, Cu (?) rings
1035	3	mod	occ	occ		occ	occ*		mod	occ	occ	abt oystershell and invertebrate/worm eggs, building stone; occ fired clay, lime mortar, pot, Fe objects, slate

Env Table 3: Summary of environmental samples;
occ = occasional, mod = moderate, *abt = abundant, * = snail & marine molluscs*

context	material class	material subtype	Feature type	Description	Fill of	Period	Count	weight(g)
1026	bone	animal bone	layer	fill of chamber between walls		medieval	170	93
1027	organic	oyster shell	layer	fill of chamber between walls	1003, 1004, 1005	medieval	100	256
1027	bone	animal bone	layer	fill of chamber between walls	1003, 1004, 1005	medieval	90	96
1035	bone	animal bone	layer	layer below wall 1003		?medieval	200	220
totals							560	665

Env Table 3: Hand-collected animal bone and oyster shell

Animal bone by Matilda Holmes

A small assemblage of animal bone was recovered from the late medieval deposit. It was in good condition, with no fresh breaks or refitted fragments. Two fragments bore signs of canid gnawing, suggesting they were not buried immediately but were available for dogs to chew. There were no butchery marks or observations of burning. A diverse number of taxa were recorded for such a small assemblage (Env Table 4), including domestic and wild mammals and birds as well as fish. While the assemblage is too small to make any inferences regarding cuisine, food ways or

economy, it is worth noting that this kind of diversity combined with the prevalence of pigs is consistent with high-status diets of this date (Holmes 2018).

Taxa	NISP
Cattle	3
Sheep/ goat	4
Pig	9
Canid	1
Hare/rabbit	4
Micro-mammal	1
Chicken	2
Duck	1
Bird	1
Fish	6
Gadid	2
Herring	2
Total	36

Env Table 4: Animal bone: number of fragments identified to taxa

Charcoal

A small amount of identifiable charcoal was recovered from layer (1035) predating wall 1003, of which only a small number of fragments were identifiable. The assemblage was dominated by oak then hazel (*Corylus avellana*), but also included lime (*Tilia* sp), silver or downy birch (*Betula pendula/pubescens*) and possible pear/apple/whitebeam/hawthorn (cf Maloideae).

As there was a mix of different tree species, this material is likely to represent general domestic hearth waste. Assemblages dominated by a single tree species (particularly oak) tend to come from hearths that are thought to be industrial or have been used for a specific purpose.

As the fragments were small, and appeared to be heartwood, it was difficult to determine whether this wood derived from managed (for example coppiced) woodland.

Latin name	Family	Common name	Habitat	1035
cf Maloideae sp	Rosaceae	pear/apple/whitebeam/hawthorn	CF	1
Quercus robur/petraea wood	Fagaceae	oak	C	8
cf *Quercus robur/petraea* wood	Fagaceae	oak	C	2
Tilia sp wood	Tiliaceae	lime	C	2
Betula pendula/pubescens wood	Betulaceae	silver/downy birch	C	1
Corylus avellana wood	Betulaceae	hazelnut	C	4
cf *Corylus avellana* wood	Betulaceae	hazelnut	C	1
Alnus/Carpinus/Corylus sp wood	Betulaceae	alder/hornbeam/hazel	C	2

Env Table 5: Charcoal from layer (1035)

Key:

habitat
A= cultivated ground
B= disturbed ground
C= woodlands, hedgerows, scrub etc
D = grasslands, meadows and heathland
E = aquatic/wet habitats
F = cultivar

Smaller quantities of charcoal in fills (1027) and (1026) between walls also included occasional non-oak fragments (Env Table 6). All the charcoal is likely to derive

from domestic hearths, based on its association with food (presumably kitchen) waste.

Occasional charred wheat (*Triticum* sp) and hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) grains, and a couple of fragments of hazelnut shell were also noted during assessment (Env Table 6).

Uncharred remains, consisting of mainly root fragments are assumed to be modern and intrusive, as they are unlikely to have survived in the soils on site for long without charring or waterlogging.

context	sample	preservation type	species detail	category remains	quantity/diversity	comment
1026	2	ch	*Quercus robur/petraea* wood, non-oak wood	misc	+/low	
1027	1	ch	cf *Betula pendula/pubescens* wood, unidentified root fragments (woody)	misc	+/low	
1027	1	ch	*Triticum* sp grain, *Hordeum vulgare* grain (hulled), Cereal sp indet grain (fragment)	grain	+/low	
1027	1	ch	*Corylus avellana* shell fragment	misc	+/low	
1035	3	ch	*Hordeum vulgare* grain (hulled), cf *Avena* sp grain, Poaceae sp indet grain (fragments)	grain	+/low	

Env Table 6: Plant remains from bulk samples (excluding charcoal from context 1035)

Key:

preservation	quantity
ch = charred	+ = 1 - 10
?wa* = waterlogged or uncharred	++ = 11- 50
* = *probably modern and intrusive*	+++ = 51 - 100

Synthesis

Dumped food waste infilling cavities between walls included domesticated animal bone fragments, bird and fish bone, oyster and clam shells, and eggshell fragments. This is consistent with the tendency for diverse food waste to be associated with settlements of high status, such as castles, forts and ecclesiastical sites, and/or associated with specialist activities. Unusual food items have been found from castle sites. For instance, at Cardigan Castle, to the north of Pembroke Castle, part of a dolphin skull was been reported amongst the finds (BBC 2014).

Identifiable charcoal was recovered which is likely to derive from domestic hearths. Only a very small amount of charred cereal waste was noted, which implies that arable agriculture was not an important part of the farming economy. However, as these are results from only three samples, it is not possible to say with certainty that this is the case – the site lies on fertile soils, but is surrounded to the north and south by soils of low fertility (Cranfield Soil and AgriFood Institute 2019).

Publication summary

Worcestershire Archaeology has a professional obligation to publish the results of archaeological projects within a reasonable period of time. To this end, Worcestershire Archaeology intends to use this summary as the basis for publication through local or regional journals. The client is requested to consider the content of this section as being acceptable for such publication.

An assessment of environmental remains from Pembroke Castle, Pembrokeshire (NGR ref SM 98154 01638; Scheduled Ancient Monument PE005; Dyfed Historic environment record PRN4518) was undertaken on behalf of Dyfed Archaeological Trust.

Dumped food waste infilling cavities between walls included domesticated animal bone fragments, bird and fish bone, oyster and clam shells, and eggshell fragments. A diverse number of faunal taxa were recorded, including domestic and wild mammals, and birds as well as fish. This is consistent with the tendency for diverse food waste to be associated with settlements of high status, such as castles, forts and ecclesiastical sites, and/or associated with specialist activities.

Identifiable charcoal, made up of a mix of different tree species, was recovered which is likely to derive from domestic hearths. Otherwise, only a very small amount of charred cereal waste was noted.

Acknowledgements

Worcestershire Archaeology would like to thank the following for their kind assistance in the conclusion of this project: James Meek of DAT Archaeological Services and Derek Hurst (WAAS) for editing this report.

Technical information

The archive consists of:

1 Box of flots and sorted remains from residues (includes large and small mammal, bird and fish bone, oyster and other marine shell, charred plant remains and charcoal).

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APPENDIX 3:

RADIOCARBON DATING RESULTS FROM CONTEXT 1027 AND CONTEXT 1035

SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH CENTRE

SUERC

Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre
Rankine Avenue, Scottish Enterprise Technology Park, East Kilbride, Glasgow G75 0QF, Scotland, UK
Director: Professor F M Stuart Tel: +44 (0)1355 223332 Fax: +44 (0)1355 229898 www.glasgow.ac.uk/suerc

RADIOCARBON DATING CERTIFICATE
19 July 2019

Laboratory Code	SUERC-87329 (GU51593)
Submitter	James Meek Dyfed Archaeological Trust Corner House 6 Carmarthen Street Llandeilo Carmarthenshire SA19 6AF
Site Reference	Pembroke Castle - Outer Ward
Context Reference	1027
Sample Reference	ERN113212/1027
Material	charred shell fragment : Corylus avellana shell
$\delta^{13}C$ relative to VPDB	-24.2 ‰
Radiocarbon Age BP	Background Result > 50000

N.B. The above sample yielded a result indistinguishable from our background samples and is consequently reported as a greater than age in conventional years BP (before 1950 AD).

Detailed descriptions of the methods employed by the SUERC Radiocarbon Laboratory can be found in Dunbar et al. (2016) *Radiocarbon 58(1) pp.9-23.*

For any queries relating to this certificate, the laboratory can be contacted at suerc-c14lab@glasgow.ac.uk.

Conventional age calculated by :

Checked and signed off by :

Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre
Rankine Avenue, Scottish Enterprise Technology Park, East Kilbride, Glasgow G75 0QF, Scotland, UK
Director: Professor F M Stuart Tel: +44 (0)1355 223332 Fax: +44 (0)1355 229898 www.glasgow.ac.uk/suerc

RADIOCARBON DATING CERTIFICATE
19 July 2019

Laboratory Code	SUERC-87330 (GU51594)
Submitter	James Meek Dyfed Archaeological Trust Corner House 6 Carmarthen Street Llandeilo Carmarthenshire SA19 6AF
Site Reference	Pembroke Castle - Outer Ward
Context Reference	1035
Sample Reference	ERN113212/1035
Material	charcoal : Corylus avellana wood
$\delta^{13}C$ relative to VPDB	-26.8 ‰
Radiocarbon Age BP	1780 ± 30

N.B. The above ^{14}C age is quoted in conventional years BP (before 1950 AD) and requires calibration to the calendar timescale. The error, expressed at the one sigma level of confidence, includes components from the counting statistics on the sample, modern reference standard and blank and the random machine error.

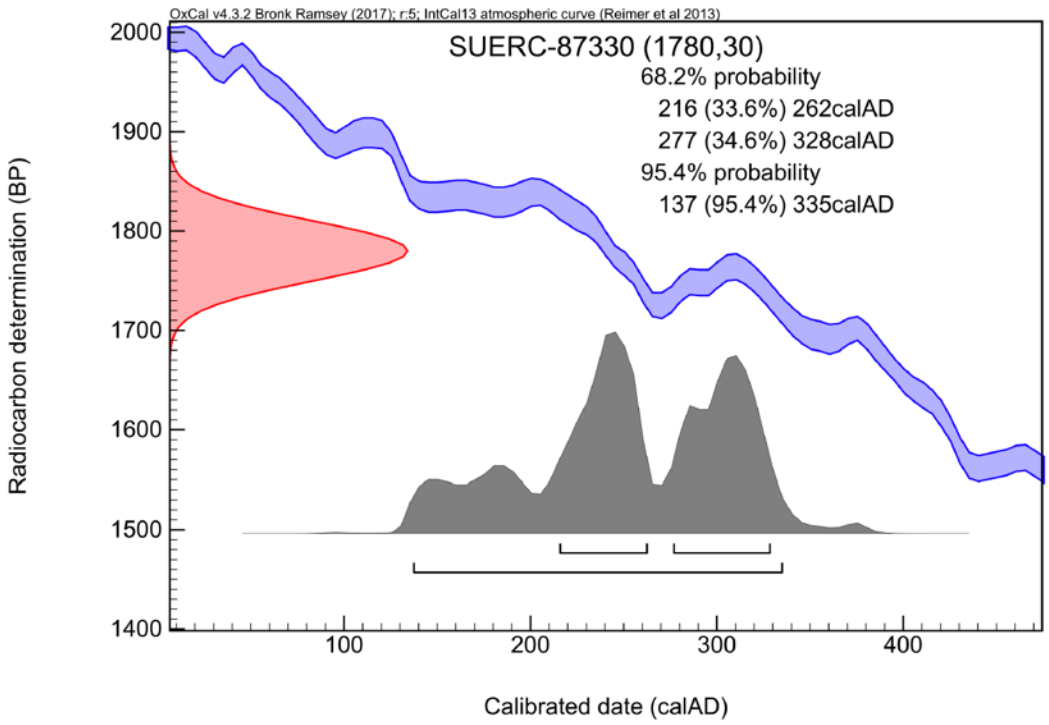
Samples with a SUERC coding are measured at the Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre AMS Laboratory and should be quoted as such in any reports within the scientific literature. The laboratory GU coding should also be given in parentheses after the SUERC code.

Detailed descriptions of the methods employed by the SUERC Radiocarbon Laboratory can be found in Dunbar et al. (2016) *Radiocarbon 58(1) pp.9-23.*

For any queries relating to this certificate, the laboratory can be contacted at suerc-c14lab@glasgow.ac.uk.

Conventional age and calibration age ranges calculated by :

Checked and signed off by :



The radiocarbon age given overleaf is calibrated to the calendar timescale using the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit calibration program OxCal 4.*

The above date ranges have been calibrated using the IntCal13 atmospheric calibration curve†

Please contact the laboratory if you wish to discuss this further.

APPENDIX 4:

PEMBROKE CASTLE, PEMBROKE, PEMBROKESHIRE: CASTLE STUDIES TRUST GRANT FUNDED PROJECT

WRITTEN SCHEME OF INVESTIGATION FOR TRIAL TRENCH EVALUATION

By

James Meek

APPENDIX 4:

PEMBROKE CASTLE, PEMBROKE, PEMBROKESHIRE:
CASTLE STUDIES TRUST GRANT FUNDED PROJECT

WRITTEN SCHEME OF INVESTIGATION FOR TRIAL TRENCH EVALUATION

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 This Written Scheme of Investigation (WSI) has been prepared by DAT Archaeological Services in support of an application for Grant Funding from the Castle Studies Trust to carry further investigation of archaeological remains identified within the Outer Ward of Pembroke Castle. The WSI presents a proposed methodology for detailed topographic survey of the open spaces within the interior of the castle and trial trench evaluation of the potential Tudor mansion remains that lie within the southern side of the Outer Ward (centred on NGR SM 98176 01609; Figure 1).

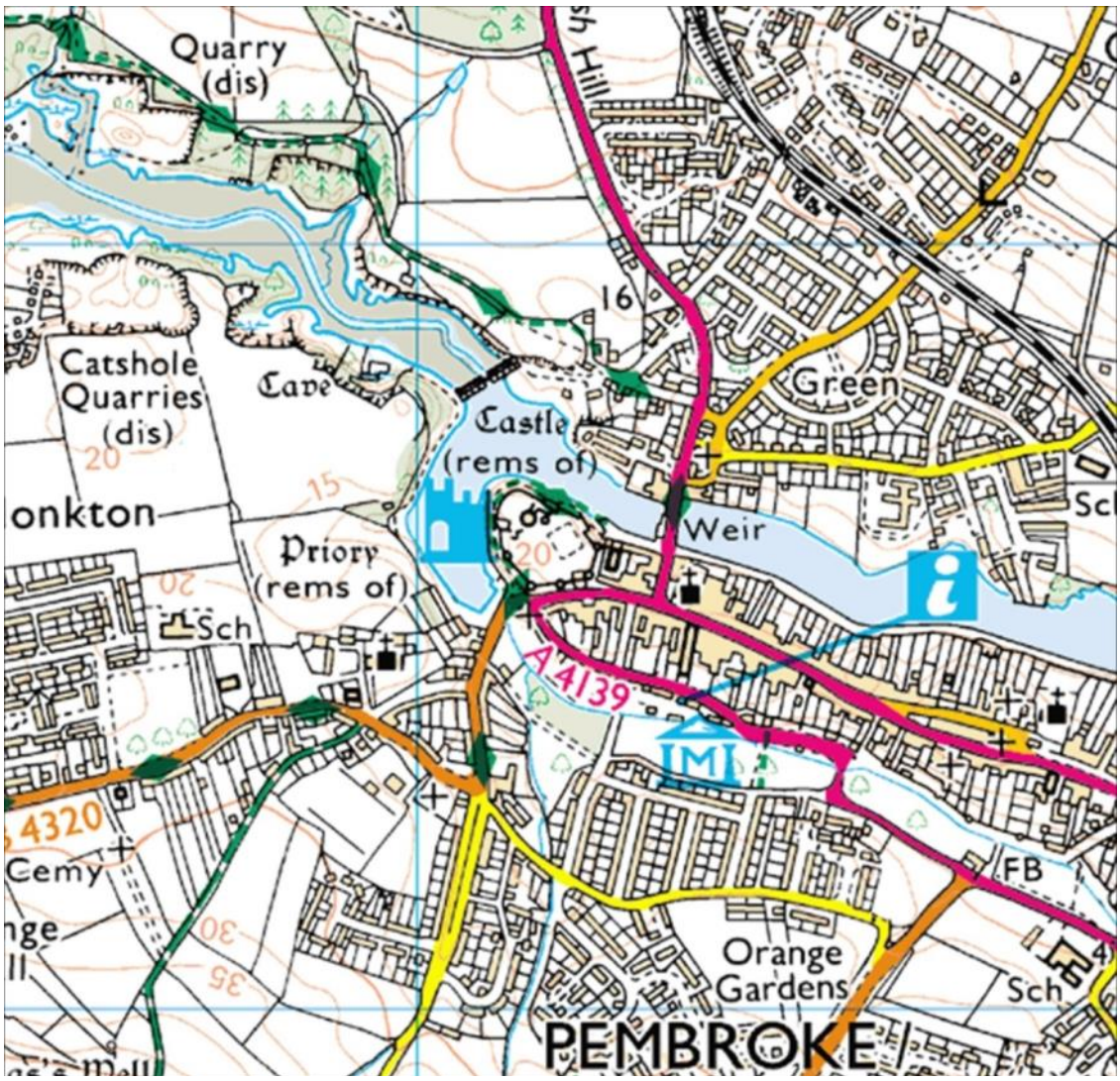


Figure 1: Pembroke Castle

1.2 This WSI will support a grant application to the Castle Studies Trust, by Neil Ludlow and DAT Archaeological Services for topographic survey and trial

trench evaluation within the Castle. Additional funding will be sort from The Pembroke Castle Trust. The results of the topographic survey will build on the geophysical survey results carried out in 2016 (Day and Ludlow 2016) and the trial trench evaluation will target the potential Tudor mansion within the southern part of the Outer Ward. Scheduled Monument Consent will need to be granted by Cadw before the works commence.

1.3 The existing published maps and plans of the castle are fairly accurate, but based on the research of the castle currently being undertaken by Neil Ludlow, no two agree on scale and dimensions. Wall openings and other features do not always precisely match what's in the field. It is proposed that a topographic survey is carried out to accurately map the bases of walls, features and topography of the open spaces within the castle in its present state and produce a detailed contour plan of the interior.

1.4 The trial trench evaluation will target the complex of buildings identified through aerial photography in 2013 by RCAHMW lying in the southern part of the outer ward (Photos 1 and 2). This building was part-excavated, though without record, in the 1930s, and has been suggested as a mid/late 15th-century winged hall-house – and the potential birthplace of King Henry VII (Ludlow and Driver 2014).

1.5 The previous geophysical survey was undertaken as it had been stated by Ludlow that 'Pembroke Castle, despite its size, prestige, and excellent preservation, is surprisingly little-understood. The documentary evidence for its construction is sparse and, though it houses an impressive range of domestic and administrative buildings, they appear in very few records.' The previous geophysical survey project provided information about the internal layout of the castle, of which little had been previously known.

1.6 Although it was initially thought that the Outer Ward of the castle was probably congested with buildings (of medieval and post-medieval date) the results of the geophysical surveys led to a possible conclusion that '*Contrary to expectations, the results indicate that the outer ward appears to have been largely empty of medieval buildings and structures. This may have been deliberate. A change of status may have occurred under which it became progressively 'gentrified' culminating with the erection of the winged house in the late fifteenth century.'* (Day and Ludlow 2016)

1.7 The topographic survey and intrusive trial trench works will provide information for us to better understand the complex layout of this important Castle, and aim to provide more secure dating evidence for the possible winged Tudor building. This will also determine the extent of previous excavation that was undertaken on the building in the 1930s, for which no records survive.

1.8 It is proposed that the topographic survey will be undertaken by DAT Archaeological Services. The trial trench evaluation will be run by DAT Archaeological Services, in conjunction with Neil Ludlow, using local volunteers.

1.9 The specification is in accordance with the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists Standard and Guidance for Archaeological Evaluation (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA 2014). The Trust always operates to best professional practice. Dyfed Archaeological Trust Field Services has its own Health and Safety Policy, and all works are covered by appropriate Employer's Liability and Public Liability Insurances. Copies of all are available on request.

1.10 ***Dyfed Archaeological Trust is a CIfA Registered Archaeological Organisation. All permanent staff members of DAT Archaeological Services are CSCS[2] registered.***

Photo 1: Aerial view of Pembroke Castle from WNW, taken in July 2013 by Toby Driver (Crown Copyright RCAHMW, AP_2013_5162).

Photo 2: Detail of building parchmarks on southern side of the outer ward from aerial photo (Crown Copyright RCAHMW, AP_2013_5163).

[2] ***Construction Skills Certification Scheme (Health and Safety Tested)***

2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

2.1 This document provides a scheme of works for:

The implementation of a scheme of non-intrusive archaeological topographic survey of the interior open spaces of the castle and intrusive trial trench evaluation of the possible Tudor mansion that lies within the southern side of the Outer Ward. A report on the results will be prepared and an archive of the results will be compiled.

2.2 The following tasks will be completed:

- Provision of a written scheme of investigation to outline the methodology for the topographic survey and intrusive trial trench evaluation which DAT Archaeological Services will undertake (this document);
- To conduct a detailed topographic survey within the open spaces within the interior of the castle and the production of a contour survey to accurately show the variations in ground levels tied in to openings within the castle walls;
- To establish the state of preservation, character, extent and date range for the possible Tudor mansion within the Outer Ward;
- To determine the extent of remodelling / truncation of the walls that may have occurred after the 1930s excavations by Ivor Philipps to create the level grassed area as survives today;
- To provide an opportunity for volunteers and members of the community to be involved in the archaeological intrusive investigation and to engage with visitors to the castle to explain the purpose of the works being undertaken, the aims of the Castle Studies Trust and results from the works;
- Production of a report and an archive of the results.

3. TOPOGRAPHIC SURVEY METHODOLOGY

3.1 The topographic survey will be undertaken using a Trimble Total Station and/or differential GPS to provide an accurate contour survey of the interior open spaces within the castle.

3.2 The survey will include measurements of the bases of all walls and their entries and other features in detail, but will not include . These will be tied in to the Ordnance Survey National Grid and Ordnance Datum. Enough points will be taken to accurately map the inside of the castle. The survey will not include the interior of castle buildings, other than those

3.3 The survey will be the first detailed and accurate survey of the entire interior of the castle. A full contour survey will be produced in order to learn more about former buildings within the castle grounds.

3.4 The survey results can be tied into the previous geophysical survey results and previous archaeological investigations within the castle.

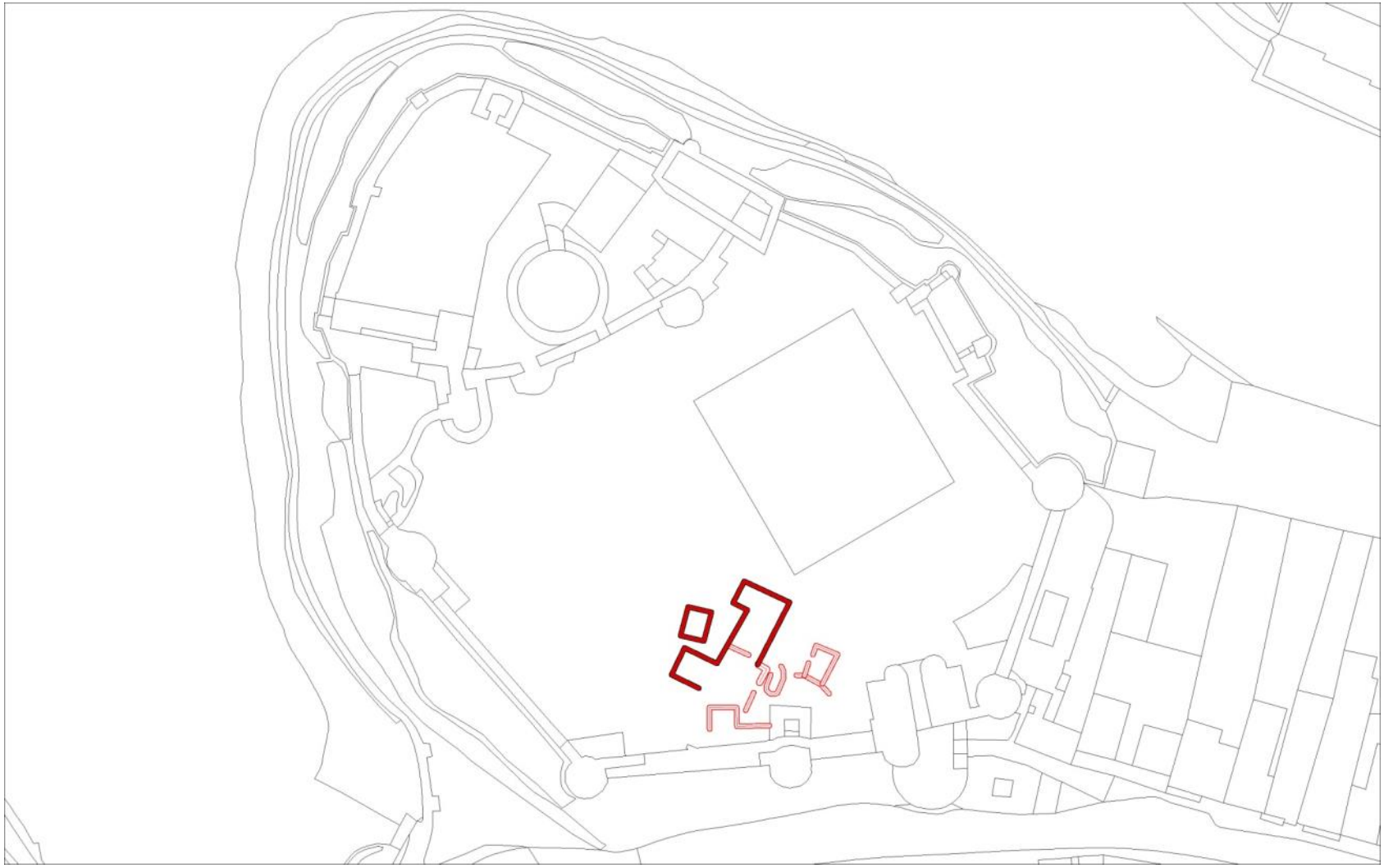


Figure 2: Location of possible Tudor mansion within the Outer Ward of Pembroke Castle based on parchmarks and interpretation from Ludlow and Driver 2014 (light red lines), and those that were definitely confirmed by GPR survey (dark red lines)

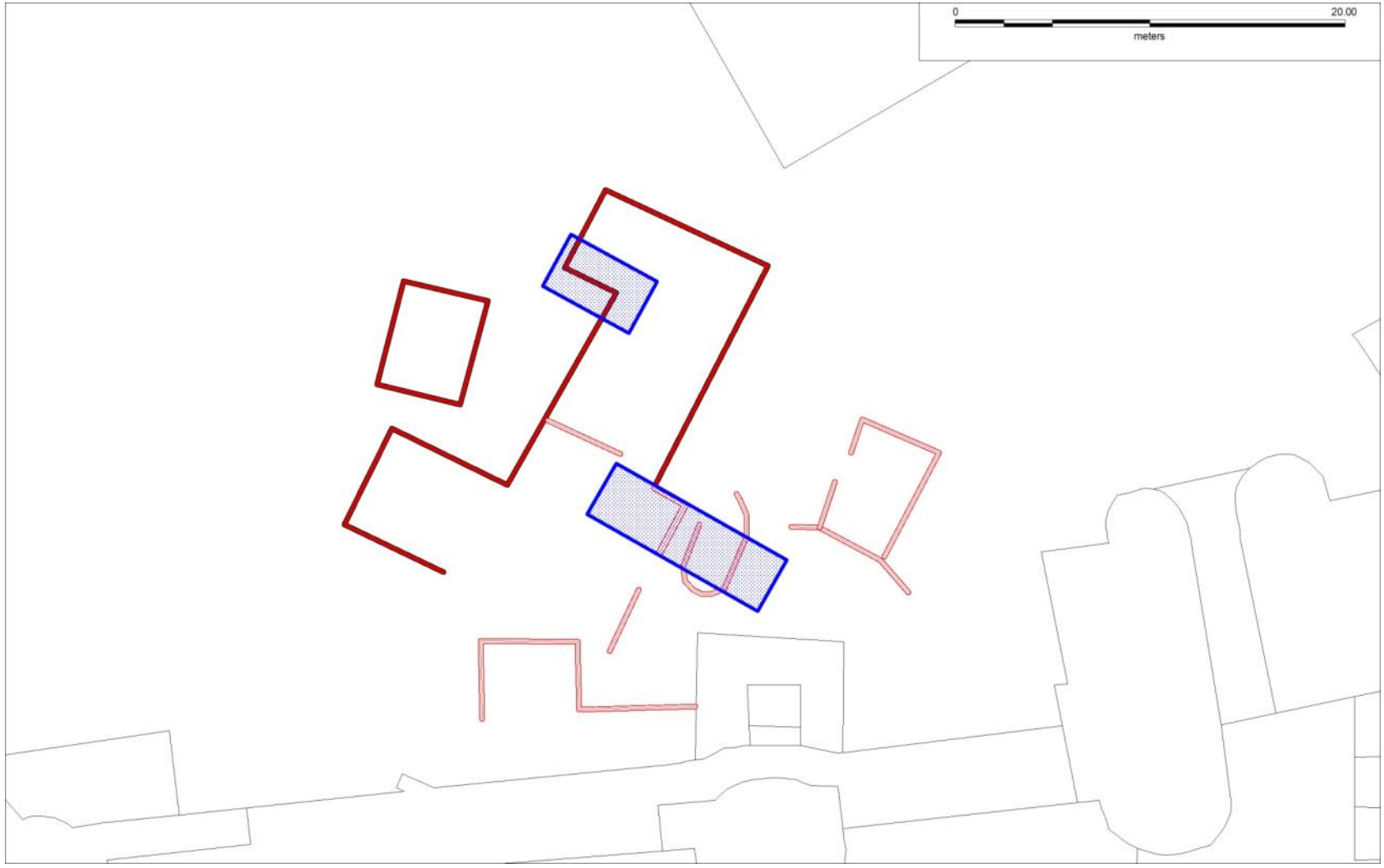


Figure 3: Proposed trench locations (blue) overlaid on possible outlines of buildings as shown on parchmarks based on Ludlow and Driver 2014 (light red lines), and those that were confirmed by GPR survey (dark red lines)

4. PROPOSED TRIAL TRENCH SCHEME

4.1 To better ascertain the significance and state of preservation of the possible Tudor winged mansion it is proposed that required that two trenches are hand excavated. The provisional locations of the trenches are shown on Figure 3, and target the possible area of the cess pit in a 10m x 3m sized trench and the area of the Great Hall and adjacent wing to the northeast in a 5m x 3m sized trench (as identified by Ludlow and Driver 2014). The trench sizes may be decreased if the complexity of the archaeology is such that we need to limit the amount exposed. The depths of trenches will be determined by the top of the surviving archaeological remains or a safe working depth, whichever is reached first.

4.2 The trenches will be excavated using hand tools (shovels, mattocks, trowels, spades) to remove topsoil and loose unstratified material/modern infill. The material will be stored adjacent to the trenches on plastic sheeting for reinstatement at a later date.

4.3 The trench will be taken down to the top of the level of surviving archaeological deposits and then hand cleaned using trowels to characterise the underlying layers and ascertain their date, significance and state of preservation. The trench will also determine the extent of previous excavation in the area and the extent of surviving archaeology. This will be of particular interest in the area of the cess pit, which if it still survives relatively undisturbed, could contain very significant archaeological remains. Some sample excavation of deposits may be undertaken as part of this evaluation,.

4.4 The works will be supervised by James Meek, Head of DAT Archaeological Services, supported by a team of our regular, highly experienced volunteers and new volunteers from the local community. The use of volunteers on high profile sites has been very successfully employed on other sites throughout Wales (including Nevern Castle, Stones of Stonehenge project in the Preselis) and further afield in the UK (Tintagel, Cornwall). The work will provide volunteers with a rare opportunity to undertake excavation within the Castle and provide opportunities for visitors to the castle to learn more about its history, ongoing archaeological research, the work of the Castle Studies Trust and the Pembroke Castle Trust.

4.5 Where features containing deposits of environmental significance are to be sampled, the samples will be retained in stable conditions until analysis can be arranged (Catherine Griffiths, University of Wales Trinity St David).

4.6 All deposits will be recorded by archaeological context record sheet, scale drawing, photography and site notebooks, using the DAT Archaeological Services' Recording Manual[3]. All deposits will be individually recorded and given context numbers. Significant deposits will be recorded by scale drawing (no less than 1:20); drawn plans will be related to Ordnance Datum and known boundaries.

4.7 A digital photographic record will be maintained as a minimum, using a high resolution camera, with photographic information recorded for all photographs taken.

4.8 All archaeologically significant artefacts, ecofacts and samples will be retained and, where possible, related to the contexts from which they derived. Sensitive materials will be stored in appropriately stable conditions. Finds will be temporarily stored by DAT Archaeological Services

[3] TP[3]PT Dyfed Archaeological Trust Field Services use the Recording Manual developed by English Heritage Centre for Archaeology. A copy will be available for inspection if required.

in stable conditions. All finds, except those deemed to be Treasure[4], will remain the property of Cadw, but it is assumed that permission has been given for these to be stored as part of the archive in a suitable repository (ownership will still be with the landowner).

4.9 Under the 1996 Treasure Act, "treasure" can be summarised as:

- Any object other than a coin containing at least 10% gold or silver and at least 300 years old;
- Any prehistoric assemblage of base metal;
- Coins found together which contain 10% gold or silver (but no single coins) and groups of at least 10 coins of other metals, provided they are at least 300 years old;
- Any object found associated with treasure except unworked natural objects; and
- Any object which would have been Treasure Trove before the 1996 Act but not covered above.

4.10 In the unlikely event of the discovery of human remains they will, at this evaluation stage, be left *in situ*. If removal is necessary it will only take place following the granting of all permissions in writing by the relevant authorities and at a later stage of any necessary archaeological works (a burial licence granted from the Ministry of Justice and the Coroner informed).

5 POST-FIELDWORK REPORTING AND ARCHIVING

5.1 All data recovered during the evaluation will be collated into a site archive structured in accordance with the specifications in *Archaeological Archives: a guide to best practice in creation, compilation, transfer and curation* (Brown 2011), and the procedures recommended by the National Monuments Record, Aberystwyth. The *National Standards for Wales for Collecting and Depositing Archaeological Archives* produced by the Federation of Museums and Art Galleries of Wales will also be adhered to. Digital archives will be collated using the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales systems (2015) and deposited with the RCAHMW.

5.2 A full report will be completed. The results of the fieldwork will be assessed in local, regional and wider contexts.

5.3 The report will include a detailed interpretation of the results, placed within the context of Pembroke castle by Neil Ludlow.

5.4 The project archive, including all significant artefacts and ecofacts (excepting those which may be deemed to be Treasure) will be deposited with an appropriate body following agreement with the Pembroke Castle Trust.

5.5 DAT Archaeological Services will arrange for the deposition of finds, and ascertain the costs of storage and deposition, with an approved body before the project commences and inform the curator of the arrangement which has been made (Pembroke Castle and RCAHMW).

[4] If any material deemed to be Treasure is found, the Coroner must be informed

5.6 A summary of the project results, excluding any confidential information, may be prepared for wider dissemination (e.g. Archaeology in Wales and special interest and period-specific journals).

5.7 The report will be prepared to follow the *Standard and Guidance for Archaeological Field Evaluations* (CIfA 2014).

5.8 A digital copy and bound copies of the reports (if needed) will be produced for Castle Studies Trust, Pembroke Castle Trust and Cadw. Digital copies of the report will be supplied to the Dyfed Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record.

6 STAFF

6.1 The project will be run and managed by James Meek (MCIfA). Neil Ludlow will maintain a presence during the excavations and advise the works.

6.2 Hubert Wilson of DAT Archaeological Services will undertake the topographic survey, being an experienced surveyor.

6.3 If required, environmental remains will be looked at by Catherine Griffiths (University of Wales Trinity St David). Any such work will be undertaken as part of a contingency to the main project funds.

6.4 Medieval and later ceramics will be identified by Dee Williams. Any such work will be undertaken as part of a contingency to the main project funds.

6.5 Identification and conservation of metal / bone / leather objects will be undertaken by the National Museum of Wales. Any such work will be undertaken as part of a contingency to the main project funds.

6.6 Animal bone will be identified by Alice Day of DAT Archaeological Services. Any such work will be undertaken as part of a contingency to the main project funds.

7 MONITORING

7.1 Following opening and recording of trenches, they may need to be monitored by the Cadw Inspector. This will be arranged before the evaluation is carried out in order to coordinate visits.

8 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Day, A and Ludlow N, 2017 (with Fletcher, T and contributions from Meek, J and Southern, T), *Pembroke Castle: Geophysical Survey 2016*, DAT Report No. 2016/27

Ludlow, N and Driver, T, 2014, 'Pembroke Castle: Discoveries in the Outer Ward', *Archaeology in Wales*, **54**, pp73-78

APPENDIX 5:

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

By

Stephen Priestley and Neil Ludlow

APPENDIX 5: THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

(Stephen Priestley and Neil Ludlow)

A separate project, but very much connected with the Castle Studies Trust-funded work at Pembroke Castle, concerned the translation and analysis of five manuscript sources. This was funded by a research grant from the Cambrian Archaeological Association, and was undertaken by Stephen Priestley in 2017.

The project focussed on a manuscript in the Badminton Collection at the National Library of Wales (NLW Badminton Manorial 1564), which is a comprehensive survey and inventory of Pembroke Castle taken after it was captured by Sir William Herbert in 1462. It had never before been transcribed and was considered of great importance as there is otherwise very little documentary record of the buildings at the castle. In addition, new translations were provided for four other manuscript sources, at the National Library of Wales and The National Archives (Kew), also relating to Pembroke Castle. Though two of these were published in Owen's *Calendar of Pembrokeshire Records,* 3 (1918), it was in summary form only; the new work provided the full and comprehensive translation that is much needed. A full analysis of the manuscripts was also undertaken.

The five manuscripts are –

NLW Badminton Manorial No. 1564 (dated 1461-62)
This contains four separate MSS, 1564/1-1564/4)

NLW Badminton Manorial No. 1569 (dated 1475-76)

TNA DL 29/635/10337 (dated 1481-82)

TNA SC6/1208/6 (dated 1331)

TNA E101/44/13 (dated 1406-11)

Introduction and brief description (Stephen Priestley)

The manuscript source NLW Badminton Manorial 1564 is the account of the Treasurer of Pembroke for the years 1461-1462. It forms one of a series of ministers' accounts for lands in Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire within the Badminton manorial accounts held at the National Library of Wales. It does not form part of a continuous series of accounts, the preceding account in this series covers the years 1434-35,[5] while the next account for Pembrokeshire in this collection dates from 1475-76.[6]

It appears likely that these rolls formed the vestiges of a larger collection of records relating to lordships held by the Lords Herbert, including manorial accounts and receiver generals' accounts, which were probably held at Raglan Castle and came into the hands of Charles Somerset on his marriage to Elizabeth Herbert, daughter and heiress of William Herbert earl of Huntingdon (formerly second earl of Pembroke) in 1492. These records (along with those of other Herbert estates including Raglan) were largely dispersed or destroyed during the Civil War siege of Raglan in 1646.[7] As far as can be established, this account has not been noted in previous historical or antiquarian works, it is not mentioned by Henry Owen in his Calendar of the Public Records relating to Pembrokeshire (Owen 1918).

The roll itself, in its present form, is evidently incomplete and has been subject to previous conservation work. It comprises four portions, namely a general account of the Treasurer of Pembroke, summarising revenues received and expenditure incurred during the accounting period (consisting of 3 membranes on parchment, written in Latin in a standard Exchequer account hand of the period) bound together with three separate particulars of

[5] NLW Badminton Manorial 1563
[6] NLW Badminton Manorial 1569
[7] Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report Appendix Part IX (London 1891), 1.

account enrolled on paper in a heavily abbreviated cursive hand of mid-fifteenth-century date (in both Latin and English).

The particulars of the account comprise –

1 – a list of names of the soldiers garrisoned at Pembroke Castle in 1461-62
2 – an account of necessary expenses and expenditure on building works at the castle from 2 April to 29 September 1462
3 – a detailed account of wages of the Constable and soldiers garrisoned at Pembroke Castle from 29 September 1461 – 2 April 1462.

One roll of particulars, detailing carpentry works and masonry works on the house of the larder next to the great kitchen, is mentioned in the Treasurer's summary account under 'repairs within the castle of Pembroke'; however it is regrettably not attached to this account roll as it is stated to have remained among the accounts of the Deputy Treasurer.

The detailed accounts for the manors and boroughs of Pembroke and Tenby, along with the other subsidiary manors forming part of the lordship of Pembroke (including Carew, Castlemartin, Walwyn's Castle etc), are missing from this account, in contrast to the surviving Treasurer's roll for 1475-76, where these accounts have survived but the rolls of particulars are missing.

Historical background (Stephen Priestley)

In order to fully appreciate the significance of this account, it is necessary to briefly describe the background to its compilation. Until late 1461, Pembroke had been an important stronghold of Lancastrian support in Wales; it is likely that it was the base from where Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, launched his ill-fated expedition into the Welsh Marches, which ended in a decisive defeat against the Yorkist forces led by Edward earl of March at Mortimer's Cross on 3 February 1461 (Evans 1915, 122-7).

In spite of the substantial Yorkist victories at Mortimer's Cross and subsequently at Towton on 29 March that same year, entrenched pockets of Lancastrian resistance remained in northern England and North and West Wales. Jasper Tudor earl of Pembroke, who retreated to his estates in Pembrokeshire after his defeat at Mortimer's Cross, still held the important coastal strongholds of Pembroke and Tenby and appears to have mustered some support, probably from the tenantry of his own estates and from the Lancastrian lordships of Kidwelly, Iscennen and Carnwyllion in SW Wales, while in North Wales, the important castles of Denbigh and Harlech also remained in Lancastrian hands (Evans 1915, 139-40).

In early September 1461, the newly-crowned Edward IV issued a commission to his trusted supporters Sir William Herbert, lord of Raglan and Sir Walter Devereux (Lord Ferrers) to suppress the Lancastrian resistance in Wales (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-67*, 99-100; Evans 1915, 140). Herbert was an influential figure in the politics of South Wales and the March, having inherited the lordship of Raglan from his father, William ap Thomas, and appears to have taken the lead in suppressing the revolt, capturing Tenby by mid-September. Pembroke Castle, despite being 'victualled, manned and apparrelled' for a lengthy siege, was yielded 'without any war or resistance' to Herbert by its constable, Sir John Skydmore, at the end of the month (Evans 1915, 141; Strachey 1783, 483).

Although Pembroke surrendered, several strongholds in North and West Wales still held out for the Lancastrian cause. An attack was launched by Lancastrian forces, led by Jasper Tudor and Henry Duke of Exeter on the town and castle of Caernarfon (held by Yorkist supporters) in October 1461, however Lord Herbert inflicted a major defeat on this remaining Lancastrian army at the Battle of Twthill, forcing Jasper Tudor and other rebels to flee to Ireland (Davies *et al*. 2004, 250-2; Evans 1915, 141). Following this victory, it appears that Lord Herbert and his Yorkist adherents waged a protracted and largely successful campaign against the remaining Lancastrian outposts in Wales. Denbigh yielded to Lord Herbert in October 1461, while Carreg Cennen Castle was taken in May 1462 by

Sir Richard Herbert and Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower and its defences dismantled (Colvin 1963, 602). By mid-1462, Harlech remained the only major stronghold in Wales still in Lancastrian hands, and held out for another six years.[8]

Despite these successes, it is clear that a potential Lancastrian invasion of Wales, supported by Burgundian, Breton or French support, was considered to be a serious threat in early 1462. Edward IV took swift measures to deal with this threatened invasion, in February 1462, John de Vere earl of Oxford was executed for conspiring against the King (Evans 1915, 145-6; Griffiths 1981, 885-7), while on 1 March, Lord Herbert and Lord Ferrers were ordered to array all able-bodied men in South Wales and the Marches, the former and his brother Thomas Herbert being also commissioned to equip a fleet from Bristol and neighbouring ports to clear the coast of Wales and Lancastrian ships (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-67*, 99-100; Evans 1915, 146). It would appear that Lord Herbert's naval exploits met with mixed success as the Treasurer's account for 1461-62 records that several of his supporters were captured at sea and held for ransom (which was, apparently, unpaid).[9]

It is against this background of continued unrest and invasion scares that this Treasurer's account, covering the period immediately following the capture of Pembroke, should be viewed. It sheds valuable light on the extensive measures taken by Lord Herbert to garrison the castle (financed by means of a heavy subsidy imposed upon the tenants of the lordship) and make necessary repairs to its fabric.

The castle garrison (Stephen Priestley)

Having taken possession of Pembroke, but before being formally granted it, Lord Herbert immediately appointed a new Treasurer of the lordship, William Herbert Esquire, who appears to have been an illegitimate brother of Lord Herbert and one of the leading members of his household, having previously been appointed by Edward IV as deputy chamberlain of South Wales in May 1461 (Griffiths 1972, 186).

Lord Herbert also installed a substantial garrison in the castle; the summary Treasurer's account from 2 October 1461 to 2 April 1461 records that the sum of £266 2s 1d was spent on the wages of 47 soldiers at the castle. From 2 April to 3 October 1462, the size of the garrison was reduced slightly to 40 soldiers. The wages of the garrison at Pembroke were financed partly from the revenues of the Lord Herbert himself and from a feudal aid (*donum*) imposed upon the tenants of the lordship of Pembroke, which amounted to the sum of £53 6s 8d.

The new constable of the castle, John ap Howell ap Jankyn, who received an annual fee of 100s, is a somewhat obscure figure who appears to be identifiable with John ap Howell ap Jankyn of Llanishen (Glamorgan) who appears in a deed of November 1468 as the recipient of a grant of land in Llangwm (in Usk lordship) from Thomas Herbert, brother of Lord Herbert (NLW Badminton Estate Records I No. 1711).

Attached to the Treasurer's account are two rolls of particulars relating to the garrison of Pembroke, one comprising a list of 36 names and the other a detailed account of wages paid to individual members of the garrison. Of particular interest is the fact that the garrison included a contingent of gunners, at least one of whom appears to have been of Flemish origin. Three gunners are mentioned in the account, namely Master Hugh the Gunner, Anthony Gunner and Henry Venehost or Wanhost. The last name, Henry Wanhost, is of particular interest as it appears likely to be of Flemish origin; he was evidently regarded as a figure of some importance, receiving a separate allowance for his robes and food. Flemish mercenary gunners are known to have formed part of Edward IV's forces at the battle of Tewkesbury, but these references appear to confirm that small contingents

[8] For a detailed, well-documented account of the protracted siege of Harlech, see Evans 1915, 142-4.
[9] 'Et in denar(iis) per mandat(um) domini solut(is) pro financ(ia) Willelmi Glover Johannis Tanner at al(iorum) capt(orum) super mare per inimicos Brittonie hoc anno – vi.li xiii.s iiii.d [non sol(utum)]'.

of Flemish gunners were already employed by the Yorkists in the early 1460s (Fields 2015, 193-211).[10] The Treasurer's account also contains some interesting references to the purchase of materials for the manufacture of small brass serpentine or cannon for the defence of the castle.

A number of Burgundian soldiers (presumably mercenaries) are also specifically mentioned by name among the garrison of Pembroke, namely Herman Taillor, Franke Key, Herman Trippese and Hans Duchenon. Although several soldiers listed among the garrison are clearly of Welsh origin, a significant proportion appear to be from English counties bordering Wales, including Robert Ludlow, Richard Scudamore and two persons named William Glover, from Bristol and Cirencester respectively.

The building works (Neil Ludlow)

Only three of the manuscript sources describe building activity. Most of the work is domestic and, despite the political landscape described above, little of the 1460s work appears to be military in character. None of it, however, can be linked with any confidence to Building ***G*** in the outer ward, although there is the slender possibility that it may be the 'Great Chamber' mentioned in 1481-2. The work is more-or-less confined to minor repairs and re-roofing, with the expenditure of fairly low sums, and no new building is suggested. For ease, the MSS are discussed in chronological order.

TNA SC6/1208/6 (1331)

This is the account of Richard Symond, Steward of Pembroke, for the period 18 February 1331 to 28 September 1331.[11] Minor repairs to the Prison Tower and chapel are mentioned. It is thought that the former probably represents the present Dungeon Tower, and that the chapel occupied the long building next to the Western Hall in the inner ward (Day and Ludlow 2016, 68, 121); the 'wicket in the prison' may have been a trapdoor into the basement of the Dungeon Tower.

Minor repairs to the earl's lodging (*domo Comitis*) are also recorded. This building is more difficult to identify. The 'Great Hall' on the north side of the inner ward, built in the later thirteenth century, is suggested to have been a private, ceremonial hall rather than a communal hall, with an attached chamber or solar. No other building in the castle merits the description 'earl's lodging' (Day and Ludlow 2016, 68). However, the physical evidence shows that the Great Hall and solar had a very low-pitched roof line that could only have carried a lead covering. And yet the account states that the roof of the earl's lodging was, like the chapel roof, repaired with shingles. The Great Hall roof was about fifty years old by this time, and other sources indicate that the castle was being allowed to gradually fall into disrepair; by the 1380s, the Great Hall roof timbers had entirely rotted (Day and Ludlow 2016, 70). So perhaps the shingles represent a half-hearted attempt at patching. The sums involved are not great – the total outlay for all repairs was £2 12 shillings.

Badminton 1564/4 (1461-1462)

This is the account of William Herbert Esquire, the new Treasurer of Pembroke, and Steward of the Court, for the period 28 September 1461 to 30 September 1462. Pembroke had only just been taken by Lord William Herbert I from Jasper Tudor in September 1461, so this account relates to his first year of tenure. John ap Howell ap Jankyn the castle constable is mentioned, along with the sheriff John Perrot. Hugh Bennett, alias Richard

[10] A small contingent of gunners from Burgundy are mentioned in 'Gregory's Chronicle' as having been present among the Yorkist forces at the Battle of St Albans in February 1461 (Gairdner 1876, 210-11).
[11] Also reproduced in Evans 1957, 198-200, and Owen 1918, 139.

Bennett of Monkton, is 'Deputy of the Lord Herbert in the County and Court', and may have fulfilled the role of the Steward of the Lordship, who is otherwise not mentioned.

The entries mainly concern accounts from the demesne manors of the lordship, but 'repairs in the castle, both works of carpentry and masonry' are also itemised. The sums are too small to represent new building. The work covers two main areas –
Repairs to the great kitchen and larder – total £14 7s 6½ d.
Various other repairs – total £20 17s 4½ d.

Some of this work may relate to an anticipated visit by Lord William Herbert. He was appointed Justiciar and Chamberlain of Carmarthen in 1461, and was present at Carmarthen in April 1462 (Ludlow 2014, 37), when he may at least have intended to visit his new possessions in Pembrokeshire.

It appears from the account that the Great Gatehouse contained the exchequer, which is termed 'the Lord's exchequer above the gate'; the other MS sources make it clear that 'above' is used here in its literal rather than figurative sense. The placing of an exchequer above a gate is well-known, particularly in a civic context eg. the exchequer above the town gate at Caernarfon (Taylor 2008, 41-2). The Pembroke exchequer was associated with the treasury (see next), and may have occupied the same space, suggesting that William Herbert the treasurer resided in one of the gatehouse chambers (discussed below). The treasury also served as a chancery and record depository – 'parchment, paper and wax for the office of the Treasurer' are mentioned in the account. While some administrative functions do therefore seem to have moved out of the crowded inner ward by the late fifteenth century (see Day and Ludlow 2016, 107-8), the courts and prison had presumably remained there.

The account contains the only documentary reference to a kitchen at the castle: the 'great kitchen and larder' clearly refers to the main castle kitchen, which is provisionally suggested to have occupied the large building in the inner ward, next to the Great Hall, known as the 'Chancery' (Day and Ludlow 2016, 76-7). The larder was subject to 'masonry work', meaning it was a stone building, but its location is unknown; perhaps it is represented by one of the geophysical anomalies in the inner ward, west of the Chancery and next to the North Turret, which in 2016 were suggested as possible ancillary buildings associated with food preparation – or perhaps even the North Turret itself? (see Day and Ludlow 2016, 77). Two more 'chambers' are mentioned in the same entry, but it is not clear whether they too were associated with the kitchen.

Payment was made for the 'carriage of straw and boards and slates . . . 'for the roofing of houses in the castle', showing that while slate roofs were present, some buildings were still thatched. Materials were carried from the 'quay'. This may refer to Cresswell Quay, which lies on an arm of Milford Haven, within the lordship near Carew, 'portage' from which is mentioned in Badminton 1564/2 below: Pembroke itself had no quay until the nineteenth century (see Ludlow 2018, 287-9).

Badminton 1564/2 (1462)

The account of the treasurer, William Herbert Esquire, for the period 2 April to 29 September 1462, partly overlaps with the previous account and, like it, mentions no new building. The sums are very small – only £20 16s in total – and relate to minor repairs in timber and masonry. Nevertheless, the account contains a wealth of information about the arrangement of buildings and chambers within the castle.

The account groups the constable's residence together with the exchequer, as the 'Exchequer and Constabulary'. The previous account locates the exchequer within the gatehouse, meaning that, by the late fifteenth century at least, the constable's residence (or 'constable's chamber') also occupied the 'standard' location over the gate. The association between the exchequer and treasury is confirmed by the use of the phrase 'Exchequer of the Treasury', and the 'Treasurer's Chamber' is also mentioned. Perhaps one

floor of the Great Gatehouse was given over to the constable and his retainers, while the other housed the treasury, exchequer, and treasurer's residence (discussed below): the duplication of lodgings on the two floors of the gatehouse at Pembroke has been the subject of some speculation (Jeremy Knight, pers. comm.), and it may well be that its fifteenth-century arrangements reflect its layout, and function, as built in the mid-thirteenth century. The gatehouse is supplied with a latrine on each floor; the exchequer latrine is mentioned in the account. The laths and lathnails, carpenters, and reference to 'teryng' (plastering with earth), may suggest partitions were being inserted or replaced in the Treasurer's Chamber, perhaps dividing his private space from more administrative areas.

Also mentioned is the Treasury Garden. This presumably occupied the outer ward, somewhere near the gatehouse, but it is uncertain whether it is the same as the 'outer garden' mentioned in the account of 1481-82 below. It appears to be another example of the historic association between judicial/fiscal officials and gardens, *cf*. 'Black Rod's Garden' outside the Houses of Parliament, and the 'Cursitor's Garden' at Carmarthen Gaol in the eighteenth century (Ludlow 2014, 236).

The 'kitchen' is again mentioned, it is not clear which kitchen is meant. Was there a separate privy kitchen for the constable and/or treasurer? There is no physical evidence that any of the gatehouse chambers could have been used for cooking, or even re-heating, but they were heavily restored in the 1930s and the evidence may have been lost. Nor did geophysical survey suggest the presence of any suitable building near the gatehouse. Did the constable and treasurer take their meals with the rest of the household, in the communal hall? Served by the 'great kitchen'? A large household would be consistent with the size of the suggested kitchen in the Chancery building. The account indicates that timber was also used in the kitchen's construction (ie. work on 'the timber of the kitchen'), which may relate to its roof, louvres or perhaps fixtures and fittings.

The 'wall outside the castle' was 'roughcast' and 'plastered', showing that the castle's external walls were rendered, and probably whitened, at least in the late fifteenth century. It is therefore likely that at least some internal buildings were, too; *cf*. whitewashing of the walls of Carmarthen Castle in the late thirteenth century, and again in the fifteenth century (Ludlow 2014, 192).

The reference to a glazier, and pewter for cames, shows that at least some windows in the castle were glazed. A window transom was also made.

A large number of roofing 'tiles' were purchased (possibly meaning slates), as well as ridge-tiles. Also 4½ seams of lead, wages for plumbers, and 'material for roofing of redlash and thatch'.

A 'pond' appears to have been lined with 'stones'. This is an account of seigneurial work, so it may relate to the castle (although the 'reeve's house' in another entry would appear to represent a detached piece of the castle messuage in one of the demesne manors, and thus recorded in this account). It is possible that the inlet beneath the Wogan Cavern, suggested in antique prints (eg. the Buck print of 1740), may be meant. However, it may relate to the fishpond near the town West Gate, mentioned in 1480-81 (Owen 1918, 146-7).

TNA DL 29/635/10337 (1481-482)

In July 1479 Pembroke came, through exchange with William Herbert II, into the hands of Edward Prince of Wales and was, for a time, annexed to the Duchy of Cornwall (Griffiths 1972, 158); it was still in his hands when he was crowned Edward V on 9 April 1483. The account was rendered by his Treasurer and Receiver of Pembroke, Richard Minors, and

covers the period 29 September 1481 to 29 September 1482. It includes a 'memorandum of the reparations done by Sir Richard Haute, Knight within the castle of Pembroke'.[12]

Most of the expenditure went on slates. However, the account mentions the 'Great Chamber', but gives no indication of its location within the castle. While it is possible that Building ***G*** in the outer ward is meant, it may refer to the solar at the end of the 'Great Hall', which shows evidence of late medieval alteration (Day and Ludlow 2016, 106-7).

The constable's chamber is again mentioned, and the masonry of its stair was repaired. The gatehouse upper chambers are accessed via spiral stairs, which may be meant, but a timber rail for the stair is also mentioned – were spiral stairs fitted with handrails by the later fifteenth century? The repair of the 'gutters and leads about the constable's chamber' suggest that it occupied the second floor of the gatehouse, beneath the roof, with the exchequer and treasurer's chamber beneath it on the first floor; the arrangement might be seen as an inversion of the expected relationship between the two, in which the responsibility for raising and lowering the portcullises, operated from the first floor, would be vested in the constable's staff rather than the treasurer's. Clay was used in 'the floor over my lord's records' which, if the records were housed in the exchequer as suggested, refers to the flooring of the constable's chamber. There is no suggestion that the gatehouse floors were of anything but timber planking, so quite how the clay would be used is unknown: might the boards and joists have been of sufficient sturdiness to carry a flagged floor over clay bedding?

Also mentioned are the 'outer garden' and its 'thorn hedge'. It has been suggested that a garden may have been located within St Ann's Bastion on the north side of the outer ward, in the early fourteenth century (Day and Ludlow 2016, 92). However, the phrasing clearly indicates the presence of at least two gardens, the outer one being distinguished from the other(s), and perhaps the Treasurer's Garden mentioned above is meant: it would presumably lie close to the gatehouse. Either way, it presumably occupied the outer ward and, if a pleasure garden, furnishes another clue to the status of the enclosure.

Arms and munitions (Neil Ludlow)

The political uncertainties of the early 1460s are more apparent in the references to arms and munitions within the Badminton MSS. The garrison at Pembroke Castle fluctuated between 36 and 47 soldiers between September 1461 and September 1462, under the constable John ap Howell ap Jankyn. It included three named gunners during the period October 1461 to April 1462, and several entries relate to firearms and artillery, including a 'brass cannon' (or 'Serpentine'), a gun-chamber and a 'stopper of ash' for a gun barrel. In addition, 1000 crossbow-bolts were purchases in 1462. Otherwise, there is little information on the composition of the garrison eg. the proportion of knights to men-at-arms (see notes above for information on the background of the gunners). Tenby Castle was also garrisoned, but the numbers are fewer – between 12 and 20 soldiers.

In addition, an earlier account from 1412, of stores held at Pembroke Castle, was transcribed (TNA E101/44/13). The castle and lordship had, since 1403, been in the hands of Francis Court who had received them as a reward for his service as a household knight of King Henry IV, and as a military response to the threat from Owain Glyndŵr's rebellion: the terms of the grant suggest that he was to be resident in the lordship, presumably at Pembroke Castle (Day and Ludlow 2016, 70), The castle was munitioned with arms and gunpowder, at Crown expense, in 1405 and 1407 (ibid.; Turvey 1990, 165 n. 78); nevertheless Francis Court had in November 1405, at Pembroke County Court, signed a six-month truce with Glyndŵr – later denounced by the King and Council – in return for £200 in silver (Turvey 1990, 164).

[12] Also reproduced in Owen 1918, 172-175.

The account relates to the aftermath of the rebellion. The rebel-held regions had gradually submitted during 1406 and 1407, but south Wales remained in a state of alert for some considerable time and the royal garrison at Carmarthen did not stand down until 1411 (Ludlow 2014, 25). During the period 1406-11 Francis Court received 16 'balistas' (probably meaning crossbows rather than firearms; Peter Purton pers. comm.), 3000 'quarrels' (crossbow-bolts), along with 50 lbs of gunpowder and 50 lbs of saltpetre, presumably for cannon already present at the castle. The threat of resurgence was clearly taken seriously.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS

(transcribed and translated by Stephen Priestley)

National Library of Wales Badminton Manorial No. 1564

Account of William Herbert Esq Treasurer of Pembroke in the time of William lord Herbert from the eve of Michelmas 1 Edward IV (28 Sep 1461) to the morrow of Michelmas 2 Edward IV (30 Sep 1462)

The account comprises four separate parts which appear to be numbered somewhat confusingly in reverse order

1564/1 – Names of the soldiers garrisoned at Pembroke Castle in 1461-62 (on a single membrane - on paper)

1564/2 – An account of necessary expenses and expenditure on building works at the castle from 2 April to 29 September 1462 (4 membranes on paper)

1564/3 – A detailed account of wages of the Constable and soldiers garrisoned at Pembroke Castle from 29 September 1461 – 2 April 1462 (4 membranes on paper)

1564/4 – An general account of revenues received and expenditure incurred during 1461-62 (3 membranes on parchment)

1564/1 Names of the soldiers garrisoned at Pembroke Castle in 1461-62 (on a single membrane - on paper)

Nomina Soldar(iorum)

Ric(ardus) Prelat

Johan(nes) ap Howell constabul(arius)

William Stephenes

D(afyd)d Taylor

William Parris

Thomas Hemyng

Jankyn ap Howel

Robert(us) Whitte

Thomas ap Ll(ewelyn)

Thomas Hunte

Gli(n) Gogh

Johan(nes) Astley

Pers Gamage

Johan(nes) Wodward

Johan(nes) Gogh

Herman Taylor

Mathew Gonner

Martyn Hisce

Herman Tripse

Thomas Caill

Ffranke Key

Thomas Wanley

Pet(er) Prumpe

Antony Forstreche

Hugh Ph(ilip)

Thomas Ad(am)

Robert(us) ap Henry

Ll(ywelyn) ap John

Ric(ardus) Sergeant

Joh(annes) Davi

Thomas ap Gli(n)

William Moris

pro Ffranke Key

pro Thomas Caill

pro William Stephenes

fuerunt
Geoffr' Herbert
Thomas Morice
Thomas ap Einion In loco ipsorum (in their place)

1564/2: An account of necessary expenses and expenditure on building works at the castle from 2 April to 29 September 1462 (4 membranes on paper)

[Note: this roll of particulars has been attached incorrectly to the main account roll, in reverse order, the membrane numbers reflect its current arrangement]

Membrane 4 – blank

Membrane 3 – (the letter A is given in the bottom left hand corner of the membrane)

Memorandum de expens(is) necessarie fact(is) pro Thes(aurio) Pembr(ochie) secondo die Aprilis anno ii Regis Edwardi iiii usque festum Sancti Michaelis ex tunc proxim(um) sequent(em)

(*Memorandum of necessary expenses made by the Treasurer of Pembroke from the 2nd of April in the 2nd year of the reign of King Edward IV to the feast of Michelmas next following*.)

In expens(is) Johann(is) ap Howell Const(abulario) Castri Pembr(ochie) cum xxxvi sold(atis) Tenbi per mandat(um) domini de causis circa adventum inimicorum Britonie in parta – xi.s vi.d.

(*For the expenses of John ap Howell Constable of the Pembroke Castle with 36 soldiers at Tenby by order of the King caused concerning the arrival of enemies of Britain in these parts – 11s 6d*).

Item In expens(is) dicti Const(abularii) transient Karm(er)dene cum Johanne William capellano de ix per duos dies integ(ros) – vi.s ii.d

(*Also for the expenses of the said Constable crossing to Carmarthen with John William the chaplain for two whole days – 6s 2d*.)

Item Ph(ilipp)o Webbe pro carr(iagio) I breve vic(ecomitis) pro leve(cione) pens(ionis) domini – iiii.d

(*Also to Philip Webbe for carrying a writ of the sheriff for the raising of the King's subsidy – 4d*)

Item alia vice ad monend(um) ministr(os) ad summonend(um) patriam pro defencione – xxi.d

(*Also on another occasion to counsel ministers to summon the district for its defence – 21d*)

Item sol(utio) I homine carrent(i) I breve vic(ecomitis) iiii.d

(*Also payment to one man carrying a writ of the sheriff – 4d*).

Item Roberto ap Henry pro carr(iagio) I breve ad seisand(um) terr(am) Maron Jordan vis' et lettera maior ville Tenby ad removand(um) tunc maiore – iiii.d

(*Also to Robert ap Henry for carrying a writ of the sheriff to seize the land of Maron Jordan and a letter to the mayor of the town of Tenby to remove the present mayor – 4d*)

Item in expens(is) Rob(erti) Bennayth equitanti et Thome Wanley dict(o) vic(ecomite) ex causa predicta et al(ii) apud Tenbi per I noctem – ix.d

(*Also for the expenses of Robert Bennayth riding and Thomas Wanley to the said sheriff for the aforementioned reason and another at Tenby for one night – 9d*).

Item alia vice sol(utum) Phi(lippi) Webbe et alt' cum iiii.d pro equo sibi ad monend(um) maior Ville Tenbi et ministrum pro defencione patrie- xii.d

(*Also on another occasion to Philip Webbe and another with 4d for his horse to counsel the mayor of the Town of Tenby and his minsters for the defence of the district – 12d*).

Item sol(utum) Johanni Scotte et alt(ero) ad monend(um) ministr(os) pro dipt' ipsorum et ball(ivi) Tenbi – xiiii.d

(*Also payment to John Scott and another person to counsel the ministers for appointing the same and the bailiff of Tenby – 14d*)

Item ad Tailor' transient(i) Tenbi – iiii.d.

(*Also for a tailor crossing to Tenby – 4d*.)

Summa – xxiii.s xi.d

(*Total 23s 11d*)

Empciones de stuff(ura) et alt(ero) auwork

(*Purchases of materials and other leadwork*)

Item pro I line – i.d

(*Also for a linen cloth – 1d*.)

Item pro I tobbe – iiii.d

(*Also for a tub – 4d*)

Item pro I rodde - ii.d

(*Also for a rod – 2d*)

[crossed out] In CC ferri empti de Willelmo Goddard C ad v.s iiii.d liberat' Johanni ap Howel – x.s viii.d

(*For two hundred weight of iron bought of William Goddard at 5d 4d a hundred weight delivered to John ap Howel – 10s 8d*.)

Item in Mill quarrell(is) hedd(is) emp(tis) pro stuff(ura) domini CC C ad iii.s iiii.d et viii Cen' C ad iiii.s empt(is) de Willelmo Carwey Smyth – xxxviii.s viii.d

(*Also for 1000 headed crossbow bolts purchased for the lord's stores. 200 for 3s 4d a hundred and 800 at 4s a hundred, bought of William Carwey smith – 38s 8d*.)

Item I chambr(a) pro I gonn(e) empta de ipso Willelmo per magistrum pro ponder' ferri – viii.d

(*Also for a chamber for a cannon purchased from the same William by the master for weighing of the iron – 8d*)

Item pro I clave et platte (iii.d) pro le cheker I horsloke (vi.d) iiii magnis ser(uris) (iiii.s) pro Escheker et Const(abulario) pro cere xii.d – iiii.s ix.d

(*Also for a key and a plate (3d) for the Exchequer, one padlock for a horse fetter (6d) 4 great locks (4s) for the Exchequer and Constabulary at 12d a lock – 4s 9d*.)

In M M CCL lathes empt(is) pro staur(o) C(entena) ad xii.d – xxii.s vi.d

(*For 2250 laths bought for stores at 12d a hundred – 22s 6d*.)

In vii Mill CCC lathnaill empt(is) Mill ad ii.s vi.d – xviii.s iii.d

(*For 7300 lathnails purchased at 2s 6d a thousand – 18s 4d*).

In Mill pynnis pro till(is) ultra pro operar(iis) fact(is)– xii.d

(*For 1000 pins for tiles above and beyond for the works above mentioned – 12d*)

Membrane 2 – (the letter 'B' is marked in the top left hand corner of the membrane)

In tegulis iii Mill et di(midium) Mill ad ii.s v.d (viii.s v.d ob). iii Mill CCCC Mill ad ii.s iiii.d (vii.s ix.d) v Mill CC Mill ad ii.s ii.d (xi.s v.d) viii C di C ad iii.d (ii.s i.d) – xxix.s ix.d ob

(*For tiles, 3500 at 2s 6d a thousand (8s 5½d) 3400 at 2s 4d a thousand (7s 9d) 5200 at 2s 2d a thousand (11s 5d) 850 at 3d a hundred (2s 1d) – 29s 9 ½d*).

Item in bordis empt(is) de Johanne Harry iiii semes et di(imidium) seme ad xv.d pro opera Castri – v.s ix.d ob.

(*Also for boards purchased from John Harry, 4½ seams at 15d a seam for the work of the Castle – 5s 9 ½d*)

Item I seme de eodem – xv.d. Item in iiii XX ix bord(is) et I trokyll empt(is) apud Kriswell cum iiii.d pro labore arerat' illus liberat(is) Johanni ap Howel Const(abularii) ad opus Castri – viii.s

(*Also for one seam from the same – 15d. Also for 89 boards and one pulley bought at Cresswell with 4d for the work of obtaining the same delivered to John ap Howel Constable for the works of the castle 8s*.)

Item sol(utum) Thome Dele pro lxviii bord(is) apud Criswell cum portag(io) vi.d – ix.s iiii.d

(*Also paid to Thomas Dele for 68 boards at Cresswell with portage 6d – 9s 4d.)*

Item pro xii bord(is) de Erlond empt(is) de Johanna Castell pro castro et ii bord(is) pro lect' bord' ad iiii.d – iiii.s viii.d

(*Also for 12 boards of Ireland bought of Joan Castell for the castle and 2 boards for a lectern at 4d a board – 4s 8d*).

Item sol(utum) pro I draught terre (xii.d) et pro I alt' [pol'] arbore pro fenestr(is) et legg(is) et iiii poll(is) de Johanna Castell poll(um) ad iiii.d qua – iii.s iiii.d.

(*Also paid for one draught load of earth (12d) and for another tree for making windows and ledges and four poles bought of Joan Castell for 4 ¼ d a pole – 3s 4d*.)

In calc(ea) vivi empta pro plastryng et helyng buss' ad i.d ob lxxvii buss' – ix.s vii.d ob.

(*For quicklime purchased for plastering and roofing, 77 bushels at 1½d a bushel – 9s 7½d*.)

Item sol(utum) pro iii virg(is) de panni pro Scakkario Thes(aurii) prec(ium) virg(e) iii.s vii.d – x.s ix.d

(*Also paid for 3 verges of cloth for the Exchequer of the Treasury, the price of a verge 3s 7d – 10s 9d.)*

Item pro panno pro corpo(re) de Reddelashe et takk– vii.d

(*Also for material for roofing of redlash and thatch – 7d*)

Summa stuff et auwork – viii.li ix.s v.d.

(*Total of materials and leadwork - £8 9s 5d*)

Memorandum de diversis reparac(ionibus) fact(is) infra Castrum Pembroke a secundo die Aprilis Anno ii Reg(is) Edwardi quarti in diversis locis ut apparet per operac(iones) et credit(as) operant(ium) ibidem usque festum Sancti Michaelis Arch(angeli) et super murum extra castrum et periacend(um) murum et rudyng ibidem.

(*Memorandum of various repairs carried out within the castle of Pembroke from 2nd April 2 Edward IV in various places as appears by the works and the testimony of those working there up to the feast of Michelmas and upon the wall outside the castle and roughcasting the wall and plastering the same*)

In primis sol(utum) Margaret Cowl Katerine Mullen pro portag(io) xv buss(ellorum) calce vivi xiii borde(um) pill et gravel – iiii.d

(*First payment to Margaret Cowl, Katherine Mullen for portage [transport] of 15 bushels of quicklime, 13 boards, piles and gravel – 4d.)*

Item sol(utum) Philippo Gronow carrent(i) lutum pro terryng – vi.d

(*Also payment to Philip Gronow carrying sand for earthing [plastering with earth] – 6d)*

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Callan pro carr(iagio) calce et luti – iiii.d

(*Also payment to William Callan for carriage of lime and sand – 4d*)

Item sol(utum) Philippo Parthorn pro fodicione luti – iiii.d

(*Also payment to Philip Parthorn for digging of sand – 4d*)

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe pro framyng pro terend(o) vid(elicet) shiftyng de lathes per v dies mense Aprilis- ii.s vi.d.

(*Also payment to Henry Gibbe for framing [making wattle frames) for plastering with earth, viz for the splitting of laths for 5 days in the month of April – 2s 6d*).

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe et Willelmo Jordan operant(is) in Cam(era) Thes(aurii) per iiii dies et di(midium) ca(pientis) quilibet ipsorum per diem vi.d – v.s.

(*Also payment to Henry Gibbe and William Jordan working in the Treasurer's Chamber for 4½ days, each receiving 6d per day – 5s*)

Item sol(utum) Thome Forte operant(i) ad serviend(um) ipsos per diem et di(midiam) lutei – vi.d

(*Also payment to Thomas Forte working to assist the same for 1½ days with sand – 6d*)

Item pro vi crochitt(is) pro hengyng f(ac)iend(is) – ii.d

(*Also for making 6 hooks for hanging – 2d*)

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe et Willelmo Jordan operant(is) ibidem per v dies et di(midiam) quilibet ipsorum ca(pienti) v.d – v.s vi.d

(*Also payment to Henry Gibbe and William Jordan working there for 5½ days each receiving 5d – 5s -6d*)

Item sol(utum) Thome Forte per idem tempus – xxii.d

(*Also payment to Thomas Forte for the same period – 22d*)

Membrane 1 – (the letter 'C' is marked in the top left hand corner of the membrane)

Item sol(utum) Katerine Mollen pro portac(io) tegulis – ii.d

(*Also paid to Katherine Mollen for transporting tiles – 2d*)

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe et Willelmo Jordan operant(is) per v dies et di(midiam)– v.s vi.d

(*Also paid to Henry Gibbe and William Jordan working for 5½ days – 5s 6d*)

Item sol(utum) Thome Forte per iii dies et di(midiam) – xiiii.d

(*Also paid to Thomas Forte for 3½ days – 14d*)

Item sol(utum) Thome Dele per vii dies carpent(ario) ca(pienti) vi.d – iii.s vi.d

(Also paid to Thomas Dele carpenter for 7 days receiving 6d [daily]– 3s 6d)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Dele operant(i) per diem et di(midiam) ca(pienti) vi.d per diem – ix.d

(*Also paid to John Dele working for for 1½ days receiving 6d per day – 9d*.)

Item sol(utum) Thome Whitte carrent(i) calce et gravel – ix.d

(*Also paid to Thomas Whitte carrying lime and gravel – 9d.)*

Item pro carr(iagio) lapid(um) – iii.d

(*Also for the carriage of stones – 3d*)

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe operant(i) ibidem per iiii dies ca(pienti) vi.d quilibet ipsorum – iiii.s

(*Also paid to Henry Gibbe working there for 4 days receiving 6d each of them – 4s*)*

*The entry implies that there were two persons paid for work, Henry Gibbe and another mason, most likely William Jordan mentioned in the previous entries

Item sol(utum) Thome Forte servient(i) le masones per iiii dies ca(pienti) iiii.d per diem – xvi.d

(*Also payment to Thomas Forte serving the masons for 4 days receiving 4d a day-16d*.)

Item Thome Whitte junior(i) per iii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem iiii.d – xiiii.d

(*Also to Thomas Whitte junior for 3½ days receiving 4d a day – 14d*.)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok operant(i) super meremio coquine et Cam(era) et al(ia) et ad silva(m). In primis per duos dies et di(midiam) de novo iam edit' – ii.s vi.d.

(*Also payment to John Danok working on the timber of the kitchen and the Chamber and another [chamber] and at the wood, firstly for 2½ days now newly declared – 2s 6d*).

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Callan carrent(i) vi loddes de Pencoid ca(pienti) pro le lod – xv.d

(*Also payment to William Callan carrying 6 loads from Pencoed receiving for the load – 15d*)

Item sol(utum) Thome Whit pro car(iagio) tymbr de Pencoid ad Castrum ca(pienti) – ii.s viii.d

(*Also payment to Thomas White for carriage of timber from Pencoed to the Castle receiving 2s 8d*.)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Ph(ilip) carrent(i) de Pencoid ca(pienti) pro le lodde iii.d – iii.d

(*Also payment to William Philip carrying from Pencoed, receiving 3d for the load – 3d*.)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok seniori et Johanni Danok juniori per diem cap(ientis) vi.d per diem - xii.d

(*Also payment to John Danok senior and John Danok junior for a day, receiving 6d per day -12d*.)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok juniori operant(i) ibidem per iii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem vi.d – xxi.d

(*Also payment to John Danok junior working there for 3½ days receiving 6d per day – 21d*.)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Danok juniori operant(i) ibidem per iii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem v.d - xvii.d ob

(*Also payment to William Danok junior working there for 3½ days receiving 5d per day – 17 ½ d*)

Item sol(utum) Ricardo Davi operant(i) ibidem per iii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem v.d - xvii.d ob

(*Item payment to Richard Davi working there for 3½ days receiving 5d per day – 17 ½ d*)

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe operant(i) ibidem per quinque dies ca(pienti) per diem vi.d – ii.s ix.d

(*Also payment to Henry Gibbe working there for 5 days receiving 6d per day – 2s 9d*.)

Item sol(utum) Thome Fort operant(i) ibidem per idem tempus – xxii.d

(*Also payment to Thomas Fort working there for the same time – 22d*)

Item sol(utum) Thome Forte ad fregend(um) vetus opus – xiiii.d

(*Also payment to Thomas Forte for breaking up the old work – 14d)*

Item sol(utum) Thome Whit' Carrior' carrent(i) quilibet die x.d per iii dies – ii.s vi.d

(*Also payment to Thomas White carter, carrying for 3 days at 10d each day – 2s 6d*)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Kemeys operant(i) ibidem per iii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem iiii.d – xiiii.d

(*Also payment to John Kemeys working there for 3½ days receiving 4d per day – 14d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Callan carrent(i) iiii loddes de meremio de Pencoid – xii.d

(*Also payment to William Callan carrying 4 loads of timber from Pencoed – 12d*)

Item sol(utum) Llodowico Tokker per iii dies et di(midiam) – xiiii.d

(*Also payment to Lodowick Tokker for 3½ days – 14d*)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Kyng pro cartyng de tymbr apud Pencoid per diem iiii.d – iiii.d

(*Also payment to John Kyng for carting the timber at Pencoed for 4d a day – 4d*)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok seniore operant(i) ibidem per v dies ca(pienti) per diem vi.d – ii.s vi.d

(*Also payment to John Danok the elder working there for 5 days receiving 6d a day – 2s 6d*)

Plus in dorso - Summa – lxii.s v.d

(*More on back [of membrane]– Total 62s 5d*)

Membrane 1 *dorse*

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok Juniori operant(i) ibidem per iiii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem vi.d – ii.s iii.d

(*Also payment to John Danok junior working there for 4½ days receiving 6d per day – 2s 3d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Danok operant(i) ibidem per iiii dies et di(midiam) cap(ienti) per diem v.d – xxii.d ob

(*Also payment to William Danok working there for 4½ days receiving 6d per day 5d – 22½d*)

Item sol(utum) Ricardo Davi operant(i) ibidem per v dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem v.d – ii.s iii.d ob

(*Also payment to Richard Davy working there for 5½ days receiving 5d per day – 2s 3 ½d*)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok juniori operant(i) ibidem per ii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem vi.d – xv.d

(*Also payment to John Danok junior working there for 2½ days receiving 6d per day – 15d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Danok operant(i) ibidem per ii dies et di(midiam) – xii.d ob

(*Also payment to William Danok working there for 2½ days – 12 ½ d*)

Item sol(utum) Ricardo Davi operant(i) ibidem per duos dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem – v.d – xii.d ob

(*Also payment to Richard Davy working there for 2½ days receiving 5d per day – 12 ½ d*)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok carpent(ario) de regardo – ii.d

(*Also payment to John Danok carpenter for reward – 2d*)

Item sol(utum) Thome Whitte carrior carrent(i) calc(em) et lapid(es) per duos dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem x.d – ii.s i.d

(*Also payment to Thomas Whitte carter for carrying lime and stones for 2½ days receiving 10d per day – 2s 1d*.)

Item Katerine Mollen pro xviii tobbis aque – i.d ob

(*Also to Katherine Mollen for 18 tubs of water – 1 ½d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Callan carrent(i) per di(midiam) diem – v.d

(*Also payment to William Callan carrying for half a day – 5d.)*

Item sol(utum) Johanni Jevan carrent(i) mullok et ad mundanum gardin(um) in le Thes(aurium) per duos dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) iiii.d per diem – x.d

(*Also payment to John Jevan carrying rubbish and cleansing the garden in the Treasury for 2½ days, receiving 4d per day – 10d*.)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danoke seniori et Johanni Danok juniori carpent(ariis) operant(is) ibidem per iiii dies ca(pientis) vi.d quilibet ipsorum per diem – iiii.s

(*Also payment to John Danok the elder and John Danok junior carpenters working there for 4 days both of them receiving 6d per day – 4s*.)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Danok juniori et Ricardo Davi operant(is) ibidem per viii dies ca(pientis) quilibet ipsorum per diem v.d – iii.s iiii.d

(*Also payment to William Danok junior and Richard Davy working there for 8 days both receiving 5d per day – 3s 4d*.)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok seniori operant(i) per iii dies ca(pienti) per diem vi.d – xviii.d

(*Also payment to John Danok the elder working for 3 days receiving 6d per day – 18d*)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok juniori operant(i) ibidem per diem et di(midiam) – ix.d

(*Also payment to John Danok junior working there for 1½ days – 9d*)

Item sol(utum) Ph(ilipp)o Pasthorn operant(i) ibidem per iiii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) iiii.d per diem – xviii.d

(*Also payment to Philip Pasthorn working there for 4½ days receiving 4d per day – 18d*)

Item sol(utum) Ph(ilipp)o Gronow pro dosen de cres(tis) – ix.d

(*Also payment to Philip Gronow for a dozen crests – 9d*)

Item pro carr(iagio) I lodde de lyme – i.d

(*Also for the carriage for 1 load of lime – 1d.)*

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Tiler et Willelmo Tiler operant(is) quilibet ipsorum per iiii dies et di(midiam) ca(pientis) per diem vi.d – iiii.s vi.d

(*Also payment to William Tiler and William Tiler working, to each of them for 4½ days receiving 6d per day – 4s 6d*)

Item sol(utum) Lodowico Tokker et Ph(ilipp)o Pasthorn operant(is) ibidem per iiii dies et di(midiam) ca(pientis) per diem iiii.d quilibet ipsorum – iii.s iiii.d

(*Also payment to Lodowick Tokker and Philip Pasthorn working there for 4½ days each of them receiving 4d per day – 3s 4d*)

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe et Thome Tiler operant(is) ibidem per iiii dies et di(midiam) – iiii.s vi.d.

(*Also payment to Henry Gibbe and Thomas Tiler working there for 4½ days – 4s 6d*)

Item sol(utum) Lodowico Tokker et Ph(ilipp)o Pasthorn operant(is) per iiii dies et di(midiam) – iii.s vi.d

(*Also payment to Lodowick Tokker and Philip Pasthorn working for 4½ days – 3s 6d*)

Summa – xlvii.s vii.d ob

(*Total 47s 7 ½ d*)

Membrane 2 *dorse*

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe et Thome Tiler operant(is) ibidem per iiii dies et di(midiam) ca(pientis) quilibet ipsorum per diem vi.d – iiii.s vi.d

(*Also payment to Henry Gibbe and Thomas Tiler working there for 4½ days both receiving 6d per day – 4s 6d*)

Item sol(utum) Lodowico Tokker et Resso Webbe operant(is) ibidem per iiii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) quilibet ipsorum iiii.d – iii.s

(*Also payment to Lodowick Tokker and Rees Webbe working there for 4½ days both receiving 4d per day – 3s*)

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe et Thome Tiler operant(is) ibidem per v dies et di(midiam) ca(pientis) quilibet ipsorum per diem vi.d – v.s vi.d

(*Also payment to Henry Gibbe and Thomas Tiler working there for 5½ days both receiving 6d per day – 5s 6d)*

Item sol(utum) Lodowico Tokker serviente ipsorum per v dies et di(midiam) – xxii.d

(Also payment to Lodowick Tokker serving the same for 5 ½ days – 22d)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Goddard carrient(i) xii barrell(is) aque – vi.d

(*Also payment to William Goddard carrying 12 barrels of water – 6d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Whitte carrient(i) calc(em) et lapid(es) – xv.d

(*Also payment to William Whitte carrying lime and stones – 15d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Callan carrient(i) dict(um) calc(em) et lapid(es) – iiii.d

(*Also payment to William Callan carrying the said lime and stones – 4d*)

Item sol(utum) Lodowico Toker ad purgand(um) le gutt(er) per duos dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem iiii.d – x.d

(*Also payment to Lodowick Tokker for cleansing the gutter for 2½ days receiving 4d per day – 10d*)

Item sol(utum) Jacobo Laurenc' per idem – iiii.d

(*Also payment to Jacob Laurence for the same – 4d*)

Item sol(utum) Ph(ilippo) Pasthorn operant(i) ibidem per diem et di(midiam) – vi.d

(*Also payment to Philip Pasthorn working there for 1½ days – 6d*)

Item sol(utum) Henrico Gibbe operant(i) per diem et di(midiam) – ix.d

(*Also payment to Henry Gibbe working there for 1½ days – 6d*)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Danok operant(i) per diem et di(midiam) – ix.d

(*Also payment to John Danok working there for 1 ½ days –9d*)

Item Johanni Pen' pro factura I transon per diem et di(midam) et alt' – vii.d ob

(*Also to John Pen for making one transom for 1 ½ days – 7 ½ d*.)

Item Johanni Carpent(ario) per duos dies et di(midiam) – xv.d

(*Item to John Carpenter for 2½ days – 15d*)

Item pro car(iagio) I arbor(is) et tamp(ion) de asshe cum diffione eiusdem – iiii.d

(*Also for the carriage of a tree and a stopper [for a cannon] of ash with the cutting down of the same – 4d)*

Item sol(utum) Briano Row et Henrico Gibbe operant(is) super fact(ura) mur(um) extra Cast(rum) per iiii dies quilibet ad vi.d – iiii.s

(*Also payment to Brian Row and Henry Gibbe working on the making of the wall outside the castle for 4 days at 6d – 4s*)

Item Johanni Wolcok et Briano Froyne operant(is) per iiii dies ca(pientis) v.d quilibet ipsorum – iii.s iiii.d

(*Also to John Wolcok and Brian Froyne working for 4 days both of them receiving 5d per day – 3s 4d*)

Item Ricardo Credi Ricardo Allen Johanni Pers Johanni Jevan Thome White Thome Forte Lodowico Tokker Johanni Gilbart Resio Webbe Johanni Kemeys Ph(ilippo) Pasthorn laborer(iis) operant(is) ibidem per iiii dies ca(pientis) quilibet per diem iiii.d – xiiii.s viii.d

(*Also to Richard Credi, Richard Allen, John Pers, John Jevan, Thomas White, Thomas Forte, Lodowick Tokker, John Gilbart, Rees Webbe, John Kemeys and Philip Pasthorn labourers working there for 4 days each receiving 4d per day – 14s 8d*)

Item Willelmo Whitte carrior' et Willelmo Callan carpent(ario) per viii dies utraque eorum per diem x.d – vi.s viii.d

(*Also to William Whitte carter and William Callan carpenter for 8 days, to both of them 10d per day – 6s 8d*)

Item pro carr(iagio) xiiii barrell(is) aque – vii.d

(*Also for the carriage of 14 barrels of water – 7d*)

Item Willelmo Ph(ilipp) pro carr(iagio) gravel' per iiii dies – iii.s iiii.d

(*Also to William Philipp for the carriage of gravel for 4 days – 3s 4d*)

Item eidem Willelmo pro carr(iagio) – ix.d

(*Also to the same William for carriage – 9d*)

[in margin Summa lv.s vii.d]

(*Total 55s 7d*)

Membrane 3 *dorse*

Item sol(utum) pro carr(iagio) iiii barg(is) de gravel ultra le barge xii.d – iiii.s

(*Also payment for carriage of 4 barges of gravel for each barge 12d – 4s*)

Item sol(utum) Briano Row et Henrico Gibbe operant(is) ibidem per iiii dies et di(midiam) – iiii.s iii.d

(*Also payment to Brian Row and Henry Gibbe working there for 4 ½ days – 4s 3d*)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Wolcok mason operant(i) ibidem per iiii dies ca(pienti) v.d per diem – xx.d

(*Also payment to John Wolcok mason working there for 4 days receiving 5d per day – 20d*)

Item sol(utum) Thome Forte Johanni Kemeys Johanni Gilbart Thome Whitte Ricardo Crede Johanni Jevan Ric(ardo) Alen operant(is) ibidem per iiii dies quilibet ca(pientis) per diem iiii.d per diem – ix.s iiii.d

(*Also payment to Thomas Forte, John Kemeys, John Gilbart, Thomas Whitte, Richard Crede, John Jeuan, Richard Alen working there for 4 days, each of them receiving 4d per day – 9s 4d*)

Item sol(utum) Resio Webbe operant(i) ibidem per ii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) iiii.d per diem – x.d

(*Also payment to Rees Webbe working there for 2 ½ days receiving 4d per day – 10d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Whitt' operant(i) ibidem per iii dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem iiii.d – xiiii.d

(*Also payment to William Whitte working there for 3 ½ days receiving 4d per day – 14d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Goddard carrient(i) xviii barrell(is) aque – ix.d

(*Also payment to William Goddard carrying 18 barrels of water*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Callan et Thome Whitt carrient(is) lapides gravel' et calc(em) ad x.d per diem – xx.d

(*Also payment to William Callan and Thomas Whitt carrying stones, gravel and lime at 10d per day - 20d*)

Item sol(utum) Johanni Jevan Johanni Kemeys Johanni Pers' Johanni Gilbart Thome Whitte Ricardo Crede operant(is) ibidem per iiii dies et di(midiam) ca(pientis) quilibet ipsorum per diem iiii.d – vii.s

(*Also payment to John Jevan, John Kemeys, John Pers, John Gilbart, Thomas Whitte, Richard Crede working there for 4 ½ days each receiving 4d per day – 7s*)

Item sol(utum) pro carr(iagio) ii loddes de sonde – viii.d

(*Also payment for carriage of 2 loads of sand – 8d*)

Item sol(utum) Briano Row operant(i) ad silva(m) ad preparand(um) lapid(es) (et in castro) pro le Stew et ibidem per I diem ['ii dies' crossed out] – xii.d [ii.s crossed out]

(*Also payment to Brian Row working in the wood preparing stones (and in the castle) for the pond and in the same place for 1 day – 12d*)

Item I homine ad serviend(um) ipsum faciend(um) mort(arium) portag' calc(em) et aqu(am) per ii dies et di(midiam) – x.d

(*Also to one man serving the same, making mortar and carrying lime and water for 2 ½ days – 10d*)

Item Johanni Dele pro faciend(o) I transon per diem vi.d – vi.d

(*Also to John Dele for making a transom for 6d a day – 6d*)

Item Willelmo Callan carrient(i) lapid(es) de Pencoid – ii.d

(*Also to William Callan carrying stones from Pencoed – 2d*)

Item sol(utum) Briano Row operant(i) super Cam(era) Const(abularii) per duos dies et di(midiam) ca(pienti) per diem vi.d – xii.d

(*Also payment to Brian Row working on the Constable's Chamber for 2½ days receiving 6d per day – 12d*.)

Item Johanni Wolcok operant(i) ibidem ad idem tempus per duos dies ca(pienti) v.d – x.d

(Item to John Wolcock working there for the same period for 2 days receiving 5d – 10d.)

Item Lodowico Toker et Ph(ilipp)o Pasthorn – xvi.d

(*Item to Lodowick Tokker and Philip Pasthorn – 16d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Callan carrient(i) calc(em) et lapid(es) per diem et di(midiam) – xv.d

(*Also payment to William Callan carrying lime and stones for 1 ½ days*)

Item pro carr(iagio) aque – i.d ob

(*Also for the carriage of water – 1½ days*)

Item sol(utum) le Glasier pro ii lb et di(midiam) pewt(er) – v.d

(*Also payment to the Glazier for 2 ½ lbs of pewter – 5d*)

Item sol(utum) predicto Glasier ex vis(u) – ii.s vi.d

(*Also payment to the said Glazier by view– 2s 6d*)

Item sol(utum) Willelmo Plum(bario) operant(i) in castro per v dies et di(midiam) super le Ledds ca(pienti) vi.d per diem – ii.s ix.d

(*Also payment to William the Plumber working in the castle for 5½ days and on the Leads receiving 6d per day – 2s 9d*)

Item Johanni Plumer operant(i) ibidem per iii dies et di(midiam) et Johanni Reynold per iiii dies – ii.s vi.d

(*Also payment to John Plumber working there for 3 ½ days and John Reynold for 4 days – 2s 6d*)

Membrane 4 *dorse*

Summa – xlvi.s vi.d ob

(*Total 46s 6 ½ d*)

Item sol(utum) pro xvii.li(bratis) et di(midiam) sowder lib(rum) ad iii.d Willelmo Plumer' – iiii.s v.d ob

(*Also for payment to William the Plumber for 17 ½ lbs of solder at 3d a pound* – 4s 5 ½d)

Item sol(utum) Johanni William (diem vi.d) et Patrico Smith (ii dies xii.d) operant(is) super le Serpentyn bras et Thome Bras (x.d ii dies et di) – ii.s iiii.d

(*Also payment to John William (a day at 6d) and Patrick Smith (2 days at 12d) working on the brass cannon (Serpentine) and Thomas Bras (10d for 2 ½ days) – 2s 4d*)

Item to John Irishe for makyng of a stey in Thes(aurio) – ix.d

(*Also to John Irish for making of a 'stay' in the Treasury – 9d*)

Item for a bolte of myn owne ire to plat Chambyr – iiii.d

(*Also for a bolt of my own iron to plate the chamber [presumably of the cannon] – 4d*)

Item for a stey for a loke – i.d

(*Also for a pin for a lock – 1d*)

Item for naill – xvi.d

(*Also for nails – 16d*)

Item for ire – iiii.d

(*Also for iron – 4d*)

Item for wirchyng pl' [text illegible] for stapell hokes twistes – xiiii.d

(*Also for the working of lead (?) for staples, hooks and twists – 14d*)

Item for barre of ire – iii.d

(*Also for a bar of iron – 3d*)

Item for nail – ii.d

(*Also for nails – 2d*)

Item pro ferro et produc(cione) eiusdem in hok(is) – vii.d

(*Also for iron and for the making of the same in hooks – 7d*)

Item pro hok(is) twist(is) fac(iendis) – vi.d

(*Also for making of hooks and twists – 6d*)

Item Johanni Smith pro ladell(o) – ii.d

(*Also to John Smith for a ladle – 2d*)

Item pro spikk' – i.d

(*Also for spiking [nails] – 1d*)

Item pro barr(is) fenestre et ferro – ix.d

(*Also for window bars and iron – 9d*)

Item in expens(is) et cust(ibus) – advent(um) domini

(*Also for expenses and costs – the arrival of the Lord [Herbert*])

In primis sol(utum) pro mundacione le Cheker et le Segge pro eidem – vi.d

(*First payment for the cleansing of the Exchequer and the Latrine for the same – 6d*)

Item in carriag(io) de Russhes mowyng eiusdem car' mowyng et carying – xxi.d

(*Also for the carriage of rushes, the mowing of the same and carrying – 21d*)

Summa xv.s vi.d ob

(*Total 15s 6 ½ d*)nv

Summa totalis parcel(arum) infra et extra – xx.li xvi.s i.d

(*Sum total of the parcels within and without - £20 16s 1d*)

Item in domo pretorii sol(utum) pro I matte (iiii.d) super scannum ibidem et pro operibus carpentarie super reparacionem hostiorum ibidem cum empcione clav(orum) et maerem(iorum) cum mundacione dicte domus ac pro I cera et clave empt' pro eodem – xv.d ob

(*Also for the reeve's house, payment for a mat upon the bench there and for the carpentry works on the repair of the doors there and for the purchase of keys and timber together with the cleaning of the same house and for one lock and key purchased for the same – 15½ d*)

[in margin xx.li xvii.s iiii.d ob]

1564/3 A detailed account of wages of the Constable and soldiers garrisoned at Pembroke Castle from 2 October 1 Edward IV (1461) to 2 April 1462 (4 membranes on paper)

Membrane 1

Vadia soldar(iorum)

(*Wages of the soldiers*)

In vadiis Ric(ard)i Prelat a secondo die Octobr(is) anno regni regis Edwardi iiii primo usque ii diem Aprilis ex tunc proxim(um) sequent(em) viz pro utroque die comput(ato) viz pro clxxx iii diebus ad x.d per diem – vii.li xii.s vi.d

(*For the wages of Richard Prelat from the 2nd of October in the 1st year of the reign of King Edward IV to the 2nd of April next following viz both days accounted viz for 183 days at 10d a day - £7 12s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Davy per idem tempus ad x.d per diem – vii.li xii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Davy for the same period at 10d per day – £7 12s 6d.)*

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) ap Howell per idem tempus viz per lxvii dies ad x.d per diem et per cxvi dies ad viii.d per diem –vi.li xiii.s ii.d

(*Also for the wages of John ap Howell for the same period viz for 67 days at 10d per day and for 116 days at 8d per day – £6 13s 2d*.)

Item in vadiis Thome Chester pro lxxx iii diebus ad x.d per diem - lxix.s ii.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Chester for 83 days at 10d per day – 69s 2d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Coldrell pro clxxx iii diebus ad vi.d per diem – iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Coldrell for 183 days at 6d per day - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Parys per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Parys for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Hemynge per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Hemyng for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) David Taillor per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of David Taillor for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Joh(an)nis Morys per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Morys for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thom(e) Colyns per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Colyns for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Stevenes per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Stevenes for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Jankyn ap Howell per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Jankyn ap Howell for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Hopkyn ap Jor(dan) per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Hopkyn ap Jordan for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome ap Howell Hene per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas ap Howell Hene for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome ap Ll(ywelyn) per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas ap Llywelyn for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Roberti White per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Robert White for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Hunte per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Hunte for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) ap Jeuan per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John ap Jeuan for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Howell ap Henr' per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Howell ap Henry for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome ap Gli(n) per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas ap Glyn for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Jankyn ap Ph(ilipp) per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Jankyn ap Philip for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Jankyn ap Hopkyn per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Jankyn ap Hopkyn for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Llewys Cook per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Lewis Cook for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johannis Asteley per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Astley for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Tanner al' Westbury per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Tanner alias Westbury for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Glov(er) de Bristoll per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Glover of Bristol for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Pet(ri) Gamage per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Peter Gamage for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Cart(er) per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Carter for the same period - £4 11s 6d.*)

Item in vad(iis) Johannis Wodward per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Wodward for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Barbor per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Barbor for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Rooche per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Rooche for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johannis Curteys per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Curteys for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Paunce per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Paunce for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Gough per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Gough for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Berell per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Berell for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome ap Eignon per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas ap Einion for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Henr(ici) Wanhost Gonner per idem tempus - iiii.li xi.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Henry Wanhost Gunner for the same period - £4 11s 6d*.)

Item pro tabul(a) eiusdem ex con(vencione) per idem tempus viz per xxvi sept(imanas) ad [text missing] per sept(imanam) – xx.s

(*Also for his table for the same period by agreement, viz for 26 days at [9¼ d] per week – 20s.*)

[in margin clxxvii.li vi.s x.d]

Membrane 2

Item in vad(iis) Ed(ward)i Wolpen pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Edward Wolpen for 15 days at 6d per day – 7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Roberti Rys pro xxx diebus ad vi.d per diem – xv.s

(*Also for the wages of Robert Rys for 30 days at 6d per day – 15s.)*

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Pleyer pro lxxx ii diebus per diem vi.d – xli.s

(*Also for the wages of William Pleyer for 82 days at 6d per day – 41s*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Carpent(er) pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of John Carpenter for 52½ days at 6d per day – 26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Taillor pro xxx diebus ad vi.d per diem – xv.s

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Taillor for 30 days at 6d per day – 15s*.)

Item in vad(iis) Ric(ardi) Huchous pro lxxx ii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xli.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Richard Huchous for 82½ days days at 6d per day – 41s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Henr(ici) Bochors pro xxx diebus at vi.d per diem – xv.s

(*Also for the wages of Henry Bochors for 30 days at 6d per day – 15s*.)

Item in vad(iis) Roberti Stancombe pro lxxx ii diebus di ad vi.d per idem – xli.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Robert Stancombe for 82½ days days at 6d per day – 41s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Essex pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of William Essex for 52½ days at 6d per day – 26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Taillor pro lxvii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxxiii.s ix.d

(*Also for the wages of William Taillor for 67½ days at 6d per day – 33s 9d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Joh(annis) Rawlyns pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of John Rawlyns for 52½ days at 6d per day – 26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Joh(annis) Lovynge pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of John Lovynge for 52½ days at 6d per day – 26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Hayron pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Hayron for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Hayron pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Hayron for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Ed(ward)i Cradok pro xxx diebus ad vi.d per diem – xv.s

(*Also for the wages of Edward Cradok for 30 days at 6d a day – 15s.*)

Item in vad(iis) Nichi Smyth pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Nicholas Smyth for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Nichi Lydeyate pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Nicholas Lydyate for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Nichi Neston pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Nicholas Neston for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Pembrok pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Pembroke for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Hewer pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Hewer for 52½ days at 6d per day –26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Ed(ward)i Tankard pro lii diebus ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Edward Tankard for 52½ days at 6d per day –26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Roberti Este pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Robert Este for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Glou' de Cirencestr pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Glover of Cirencester for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Godewyn pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Godewyn for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Knyght pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of John Knyght for 52½ days at 6d per day –26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Newton pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Newton for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Nichi Aleyn pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Nicholas Aleyn for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Maur' Castell pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Maurice Castell for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Howell pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Howell for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Jones pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Jones for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Roberti Ludlowe pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Robert Ludlow for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Lowis John pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Lewis John for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Lowys Morgan pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Lewis Morgan for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Ric(ardi) Scudamor pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Richard Scudamore for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Ingell Prybaker pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Ingell Prybaker for 52½ days at 6d per day –26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Lewys pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Lewys for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Dene pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Dene for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Wilteshire pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Wiltshire for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Parson pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Parson for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Waren pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Waren for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Miles pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Miles for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Ricardi Kytilhall pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Richard Kytilhall for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Webbe pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Webbe for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Cradok pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Cradok for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Stanley pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Stanley for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Davy pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Davy for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Ricardi Baker pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Richard Baker for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

[in margin clxxvii.li vi.s x.d]

Membrane 3

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Colmon pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Colmon for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Ricardi Broune pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Richard Broune for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome ap Jor(dan) ap Hopkyn pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas ap Jordan ap Hopkyn for 52½ days at 6d per day –26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Roberti ap John pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Robert ap John for 52½ days at 6d per day –26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Gough pro clxxi diebus - iiii.li v.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Gough for 171 days –£4 5s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Jeuan ap Grono pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Jeuan ap Grono for 52½ days at 6d per day –26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) ap Gli(n) Vaughan pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of John ap Glyn Vaughan for 52½ days at 6d per day –26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) ap Gli(n) Hene pro lxvii diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xxxiii.s ix.d

(*Also for the wages of John ap Glyn Hene for 67½ days at 6d per day –33s 9d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Davy pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of William Davy for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Howell Bengr' pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Howell Bengry for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Walteri Moris pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Walter Morris for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Nichi Panter pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Nicholas Panter for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Mathei Davy pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Matthew Davy for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome ap Hopkyn pro lii diebus di ad vi.d per idem – xxvi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas ap Hopkyn for 52½ days at 6d per day –26s 3d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Will(elmi) pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John William for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Thome [name illegible] pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas [ ] for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelmi Laur(ence) pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Laurence for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Whitebury pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of John Whitebury for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Leonardi Duchenon pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Leonard Duchenon for 15 days at 6d per day –7s 6d*.)

[in margin l.li xviii.s]

Item in vad(iis) Hermon Taillor Burgoyn pro clv diebus viz a penultimo die Oct(obris) anno r(egni) Regis E(dwardi) iiii primo usque ii diem April(is) proxim(um) sequent(em) utroque die computato ad vi.d per idem – lxxvii.s vi.d.

(*Also for the wages of Herman Taillor of Burgundy for 155 days viz from the penultimate day [30th] of October in the 1st year of the reign of King Edward IV to the 2nd day of April next following (both days included) at 6d per day – 77s 6d.)*

Item in vad(iis) Hermani Trippese per idem tempus – lxxvii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Herman Trippese for the same period – 77s 6d.*)

Item in vad(iis) M(agistri) Hugo Gonn(er) per idem tempus – lxxvii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Master Hugh the Gunner for the same period – 77s 6d.*)

Item in vad(iis) Martyn Hiske per idem tempus – lxxvii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Martin Hiske for the same period – 77s 6d.*)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Bayles per idem tempus – lxxvii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Bayles for the same period – 77s 6d.*)

Item in vad(iis) Franke Key Burgoyn a xiii die Nov(embris) anno predicto usque ii diem April(is) extunc prox(imum) sequent(em) pro cxli dies utroque die computato ad vi.d per diem – lxx.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Franke Key of Burgundy from 13th of November in the aforesaid [1st] year to the 2nd of April next following for 141 days (both days included) at 6d per day – 70s 6d.*)

Item in vad(iis) Thome Wanley per idem tempus – lxx.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Thomas Wanley for the same period – 70s 6d.*)

Item in vad(iis) Petri Pompey per idem tempus – lxx.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Peter Pompey for the same period – 70s 6d.*)

Item in vad(iis) Antony Gonn(er) pro lxxx vi diebus di ad vi.d per diem – xliii.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of Anthony Gunner for 86½ days at 6d per day – 43s 3d.*)

Item in vad(iis) Hans Duchenon pro xv diebus ad vi.d per diem – vii.s vi.d

(*Also for the wages of Hans Duchenon for 15 days at 6d per day – 7s 6d*.)

Membrane 4

Item in vad(iis) Johann(is) Sompternon pro clv dies viz a penult(imo) die Oct(obris) usque ii diem Aprilis utroque die comput(ato) ad vi.d per diem – lxxvii.s vi.d.

(*Also for the wages of John Sompternon for 155 days from the penultimate day of October (30th) to 2nd day of April (both days included), at 6d per day – 57s 6d*.)

Item in vad(iis) Willelm(i) Clarke pro xxii diebus di(midia) ad vi.d per diem – xi.s iii.d

(*Also for the wages of William Clarke for 22 ½ days at 6d per day – 11s 3d*)

Item in vad(iis) Howell ap Gr(uffydd) Duy pro xxxvii diebus et di ad vi.d per diem – xviii.s ix.d

(*Also for the wages of Howell ap Gruffydd Duy for 37 ½ days at 6d per day – 18s 9d*)

[in margin xxxvii.li xvii.s iii.d]

Summa tot(alis) – cclxvi.li ii.s i.d.

(*Sum total - £266 2s 1d*)

1564/4 Account of William Herbert Esq Treasurer of Pembroke in the time of William lord Herbert from the eve of Michelmas 1 Edward IV (28 Sep 1461) to the morrow of Michelmas 2 Edward IV (30 Sep 1462) (3 membranes on parchment)

Membrane 1

Comitatus Pembr(ochie) Offic(ium) Thes(aurarii) Compotus Willelmi Herbert armigeri Thes(aurarii) Pembr(ochie) in tempore Willelmi Domini Herbert ac domini ibidem a vigilia Sancti Michaelis Anno predicti Regis Anno regni regis Edwardi quarti primo usque in crastinum Michaelis Anno predicti Regis Edwardi ii sic pro iii quarteriis etc

(*Office of Treasurer of the County of Pembroke – Account of William Herbert esquire Treasurer of Pembroke in the time of William Lord Herbert from the eve of Michelmas in the 1st year of the reign of King Edward IV to the morrow of Michelmas in the 2nd year of the reign of the said King Edward thus for three quarters etc.)*

Arreragia – Nullus quia primus comput(atus) Thes(aurarii) in isto officio.

(*Arrears – None because this is the first account of the Treasurer in this office*)

Summa – nulla

Villa Pembr(ochie) Sed idem Thes(aurarius) re(spondet) de denar(iis) recept(is) de Dd Gr(ono) et Jankyn Adam Ballivis ville Pembr(ochie) de termino Michaelis in principio huius compoti – vi.li vii.s x.d

(*The town of Pembroke – The same Treasurer answers for money received from David Grono and Jankyn Adam Bailiffs of the town of Pembroke from the term of Michelmas at the start of this account - £6 7s 10d.*)

Et in denar(iis) recept(is) de Thoma Donne et Ricardo Hobbes Ballivis ville predicte de parte exit(um) eorum Offic(iorum) huius anni – vii.li iiii.s ii.d

(*And for money received from Thomas Donn and Richard Hobbes bailiffs of the said town from part of the issues of their offices this year - £7 4s 2d.*)

Summa – xiii.li xii.s

(*Total £13 12s.*)

Passag(ium) de Burton – Et de vi.s viii.d de denar(iis) recept(is) de Johannis Dynet et soc(iis) suis ffirmar(iis) ibidem

(*The passage [ferry] of Burton – And for 6s 8d from money received from John Dynet and his fellows farmers there.)*

Coydrath – Et de cxiii.s iiii.d rec(eptis) de Johanne ap Gli(n) ap Thomas forestario ac preposit(o) de Coidrath de predicto termino Michaelis in principio istius compoti accid'

(*Coydrath – And for 113s 4d received from John ap Glyn ap Thomas forester and reeve of Coydrath from the said term of Michelmas occurring at the start of this account*.)

Castelmartin – Et de xii.li ii.s x.d rec(eptis) de Willelmo Poyer preposit(o) de Castelmartyn de dicto termino Michaelis

(*Castlemartin – And for £12 2s 10d received from William Poyer reeve of Castlemartin from the said term of Michelmas.*)

Et de xl.li vii.s de denar(iis) recept(is) de Ricardo Moris collect(orio) redd(itum) de Esthundr' nunc de parte exit(um) per tempus compoti

(*And for £40 7s from money received from Richard Morris now collector of the rents of East Hundred from part of the issues for the same period.)*

Et de xxxix.li ii.s iiii.d ob rec(eptis) de Elena Laurence collect(orio) redd(itum) de Westhundr' nunc de parte exit(um) per idem tempus

(*And for £39 2s 4½ d received from Elena Laurence now collector of the rents of West Hundred from part of the issues for the same period*.)

Et de xi.li xvii.s vii.d rec(eptis) de Thoma Hobbe preposit(o) ibidem de exit(ibus) Offic(ii) sui huius anni

(*And for £11 17s 7d received from Thomas Hobbe reeve of the same from the issues of his Office for this year*.)

West Pembr(ochia) Et de lix.s ix.d rec(eptis) de Johanne Russell de termino Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi iiii primo

(*West Pembroke – And for 59s 9d received from John Russell from the term of Michelmas in the 1st year of the reign of King Edward IV*.)

Et de xxxii.li xvii.s viii.d rec(eptis) de Johanne Russell bedello ibidem nunc de parte exit(um) pro I anno post dictum termin(um) Michaelis

(*And for £32 17s 8d received from John Russell now beadle there from part of the issues for one year after the said term of Michelmas.*)

Villa Tinnb' – Et de x.li x.s vi.d rec(eptis) de Johanne Sevor et Johanne Colynn Ballivis ibidem de termino Michaelis in principio huius compoti

(*The town of Tenby – And for £10 10s 6d received from John Sevor and John Colynn Bailiffs there from the term of Michelmas at the start of this account.*)

Et de lxvi.s viii.d rec(eptis) de Dd Perrot de firma mol(endini) ventric' eiusdem termini Michaelis

(*And for 66s 8d received from David Perrot from the farm of the windmill in the said term of Michelmas.*)

Et de xix.li xi.s ii.d rec(eptis) de Johanne Magot et Ric(ardo) Hogge Ballivis ville predicte de parte exit(um) per tempus compoti

(*And for £19 11s 2d received from John Magot and Richard Hogge Bailiffs of the said town from part of the issues during the term of the account.*)

Et de lix.s rec(eptis) de Johanne ap Gli(n) de appr(ovamento) mol(endini) bladis ibidem per tempus compoti

(*And for 59s received from John ap Glyn for the profits of the corn mill in the same place during the term of the account*.)

Summa – clxxxviii.li v.s x.d ob

(*Total - £188 5s 10½ d*)

Est Pembr(ochia) – Et de iiii.li xiii.s v.d rec(eptis) de Johanne Castell bedello ibidem de termino Michaelis anno primo Regis Edwardi iiii

(*East Pembroke – And for £4 13s 5d received from John Castell beadle there from the term of Michelmas in the 1st year of the reign of King Edward IV.*)

Et de xvii.li xi.s viii.d rec(eptis) de dicto Johanne Castell bedello ibidem nunc de parte exit(um) per tempus compoti cum x.li de Ducissa Exon'

(*And for £17 11s 8d received from the said John Castell now beadle there from part of the issues during the term of this account with £10 from the Duchess of Exeter*.)

Molendinum de Pembr(ochie) Et de ix.li vii.s ii.d ob rec(eptis) de Ric(ardo) Bennayth apparat' molend(ini) ibidem

(*The Mill of Pembroke – And for £9 7s 2½d received from Richard Bennayth farmer of the mill there.*)

Dongledy – Et de xii.s rec(eptis) de Willelmo Magot bedello ibidem de exit(ibus) offic(ii) sui per tempus compoti

(*Daugleddy – And for 12s received from William Magot bailiff there from the issues of his office during the term of account.*)

Kemmeys – Et de xi.li xiiii.s iiii.d rec(eptis) de Owen ap Rees bedell(o) ibidem nunc de exit(ibus) Officii sui per tempus compoti

(*Kemeys – And for £11 14s 4d received from Owen ap Rees now beadle there from the issues of his office during the term of account*.)

Et de xiii.li vi.s viii.d rec(eptis) de Owen ap Rees bedello ibidem de exit(ibus) forisffact(is) super dominum de Audeley

(*And for £14 6s 8d received from Owen ap Rees beadle there from the issues forfeited upon the lordship of Audley.)*

Roos – Et de vii.s recept(is) de Rees William bedell(o) ibidem nunc de exit(ibus) Officii sui per tempus compoti

(*Rhoose – And for 7s received from Rees William now beadle there from the issues of his office during the term of the account.*)

Seyntflorence – Et de xiiii.li x.s ii.d rec(eptis) de Willelmo Danyell preposit(o) ibidem de termino Michaelis in principio istius compoti

(*St Florence - And for £14 10s 2d received from William Danyell reeve there from the term of Michelmas at the start of this account.*)

Et de xv.li rec(eptis) de Thoma Gebon preposito ibidem nunc de parte exit(um) Offic(ii) sui per tempus compoti

(*And for £15 received from Thomas Gebon now reeve there from part of the issues of his office during the term of account.*)

Et de xxvii.s i.d rec(eptis) de predicto Willelmo Danyell preposito de primo termino Michaelis

(*And for 27s 1d received from the said William Danyell reeve for the first term of Michelmas.*)

Kyngeswod et Gawdon – Et de xl.s ix.d recept(is) de Johanne Eliott preposito ibidem pro term(ino) Michaelis in principio huius compoti accid'

(*Kingswood and Gawdon – And for 40s 9d received from John Elliott reeve there for the term of Michelmas occurring at the start of this account.*)

Et de liii.s iii.d recept(is) de dicto Johannis Eliott de parte exitum Officii sui per tempus compoti

(*And for 53s 3d received from the said John Elliott from part of the issues of his office during the term of account.*)

Overasshe – Et de vi.li recept(is) de exit(ibus) terre Edmundi Malefaunt per tempus compoti

(*Overash – And for £6 received from the issues of the land of Edmund Malefant during the term of account.*)

Et de lx.s x.d ob recept(is) de dote dicte terre nomine subsidii infra tempus compoti

(*And for 60s 10½ d received from the dower of the said land in the name of a subsidy within the term of account*.)

Carewe – Et de viii.li xiii.s iiii.d rec(eptis) de Johanne Castell I preposit(o) ibidem

(*Carew – And for £8 13s 4d received from John Castell one reeve there.*)

Et de iiii.li ix.s xi.d rec(eptis) de Henrico Vicary alter(o) preposit(o) ibidem

(*And for £4 9s 11d received from Henry Vicary the other reeve there*.)

Et de iiii.li xi.s x.d rec(eptis) de Willelmo Nicholl iii preposit(o) ibidem

(*And for £4 11s 10d received from William Nicholl the third reeve there.*)

Summa – cxix.li xiii.s ix.d

(*Total -£119 13s 9d.*)

Castrum Wallewayn – Et de viii.li vii.s xi.d rec(eptis) de Henrico Gilmyn Rec(eptori) ibidem

(*Walwyn's Castle – And for £8 7s 11d received from Henry Gilmyn Receiver there*.)

Summa - patet

(*Total – as appears above.)*

Don(um) patrie nomine subsid(ii) pro vad(iis) soldar(iorum) – Et de liii.li vi.s viii.d de denar(iis) recept(is) de dono patrie nomine subsidii pro vadiis soldar(iorum) per divers(as) personas voluntar' dat(is) non de consuetud(ine) quorum nomina patent in papiro Scaccarii super hunc compotum ostende

(*Aid [or tallage] of the lordship in the form of a subsidy for the wages of soldiers – And for £53 6s 8d for money paid as an aid of the lordship in the form of a subsidy for the wages of soldiers, freely given by various persons not as a customary payment, the names of whom appear in a paper of the Exchequer shown on this account.*)

Et de – iiii.li iii.s ix.d rec(eptis) de Henrico Gilmyn recept(is) de Castell Wallewayn pro consi(militudo)

(*And for £4 3s 9d received from Henry Gilmyn Receiver of Walwyn's Castle for the same*.)

Et de – x.li xviii.s vi.d ob qua rec(eptis) de exit(ibus) terre et ten(ementorum) Roberti Roos milit(is) pro consi(militudo)

(*And for £10 18s 6¾d received frm the issues of the land and tenements of Robert Roos knight for the same.*)

Et de – xxi.li xii.s iiii.d rec(eptis) de exit(ibus) terre et ten(ementorum) de Carewe et Angle pro consi(militudo)

(*And for £20 12s 4d received from the issues of the land and tenements of Carew and Angle for the same.*)

Et de – xx.li xix.s xi.d rec(eptis) de exit(ibus) terre et ten(ementorum) de Emmot Newton pro consi(militudo)

(*And for £20 19s 11d received from the issues of the land and tenements of Emmota Newton for the same.*)

Et de liii.s iiii.d rec(eptis) de exit(ibus) terre Ric(ardi) Cradok per manus Thome ap Eignon pro consi(militudo)

(*And for 53s 4d received from the issues of the land of Richard Cradock by the hands of Thomas ap Einion for the same.*)

Et de xxiii.li vi.s viii.d rec(eptis) de exit(ibus) terre apud Stakepoll per manus Ambroc Dethik pro consi(militudo)

(*And for £23 6s 8d received frm the issues of the land at Stackpole by the hands of Ambrose Dethik for the same.*)

Et de viii.li viii.s rec(eptis) de tenant(is) ville Tinnb' per manus Johannis ap Gli(n) Thomas pro consi(militudo)

(*And for £8 8s received from the tenants of the town of Tenby by the hands of John ap Glyn Thomas for the same.)*

Summa cxlv.li ix.s ii.d ob qua.

(*Total - £145 9s 2¾ d*)

Receptio denar(iorum) de coffr(is) domini – Et de xxxvii.li x.s de denar(iis) recept(is) de coffr(is) domini pro vadiis soldar(iorum) apud Pembr(ochiam) per manus Roberti Porter et Johannis ap Hoell

(*Money received from the Lord's coffers – And for £38 10s received from the Lord's coffers for the wages of soldiers at Pembroke by the hands of Robert Porter and John ap Howell.*)

Et de lx.li rec(eptis) de coffr(is) domini apud Kermerdyn xvi die Octobr(is) in principio huius compoti per recognic(ionem) dicti comput' unde xxvii.li x.s lib(eratis) fuerunt Willelmo ap Hoell pro vadiis soldar(iorum) apud Tinnb'.

(*And for £60 received from the Lord's coffers at Carmarthen on 16th of October at the start of this account by recognizance of the said accountant, whereof £27 10s was paid to William ap Howell for wages of soldiers at Tenby.*)

Et de xvii.li x.s rec(eptis) de coffr(is) eiusdem domini pro vadiis soldar(iorum) apud Tinnb' per manus Johannis ap Gli(n) Thomas ad returnum domini a Kermerdyn versus Raglan mense April(is) hoc anno

(*And for £17 10s received from the coffers of the same lord for the wages of soldiers at Tenby by the hands of John ap Glyn Thomas at the Lord's return from Carmarthen to Raglan in the month of April this year.*)

Summa cxv.li

(*Total - £115.*)

Tallag(ium) recognic(ionis) Et de clii.li xvi.s viii.d de tallagio recognicionis domino concess' ad primum adventum suum ex consuet(udine) antiqua super tenant(es) et resident' com(itatis) Pembr(ochie) asseat' solvend(o) ad termin(os) Pentecost infra tempus compoti accid' et Michaelis in fine istius compoti accid'. Summa – patet

(*Tallage in acknowledgment of lordship. And for £152 16s 8d from tallage in acknowledgment of the Lord, levied at his first arrival by ancient custom upon the tenants and inhabitants of the county of Pembroke liable to pay at the terms of Pentecost occurring within the terms of this account and Michelmas at the end of this account. Total – As appears above.*)

Terra Escaet' nuper Roberti Perrot – Et de lix.s x.d de denar(iis) recept(is) de Ric(ardo) Bennayth collector(is) exitum terre nuper Roberti Perrot

(*Escheated land formerly of Robert Perrot – And for 60s 10d from money received from Richard Bennayth collector of the issues of land formerly of Robert Perrot.*)

Terra Escaet' nuper Willelmi Barret – Et de lxxv.s iii.d ob rec(eptis) de Ric(ardo) Bennayth coll(ectoris) exitum terre nuper Willelmi Barret

(*Escheated land formerly of William Barret – And for 75s 3½ d received from Richard Bennayth collector of the issues of land formerly of William Barret*.)

Summa – vi.li xv.s i.d ob

(*Total - £6 15s 1½ d*)

Summa totalis Recepte – DCCL.li vi.d ob qua.

(*Sum of all receipts - £750 6¾ d*)

Membrane 2

Feod(a) et vadia – Inde in feodo Willelmi Herbert armigeri Thes(aruarii) per tempus compoti videlicet pro termino Michaelis in principio istius compoti x marc(as) ac pro terminis Pasche infra tempus compoti et Michaelis in fine huius compoti – xx marc(as) alloc(antur) per mandat(um) domini – xx.li

(*Fees and wages – Whereof in the fee of William Herbert esquire Treasurer for the term of the account viz for the term of Michelmas at the start of this account 10 marks and for the terms of Easter within the time of the account and Michelmas at the end of this account – 20 marks allowed by order of the Lord - £20.*)

Et in feodo eiusdem Willelmi Herbert armigeri Sen(escalli) Cur(ie) ibidem ad xx marc(as) per annum. Videlicet pro tribus terminis predict(is) – xx.li

(*And for the fee of the said William Herbert esquire, Steward of the Court there at 20 marks a year, viz for the said three terms aforesaid - £20*.)

Et in feodo auditoris ibidem per annum ut in compoto preced' – xl.s

(*And for the fee of the Auditor this year as in the previous year's account – 40s.*)

Et in rewardo Johannis Perrot vic(ecomitis) per annum ex mandato domini – c.s

(*And for a reward to John Perrot sheriff this year by order of the Lord – 100s.*)

Et in vadiis Johannis ap Hoell ap Jankyn Const(abularii) Castri Pembr(ochie) per annum ex concessione domini – c.s

(*And for the wages of John ap Howell ap Jankyn Constable of the Castle of Pembroke for a year by gift of the Lord – 100s.*)

Et in vadiis Johannis ap Gli(n) Thomas Const(abularii) Castri Tinnb' ac forest(e) de Coydrath per annum ad iii.d per diem ex concessione domini – iiii.li xi.s

(*And for the wages of John ap Glyn Thomas Constable of the Castle of Tenby and the forest of Coydrath at 3d daily by gift of the Lord - £4 11s.*)

Et in feodo Hugonis Bennayth Attornati Dom(ini) in Com(itatu) et Cur(ia) ibidem per annum – iiii.li

(*And for the fee of Hugh Bennayth Deputy of the Lord [Herbert] in the County and Court there for a year - £4.*)

Et in feodo Henrici Gilmyn clerici comi(itatis) et Cur(ie) per annum ut in compot(o) preced' – xl.s

(*And for the fee of Henry Gilmyn clerk of the County and Court for a year as in the previous year's account – 40s.*)

Et in pergameno empto pro ro(tulis) et ex(tractis) Com(itatis) et Cur(ie) ac pro rot(ulis) compot(orum) per annum ut in compoto preced' – xxxiii.s iiii.d

(*And for parchment purchased for rolls and estreats of the County and Court and for rolls of account for the year as in the previous account – 33s 4d.*)

Et in feodo Jankyn Gunter Botillar(ii) Pembr(ochie) Tynnb' et Haverford per annum – xx.s

(*And for the fee of Jankyn Gunter Butler of Pembroke, Tenby and Haverford for a year – 20s.*)

Summa – lxv.li iiii.s iiii.d

(*Total - £65 4s 4d.*)

Vad(ia) soldarum infra Castrum Pembr(ochie) – Et in denar(iis) solut(is) pro vad(iis) diversor(um) soldar(iorum) custodienc(ium) Castrum Pembr(ochie) pro maiore parte ad numerum xlvii personarum ut patet in papiro Thes(aurarii) comput' viz a ii die Octobr(is) in principio huius compoti usque ii diem Aprilis extunc prox(imum) sequent(em) utroque die comput(ato) et prout similit(er) patet in quadam billa super hunc compot(um) fact(a) et filat(a) cont' in toto – cclxvi.li ii.s i.d

(*Wages of the soldiers within the Castle of Pembroke – And for money paid for various soldiers guarding the castle of Pembroke for the greater part of a year at the number of 47 persons as appears in a particular of the Treasurer's account viz from 2nd October at the start of this account to the 2nd of April next following (both days included) and as similarly appears in a certain bill made and attached upon this account, containing in total - £266 2s 1d*.)

Et in vad(iis) Ric(ardi) Prelat Henr(ici) Venehost Gunn(er) et al(iorum) in toto ad numerum xl personarum soldar(iorum) [text illegible] infra dictum Castrum Pembr(ochie) exist(encium) pro salva custod(ia) eiusdem pro maiore anno viz a ii die April(is) usque tercio diem Octobr(is) post finem huius compoti cuilibet eorum xlvii.s viii.d pro dicte mediet(ate) anni feodi Rec' [text illegible] – iiii.li xv.s iiii.d cuilibet eorum per annum – lxxx xv.li vi.s viii.d

(*And for the wages of Richard Prelat, Henry Venehost Gunner and others in total 40 soldiers being there within the said castle of Pembroke for the safe custody of the same for the greater part of a year viz from 2nd April to the 3rd of October at the end of this account, to each of them 47s 8d for the said portion of a year's fee - £4 15s 4d to each of them for a year - £95 6s 8d.*)

Et in denar(iis) solut(is) Henrici Venehost Gunner de regardo pro dicte medietate anni de assign(acione) domini [text illegible] ultra vad(ia) sua superius ut testatur super huius compot(um) pro Thes(aurario) – xliiii.s

(*And for money paid to Henry Venehost Gunner as a reward for the said portion of a year assigned by the Lord [Herbert], above and beyond his wages as appears on this account by the Treasurer – 44s.*)

Summa ccclxiii.li xiii.s ix.d

(*Total - £363 13s 9d.*)

Vad(ia) soldar(iorum) infra Castrum Tinnb' – Et in vad(iis) xx personarum infra Castrum Tinnb' soldar(iorum) exist(encium) a decimo die Decembr(is) anno regni

regis E(dwardi) iiii primo usque festum Nat(vitatis) domini extunc proxim(um) seq(uentem) viz per xv dies ut patet per parc(ellas) Joh(annis) ap Gli(n) Thomas super hunc compot(um) liberat(as) et filat(as) cuilibet eorum per diem vi.d – vii.li x.s sol' per Thes(aruarium) Pembr(ochie)

(*Wages of the soldiers in the Castle of Tenby – And for the wages of 20 soldiers present in the castle of Tenby from 10th of December in the 1st year of the reign of King Edward IV to the feast of Christmas next following viz for 15 days as appears by the particulars of John ap Glyn Thomas delivered and filed on this account, to each of them 6d - £7 10s paid by the Treasurer of Pembroke*.)

Et in vad(iis) xii personarum soldar(iorum) exist(encium) infra castrum Tinnb' a festo Nat(ivitatis) Domini usque secundum diem April(is) extunc proxim(um) sequent(em) [text illegible] utroque die comput(ato) viz per xiiii septiman(as) cuilibet eorum per diem vi.d ut patet per parcell(as) predicti Johannis ap Gli(n) Thomas Const(abularii) [text illegible] super hunc compot(um) liberat(as) et filat(as) ac cont' min(us) in toto x.s per estimacionem super compot(um) – xxviii.li xviii.s

(*And for the wages of 12 soldiers present in the castle of Tenby from the feast of Chirstmas to the 2nd of April next following (both days included) viz for 14 weeks, to each of them 6d per day, as appears by the particulars of the said John ap Glyn Thomas Constable delivered and filed on this account, with 10s deducted from the total upon this account - £28 18s.*)

Inde per manus Thes(aurarii) comput' lx.s Item sol(utum) per dict(um) Thes(aurarium) per manus Maior(is) et Burgenc(ium) ville Tynnb' de subsid(io) super(ius) onerat(o) viii.li viii.s et per manus dicti Thes(aruarii) ut de denar(iis) recept(is) de Coffr(is) domini per manus Johannis ap Gli(n) Thomas apud Kermerdyn mense Aprilis hoc anno ad returnum dict(i) dom(ini) abinde versus Raglan xvii.li x.s unde idem Thes' superius oner(atur).

(*Whereof 60s is accounted for by the hands of the Treasurer. Also paid by the said Treasurer £8 8s by the hands of the said Mayor and Burgesses of the town of Tenby from the subsidy previously charged and £17 10s by the hands of the said Treasurer from the money received from the Lord's coffers by the hands of John ap Glyn Thomas at Carmarthen in the month of April this year at the return of the said lord from thence to Raglan, whereupon the same Treasurer is charged as above*.)

Summa – xxxvi.li viii.s

(*Total – 36 8s.*)

Soluciones forinc(ecas) – Et in ii virg(is) panni virid(i) empt(is) pro Scaccario domini infra castrum super portam cooperiend(o) prec(ium) virg(i) iii.s – vi.s

(*Foreign payments – And for two verges of green cloth purchased for the covering the Lord's Exchequer within the castle above the gate, the price of a verge 3s – 6s.*)

Et solut(um) Ph(ilipp)o Laurence pro I gunnechamber de se empto pro stauro Ca(stri) Pembr(ochie) – ii.s

(*And payment to Philip Laurence for one gun chamber bought from him for the store of the Castle of Pembroke – 2s.*)

Et in denar(iis) solut(is) Henrico Venehost Gunner nomine regardi ut in preci(um) unius toge per mandatum domini per testimonium Jacobi Prower Rec(eptoris) general(is) – x.s

(*And for money paid to Henry Venehost Gunner as a reward for the cost of a robe by order of the Lord by testimony of James Prower Receiver General – 10s.*)

Et in pergamen(o) papiro cera et al(iis) necessar(iis) empt(is) pro Offic(io) Thes(aurarii) – vi.s viii.d

(*And for parchment, paper, wax and other necessary items purchased for the Office of the Treasurer – 6s 8d.*)

Summa – xxiiii.s viii.d

(*Total – 24s 8d.*)

Reparaciones infra castrum Pemb(roke) – Et in diversis reparacionibus fact(is) infra Castrum Pembroke tam in op(eribus) carpentarie et cementarie super domus larder(ii) iuxta magna(m) coquina(m) ac pro cariagio stramine et bord(arum) et sclatis de le Kaye usque Castrum per parcell(as) super vis(um) hoc anno ostens(as) et penes Hugonem Bennayth deput' Thes' reman' – xiiii.li viii.s vi.d ob.

(*Repairs in the castle of Pembroke – And for various repairs made within the Castle of Pembroke both in carpentry works and masonry works on the house of the larder next to the great kitchen and for the carriage of straw and boards and slates from the Quay to the Castle as is shown by the parcels in this account and remaining in the hands of Hugh Bennayth deputy of the Treasurer (of Pembroke*) *- £14 7s 6 ½ d*)

Et in diversis reparacionibus modo consili fact(is) infra Castrum predictum hoc anno post vis(um) videlicet inter fest(os) Pasche infra tempus compoti et Michaelis in fine istius compoti tam in operibus carpentarie et cementarie quam in aliis diversis necessariis operibus et in coopertu(ra) domorum cum empcione mattarum ad opera predicta ut particularit(er) patet per parcell(as) comput' super hunc compotum examinat(as) ac filat(as) - xx.li xvii.s iiii.d ob

Summa – xxxv.li v.s vi.d

(*And for various repairs recently advised, made within the said castle this year after view [of the account] namely between the feast of Easter within the period of the account and Michelmas at the end of this account, both in works of carpentry and masonry and in other divers necessary works and for the roofing of houses with the purchase of materials for the said works as particularly appears by the parcels examined upon this account and attached - £20 17s 4 ½d*)

Soluciones assigna(ti) per mandat(um) domini – Et in denar(iis) solut(is) Thome Herbert armigero per mandat(um) domini vid' exit' terre Willelmi Vernon milit(is) apud Stakepoll superius onerat' infra Domin' subsid(ium) per manus Ph(ilippi) ap Hoell – xiii.li vi.s viii.d

(*Payments assigned by mandate of the Lord – And for money paid to Thomas Herbert esquire by the Lord's order from the issues of the land of William Vernon knight at Stackpole charged above within the Lord's subsidy by the hand of Philip ap Howell - £13 6s 8d.*)

Et solut(um) Thome White pro repar(acione) ii doliorum vini dom(ini) proven(ientum) de quodam nave de Portyngale – xl.s

(*And payment to Thomas White for the repair of two barrels of wine provided from a certain ship from Portugal – 40s.*)

Et solut(um) Ph(ilipp)o Hardyn pro le ffreight duorum doliorum vini et v doliorum salis ac in ii buss(ellis) di I peci(a) salis de bonis Johann(is) Owen – xl.s

(*And payment to Philip Hardyn for the transport (lit. freightage) of two barrels of wine and five barrels of salt and for 2 ½ bushels and one peck of salt from the goods of John Owen – 40s.)*

Et sol(utum) eidem ut in precio unius panni pro dicto Ffreght – xiiii.s vi.d

(*Also payment to the same for the price of a cloth for the said transport – 14s 6d.)*

Et in denar(iis) solut(is) Willelmo Herbert armigero de assignam' ex mandat(o) domini nomine regardi pro sua residenc(ia) infra castrum Pembr(ochie) hoc anno - xx.li

(*And for money paid to William Herbert esq. assigned by order of the Lord as a reward for his staying in the castle of Pembroke this year – £20.)*

Et in denar(iis) per mandat(um) domini solut(is) pro financ(ia) Willelmi Glover Johannis Tanner at al(iorum) capt(orum) super mare per inimicos Brittonie hoc anno – vi.li xiii.s iiii.d [non sol(utum)]

(*And for money paid by the Lord's order for the ransom of William Glover, John Tanner and others captured on the sea by the enemies of Britain this year - £6 13s 4d (not paid).)*

Summa – xxxviii.li xiiii.d

(*Total - £38 14d.*)

Membrane 3

Lib(eraciones) forinc(ecas) usque Castrum Tinnb' – Et in denar(iis) liberat(is) Willelmo ap Hoell Armigero pro solucione vadiorum soldar(iorum) custod(iencium) Castrum Tinnb' de onere predicti Thes(aruarii) comput(ato) de parte exit(um) Recepte sue per tempus compoti – xxviii.li x.s

(*Foreign payments to the Castle of Tenby – And for money paid to William ap Howell Esq. for payment of the wages of soldiers keeping the castle of Tenby from the charge [on the account] of the said Treasurer accounted from part of the issues of money received during the time of the account - £28 10s.)*

lx.li per dict(um) Thes(aruarium) recept' de Coffr(eo) domini apud Kaermerdyn xvi die Octobr(is) in principio huius compoti

(£60 received by the said Treasurer from the Lord's Coffer at Carmarthen on the 16th of October at the start of this account.)

Et eidem Willemi ap Hoell primo die Novembr(is) per manus Johann(is) ap Gli(n) – xiiii.li v.s

(*And to the said William ap Howell Esquire on the 1st of November by the hands of John ap Glyn - £14 5s.*)

Et eidem Willemi ap Hoell primo die Novembr(is) per manus Phi(lippi) ap Thomas – xiiii.li v.s

(*And to the said William ap Howell Esquire on the 1st of November by the hands of Philip ap Thomas - £14 5s.*)

Et eidem Willemi ap Hoell xv die Novembr(is) ad manus suas proprias – xviii.li xv.s

(*And to the said William ap Howell Esquire on the 15th of November by his own hands - £18 15s.*)

Et eidem Willemi ap Hoell ultimo die Novembr(is) per manus Phi(lippi) ap Thomas – xxii.li x.s

(*And to the said William ap Howell Esquire on the last day of November by the hands of Philip ap Thomas - £22 10s.*)

Et eidem Willemi ap Hoell ix die Decembr(is) ad manus suas proprias – vi.li

(*And to the said William ap Howell Esquire on the 9th of December by his own hands - £6.*)

Summa – ciiii.li v.s

(*Total £104 5s*.)

Lib(eracio) denar(iorum) Jacob' Prower – Et in denar(iis) Jacobo Prower Receptori Generali de onere predicti Thesaur(arii) comput(ato) de parte exit(um) Recepte sue huius compoti in festo Sancti Jacobi Apostoli Anno regni regis Edwardi iiii secundo – cxx.li per indenturam

(*Payment of money to James Prower – And in money to James Prower Receiver General from the charge [on the account] of the said Treasurer accounted from part of the issues of the money received on his account on the feast of St James in the 2nd year of the reign of King Edward IV - £120 by indenture*.)

Summa cxx.li

(*Total - £120*)

Summa allocat' et liberat' – Dcclxiiii.li xviii.d

(*Total allowed and paid - £864 18d.*)

Debent(ur) de tallagio super tenentes Domin' Castri Wallewayn pro ii terminis – lx.s

(*And they owe from the tallage upon the tenants of the Lordship of Walwyns Castle for two terms – 60s.)*

National Library of Wales Badminton Manorial No. 1569

Account of William Herbert Esq. Treasurer of Pembroke from Michelmas 15 Edward IV (29 Sep 1475) to the feast of Michelmas next following 16 Edward IV (29 Sep 1476) 16 membranes on parchment

Membrane 15d [Given on the dorse of the Account of the Treasurer, beneath Fees and Wages]

Reparaciones – Et in denar(iis) solut(is) super reparac(ionem) Castri Pembr(ochie) hoc anno ut patet per bill(am) de particul(is) inde fact(am) super hunc compotum examinat(am) et inter memoranda compotorum huius anni rem' – xiiii.li ix.s iiii.d. Et in denar(iis) solut(is) super reparac(ionem) moliorum Pembr(ochie) hoc anno ut patet per eandem billam - £4 3s 8d.

Summa – xviii.li xiii.s

(*Repairs – And for money spent on the repair of the Castle of Pembroke this year as appears by a bill of particulars made upon this account, examined and remaining among the memoranda of the account of this year - £14 9s 4d. And for money spent on the repair of the mills of Pembroke this year as appears by the same bill - £4 3s 8d.*

Total £18 13s.)

(NB: Unfortunately, the roll of particulars formerly attached to this account detailing expenditure on works at Pembroke Castle has not survived**.**)

National Archives DL 29/635/10337

Account of Richard Myners Esq. Treasurer of Pembroke from Michelmas 21 Edward IV (29 Sep 1481) to the feast of Michelmas next following 22 Edward IV (29 Sep 1482)

[The account of works at Pembroke is contained on a single membrane of paper attached to a roll of accounts of the Treasurer of Pembroke and for various manors within the Lordship of Pembroke]

Memorandum of the reparacions don by Sir Ric(hard) Haute Knyght within the Castell of Pembrok anno xxii etc

In primis for ii Mill sclatte – vi.s viii.d

Item for xiiii bushell of lyme price the bushel ii.d – ii.s iiii.d

Item for a C [100] lathes – ii.s

Item for iii C lathenayles – xii.d

Item for cariage of sand – vi.d

Item for carriage of the lyme – ii.d

Item for ii Sclaters and for ii men to serve them a weke to eyther of the sclatters by day iiii.d and to eyther of ther men a day ii.d – vi.s

Item for ther table the weke – v.s iiii.d

Item for iiii borde to sele ye grete chamb(er) – viii.d

Item for nayles to the same werke – iiii.d

Item for a carpenters hyr ii dayes - viii.d

Item for a mason iii dayes to mend ye steyar that gothe to the constables chamber a day iiii.d – xii.d

Item to his servant – vi.d

Item for a rayle for the same steyar – iiii.d

Item for a plummer and his man iii dayes to mende gutters and ye ledes abowte the same chamber, ye plummer a day iiii.d and his man by day ii.d – xviii.d

Item for the carpynter and the plummer and there ii men in table iii dayes a day iiii.d a pece – ii.s viii.d

Item for the cariage of iiii lode of claye a lode ii.d – viii.d

Item for ii lode of sclate the cariage of a lode ii.d – iiii.d

Item for sowder to ye plumers – vi.d

Item for reparacion of ye utt(er) garden and thornes to the same garden vi lode – xii.d

Item for hewyng of and carying of ye same thornes – xii.d

Item for a mannes hyr to make ye hegge of ye same garden for his wages iii dayes – vi.d

Item for his mete iii dayes – vi.d

Item for iii lode of clay for to make ye flore over my lordes records a lode ii.d – vi.d

Item for a man to make the same flore – vi.d

Item for his table – vi.d

Summa – xxxi.s x.d

National Archives SC6/1208/6

Account of Richard Symond Steward of the County of Pembroke from 18 February 5 Edward III (1331) to the feast of Michelmas (28 Sep 1331) next following

Membrane 4

[heading missing] (Entries crossed out – Inde in feodo prepositorum ibidem et unius servientis pro argento levando et colligendo (rest missing) In feodo clerici eorum per idem tempus ii.s vi.d qui capit per annum iiii.s)

In petris fodiend(is) et cariand(is) ad ponte(m) borialem molend(ini) emendand(um) xvi.d. In calce empta ad eundem x.d. In plankis empt(is) ad eundem ii.s. In mercede duorum cementar(iorum) pro predicto ponte reparand(o) et emendand(o) per novem dies capiend(is) per diem iii.d – iiii.s vi.d. In mercede uni(us) garcionis deservientis eisdem per idem tempus xviii.d qui cepit per diem ii.d- xviii.d. In cariag(io) duarum molar(ium) de Teneb' ad predicta(m) molend(inam) de Pembr(ochie) vi.s viii.d. In CC bord(is) emptis pro turri prisone emend(ando) domo Comit(is) cooperiend(o) et capella in castr(o) cooperiend(o) ex certa convencione xx.s per vis(um) Johannis Cantrel constabular(ii) dicti Castri. Et eciam in ii Mill CCCC clavis empt(is) ad idem vi.s iiii.d. In una pecia ferri empt(a) pro gundis et vertivell(is) ad le Wyket prisone faciend(o) viii.d. In stip(endio) fabri faciendis dicta opera viii.d In stipend(iis) duorum carpentar(iorum) pro turri prisone emend(ando) et reparand(o) iii.s. In stip(endio) unius carpentar(ii) pro capella et domo Comit(is) cindulis cooperiend(is) et emendand(is) iiii.s vi.d.

Summa lii.s – Et debet lxxxv.li iiii.s v.d

(*[Crossed out – Whereof for the fee of the reeves there and one servant for raising and collecting money. For the fee of the clerk of the same (reeves) for the same period 2s 6d who receives 4s per annum.]*

For digging and carrying stones for repairing the northern bridge of the mill 16d. For lime purchased for the same – 10d. For planks bought for the same – 2s. For the hiring of two masons for repairing and mending the said bridge for 9 days receiving 3d daily – 4s 6d. For the wages of one boy serving the said (masons) for the same period 18d who receives 2d daily – 18d. For the carriage of two mill stones from Tenby for the said mill of Pembroke – 6s 8d. For 200 boards purchased for repairing the prison tower, roofing the Earl's lodging and the chapel in the castle by contract 20s by view of John Cantrel Constable of the said Castle. And also for 2400 nails purchased for the same work – 6s 4d. For a piece of iron purchased for making hooks and hinges for the wicket of the Prison – 8d. For the wages of a smith carrying out the said work – 8d. For the wages of two carpenters for repairing the prison tower – 3s. For the wages of a carpenter for roofing and repairing the chapel and the Earl's lodging with shingles – 4s 6d.

Total 52s. And he owes £85 4s 5d.)

National Archives E101/44/13

Account of Francis Court knight of stores held at Pembroke Castle 1406 to 1411

Mich(aelis) anno xiii

Aud(itores) – Roger(us) Westwode, baron(um) Ricar(dus) Appelton, cler(icus)

Compotus Francis(ci) Court ch(ivaler) de diversis artillar(is) et stuffur(is) per ipsum recept(is) de Henr(ico) Somer nuper custode private garderobe Regis infra turrim Londonie per indenturam pro salva custodia Castri de Pembroke sic continet(ur) in compoto predicti Henrici Somer nuper custode Garderobe predicte a xiii die Febr(urarii) anno vi usque iiii diem Decembr(is) anno ix. Rotulo decimo Rotulo comp(oti) videlicet de huius artillar(is) et stuffur(is) per dictum Franciscum rec(eptis) a xxiii die Maii anno vii usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno xii a quo festo Franciscus est alias inde computatur.

Idem reddit comp(otum) de – xvi balistis. iii Mill quarrellis. iiii hausepees. iiii bauderikes et L. lb pulv(ere) pro gunn(is) et L. lb salpetr' per predictum Francisc(um) Court rec' de predicto Henr(ico) Somer pro salva custodia Castri predicti per indentur(am) sic cont(inetur) in dicto compoto predicti Henr(ici) nuper custode Garderobe predicte predicto Rotulo decimo Rotulo comp(oti) et penes ipsum Franciscum remanet infra Castrum predictum pro salva custodia eiusdem Castri ad opus Regis custodienc(ium) sic cont(inetur) in quadam cedula de particulis hic in Thesauro liberat(is).

Et rem(anent)

Summa Recepte:

Balist(e) – xvi

Quarrella – iii Mill'

Hausepees – iiii

Bauderikes – iiii

Pulver' pro Gunn(is) – L.lb

Salpetr – L.lb

(*Michelmas in the 13th Year of the reign of Henry IV (1412)*

Auditors - Roger Westwode, baron, Richard Appelton, clerk.

Account of Francis Court Knight of various artillery and materials received by him from Henry Somer late keeper of the King's Privy Wardrobe in the Tower of London by indenture for the safe custody of the Castle of Pembroke as contained in an account of the said Henry Somer late keeper of the said Wardrobe from 13th February 6 Henry IV to 4th December 9 Henry IV in the Roll of the 10th year of account, namely of the artillery and materials received by the said Francis from 24th May in the 7th year (of Henry IV's reign) to the feast of Michelmas in the 12th year (of Henry IV's reign), at which feast Francis is thence called to account.

The same renders account of 16 balistas, 3000 quarrells, four 'hausepees' (a pulley for drawing crossbows), four baldrics, 50lbs of gunpowder and 50lbs of saltpetre received by the said Francis Court from the said Henry Somer for the safe custody of the said Castle by indenture as contained in the aforesaid account of Henry late keeper of the said Wardrobe in the said Roll of account for the 10th year, and

remaining in the hands of the said Francis within the said Castle for keeping safe custody of the said Castle for the King's service as contained in a schedule of particulars delivered to the Treasury.

And there remains -

Total received:

16 balistas

3000 quarrells

Four 'hausepees' (a pulley for drawing crossbows)

Four baldrics

50 lbs of gunpowder

50 lbs of saltpetre

APPENDIX 6:

THE MONTGOMERYS AND CASTLE-BUILDING

By

Neil Ludlow

APPENDIX 6:

THE MONTGOMERYS AND CASTLE-BUILDING

(Neil Ludlow)

In the report on the geophysical survey (Day and Ludlow 2016, 63-5), it was suggested that Pembroke Castle, as established by Roger and/or Arnulf de Montgomery in summer 1093, was –

- a partial ringwork, without a motte,
- it represented the re-use of an iron age promontory fort, and a possible early medieval administrative centre (or '*llys*')
- it was confined to the present inner ward
- there was no accompanying civil settlement, defended or otherwise
- the castle was of timber
- the priory church of St Nicholas always occupied its present location at Monkton, just south of the castle, rather than the castle itself.

The following review is a comparative analysis of castles built by the Montgomery-Bellême family, to evaluate the above suggestions and place them in a wider context. It will attempt to define the main trends in Montgomery-Bellême castle building: for example morphology – the ratio of castles with or without mottes, and multiple enclosures; re-use of prehistoric and early historic sites; associated urban foundations; building materials; and association with ecclesiastical buildings. Research is still ongoing, however, and conclusions are provisional only.

The evidence is not always clear in the absence, at most sites, of firm dating or full investigation. It must also be borne in mind that mottes can be secondary additions to enclosure castles, at any time into the thirteenth century, eg. Castle Neroche, Somerset, and Goltho, Lincs. (Kenyon 1990, 28-31; Pounds 1990, 12; Shapland 2017, 106; *et al*.). It has been suggested that the ringwork was the predominant form in mid-eleventh-century Normandy, and that the motte was prevalent in neither France nor Britain in the years immediately following the Conquest (Pounds 1990, 12; Shapland 2017, 105; *et al*.). However, the situation is by no means clear-cut and recent work has shown the difficulties in dating a motte relative to the rest of the castle (Fradley 2017, 130). The arguments have been summarised by Tom McNeill (McNeill 2012).

Similarly, at some castles with more than one bailey, particularly (but not only) those that are rural sites, the additional enclosure(s) can be secondary, sometimes much later than the original castle. Only at a few sites can the sequence be unravelled.

In addition, the distinction between motte castles and enclosure castles is artificial; there were many intermediate forms (including the so-called 'ring-motte'). Nevertheless, we can usually distinguish those sites at which a motte never appears to have been present. In the following discussion, and in the tables, I have retained the restrictive but still widely-used terms 'ringwork' and 'partial ringwork' for those enclosure castles where it seems appropriate.

A number of sites are now represented solely by mottes. But an unknown number may formerly have had baileys for which the physical evidence has now gone; the same is true for ringworks. Excavation at Guéramé Motte at Courgains (Sarthe), in Maine, has shown how much above-ground evidence can be lost, which here included the motte. Nevertheless, excavation around the surviving motte at Mount Bures, in Essex, failed to locate any evidence for a bailey.

Many Montgomery-Bellême castles – like early castles in general – defy rigid classification. Each was tailored to a particular set of circumstances and demands, while dictated by its topographic setting and any earlier use of its site. Montgomery-Bellême castles encompass a wide variety of forms and include one site, Mount

Bures, with questionable evidence for any buildings at all. In summary, care must be taken when interpreting the following data, and extrapolating from any apparent comparisons and connections.

Background

Roger de Montgomery came from an important baronial family of Normandy. Like his father, he was *vicomte* (or leading ducal official) of the Hiémois, a large area of central Normandy (see Fig. 1), and had important holdings in and around the valley of the River Dives as well as the family seat at Montgommery, Calvados (Chibnall 1969, 21-3, 47-9; Mason 1963, 1; Round 1899, 526; Thompson 1987, 252, 257, 260-2). His power was greatly enhanced when, in the early 1050s, he married Mabel de Bellême (Chibnall 1969, 365; Mason 1963, 1-2; Taylor 1837, 171); his wife was heiress to a vast estate around Bellême and Alençon, and stretching east to Domfront, in what is now southern Normandy (Fig. 1). After the Norman Conquest, Roger received extensive grants in England including, in late 1067, the Rape of Arundel in Sussex (Chibnall 1969, 211, 263; Mason 1963, 2, 4-5) and, around 1071, the earldom of Shrewsbury ie. Shropshire (Chibnall 1969, 211 n. 1, 263; Mason 1963, 2-4; Fig. 2). Mabel was murdered in 1077 (Chibnall 1972, 137 and n. 1, 161); her eldest son Robert received her Bellême estates, from which he took his name, and was effectively given control of his father's lands and titles in France (Hagger 2017, 145).[13] Robert also obtained the County of Ponthieu in northern France, through marriage, in 1100 (Chibnall 1978, 15 and n. 3).

From Shrewsbury, the Montgomerys mounted incursions into Wales, establishing a castle named 'Montgomery', after their French seat, before 1086 (now Old Montgomery or 'Hen Domen'; see below). In 1093, Earl Roger led an army across Wales into Dyfed, establishing castles at Cardigan – and Pembroke, which he granted to his youngest son Arnulf. The nature and extent of Arnulf's authority in west Wales is discussed in Appendix **7b**. Roger died the following year, and was succeeded in his British estates by his second son Hugh (Chibnall 1973, 303 and n. 1) – who himself was killed in 1098 and was in turn succeeded by his older brother Robert 'de Bellême' (Chibnall 1975, 225). Meanwhile, Roger and Mabel's third son Roger 'the Poitevin' had received a substantial grant in northwest England, based on Lancaster, before 1086 (Chandler 1989, 2; Mason 1963, 16; Thompson 1991, 275 and n. 56). And Arnulf received an extensive lordship based on Holderness, in Yorkshire, in around 1096 (Round 1899, xli, 238, 447).

The power of the House of Montgomery/Bellême was at its peak in 1100, with one of the largest non-comital estates in northern France. However, in 1101-2 Robert and Arnulf led an abortive rebellion against King Henry I, and all three brothers were banished from Britain (Chibnall 1975, 309-19; Chibnall 1978, 21-33; Howlett 1889, 82-3; Jones 1971, 99). Robert de Bellême nevertheless continued to play a leading role in Normandy's politics until his eventual imprisonment in 1112 (Chibnall 1978, 179; Mason 1963, 24; Thompson 1991, 266). Roger the Poitevin appears already to have retired to his estates in Poitou, which had been acquired through marriage in 1091 (Chibnall 1978, 33 n. 3; Thompson 1991, 275 n. 56), but was nevertheless, like his brothers, made forfeit in Britain (Chibnall 1978, 33).[14] Arnulf's subsequent career is more shadowy, but he seems to have resided in Normandy, and later Anjou (Chibnall 1978, 33 n. 1, 207 and n. 3).

[13] Nevertheless Roger de Montgomery is regularly recorded on his Normandy estates until his death (see eg. Chibnall 1972, 141, 159; Davis 1913, 19-20, 28, 32-3, 39, 47; Round 1899, 166, 429).
[14] The Montgomery-endowed nunnery at Almenêches (Orne), where their sister Emma was abbess, also suffered seizure of British property (Chibnall 1978, 33).

Robert de Bellême is particularly important to castle studies in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries: he was said, by the early twelfth-century historian Orderic Vitalis, to have been renowned among his contemporaries for his skills in military engineering and castle design, skills that were employed by King William Rufus, 1087-1100 (Chibnall 1973, xxxiv, 289; Chibnall 1973, 159, 289-91; Chibnall 1975, 215-17, 235). Nevertheless, he may only have built in timber.

Table 1: French castles known or thought to have been held by the House of Montgomery-Bellême, *c.*1000-1113

* – not built, or probably not built, by the House of Montgomery-Bellême
BA – Bronze Age
IA – Iron Age

Site name	Form and size	Multiple enclosures	Date	Earlier use	Remains	Pre-1113 town	References
Aillières-Beauvoir Maine (Sarthe)	Motte and bailey. Small-medium.	No	Early-mid C11? *c.*1098?	Unknown	No	No	Chibnall 1975; Louise 1991
Alençon Normandy (Orne)	?	?	Late C10-early C11	Unknown	No	Yes (C4)	Champion 2008; Louise 1991
Almenêches Normandy (Orne)	Enclosure (and motte?). Medium	No	Early-mid C11	BA barrow?	Yes	No	Coutil 1896; Louise 1991; Vimont 1884
Bellême 1 Normandy (Orne)	Partial ringwork. Small	No	Late C10	Unknown	Vestigial	No?	Louise 1991; Thompson 2002
Bellême 2 Normandy (Orne)	Enclosure (and motte?). Medum-large	No	1020s	Unknown	Vestigial	Yes	Chibnall 2003; Louise 1991; Thompson 2002
Blèves Maine (Sarthe)	?	?	Early-mid C11? *c.*1098?	Unknown	No	?	Chibnall 1975; Louise 1991
Boitron Normandy (Orne)	Enclosure. Medium	No	Early-mid C11	IA enclosure?	Vestigial	No	Duval 1895; Louise 1991; Sicotière 1845
Bures-sur-Dives Normandy (Calvados)	?	?	c.1030-1077	Unknown	No	No	Chibnall 1972; Hagger 2017
Château-Gontier 1 Normandy (Orne)	2+ enclosures. Large	Yes (IA)	c.1091?	IA enclosure	Yes	No	Galeron 1835; Louise 1991; Thompson 1991
Château-Gontier 2 Normandy (Orne)	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	*c.*1091?	Unknown	Yes	No	Louise 1991
Concé Maine (Sarthe)	Motte and bailey. Small	No	c.1098?	Unknown	Yes	No	Valais etc. 2010
Courgains Maine (Sarthe)	Motte and bailey. Small	No	*c.*1098?	No	No (below-ground)	No	Valais etc. 2010
Domfront Normandy (Orne)	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	Early C11	Roman occupation	Yes	Yes (C6?)	Louise 1991; Nissen-Jaubert 1998
*** Échauffour** Normandy (Orne)	?	?	Early-mid C11	Unknown	No	Yes	Chibnall 1972; Chibnall 1978; Louise 1991
Essay Normandy (Orne)	Enclosure. Medium	No	Early C11	Unknown	Vestigial	Yes (C9)	Chibnall 1973; Duval 1895; Louise 1991
Fourches Normandy (Calvados)	Motte and 2 baileys. Large	Yes	*c.*1091	Unknown	Yes	Yes?	Chibnall 1973; Caumont 1850; Louise 1991
Fresnay-sur-Chédouet Maine (Sarthe)	?	?	Early C11	Unknown	No	?	Fleury etc. 1929
Gautier-de-Clinchamps Normandy (Orne)	Uncertain; Motte?	?	*c.*1098?	Unknown	No	No	Chibnall 1973; Chibnall 1975; Louise 1991
Igé 1 (Ortieuse?) Normandy (Orne)	Motte and bailey. Second enclosure? Medium-large	Yes?	*c.*1098?	Unknown	Yes	No	Meunier 2014; Louise 1991; Siguret 2000
Igé 2 Normandy (Orne)	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	*c.*1098?	IA enclosure	Yes	No	Louise 1991
Igé 3 Normandy (Orne)	Motte. Small	No	*c.*1098?	Unknown	Yes	No	Louise 1991

Lurson Maine (Sarthe)	Partial ringwork and 2 baileys. Large	Yes	Early-mid C11	IA enclosure?	No	No	Chibnall 1973; Louise 1991; Thompson 1987
Mamers Maine (Sarthe)	Motte and baileys? Large?	Yes?	Early C11	Unknown	No	Yes (C6-7)	Chibnall 1973; Fleury etc. 1929; Louise 1991
Maulny Maine (Sarthe)	?	?	Early C11	Unknown	No	No	Fleury etc. 1929
Mêle-sur-Sarthe Normandy (Orne)	?	?	Early C11?	Unknown	No	Yes	Chibnall 1978; Louise 1991; Siguret 2000
Mont-de-la-Nue Maine (Sarthe)	Motte and 2 baileys. Large	Yes	Early-mid C11? *c.*1098?	Unknown	Yes	No	Chibnall 1975; Louise 1991; Meunier 2014
Mont-de-la-Garde Maine (Sarthe)	Motte and bailey. Large	No	Early-mid C11	IA enclosure?	Yes	No	Fleury etc. 1929; Louise 1991; Valais etc. 2010
Montgommery 1 Normandy (Calvados)	Motte. Medium	?	Early-mid C11	Unknown	Vestigial	Yes	Chibnall 1973; Louise 1991; Yver 1955
Montgommery 2 Normandy (Calvados)	Ringwork. Medium	No	Early-mid C11?	Unknown	Vestigial	"	Chibnall 1973; Louise 1991; Neuville 1867
*** Montreuil-l'Argillé** Normandy (Eure)	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	Early-mid C11	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Chibnall 1972; Painchault 2012
*** Peray 1** Maine (Sarthe)	Motte and bailey. Medium-large	No	C11 (rebuilt C12?)	IA enclosure	Yes	Yes?	Louise 1991; Siguret 1964; Verdier 1978
*** Peray 2** Maine (Sarthe)	Motte. Large	No	C11?	IA enclosure	Yes	"	Louise 1991; Siguret 1964; Verdier 1978
*** Roche-Mabile** Normandy (Orne)	Enclosure (outer enclosure?) Medium-large	Yes?	Early-mid C11?	IA enclosure?	Yes	Yes	Chibnall 1972-8; Louise 1991; Sicotière 1845
*** St-Céneri-le-Gérei** Normandy (Orne)	Motte and bailey. Second enclosure? Medium-large	Yes (later?)	*c.*1044	Unknown	Vestigial	Yes	Chibnall 1969-73; Louise 1991; Touchet 1835
St-Cosme-en-Vairais Maine (Sarthe)	Motte? (and bailey?). Size?	No	Early-mid C11? *c.*1098?	Unknown	No	No	Fleury etc. 1929; Louise 1991
St-Rémy-du-Val Maine (Sarthe)	Enclosure and 2 baileys. Large	Yes (later?)	Early C11	Unknown	Yes	Yes (1100-13?)	Chibnall 1975; Louise 1991; Meunier 2014
Saosnes Maine (Sarthe)	Motte and bailey. Large	No	Early-mid C11? *c.*1098?	Unknown	Yes	Yes (C3)	Chibnall 1975; Louise 1991; Valais etc. 2010
Sées Normandy (Orne)	Motte. Medium	No	Early-mid C11	Unknown	Vestigial	Yes (C1)	Chibnall 1969; Louise 1991; Neveux 1990-97
Vignats Normandy (Calvados)	Partial ringwork. Medium	No?	Early-mid C11	Unknown	Vestigial	Yes	Chibnall 1973; Painchault 2012
			TOTALS				
39 castles (at 33 sites)	16 or 21 mottes 14 enclosures 8 uncertain	2 or 5 (inc. 3 later?)		1 BA barrow? 4 or 8 IA enclosures	26	9-11 contemporary towns. 5-6 pre-existing towns	

Note – The castle at La Ferté-Bernard (Sarthe) was built in the early eleventh century by William de Bellême's brother, Avesgaud, but was not long in Bellême hands (Louise 1991, 202-3). The early castle has gone and its form is unknown. The royal castle at Gisors, and possibly also Château-sur-Epte (both Eure), were designed by Robert de Bellême (Chibnall 1973, xxxiv; Chibnall 1975, 215-17; Corvisier 1998(2), 135, 138, 328).

Castles in France

The French castles of the House of Montgomery-Bellême have been subject to considerable interest, particularly those of Robert de Bellême on the Normandy-Maine frontier which received a great deal of attention from Orderic Vitalis. Gabriel Fleury's studies of these castles, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, are still a useful resource (eg. Fleury and Dangin 1929). More recently, Bellême castles were the subject of a comprehensive PhD thesis by Gérard Louise (Louise 1988), and his subsequent two-part paper published in *La Pays Bas-Normand*

(Louise 1990 and 1991). Mention must also be made of Marjorie Chibnall's translations of Orderic Vitalis (Chibnall 1969-78).

Table **1**, assembled from a variety of sources, lists a total of 39 Montgomery-Bellême castles, at 33 sites, 19 now in Normandy and 14 in Maine; four sites feature more than one castle. Not all were founded by the Montgomerys, and six castles may feature no Montgomery work.[15]

According to Orderic Vitalis, writing 1114-41, the House of Montgomery-Bellême – with which he had been closely associated – held 34 castles in France between 1077 and 1112, in the person of Robert de Bellême; the figure remains consistent throughout his thirteen books (eg. Chibnall 1973, 301; Chibnall 1978, 33, 95-7, 399). Only nine of these castles, all in Maine, are specifically listed (Chibnall 1975, 235; see below), but there are scattered references to several of the others. Orderic's total number partly corresponds with those listed in Table 1, but one or both may be incomplete. And, as the complement of Montgomery-Bellême castles fluctuated through time, Orderic must mean either the total number over time, or at its greatest height *c*.1100. However, three of the castles in Table 1 had been lost to the family by the 1090s, leaving only 30 sites: either Orderic was including all castles at the multiple sites, his figure is not to be relied upon too strictly, or Table 1 is incomplete.

Of the 39 castles, 16 show mottes, five show possible mottes while 14 are enclosure castles without mottes – a balance slightly in favour of motte castles. In the case of the campaign castles of the 1090s, there is a strong probability that the mottes are primary features (see below). The enclosures include five partial ringworks, at least two of which are adapted from Iron Age defended sites. Only eight or nine castles are notably large. Only two castles show more than one bailey, but they are possible at another five; three however may be post-1112 additions, as suggested at Saint-Rémy-du-Val (see below). Montgomery-Bellême period masonry is not certainly known at any site. These figures are broken down further in the following discussion.

Four castles re-use Iron Age enclosures, with re-use possible at another four. One possible motte re-uses a Bronze Age burial mound. One castle directly overlies a Roman-period building, but many more were established within Gallo-Roman towns. Between nine and 11 towns or *bourgs* appear to have been established alongside, or soon after their castles, but not all of them are certain Montgomery-Bellême foundations. Those that were all belong to the late-tenth to mid-eleventh century; only one town, at Fourches (Calvados), was apparently established later in the eleventh century.

The castles lie in two main concentrations (see Fig. **1**) –

- Central Normandy, along the Dives Valley between Falaise, Vimoutiers and Sées.
- Southern Normandy, around Alencon, Sées and Bellême, and the Saosnois (Sonnois) region of northeast Maine, around Mamers.

There were, in addition, outlying castles at Domfront (Orne) and Bures-sur-Dives (Calvados).

Although many of these castles survive in reasonable condition, a number of them – particularly on the Normandy/Maine frontier – were destroyed or damaged during the Hundred Years War, and their form is not always easy, or even possible to ascertain. Among them were Bellême itself (Orne), Bures-sur-Dives (Calvados), and Aillières-Beauvoir and Mamers (both Sarthe), now entirely gone. Few, moreover, have been archaeologically investigated, and though many are

[15] Only 32 castles are listed by Gérard Louise. Table 1 adds two castles identified by Gabriel Fleury; two which are well-attested in the sources (Bures and Vignats); one recently-discovered (Guéramé); one which had been lost to the family by the 1090s; and one that is strongly suggested by other authorities.

mentioned in the sources, close dating for most of them remains provisional; the only one to have been fully excavated is the recently discovered Guéramé Motte at Courgains.

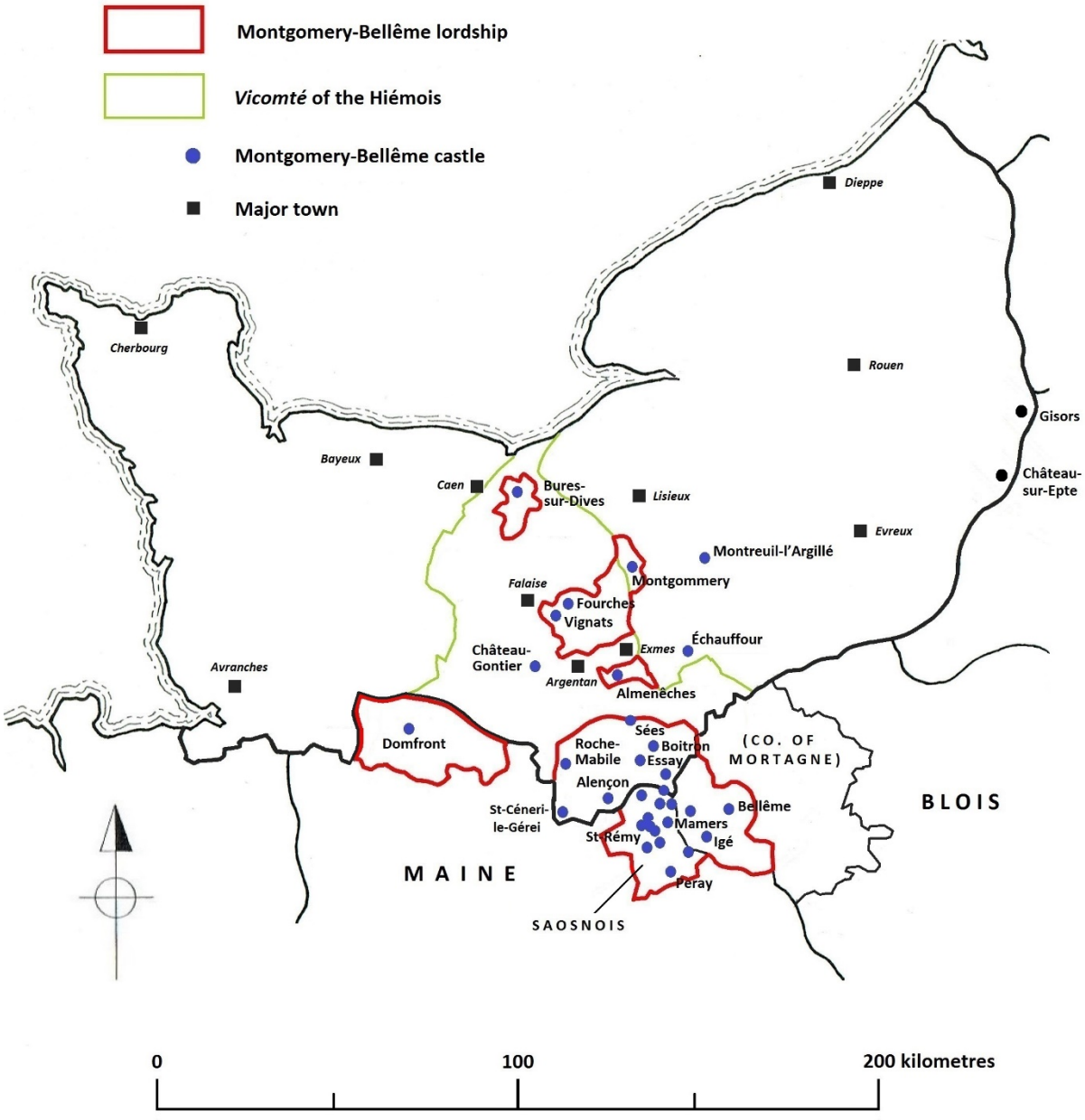

Figure 1: The French castles of the House of Montgomery-Bellême, *c*.1000-1113

Early castles of the Bellêmes

Between 21 and 30 castles were erected between the late tenth and mid-eleventh century, during the establishment and expansion of Montgomery-Bellême power. At least six, possibly 11 are mottes, and 10 are enclosures including four partial ringworks. Multiple baileys are present at just one castle, but possibly existed at another five.

The early centre of Bellême power was at Bellême itself, now in Normandy (Orne) but held from the kings of France during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries (Chibnall 1978, 181; Haggar 2017, 145; Thompson 2002, 61). Bellême was fortified by Ivo, the founder of the Bellême dynasty, in the mid-late tenth century, but his *castrum* appears not have occupied the site of the later castle, and may be represented by the small, partial ringwork on a spur just south of the town (Louise 1991, 230). The castle is generally thought to have moved, in around the 1020s (Louise 1991, 58, 194-5; Thompson 2002, 26; Travers 1896, 282 *et al*.), to the present site which is a largish, oval enclosure, on the summit of the hill, with an associated defended settlement or *bourg*. Defences remained entirely of timber throughout the tenure of the House of Montgomery-Bellême, including the keep ('*arcem*') which was burnt to the ground in 1113 (Chibnall 1978, 183; Chibnall 2003, 121; Thompson 2002, 61-2); it has been speculated that the latter may have occupied a motte, later truncated (Louise 1991, 231). The castle has almost entirely disappeared.

By the mid-eleventh century, Alençon (Orne), which had become the caput of an independent county during the 1040s, was overshadowing Bellême and Roger de Montgomery made it his main centre of power from the 1050s onwards (Hagger 2017, 127, 129; see Fig. 1). Excavation shows that the town, which has Gallo-Roman origins, was fortified by a bank and ditch during the fourth century, extended under the Merovingians during the sixth century (Champion 2008, 6-12; Touchet *et al*. 1835, 29-30). Like Bellême, the castle was established in the late tenth or early eleventh century, by Ivo de Bellême or, more likely, his successor William de Bellême (Louise 1991, 160), and was accompanied by a further extension of the town's bank-and-ditch defences. The 'tower' ('*turrimque*') is mentioned in 1118, but as at Bellême all work appears to have been of timber (Chibnall 1978, 209; Louise 1991, 190, 223). Nothing remains of this castle, which was subsumed within later work of the fourteenth century (Champion 2008, 6-12).

Sées, which has its origins as the Roman walled city of *Civitas Salarum* (Neveux 1990, 361-9; Stapleton 1840, xxxvii), had also been acquired by the Bellêmes by the early eleventh century (Chibnall 1969, 362; Louise 1991, 216-17). Its importance continued through the early medieval period, and it was the seat of a bishopric from the mid-fifth century onwards (Stapleton 1840, xlii); an abbey, St Martins, was also founded in the sixth century and reconstituted by Roger de Montgomery in the 1050s (Chibnall 1969, 47-9, 363). The medieval town comprised three separate units: the *Bourg l'Évêque* developed around the Roman core and cathedral, north of the River Orne and within the Hiémois. The other two units lay south of the river, in the Bellême's county of Alençon. The *Bourg l'Abbé* developed around the abbey, while the *Bourg le Comte* evolved around the castle (*Neveux 1990, 361-9*). This was a motte-castle, the 'Château Saint-Pierre', which may have been built by William de Bellême in the 1020s, but is first mentioned 1066-89 (Louise 1991, 217); it is uncertain whether it was ever accompanied by a bailey, but it appears never to have received stone defences (Neveux 1995, 156-8; Neveux 1997, 280). Robert de Bellême also acquired episcopal Sées in *c*.1094 (Chibnall 1973, 297 and ns.).

Domfront (Orne) was another early acquisition of the Bellême family, 1015-25 (Louise 1991, 198); it was held of the County of Maine until the mid-eleventh century when it was united with Normandy (Chibnall 1969, 362; see Fig. 1). William de Bellême built the castle in the late tenth or early eleventh century, presumably on the present site which is on the end of a spur, cut off by a deep ditch (Nissen-Jaubert 1998, 147-62). A Roman building within the enclosure attests to earlier use. A town was present by the 1090s, possibly fortified (Orderic seems to distinguish between the '*castellum*' and '*oppidum*'; Chibnall 1973, 257-9), but may not have been a new plantation as a settlement is said to have existed by the sixth century. The Bellêmes lost control of Domfront in 1092 (Chibnall 1973, 259, 293;

Stapleton 1840, lxxviii); the first stonework seems to be the square keep built early in the twelfth century (Howlett 1889, 106-7; Louise 1991, 199; Mesqui 1997, 152).

The enclosure castle at Essay (Orne), just southeast of Sées, was built by the Bellêmes early in the eleventh century (Duval 1895, 13, 41-2; Louise 1991, 200; Touchet *et al.* 1835, 31), and was listed among their most important castles in 1088 (Chibnall 1973, 153). Only fragments now remain, but it seems there was no motte. Another enclosure castle, at nearby Boitron, formed part of the fief of Essay (Duval 1895, 13, 16, 23, 41-2; Touchet *et al*. 1835, 31-2). It had been built by the Bellêmes by the mid-eleventh century; a bailiff of Boitron was recorded 1080-94 (Louise 1991, 196), and Robert de Bellême held a court there in 1105 (Sicotière and Poulet-Malassis 1845, 168). Its location, on top of an isolated hillock, suggests that it may re-use a prehistoric defended settlement.

Saosnes (Sarthe), the early caput of the Saosnois region of Maine (see Fig. 1), lies on monastic land appropriated by Ivo de Bellême in the late tenth century (Chibnall 1975, 227 and n. 2). It was the site of a settlement by the third century, which had become the regional centre by the eighth century (Valais *et al.* 2010, 165). The castle consists of a large motte, which is generally regarded as the work of Robert de Bellême, but the site itself may be an earlier foundation (ibid.; Louise 1991, 216); an accompanying enclosure is now occupied by the settlement and church, but possibly began as a bailey (Louise 1991, 287-8).

Saint-Rémy-du-Val (Sarthe) also lies on monastic land appropriated by Ivo; by the late twelfth century, at least, it had replaced Saosnes as the caput of the Saosnois region of Maine (Chibnall 1975, 227 and n. 2; Meunier 2014, 18, 21). A castle may have been established here in the early eleventh century (Meunier 2014, 21). The present castle comprises a rectangular enclosure of medium size, with two large, crescentic outer baileys, all in line; at least one may be a later addition. Gabriel Fleury attributed these earthworks, in their present form, to Robert de Bellême in the 1090s (Fleury 1887, 11), but Christian Corvisier thought it more likely that they had been considerably remodelled during the late-medieval period (Corvisier 1998(2), 584); recent investigations may confirm the latter interpretation (Meunier 2014, 19). An early eleventh century C^{14} date for walling on the site is treated, by the excavator, with caution (Meunier 2014, 21).

Early castles of the Montgomerys

An early centre of Montgomery power was at Montgommery itself. This was a ducal manor in the early eleventh century, but was granted to the Montgomerys before *c.*1030 (Hagger 2017, 80; Neuville 1867, 529; Thompson 1987, 251) and became the head of an extensive lordship of 40 fiefs, including Vignats and Fourches near Falaise in the Hiémois (Neuville 1867, 533-4; see Fig. 1). Montgommery was described simply as a '*vicus*' in a charter of 1028-35 (Yver 1955, 53), but a castle must have been present by the later 1030s when Montgommery was besieged (Chibnall 1973, 77; Louise 1991, 208; Thompson 1987, 257). There are in fact two castles here, one possibly succeeding the other, but there is no agreement about which of the two may be the earlier. The castle at Sainte-Foy-de-Montgommery, appears to have been a sizeable motte, with a counterscarp bank, but has largely been levelled, and there is now no trace of a bailey (Louise 1991, 276). The other, 2.5 kilometres to the southeast at Saint-Germain-de-Montgommery near Vimoutiers, has also largely disappeared; often called a motte, the scant remains instead seem to indicate a circular enclosure or 'ringwork' of medium size, on the end of a spur (Louise 1991, 277; Neuville 1867, 534).

The castles of Fourches and Vignats (Calvados), in Montgommery lordship, appear similarly to have succeeded one another; they lie 800m apart in the village of Vignats. Vignats, to the west, appears to be the earlier of the two; it may have

been in existence by the 1030s when Vignats was named as a Bellême possession (Caumont 1850, 421), and became one of the chief holdings of the House of Montgomery-Bellême. A castle is first specifically mentioned by Orderic, in his account of the year 1088 (Chibnall 1973, 153). Orderic then tells us that, in 1090-91, 'Robert de Bellême built a *castellum* on a crag known as Fourches and moved the inhabitants of Vignats there' (Chibnall 1973, 229). However, the castle that Orderic names 'Vignats' was still in use in 1119 (Chibnall 1978, 225), and was not abandoned until its destruction in the sixteenth century (Caumont 1850, 422) – which one is meant? Or did both continue to be occupied? (neither occupies a 'crag'). Though often called a motte (eg. Galeron *et al.* 1828, 320-1), Vignats was a partial ringwork around a semicircular enclosure (Painchault 2012, 212-13). Fourches is a large, low motte with an oval bailey, and traces of an extensive subrectangular outer ward (or, conceivably, a town defence; Louise 1991, 253).

The ducal demesne manor at Bures-sur-Dives (Calvados), in the northern Hiémois, was granted to the Montgomerys at some point before 1030 (Hagger 2017, 80), and became an important centre for the family close by their abbey at Troarn. A castle had been established by 1077, when it was the site of Mabel de Bellême's murder (Chibnall 1972, 137). It has now entirely disappeared and its nature is unknown.

Another important Montgomery castle was at Almenêches (Orne), a holding which had been acquired by Roger de Montgomery's father in the 1020s (Hagger 2017, 81, 92), and was also associated with an important religious house – a nunnery – under their patronage (Chibnall 1978, 33 and n. 2, 37). The present enclosure castle may be associated with a mound immediately to the south (Louise 1991, 239), within which the discovery of human bone, in the nineteenth century (Coutil 1896, 87; Vimont 1884, 51-6), suggests origins as a prehistoric burial mound, possibly adapted for use as a motte**.**

Later castles

Between two and 13 castles were newly-built by Robert de Bellême in the 1090s; the dispartity is due to uncertainty over how many were adaptations of pre-existing castles. At least three, possibly nine are mottes, and two are possible enclosures including a partial ringwork. Multiple baileys are present at just one castle, but possibly existed at another two.

Château-Gontier (Orne) was built by Robert around 1091 (Chibnall 1973, 229; Thompson 1991, 273 and n. 47; Whitelock *et al*. 1961, 171). It lies in the Houlme region of the Hiémois (Fig. 1), within which he appears to have been acting as *vicomte* for his father; the castle was in the custody of his brother Roger in 1094 (Howlett 1889, 53). It is possible that it is represented by a prehistoric promontory fort, in a loop of the River Orne at La Courbe, which may have been re-used as Robert's castle (Galeron 1835, 465-6; Louise 1991, 243); however a motte-and-bailey, next to the parish church 1 kilometre to the northeast, is another candidate (Louise 1991, 244-5). Château-Gontier is one of those castles that Orderic Vitalis termed '*oppidum*' (Chibnall 1973, 229), and though there is no evidence for any accompanying settlement, the area enclosed by the prehistoric defences is fairly large.

Orderic Vitalis tells us that nine castles in Maine were held by Robert de Bellême in 1098, and lists them: Aillieres, Blèves, Mamers, Mont-de-la-Nue (Contilly), La Motte-Gautier-de-Clinchamps (Chemilly), Ortieuse, Peray, Saint-Rémy-du-Val and Saosnes (Chibnall 1975, 235). This was a contested region, with numerous castles, not all of which belonged to the Montgomerys or their dependents; many were built by neighbouring lords, and identifying these nine castles is problematical. And at

least one of them, La Motte-Gautier-de-Clinchamps, is now in Normandy. Nevertheless, all have been fairly confidently identified, and remains survive at six.

Some of these castles were newly-built by Robert ('*oppida nova*'), with the assistance of King William Rufus, during the Norman campaign against Maine in 1098-99 (Chibnall 1975, 234-5). Others were existing castles that were strengthened by 'digging deep ditches' around them – '*oppida antiqua . . . precipitibus fossis cingens'* (ibid.). While Orderic does not distinguish between the two groups, he implies that the castles at Lurson (Le Val), Mamers, Saosnes and Saint-Rémy-du-Val were in existence by 1088 (Chibnall 1973, 153; Chibnall 1975, 227 and n. 2). The area of northeast Maine that the group occupies – the Saosnois (or Sonnois), in Sarthe *département* (Fig. 1) – had been in the hands of the Bellême family since *c*.1000 (Louise 1990, 331; Stapleton 1840, lxxi), and some of these castles were initially built by Ivo de Bellême and his successor William in the late tenth/early eleventh century (Chibnall 1973, 153; Louise 1990, 331; Fleury and Dangin 1929, 16; Meunier 2014, 16-17, 21). However, a number of them appear to be isolated mottes, without baileys, and where baileys do exist they can be noticeably small. They cannot have been fully-functioning manorial centres, and perhaps their purpose was primarily military (Corvisier 1998 (2), 334; Valais *et al*. 2010, 166-9), possibly favouring a date in the late 1090s. Nevertheless, very few of them have been excavated and their exact nature, and date, has yet to fully demonstrated; an exception is Guéramé Motte, at Courgains (Valais *et al.* 2010, 166), where the motte and very small bailey were only discovered through aerial photography.

Others are larger, but could be pre-1090s. For instance Mont-de-la-Nue, Contilly (Sarthe), is a motte with two baileys – the outer one very large – but is one of those that may have early/mid-eleventh-century origins (Louise 1991, 208, 242). Lurson is a partial ringwork with two baileys (Louise 1991, 285-6), but again was an earlier castle: Roger de Montgomery was recorded there in the 1050s (Thompson 1987, 261), while a castle is definitely mentioned in 1067 (Louise 1991, 205). And Gabriel Fleury suggested that Mamers, also probably earlier (see Chibnall 1973, 153; Louise 1991, 206), comprised a motte and three baileys, but the castle was entirely destroyed in the fifteenth century and his evidence is unknown (Fleury 1887; Louise 1991, 259). It has been suggested that the two outer baileys at Saint-Rémy-du-Val may have been later medieval additions to the primary enclosure (Meunier 2014, 19).

The motte-and-bailey at Igé (Orne) is one possible contender for the site of the castle at *Rupem de Ialgeio* or *Ialgeium*, mentioned by Orderic on a number of occasions (Chibnall 1972, 137; Chibnall 1973, 153; Siguret 2000, 98-9), though now generally rejected in favour of La Roche-Mabile (see below; Chibnall 1972, 137 and n. 1, 161; Stapleton 1840, lxxiii). Instead, it is likely to be Orderic's castle of 'Ortieuse' in Maine (Louise 1991, 255; Meunier 2014, 14 fig.), although it now lies in Normandy. The castle occupies a spur, isolated by a further ditch. Given the nature of the site, and its location within the Bellêmois, it is nevertheless likely to have been a foundation of Robert de Bellême in *c*.1098: it lies far from any settlement in open country, is associated with two more castles, and the complex may be primarily military. Another rejected candidate for *Rupem de Ialgeio* is the possible motte castle at 'Mont Jallu', now destroyed, near Saint-Cosme-en-Vairais, Sarthe (Fleury and Dangin 1929, 122; Louise 1991, 275).

Other sites within the Montgomery-Bellême ambit

Robert de Bellême was responsible for the design of the castle at Gisors, Eure, built for King William Rufus in 1097 (Chibnall 1973, xxxiv; Chibnall 1975, 215-17; Corvisier 1998(2), 328; Lepeuple 2012, 15). Recent work suggests that the motte

– which is notably large[16] – was at first accompanied by a more averagely-sized bailey to one side; this was subsumed within the immense subrectangular enclosure that was thrown around the motte during the twelfth century (Lepeuple 2012, 15-16 and fig.). Gisors was probably a Gallo-Roman settlement, and was already important by the tenth century; it appears to have been reconstituted as a *bourg*, with bank-and-ditch defences, during or soon after the construction of the castle (Lepeuple 2012, 15-18 and fig.); though small, the *bourg* was described as 'very strongly fortified' in the 1130s (Chibnall 1978, 345).

The castle at Château-sur-Epte, Eure, was also built by Rufus in the late 1090s (Chibnall 1978, 233). It has a motte nearly as large as at Gisors, with a large oval bailey to one side, and it has been suggested that it too was designed by Robert de Bellême (Corvisier 1998(2), 135, 138). There was also a small ditched *bourg*, as at Gisors (Lepeuple 2012, 24-5 and fig., 32 fig.). These two *bourgs* were however the result of royal planning, rather than Bellême's influence, in a tradition of ducal and royal fortified town foundation which has its origins in the Norman acquisition of Normandy in the tenth century, and referenced the existing urban framework within northern France.

Ballon (Sarthe), in Maine, was captured by King William Rufus in 1098, and custody was given to Robert de Bellême (Chibnall 1975, 243-5), who 'fortified' the castle in 1099 ('*Balaonem munivit'*; Chibnall 1975, 254-5), although we do not know what this work involved. Although described as a 'motte' by Orderic (Chibnall 1975, 243), the castle is a smallish, D-shaped enclosure on the scarped summit of a hillock. The present defences are 'much later' (Louise 1991, 226).

The castles at Saint-Céneri-le-Gérei (Orne), Échauffour (Orne) and Montreuil-l'Argillé (Eure) were acquired by the House of Montgomery from their vassals (and rivals), the Giroie family, in 1059-60 (Chibnall 1969, 79-81; Chibnall 1972, 135; Thompson 1987, 262). Saint-Céneri had probably been established around 1044 (Chibnall 1978, 195 n. 2; Louise 1991, 274), and the settlement at its gates may be roughly contemporary (Chibnall 1969, 27 n. 4); the castle at Échauffour was begun in the early-mid eleventh century (Chibnall 1969, 83, 93; Louise 1991, 200) as, probably, was Montreuil. Saint-Céneri Castle occupies the neck of a loop in the River Sarthe and, at its greatest extent, seems to have comprised a motte with two enclosures in line, vestiges of which remain (Louise 1991, 274; Touchet *et al.* 1835, 29). Montreuil-l'Argillé is often termed a motte, but the physical remains comprise a semicircular enclosure above a steep natural slope; there is now no evidence for any further enclosures (Painchault 2012, 212). Échauffour has gone, and its form is unknown (Louise 1991, 248); a town was in existence by the 1080s (Chibnall 1972, 141), and another had developed at Montreuil by at least 1138 (Chibnall 1978, 513). All three castles were restored to the Giroies in 1088 (Chibnall 1973, 155-7, 297; Louise 1991, 200). It is not known whether the Montgomery-Bellême family undertook any works at these castles, but the similarity between Montreuil-l'Argillé and their castle at Vignats has been remarked upon (Painchault 2012, 212-13). And Gérard Louise felt that Orderic's phrasing may imply that works had been undertaken on the defences at Saint-Céneri (Louise 1991, 214; see Chibnall 1973, 153).

It is generally agreed that La Roche-Mabile (Orne) is the castle of *Rupem de Ialgeio*, or *Ialgeium*, mentioned by Orderic (Chibnall 1972, 137 and n. 1, 161; Chibnall 1973, 153; Louise 1991, 213; Stapleton 1840, lxxiii), perhaps confirmed by its greater importance and longevity than the two other candidates mentioned above. It had been a possession of a vassal of the Giroies, and like their castles was acquired by the Montgomerys in 1059-60 (Chibnall 1972, 137, 161; Chibnall 1975,

[16] It is worth noting that large mottes had already been used by the English Crown at eg. Windsor and Cardiff, as well as Roger de Montgomery's Arundel (see below).

157; Louise 1991, 213, 271). It comprises a medium-sized enclosure on the summit of a rocky sandstone bluff, with the remains of stone fortifications of the twelfth century (Sicotière 1845, 26-7; Touchet *et al.* 1835, 24-5); a concentric, outer enclosure is possible (Louise 1991, 271). The castle lies on an ancient routeway (Doranlo 1937, 166), and given its situation, possibly occupies the site of a prehistoric hillfort. A *bourg* developed at the foot of the bluff, and by the twelfth century was an important town and head of a deanery of the Passais (Bernouis *et al.* 1993, 129-30; Paige 1895, 401-4).

The castle at Peray (Sarthe), in the Saosnois region of Maine, formed part of Robert de Bellême's chain of fortifications during the late 1090s (Chibnall 1975, 235). It had beenappropriated by the Montgomerys from their vassal and *familiare*, William Pantulf, before 1077, and remained in their hands well into the twelfth century (Chibnall 1972, 161; Chibnall 1978, 447). The castle comprises a large motte with a fairly small bailey (Louise 1991, 268-9). It is not known whether any work was undertaken under the Montgomerys; the castle may have been extensively modified for masonry under their successors as the bailey is a regular rectangle, with possible remains of towers at the four corners (Siguret 1964, 138-40; Verdier 1978). A second, similar motte, but without a bailey, stands close by (Louise 1991, 269). Both lie within a large outer enclosure representing a prehistoric fortification, with occupation during the Roman period (Valais *et al.* 2010, 165; Siguret 1964, 137-9).

Mottes seem to predominate on the holdings of Montgomery vassals. Out of a sample of 19 sites, mottes are present at 13, and possible at another four. Some of them are multiple mottes on the same site, or very near each other, as above – including at Buré and Villeray (Orne), near Bellême (Carpentier *et al*. 2001, 187-9; Louise 1990, 225, 232; Louise 1991, 235-6). Four are enclosure castles, including three ringworks/partial ringworks with probable Iron Age origins (Louise 1991, 224-5, 238, 256-7). Two are of uncertain form. Only two sites feature multiple baileys (Louise 1991, 224, 284).

The three ducal castles of the *comté* of Hiémois were at Argentan, Exmes and Falaise (Hagger, 167, 596; Stapleton 1840, lxxxviii, cxxxiii). Exmes (Orne) was the caput of the Hiémois until supplanted in importance, by Argentan and Falaise, during the tenth-eleventh century (Louise 1991, 201; Stapleton 1844, 109 n. 1). There is now considerable doubt whether the duke's *vicecomtes* acted as custodians of his castles (Hagger 2017, 547-8), and there may have been no meaningful Montgomery-Bellême presence, under the dukes, at any of them. And while Robert de Bellême siezed Exmes Castle in 1103 (Chibnall 1978, 35), it is apparent that he was forced to relinquish it three years later (Hagger 2017, 161), and it is questionable whether he undertook any works there. The town has origins in the Gallo-Roman period, becoming the regional capital in the sixth century (Stapleton 1840, xlii), and the castle itself may originally have been a Carolingian fortification (though this is disputed; see Renoux 1989, 114). It was an oval enclosure, with a very small, ditched *bourg* beyond (Louise 1991, 249; Mesnil du Buisson 1933, 15-18). A larger urban enclosure was added by Henry I, 1106-35 – both the 'old' and 'new' towns are mentioned by Orderic (Chibnall 1978, 463) – when the castle was rebuilt in stone (Howlett 1889, 106-7).

The ducal castle at Argentan (Orne) was however held by Roger de Montgomery during the 1080s, and then granted in fee to Robert de Bellême in 1094 (Chibnall 1973, 297; Chibnall 1978, 47, 99 and n. 1); it was surrendered to Henry in 1106 (Chibnall 1978, 99). It is nevertheless thought that the surviving castle – a motte-and-bailey – was begun by Henry I in the 1130s (Chibnall 1978, 447; Corvisier 1998 (2), 13, 24; Howlett 1889, 106-7).

Castles in Britain

The above account of France gives a flavour of the family's castle-building background, and some of the influences that Roger de Montgomery brought with him to Britain in 1067. Roger and his sons were doubtless subject to other influences, but it is telling that King William Rufus sought Robert de Bellême's expertise in the design of at least one of his castles.

Domesday Book, Orderic Vitalis and other sources together suggest that, at its height in 1100-02, the Montgomery-Bellême family directly held between 43 and 46 castles in Britain, through the brothers Robert de Bellême, Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf. But Montgomery work is only certainly known at eight castles, all their own foundations; Montgomery origins are likely at another six sites (Table **2**; Fig. **2**). Twenty castles cannot be closely dated, while six were in their hands for such a short period that major building operations may be unlikely. Work by the family is considered unlikely at another four castles, which were either established by other individuals (ie. Shrewsbury), or are normally regarded as twelfth-century.

Only two of the above castles have been extensively excavated, at Old Montgomery (Hen Domen), Montgomeryshire, and Tong in Shropshire, though smaller-scale investigations have been undertaken, or are ongoing, at a number of others including Mount Bures (Essex), Quatford, Shrewsbury and Whittington (all Shrops.) – and Pembroke.

Table 2: British castles in demesne fiefs in Montgomery-Bellême possession

ARUNDEL – definite Montgomery-Bellême foundation (documentary reference)
* – date and founder uncertain
** – not built, or probably not built, by the House of Montgomery-Bellême
? – possible castle
BA – Bronze Age
IA – Iron Age
EM – early medieval

Site name	Form and size	Multiple enclosures	Date	Earlier use	Pre-1102 masonry	Pre-1102 town	References
ARUNDEL Sussex	Motte and 2 baileys. Large	Yes	1067-88	Saxon town	Yes?	Yes (Saxon)	Baggs etc 1997; Fradley 2011; Guy 2016
* **Barrow-upon-Humber** Lincs.	Motte and 2 baileys. Large. +2 enclosures.	Yes	1068-95?	Unknown	No	No	Atkins 1983; King 1983
BRIDGNORTH Shrops.	Partial ringwork. Medium	No?	1100-02	Saxon town?	No	Yes?	Chibnall 1978; Forester 1854; Fradley 2011
? Burgh-next-Aylsham Norfolk	Motte? Large	No	?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983; Rye 1908
CARDIGAN Ceredigion	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	1093	IA enclosure? *Llys?*	No	No	See Appendix **7b**, Table 1
CARREGHOFA Montgomery	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	1101	Unknown	No	No	King 1983; Spurgeon 1966
** **Castle Bytham** Lincs.	Motte and bailey. Large. +2 enclosures.	Yes	Mid C12?	Unknown	No	No (C12)	King 1983
* **Castlemartin** Pembs.	Ringwork. Medium	No	Before 1171; C11?	IA enclosure? *Llys?*	No	No	See Appendix **7b**, Table 1
Chichester Sussex	Motte (and bailey?). Size?	No	1060s-70s?	Roman town	No	Yes (Saxon)	Fradley 2011; King 1983; Salzman 1935
** **Clitheroe** Lancs.	Enclosure. Large	No	Mid C12?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983; Wood 1993
* **Ellesmere** Shrops.	Motte and 2 baileys. Large	Yes	1086-94?	Unknown	No	No	Eyton 1860; King 1983
* **Gisburn** Yorks.	Ringwork/ring-motte Small	No	Before 1151?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983

*** Halton** Lancs.	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	Late C11?	Saxon manor	No	No	Gardner 1908; King 1983
? Hampole Yorks.	Ring-motte? Small	No	?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983
Hodnet Shrops.	Motte and bailey(s). Large?	No?	1086-1100?	Saxon manor	No	No	Eyton 1859; King 1983
LANCASTER (Lancs.)	Ringwork. Medium	No	1093	Roman fort; Saxon settlement	No?	Yes? (Saxon)	Champness 1993; Goodall 2013; Guy 2015
****Laughton-en-le-Morthen** (Yorks.)	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	1070-99	Saxon manor	No	No	Bromage 2018; King 1983
*** Llandinam, Rhos Diarbed** Montgomery	Motte and 2 baileys. Large	Yes	1070s-90s?	IA enclosure	No	No	King 1983; Spurgeon 1966
*** Llangurig** Montgomery	Motte and bailey. Medium	Hornwork	?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983; Spurgeon 1966
*** Llanidloes, Pen-y-Castell** Montgomery	'Ring motte' and bailey. Medium	No	?	IA enclosure	No	No	King 1983; Spurgeon 1966
**** Lowdham** Notts.	Motte (and 2 baileys?). Large?	Yes?	Late C11-early C12?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983; Speight 1994
Lydham Shrops.	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	1086-94?	Saxon manor?	No	No	King 1983
*** Manafon** Montgom.	Motte (and bailey?). Small	No	?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983; Spurgeon 1966
*** Manchester** Lancs.	Partial ringwork? Size?	No?	Before 1186	Unknown	No	Yes (Saxon)	Jones etc 1987; King 1983
****Mexborough** Yorks.	Motte and bailey. Medium	Hornwork	?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983
MONTGOMERY (OLD) Montgomery	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	1071-4?	No	No	No	Barker and Higham 1982
Mount Bures Essex	Motte. Large	No	Late C11?	BA barrow? Saxon manor	No	No	King 1983; Lewis etc 2011
*** Narberth** Pembs.	Partial ringwork. Med. (and bailey?)	No	Before 1116; C11?	IA enclosure? *Llys?*	No	No (C13)	See Appendix **7b**, Table 1
*** Newton-le-Willows** Lancs.	Motte (and bailey?). Small	No	?	BA barrow	No	No	King 1983; Youngs etc 1988
*** Newtown, Gro Tump** Montgomery	Motte and bailey. Small. + enclosure.	Yes	1070s-90s?	?	No	No	King 1983; Spurgeon 1966
*** Orwell** Cambs.	Motte? Ringwork? Size?	No	?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983
PEMBROKE Pembs.	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	1093	BA barrows? IA enclosure? *Llys?*	No	No (C12?)	See Appendix **7b**, Table 1
Penwortham Lancs.	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	Before 1086	Saxon manor	No	No	Domesday; Farrer 1906; Gardner 1908
*** Midhurst** Sussex	Ringwork. Medium	No	Early C12?	Unknown	No	No (C12?)	Chibnall 1978; Magilton etc 2001
QUATFORD Shrops.	Motte and bailey. Small	No	1071-1100	Saxon town?	No	Yes?	Domesday; Fradley 2011; Mason etc 1966
*** Rochdale** Lancs.	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983; Gardner 1908
**** Rowland's Castle** Hants.	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	C12?	Unknown	No	No	Smith etc 2011
**** Shrewsbury** Shrops.	Motte and 2 baileys. Medium	Yes	1066-69	Saxon town	No	Yes (Saxon)	Chibnall 1969; Fradley 2011; Radford 1958
*** Skipsea** Yorks.	Motte and bailey. Large	No	1068-95?	BA barrow?	No	No (C12)	Alison etc 2002; King 1983
? Sprotborough Yorks.	Motte? Size?	No	?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983
*** Tenby** Pembs.	Enclosure. Large	No	Before 1153; C11?	IA enclosure? *Llys*	No	No (C12?)	See Appendix **7b**, Table 1
****Tickhill** Yorks.	Motte and bailey. Large	No	1070-99	Unknown	Yes	Yes (Saxon)	Chibnall 1975; King 1983
Tong Shrops.	Partial ringwork (+ bailey?). Small	No	1071-93?	IA enclosure. Saxon manor	No	No	King 1983; Wharton 1983
*** West Derby** Lancs.	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	Late C11?	Unknown	No	No	Gardner 1908; King 1983

*** Whittington** Shrops.	Motte and bailey. Large +2 enclosures	Yes	Early C12?	IA enclosure. Saxon manor	No	No	Brown etc 2002; Chibnall 1978
**** Worksop** Notts.	Motte + partial ringwork. Small	No	Early C12?	Unknown	No	No	Speight 1995; Stroud 2002
			TOTALS				
43 sites **3 possible sites**	28-30 mottes 12 enclosures 4 uncertain	10-14		1-4 BA barrow 4-9 IA site 8-13 EM site	1-3	1-2. + 5-6 with Saxon origins	

Note – further castles in northwest England may have been part of the seizure of Roger de Poitevin's estates during the compilation of Domesday Book, and not appear in this list.

The 46 castles break down into 28 mottes, 12 enclosures including seven partial ringworks, and four castles of uncertain form. There are more than twice as many mottes as enclosure castles, but the possibility of secondary mottes is ever present. Eleven to 13 castles can be described as large – a slightly higher proportion than in France. Between 10 and 14 (around a quarter) show more than one bailey but, at two sites, the additional enclosure is very small may be more in the nature of a 'hornwork' associated with an entry. Unlike France, there is no evidence for more than one castle at any one site. Eleventh-century masonry is known at one castle, and has been suggested at another two; this will be discussed below.

Four, possibly nine castles re-use Iron Age enclosures, and one or three occupy Bronze Age/early Iron Age burial sites. One overlies a Roman forts, and one was established within a Romano-British town. Between six and 10 overlie Anglo-Saxon or Welsh manorial sites, while five or eight were established within or around Anglo-Saxon settlements. Only one or two towns can be confidently regarded as new foundations of the Montgomerys.

The eight known Montgomery castle foundations are Arundel (Sussex), Bridgnorth and Quatford (Shrops.), Cardigan, Carreghofa and Old Montgomery (Montgomeryshire), Lancaster and Pembroke. Three are motte castles; the remaining five are enclosures including four partial ringworks. Only Arundel shows a second bailey, which may or may not be a primary feature.

The six other most likely Montgomery foundations are Chichester (Sussex), Hodnet, Lydham and Tong (Shrops.), Mount Bures (Essex) and Penwortham (Lancs.). All are motte castles except one partial ringwork, none certainly shows a second bailey, while Mount Bures appears to lack a bailey altogether.

Roger de Montgomery

The first Montgomery-Bellême castle to be built in Britain was probably Arundel (Sussex), after Roger de Montgomery was awarded the Rape of Arundel in late 1067 (Chibnall 1969, 211, 263; Mason 1963, 2, 4-5); the rape embraced 82 manors in Sussex, worth nearly £1000 *p.a.*, eleven of which were held in demesne (Open Domesday; see Fig. 2). Arundel Castle is thought to have been begun soon after the grant (Baggs and Warne 1997, 38), and is recorded in 1088 (King 1983, 469 n. 3). The motte is very large, much like King William I's Windsor Castle, begun shortly after 1066, and Robert de Bellême's later motte at Gisors (see above). The double-bailey plan around a central motte also echoes Windsor. But, while the layout at Arundel could possibly be original (Fradley 2011, 254), it is unusual in Montgomery-Bellême designs, while the second large bailey at Windsor Castle (the lower ward) is thought to be an addition of the mid-late twelfth century (Tatton-Brown 2007, 24-8); it is discussed further below. Arundel Castle lies close to an existing Anglo-Saxon settlement (Baggs and Warne 1997, 12, 19; Fradley 2011, 253; Open Domesday). It is possible that it received some masonry before its seizure in 1102; this is discussed below.

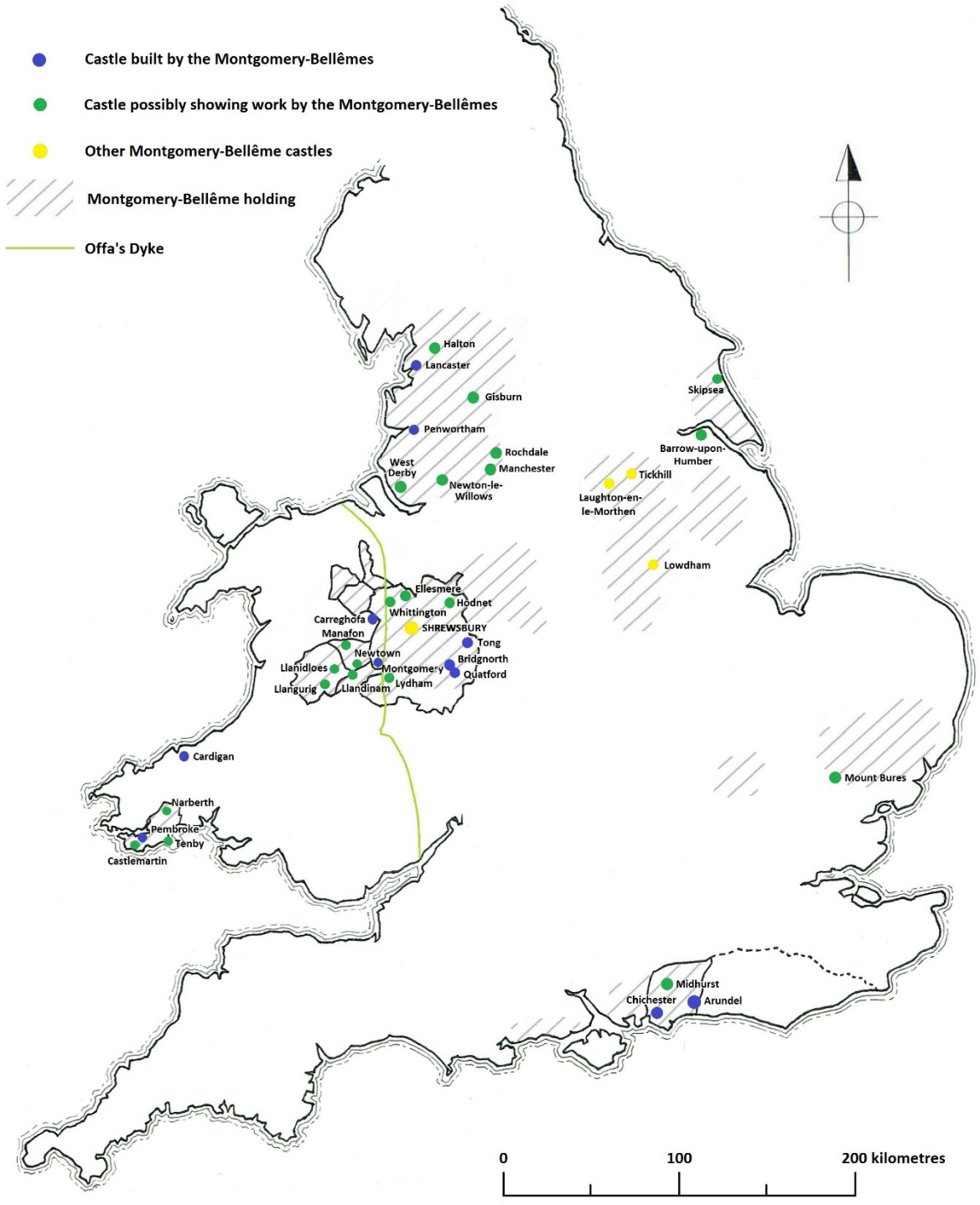

Figure 2: British castles in demesne fiefs in Montgomery-Bellême possession, before 1102

Roger de Montgomery also probably built the now-damaged motte castle at Chichester, Sussex, soon after 1067 (Fradley 2011, 259; Salzman 1935, 79-80):[17] while Arundel was his caput, Chichester was an existing Saxon town, with Roman origins (Fradley 2011, 257; Salzman 1935, 71), and the main port of his Rape of Arundel (nb. its division into a separate rape occurred later in the Middle Ages; Mason 1963, 2; Salzman 1953, 1-2). A bailey is likely, but has gone.

Midhurst (Sussex) also lay within the Rape, within the manor of Easebourne which was omitted from Domesday Book, perhaps accidentally (Salzman 1953, 76-7). The oval ringwork on St Ann's Hill above the town is generally assigned to the twelfth century (King 1983, 473 *et al*.), but it has also been attributed, while acknowledging an absence of documentary evidence, to Roger de Montgomery (Thompson 2001, 21). It has however been suggested that Midhurst may have been monastic property during the eleventh century. It was granted to Savaric FitzCana after the 1102 rebellion (Salzman 1953, 76-7), along with two other Sussex manors that had been granted, by Roger de Montgomery, to his nunnery at Almenêches in Normandy, suggesting that it too was a possession of Almenêches (Chibnall 1978, 33 and n. 2); all three were in the hands of Savaric's Bohun descendants by the late twelfth century (ibid.). An enclosure at the foot of the hill, embracing an early town, has been convincingly suggested (Magilton and Thomas 2001, 117), but it may have been Savaric who established both castle and town.[18]

Roger de Montgomery was granted the earldom of Shrewsbury or Shropshire around 1071, after the defeat of the Saxon earl Edwin of Mercia and the forfeiture of his estate (Chibnall 1969, 211 n. 1, 263; Mason 1963, 2-4). The grant, and Roger's subsequent gains in the Marches, increased his British estate to a total of 281 manors, 85 of which were held in demesne (Open Domesday). Of these manors, 100 (or over a third) were in Shropshire and the borders, worth £750 *p.a*. and with 50 held in demesne; the rest were scattered through ten other counties. Roger's lands in Shropshire encompassed most of the county (Fig. 2), but a number of fiefs along its southern border had already been granted to followers of William FitzOsbern, earl of Hereford, probably including Ludlow (see below; Coplestone-Crow 2006, 21; Mason 1963, 3).

The caput of Roger's earldom was at Shrewsbury itself, where King William I had apparently built a castle by 1069: the '*praesidium regis apud Scrobesburium*', mentioned by Orderic in that year (Chibnall 1969, 228), can best be interpreted as a castle (Fradley 2011, 187 *et al*.). The castle is the subject of an ongoing Castle Studies Trust project. It comprises a large motte, with a bailey (King 1983, 430 *et al*.), the latter having originally been rather small due to the imposition of the motte and its ditch (Castle Studies Trust blog); it cannot at present be confirmed that the motte was a primary feature. An outer bailey was present, perhaps from the first, but it had ceased to be seignueurial by the thirteenth century and was yielded for urban development (Fradley 2017, 123; King 1983, 430). Radford considered the inner curtain and gatehouse to be twelfth-century (Radford 1958, 16-17), and none of the masonry is normally assigned an eleventh-century date in recent accounts. The castle lay on the edge of a Saxon *burh*, mentioned in *c*.900 (Fradley 2011, 183), and called a 'city' of 82 burgesses in Domesday, within which 51 properties were demolished to make way for it (Open Domesday). The *burh* had been fortified before 1066 (Fradley 2011, 184; Jones and Bond 1987, 94-112); Orderic mentions its gates, and the suburbs which had developed by the time he was writing in the early twelfth century (Chibnall 1972, 143, 149).

[17] It has been suggested that it may pre-date Arundel Castle and 'the decision to make the latter the head of the post-Conquest Rape' (Fradley 2011, 259).
[18] The eleventh-century date for the castle and town has also been queried by Richard Jones (Jones 2003, 172-4).

Eardington (Shrops.) was among the 50 demesne manors of the earldom in Shropshire and the borders. Its Domesday entry mentions Earl Roger's 'new house' at Quatford ('*nova domus*'; Open Domesday). This may refer to Quatford Castle, but perhaps implies that the manor-house there had yet to receive defences; it appears to have done so by *c*.1100 (see below). A fairly small motte-and-bailey, it shows no evidence of any additional enclosures (Fradley 2011, 190; Mason and Barker 1966), while excavation in the 1960s indicated that the bailey may have been merely a scarped platform with neither bank nor ditch (Mason and Barker 1966, 42-3, 49-50). The castle is discussed further below, along with the possible town.

Roger's demesne castle at Tong, Shrops., was extensively excavated during the 1970s-80s. It was shown to be a small, ditched partial ringwork at the end of a low promontory, with timber defences – including a possible free-standing tower within the enclosure – and what was considered to be a contemporary bailey (Wharton 1983, 3-4; 'Discovering Tong' website). This phase was considered to be of eleventh-century date and the work of Earl Roger (ibid.). Prehistoric and Roman finds suggest the ringwork may have been a re-used Iron Age enclosure (*cf*. Pembroke). The large motte-and-bailey at Whittington Castle (Shrops.) has also been subject to recent investigations (Brown *et al*. 2004). A castle was in existence by 1138 (Chibnall 1978, 519), but it is uncertain whether it was established by Earl Roger; it may have been a foundation of the Peverels after 1102 (Brown *et al.* 2004, 106-15). One, possibly two outer enclosures may be primary features. The castle occupies another Anglo-Saxon manorial site, established within an Iron Age defended enclosure (ibid.).

Another important demesne manor of the earl was Hodnet (Shrops.), which was the centre of a large manor before 1066 (Eyton 1859, 326-7; Open Domesday), succeeded by a castle. No castle is recorded in Domesday, receiving its first mention in 1223 (King 1983, 424-5), but it may have been built soon after 1086. It is a motte-and-bailey; the second bailey mentioned by David King (ibid.) is not mentioned in other accounts (eg. English Heritage scheduling report). Another important Domesday manor in Shropshire was Lydham (Eyton 1860, 275-6; Open Domesday); again no castle is recorded, but the motte and subrectangular bailey, of average size, may belong to Earl Roger's tenure (see King 1983, 435).

The castle at Ellesmere (Shrops.) is similarly not mentioned in Domesday. Large, and comprising a motte and two baileys, it was considered by David King to be twelfth century (King 1983, 424). However, Domesday records that Earl Roger held the fief with his sheriff of Shropshire, Reginald de Bailleul (Open Domesday), and that a settlement of 40 villagers was present. Both factors may be significant to the castle's foundation date.

It does not appear to be long after receiving Shropshire that Roger de Montgomery advanced westwards into Wales, establishing a castle at Old Montgomery ('Hen Domen'). The castle is mentioned in Domesday, while the phrasing in one of the Welsh chronicles suggests it had already been built by 1074 (Williams ab Ithel 1860, 26). It was the Montgomerys' caput castle in mid-Wales, to which they gave their name – becoming the only Norman baronial family after which a British county is named (see Mason 1963, 1). Yet it is a relatively simple castle, of moderate size – a motte with a single bailey, defined by a ditch and counterscarp bank all round, to which masonry was never added by the family, nor a borough attached (Barker and Higham 1982, 5-7). The motte was shown to be a primary feature (ibid., 30). Barker and Higham considered that, although a function as a manorial and administrative centre is implicit, it was never regarded as a major residence by the Montgomerys (ibid., 93-4). However, the simplicity of many of their castles, the paucity of their masonry construction, and their scant record of borough foundation, have to be borne in mind.

From their base at Montgomery, the earl and his sons campaigned deep into Wales: raids by Hugh de Montgomery are recorded in Dyfed and Ceredigion in 1073 and 1074 (Williams ab Ithel 1860, 26). By 1086, the *cantrefs* of Cydewain and Arwystli (now Montgomeryshire) were in Roger's own hands (Open Domesday), driving a wedge through mid-Wales and splitting the Welsh kingdom of Powys in two (Fig. 2). Further north, he also held the *cwmwdau* of Cynllaith and Edeyrnion (now Denbighs. and Merioneth) through his sheriff Reginald de Bailleul and another tenant.

At least some of the earthwork castles in the former region are probably foundations of the earl, including Rhos Diarbed, at Llandinam in Arwystli. It is one of the few Montgomeryshire castles with two baileys, here thought to be an adaptation of an Iron Age enclosure (King 1983, 297; Spurgeon 1966, 14-15). It is not known whether the outer enclosure at Gro Tump, at Newtown in Cydewain, is a re-used earlier feature. It surrounds a motte and a small bailey, and features further subdivisions (King 1983, 300; Spurgeon 1966, 18), which may be significant to its origins; the motte-and-bailey itself is undated, but thought to be the work of Earl Roger (Spurgeon 1966, 18). The motte castle at Llangurig in Arwystli also features a second enclosure, but here it is very small and may perhaps best be seen as a 'hornwork' (King 1983, 298; Spurgeon 1966, 25-6).

In addition is a cluster of eight mottes in Montgomeryshire, south of the Severn, which cannot be dated. At least three of them may however 'represent the early advances of Roger de Montgomery from Hen Domen' (Spurgeon 1966, 2). Two or three of them lack baileys, and may have seen a restricted type of use. The three most likely Montgomery sites are the motte, possibly without a bailey, at Ceri (Neuadd Goch), and the isolated mottes at Ceri (Tomen Madoc) and Llandyssil (King 1983, 296-7; Spurgeon 1966, 19, 28, 34).

The sons of Montgomery

Roger the Poitevin had, at some point before 1086, received a substantial grant in northwest England – the '*castellatus* of Roger the Poitevin' – centering on modern Lancashire (Chandler 1989, 2; Chibnall 1972, 151 n. 1; Open Domesday; see Fig. 2). Though the honor was, for unknown reasons, undergoing forfeiture while Domesday was being compiled, Roger appears to have retained around 280 manors, all in demesne; he regained control of the remainder between 1088 and 1093 (Mason 1963, 16; Thompson 1991, 275 n. 56), probably due in part to his role in King William Rufus's northwestern campaign of 1092-3 (Champness 1993, 1). The region was not yet a county and, although Roger maintained a sheriff, he was not an earl (Mason 1963, 16) – *contra* Orderic Vitalis who, in a moment of licence, described all three brothers as earls (Chibnall 1978, 31; Arnulf's status in Pembroke will be discussed in Appendix **7b**). Though Roger does not appear to have taken an active part in the 1102 rebellion (Jones 1952, 22-3; Jones 1971, 95; Mason 1963, 23), and may never have revisited Britain after 1094, his British lands, like those of his brothers, were made forfeit (Chibnall 1978, 33).

An important fief within Roger the Poitevin's honor was Halton (Lancs.), which comprised around 25 manors, including Lancaster, centred on Halton itself (Open Domesday). It was forfeit in 1086, and in the king's hands, but was recovered by Roger (Farrer and Brownbill 1914, 118-19). Its subordinate manor at Lancaster emerged as the caput of Roger's entire honor during the early/mid-1090s, perhaps suggesting that Halton had previously fulfilled this role. It shows an earthwork castle with a fairly large motte and a single bailey (Gardner 1908, 524-6). No castle is mentioned in Domesday, but do the circumstances suggest that it may have been built by Roger, before the ascendancy of Lancaster?

Roger is thought to have begun the castle at Lancaster in 1093, and it soon became his caput in the northwest (Champness 1993, 1). It appears to have been an oval enclosure without a motte, established over part of a Roman fort (ibid.; Goodall 2013, 61-4). A date before 1102 is sometimes suggested for the masonry donjon (see below), but Roger disappears from the British record after 1094, when he may have withdrawn to his wife's lands in Poitou (Thompson 1991, 275 n. 56), and any further personal involvement with Lancaster is unlikely.[19] In the meantime, however, he had established an alien priory at Lancaster, which as at Pembroke was dependent on the family abbey at Sées in Normandy (Chandler 1989, 4; Farrer and Brownbill 1914, 11); the suggestion that the borough may also have been established before 1102 is discussed below.

Clitheroe Castle, Lancs., is a large enclosure with a prominent crag forming a natural 'motte'. It is sometimes credited with a mention in Domesday; this may be a misreading of *castellatus*, meaning Roger's honor, to which its parent manor, Barnoldswick, belonged (see King 1983, 245 n. 4; Open Domesday). Moreover, documentary references often assigned to the castle, in 1102 and 1122-4, are generally regarded as doubtful and the castle is not reliably attested before 1186-7 (King 1983, 245; Wood 1993, 20).

A castle at Penwortham, Lancs., is however recorded in 1086 (Open Domesday). Now represented by a motte, with a probable bailey, the manor in which it lay was held in demesne by Roger the Poitevin and may have been a significant member of his northwestern honor (Mason 1963, 16-17): a grant to Sées Abbey is recorded in 1094 (Farrer 1906, 335),[20] while the castle is strategically sited in the Ribble Valley, overlooking a ford (Gardner 1908, 534). Excavation in the mid-nineteenth century moreover revealed a rubble pavement beneath the motte, and evidence of buildings, which were thought to represent an Anglo-Saxon manorial site (ibid., 535-6).[21] Further castles in northwest England may have been held in demesne by Roger, but under seizure during the compilation of Domesday Book.

Roger the Poitevin also held extensive estates in Lincolnshire, and in Suffolk and Essex (Fig. 2). He is recorded in possession of Mount Bures (Essex) by 1078, where trial excavations took place at the castle in 2011 (Lewis and Ranson 2011, 19). It is represented by a very large motte, as at Arundel, but the evidence for a bailey remains equivocal (ibid., 22-3, 45, 48). The motte may be a re-used Bronze Age burial mound (ibid., 44), while lying next to an Anglo-Saxon manorial site (ibid., 46). Little dating evidence was forthcoming (ibid., 47), but the size of the motte and its relation to the Anglo-Saxon residence suggest it may be eleventh-century. Interestingly, there was no evidence for structures on the motte-top, which the excavators suggest may have been a purely symbolic mound (ibid.); and if without a bailey, its identity as a 'castle' – as we understand the term – is a topic for much discussion.

The annexation of the mid-Wales *cantrefi* under the Montgomerys (see above) was doubtless instrumental in facilitating the overland attack on southwest Wales, by Earl Roger and Arnulf, in 1093. The campaign saw the construction of at least two castles, at Cardigan and Pembroke. Both appear to have originally been partial ringworks, without baileys, at the ends of rocky promontories; both may re-use Iron Age defended enclosures. Pembroke's late eleventh-century castle was described retrospectively by Giraldus Cambrensis in *c.*1190 – 'Arnulf de Montgomery was the first to build a fortification here, from wooden stakes and turf

[19] Roger fell into disgrace with King William Rufus in 1094, after surrendering the castle at Argentan (Orne) – the defence of which had been entrusted to him – to forces supporting the French king Philip I (Chandler 1989, 4-5; Mason 1963, 19).
[20] Although the priory at Penwortham was subordinate to Evesham, which had already received gifts from Roger (Tait 1908, 104).
[21] It is of course possible that these features may represent an early, pre-motte phase of the castle, although the enclosure is ill-defined.

. . . it was not very strong' (Thorpe 1978, 148). While it is almost certain the castle was entirely of timber, Giraldus was clearly playing down its strength in order to enhance the role played by his forebears, in its successful defence, during the Welsh attacks of the 1090s.[22] See Appendix **7b** for further discussion of early west Wales castles – Pembroke, Cardigan, Castlemartin, Narberth and Tenby.

Arnulf de Montgomery held lands elsewhere, receiving the extensive Lordship of Holderness, with estates mainly concentrated in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, shortly after it had been forfeited by Odo of Champagne in 1095 (Round 1899, xli, 238, 447). It comprised 157 manors, 98 of which were held in demesne (Open Domesday; see Fig. 2). It is not known whether Arnulf was responsible for any building work in the lordship during his short tenure, but the castles at Barrow-upon-Humber and Castle Bytham, Lincs., and Skipsea, Yorks., are complex affairs with similar, large mottes, while Barrow shows a double bailey (King 1983, 259-60). It has been suggested that the latter two were first fortified before 1095 (Atkins 1983, 91-3; Alison *et al*. 2002, 374-5), but while the similarity between the three sites as they now exist may suggest contemporaneity, Castle Bytham is normally assigned a date between 1102 and 1135 (King 1983, 260).

Robert de Bellême purchased the Honor of Blyth (or Tickhill) after the death of its lord Roger de Busli in 1099-1100 (Chibnall 1975, 225-7 and n. 1), and possibly upon his homage to Henry I in late summer 1100 when he 'received his estates from the king, together with royal gifts' (Chibnall 1975, 299). It comprised some 200 manors, worth £330 (Open Domesday; see Fig. 2), but Robert may have only received the castles, including the caput castle at Tickhill itself, in Yorkshire (Chibnall 1975, 225-7 and n. 1). Nevertheless, he held Tickhill as the king's castellan and not in fee (Chibnall 1978, 23 n. 2). The castle comprises a large motte and a bailey (King 1983, 527), but was almost established by Roger de Busli after 1070; Bellême's tenure was restricted to custody, from 1100 until mid-1102, and he may not have undertaken any major works.

Similarly, no work in the other castles of the Honor of Tickhill can be confidently attributed to Bellême, although Sarah Speight's late eleventh/early twelfth century date-range for the motte at Lowdham, Notts., embraces his tenure (Speight 1994, 66). Here, a bailey may have been present, while a second enclosure has also been cautiously suggested (ibid.).

Robert de Bellême began construction at Bridgnorth Castle (Shropshire) after arriving in Britain in late summer 1100, when he was confirmed in his British possessions (see above; Chibnall 1975, 299);[23] it was still under construction in mid-1102, when Orderic tells us Bellême was 'in the process of building' the castle (Chibnall 1978, 23; also see Forester 1854, 210), so work may have been only recently commenced (see below). However, it was clearly defensible when besieged by King Henry I in mid-1102 (Chibnall 1978, 21-9; Howlett 1889, 82-3), and so the bulk of the work was presumably complete. Like Pembroke, it comprised a large triangular enclosure or partial ringwork, on the end of a spur and isolated by a ditch that has been partly revealed through excavation (Thompson and Walker 1991). It has been suggested that it represents an abandoned Saxon *burh*, although there is no direct evidence for this (Fradley 2011, 189-90; Mason and Barker 1966, 37-46). The earliest masonry is the rectangular donjon, which has not been closely dated but is thought by most authorities to be from rather later in the twelfth

[22] Giraldus played the same trick in his description of Baginbun Castle, Co. Wexford in Ireland, established in 1170 on another promontory fort site. He called it a 'somewhat flimsy fortification of branches and sods', to exaggerate the skills of its defender Raymond le Gros (O'Conor 2003, 30).

[23] Bellême was campaigning for King William Rufus, in Maine, from spring 1098 until at least autumn 1099, when the king left France (Chibnall 1975, 233 and n. 2, 261). He crossed to England at some point after Henry I's coronation in August 1100 to perform homage to the new king, and was confirmed in his possessions (Chibnall 1975, 299)

century; a collegiate church also occupied the enclosure (Clark-Maxwell 1927, 5-6). The castle is described further below, along with the town.

In 1101, during his rebellion, Bellême also built a castle at Carreghofa (Montgomery), on the border of Shropshire but just within Wales (Forester 1854, 210; Spurgeon 1966, 48). It appears to have been his only other entirely new castle in Britain. The site is generally thought to be represented by a partial ringwork overlooking the River Tanat (ibid.; King 1983 295).

Near-contemporary sources suggest work was undertaken at Bellême's other castles, and those of his brother Arnulf, during the rebellion (Chibnall 1978, 21; Jones 1952, 22-3), including Pembroke which Arnulf 'made strong for himself' (Jones 1971, 95). This work may however mean repair, refurbishment, manning and munitioning, as clearly described in Florence of Worcester's chronicle – 'Robert . . . strongly fortified the town and castle of Shrewsbury, and also the castles of Arundel and Tickhill, supplying them with provisions, engines and arms, and stationing within them knights and foot-soldiers' (Forester 1854, 210). Arundel held out for three months (Chibnall 1978, 21-3); Bridgnorth, Shrewsbury and Tickhill surrendered rather more quickly (Chibnall 1978, 25, 29, 31). King Henry did not restore the earldom of Shrewsbury after Bellême's fall, vesting its administration in Richard de Belmeis (later Bishop of London) on his behalf, and under various titles including 'viceroy of Shropshire' (Chibnall 1978 p. 145 and n. 4; Jones 1952, 28-31; Jones 1971, 107-11).

Montgomery-Bellême vassals

Roger de Montgomery had made extensive grants within his earldom to his leading followers – to his sheriff Warin the Bald, and his successor Reginald de Bailleul; to Picot de Say, from Roger's southern Normandy heartland; to Corbet, and his sons Roger and Robert. All of them held land and offices in Shropshire in 1086 (Chibnall 1969, 263; Chibnall 1973, 231 n. 11; Open Domesday).

As in France, mottes predominate on the holdings of Montgomery *familiares*, including Robert and Roger FitzCorbet, Picot de Say, William Pantulf, Reginald de Bailleul (sheriff of Shropshire) and Robert FitzTetbald (sheriff of Arundel). Of the 43 castles known to be held by these vassals, mottes are present at 35, seven are ringworks while one is of uncertain form. Two re-use Iron Age enclosures – both of them multiple-bailey sites – and one or two were adapted from burial mounds. It must however be stressed that very few of these castles have been certainly dated. Only one, Pontesbury (Shrops.), was associated with a contemporary 'town', with Anglo-Saxon origins (Walker 1994). None shows early masonry.

Towns in Britain

The evidence for town foundation by the House of Montgomery-Bellême, in Britain, is slight. Thirteen of their castles are associated with towns, but a few cases do the latter seem to be new foundations of the family. Six towns appear to have been pre-existing Saxon settlements, while the remaining five are probably foundations of the twelfth century.

Quatford and Bridgnorth

Only two British towns are suggested in the sources to have been founded by the family, at Quatford and Bridgnorth in Shropshire. And the evidence, at both, bears close examination. The Domesday entry for Quatford (Shrops.), records 'a new house [castle?] and borough ('*nova domus et burgus*') . . . yielding nothing' (see above). The 'borough' is also mentioned in a near-contemporary record of the

foundation of the collegiate church of St Mary Magdalene, at Quatford, in July 1086; it survives only as an eighteenth-century copy, but is generally regarded as authentic (Clark-Maxwell 1927, 1-2; Eyton 1854, 106-7, 109-12). The term *burgus* was by no means limited to fortified towns (*cf*. Orderic) and, as noted above, Quatford Castle has a small bailey and shows no evidence of any outer or urban enclosures (Fradley 2011, 190). It has been suggested that, like Bridgnorth, Quatford may have been an Anglo-Saxon *burh*, but there is no certain evidence of this at either site (Fradley 2011, 189-91). And neither the nature nor the location of any settlement is known: excavations outside the castle in the 1960s, around the church, revealed no evidence of buildings or any material that could be directly related to urban activity (Mason and Barker 1966). Nor were any features relating to an earlier *burh* revealed, including within the castle. Domesday's clause 'yielding nothing' suggests that the settlement had yet to develop, rather than its decline (Fradley 2011, 191); whether this development ever took place is open to question. It may however indicate that Earl Roger was planning a town in at least one of his manors.

We have seen that nearby Bridgnorth Castle, Shrops., was begun by Robert de Bellême after his arrival in Britain in late summer 1100 (see above). In a celebrated, and much-cited passage, Orderic implies a relationship between the new castle and Quatford. His exact phrasing is '*oppidum de Quatford transtulit*, *et Brugiam munitissimum castellum*', which Chibnall and others have translated as '[Robert de Bellême] moved the town of Quatford, and built a strong castle at Bridgnorth' (Chibnall 1975, 224-5), reading it as the wholesale transplantation of an urban population. However, Orderic uses a number of terms for castles – often interchangeably with towns – '*oppidum*' being frequent among them (eg. at Château-Gontier and the Maine castles mentioned above; Chibnall 1973, 229; Chibnall 1975, 235; also see Chibnall 2003, 129). Nor does he directly link the two events – although it is clear that they were related.

Orderic's account of a transplantation in Normandy, from Vignats to Fourches (discussed below), has undoubtedly influenced interpretation of the above passage in which he seems to be saying only that the castle at Quatford was replaced by a new one, on the stratically superior site at Bridgnorth. And while the college of priests at Quatford was relocated to a new chapel at Bridgnorth, within the castle bailey (Clark-Maxwell 1927, 5-6), we have seen that there does not appear to have been a functioning town at Quatford for inhabitants to have been moved from.

And was a town in fact founded at Bridgnorth by Robert de Bellême? Both Orderic and Florence of Worcester tell us that work on the castle was still in progress in mid-1102 (Chibnall 1975, 299; Chibnall 1978, 23; Forester 1854, 210). It was begun after summer 1100 – possibly in 1101 (Mason 1963, 22; see above) – and, as a timber castle, construction may have been fairly rapid and a fairly recent start-date may be implied; Florence of Worcester describes the work as hurried (Forester 1854, 210). However, Orderic does mention the presence of 'burgesses' by mid-1102 (Chibnall 1978, 29), so some civil settlement may have occurred (although he was writing 30 years later, by which time urban development had certainly taken place). Nevertheless, no forced movement of populations need be inferred.

It has been suggested that the enclosure to the north of the castle bailey represented an outer ward, later taken over by the town; the ditch between the two proves that they were separate units (Thompson and Walker 1991). Had it ever been a seignurial enclosure? Settlement within former baileys was only possible if – and after – they had been relinquished from seignurial use, as at Shrewsbury (see above) and, later in the Middle Ages, at eg. Exeter, Norwich and Rochester (Fradley 2017, 123; Pounds 1990, 211-14). The evidence at Bridgnorth is equivocal. The 'outer bailiwick of the castle' is mentioned in 1242, when it pertained to the town (Pounds 1990, 196), but the terminology may suggest a jurisdictional division within the wider castellany – the borough liberty? – rather than a physical

space.[24] And the enclosure at Bridgnorth appears to have been urban from an early date. In extent and plan, D-shaped with two streets converging at the gateway to form a 'V', it is very like the early defended town at Kidwelly (Carms.), established in the twelfth century (Kenyon 2007, 4-6), and has parallels in other Anglo-Norman towns of medieval Wales and the Marches eg. Haverfordwest (Pembs). Its articulation with the rest of Bridgnorth's street-plan shows that, as in these Welsh towns, it represents a primary unit. Given the short constructional time-frame, it is unlikely that this unit was established by Robert de Bellême. Bridgnorth moreover was a royal, chartered borough under King Henry I (Lilley 1999, 13), and the unit probably relates to this post-1102 period, before which the burgesses lacked defences. A planned grid was later added, to the north of the earlier gateway which is commemorated in the street-name 'Postern Gate', and corresponds with the parish boundary.

A number of models for Bridgnorth's development have been put forward, many of which include Bellême-period development, in more than one phase, and with town defences (eg. Croom 1992; Slater 1990; Lilley 1999). Most are based on the assumption that Orderic was describing a transplantation, while few take the very short timescale into account, or the very small areas occupied by most Anglo-Norman towns in Wales and the Marches. They include a suggestion that the entire settled area, including the planned grid, was developed in stages under Robert de Bellême (Haslam forthcoming).[25] These arguments will be examined and discussed in a forthcoming paper.

Other putative foundations

Six Montgomery-Bellême castles appear to have been established within or around Anglo-Saxon settlements, including Shrewsbury which was a defended *burh*, and Chichester, which developed from a Romano-British town (see above).

The exact site, nature and extent of the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Arundel (Sussex) is not known. It was the site of a minster church before 1066, suggesting a town of some importance, possibly a *burh* (Baggs and Warne 1997, 12). However, the settled area has yet to be located through excavation (Fradley 2011, 253). Nor has any Norman town defence been recognised.[26]

It has been suggested that Roger the Poitevin may have founded a borough at Lancaster, largely on the strength of the alien priory that he is known to have established there (Farrer and Brownbill 1914, 11). But the overriding purpose of an alien priory was to provide revenues for its French mother house (see Aston 2009, 77; McHardy 1975, 133-4), in this case, the Montgomerys' favoured abbey at Sées. And while many alien priories were associated with Anglo-Norman urban plantations, others were in rural locations, eg. Cogges and Minster Lovell (Oxon.) and Wilmington (Sussex). At Lancaster, there was in any case an existing Anglo-Saxon settlement – if, like Roger de Montgomery's Arundel, of unknown size and nature (Farrer and Brownbill 1914, 11). It is thought the priory was established

[24] The suggestion that towns developed within castle baileys must be approached with caution, particularly if civil settlement within space that was still seigneurial is inferred. At Brecon, for instance, the implication is based on an account from 1106 in which the priory church and burgages occupied 'the castle' (Davies 1978, 49). However, as Charles Coulson has shown, the use of the term 'castle' could be applied in an administrative sense during the Middle Ages, in place of 'castlery' or 'castellany', to embrace its environs (see below; Coulson 2003, 179-86), while Orderic carefully distinguishes between Brecon castle and town (Chibnall 1972, 255).

[25] It is perhaps worth noting here that this suggestion is influenced in part by a legend, reproduced in Eyton's Shropshire, in which King Henry I, in 1102, 'granted an estate in the neighbourhood [of Bridgnorth], called the Little Brugge' (Eyton 1854, 354), which is interpreted as meaning a suburb. However, in the mid-thirteenth century Little Brug was recorded as comprising more than 18 acres of undeveloped land, lying 'in the fields' (Eyton 1854, 356), and possibly located some distance from the town.

[26] The earliest murage grant was in 1295 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301, 137).

within its parish church (ibid. 11, 167), and in this respect Lancaster may be contrasted with Arundel, where a vacant plot within the Anglo-Saxon settlement was granted to Sées, soon after 1067, for a new priory church (Page 1973, 119).[27]

The castle at Tickhill (Yorks.) is associated a large enclosure, embracing the Norman town. This was established after 1086 when the original Saxon settlement of 'Dadeslie', 1.5 kilometres to the northwest, was still occupied (Open Domesday). The new foundation may be early twelfth-century: Robert de Bellême only held the castle as custodian, from 1100 until mid-1102, when town foundation may be unlikely given his brief and circumscribed tenure. Similarly, the town at Midhurst (Sussex) may be of post-1102 date (see above). The towns at Castle Bytham and Skipsea (Yorks.) are also twelfth-century foundations, both probably under William le Gros between 1160 and 1175 (Alison *et al*. 2002, 374-5; Atkins 1983, 91-3). In addition, it will be argued in Appendix **7b** that Pembroke and Tenby were both twelfth-century foundations.

Towns in France

Urbanism was considerably better-established in northern France than Britain, with occupation in many in many cases unbroken from the Gallo-Roman period. It received renewed impetus under the Frankish kings, and many early medieval towns were defended. But private defence had emerged by the mid-ninth century, and its distinction from public defence was becoming more more marked – and a cause for concern. As early as 864, in the Edict of Pîtres, the Frankish king Charles the Bald had encouraged building fortifications as refuges for the populace, but also ordered the destruction of private *castella et firmitates et haias* built without royal permission (Thompson 2002, 26; Williams 2003, 39-40). It is in this context of urbanism that the early foundations of the Bellêmes must be seen, and their distinction from associated, but purely seigneurial castles.

Between nine and 11 towns or *bourgs* appear to have been present at the Montgomery-Bellême family's 33 castle-sites in France, ie. at around a third; in most cases, it cannot at present be demonstrated whether the towns were contemporary with, or post-dated castle foundation, but Orderic Vitalis tells us that a town was already present at Bellême (Orne) by the mid-eleventh century (Chibnall 1969, 47-9). Another five or six castles were established within, or alongside, pre-existing Gallo-Roman and/or Frankish-period settlements, including Alençon and Sées.

All but one of the castle sites associated with a new urban foundation belong to the late-tenth to mid-eleventh century. Two are Bellême foundations (Bellême and Mêle-sur-Sarthe), and two were established by the Montgommerys (Montgommery and Vignats); only two towns, at Fourches and Saint-Rémy-du-Val, appear to be later than the mid-eleventh century. The remainder are not certainly Montgomery-Bellême foundations. The towns at Échauffour, Montreuil-l'Argillé, La Roche-Mabile and Saint-Céneri-le-Gérei are first recorded (or suggested) during Montgomery tenure, but might very plausibly be earlier foundations of the Giroies (see above). The possible town at Peray may have been established by the Bellême vassal William Pantulf.

[27] An Anglo-Saxon burh existed at Manchester, but perhaps not on the same site as the castle (see below).

Early towns of the Bellêmes

The existing fortified town at Alençon (Orne) received an extension to its defences under William de Bellême in the early eleventh century (see above). The settlement at Essay (Orne), possibly Gallo-Roman in origin, was apparently defended by the mid-eleventh century (Duval 1895, 13, 16, 23). Something similar may have happened at Saosnes (Sarthe), where the castle bailey perhaps ceased to be seigneurial (*cf*. Shrewsbury above), allowing an extension of the existing settlement with a new church foundation; alternatively, the motte-castle was never accompanied by a bailey (see Louise 1991, 287). The possible early town at Domfront (Orne) may have been fortified by 1092, but the distinction between *oppidum* and *castellum* in Orderic's passage is not clear (Chibnall 1973, 259 and note 3). The Bellême-controlled *Bourg le Comte* at Sées (Orne) received defences at some point, but their dating is uncertain (Neveux 1990, 361-9; Neveux 1997, 280). Nor is it certainly known whether the existing town at Mamers (Sarthe) was defended under the Montgomery-Bellême family.

Of their new foundations, the town of Bellême was defended and perhaps at an early date (Louise 1991, 58, 194-5; Thompson 2002, 26; Travers 1896, 282). I have not come across a reference to defences at Mêle-sur-Sarthe (Orne).

Later towns

The grant to Roger de Montgomery the elder, in *c*.1030, of a market at Montgommery, suggests an attempt at urbanisation, and the settlement is termed a '*vicus*' in the charter (Hagger 2017, 98, 279 and fig., 409; Thompson 1987, 251, 255; Yver 1955, 53). Competition from nearby Vimoutiers (Orne) seems however to have prevented its development into an urban centre, and it was apparently undefended (Neuville 1867, 534).

Roger de Montgomery II may have founded the town at nearby Trun, Calvados. It is described as a '*bourg*' in a charter of 1077, when Roger granted it to St Stephen's Abbey, Caen (Round 1899, 154, 158), though it was not associated with a castle.

Vignats (Calvados), also within the Lordship of Montgommery, appears to have been an urban centre by the early 1090s, when the population is said by Orderic Vitalis to have been forcibly moved, by Robert de Bellême, to his new castle at Fourches, 1.5 kilometres to the east (Chibnall 1973, 228-9). Orderic's account is not without credibility: the transfer of inhabitants from existing settlements to new foundations was not unknown in eleventh-century Normandy (Lepeuple 2012, 34-5 and n. 51), and it has been suggested that the large, second enclosure at Fourches may represent a town defence rather than a bailey (Louise 1991, 253). Nevertheless, Orderic's account is not without contradictions: he refers to Fourches merely as a '*castellum'* in the account, a term he normally restricts to castle-sites (and it may be contrasted with his use, in the same passage, of the term '*oppidum*' for Château-Gontier, a site where no town is otherwise known). We must be wary of reading Orderic's treatments of Bellême too literally (see Thompson 1991); the alleged transplantation may represent one of his morality tales, in another manifestation of his dislike and disapproval of Robert de Bellême. In any event, it has doubtless coloured interpretations of his account of events at Quatford/Bridgnorth (see above).

An initial urban core outside the early eleventh-century castle at Saint-Rémy-du-Val has been suggested under Robert de Bellême, between *c*.1100 and 1113 (Meunier 2014, 31), ie. after the Maine campaigns of the late 1090s. It is thought to have been fortified, but the defences have been neither fully-traced nor dated (ibid.).

In summary, the Montgomery-Bellême family were not great town founders after the early eleventh century, and not all of their towns were fortified *bourgs*. None of Robert de Bellême's new castles of the 1090s, on the Normandy/Maine frontier, was associated with a town: urban plantation does not seem to have been part of his military or settlement strategy in this region nor, barring the possible case of Fourches, elsewhere in France. In this, the family may be contrasted with the dukes of Normandy, for whom castle-*bourgs* were an integral part of the strategic defensive system in the duchy (Lepeuple 2012, 13-40). Henry I, in particular, appreciated the importance of creating fortified, privileged boroughs in the organisation of his defensive network between 1106 and 1135 (Yver 1955, 98). And other leading nobles, such as the lords of Breteuil, were quicker to take advantage of the economic opportunities afforded by town foundation (see eg. Hemmeon 1914, 97, 123, 171).

Moreover, many eleventh-century *bourgs* in Normandy and Maine were noticeably small, for instance Bellême, Essay and Saint-Rémy-du-Val, and the ducal foundations at Exmes, Château-sur-Epte and Gisors. They must be considered in any assessment of the size of early Norman towns in Britain.

Re-use of earlier features

Many castles of the House of Montgomery-Bellême, in both France and England, occupy the sites of earlier human activity. They fall into five main categories –

1. Those occupying earlier ritual sites, generally represented by the re-use of Bronze Age/early Iron Age burial mounds as mottes
2. Those occupying Roman fortifications (or other Roman buildings)
3. Those occupying Iron Age enclosures, re-using their defences
4. Those occupying early medieval manorial centres
5. Those occupying pre-existing urban centres, Roman or early medieval. These have been discussed above.

In many cases, particularly in Wales, the distinction between *3* and *4* may be artificial, as occupation was resumed after – or perhaps continued from – the Iron Age, and into the early medieval period. In these instances, it is not always certain whether re-use was predicated on the convenience of an existing fortification, or was primarily the assumption of a site's manorial, administrative and residential roles. Welsh sites are discussed further in Appendix **7b**.

Re-use in France

Re-use of ritual sites has only been suggested at one site, Almenêches (Orne), where a Bronze Age burial mound was possibly adapted as a motte (see above).

However four Montgomery-Bellême castles, at three sites, re-use Iron Age defended enclosures, with re-use possible at another four; two are partial ringworks. One of two suggested sites for the castle at Château-Gontier (Orne), built in *c.*1091, is a multivallate promontory fort, while the two motte castles at Peray (Sarthe) like within a very large contour fort (see above). The partial ringwork at Igé, Orne (Igé 2), was adapted from a known promontory fort (Louise 1991, 254).

The hilltop sites of Boitron and La Roche-Mabile, which are both enclosure castles with contoured banks (see above), suggests they may be re-used Iron Age enclosures. And at the hilltop castle of Mont-de-la-Garde (or 'Butte du Theil'), near Courgains (Sarthe), the motte may be secondary to the enclosure (Valais *et al.* 2010, 165) which, given the nature of the site, may similarly have Iron Age origins. Re-use is also possible at Lurson, Sarthe (partial ringwork, with two outer enclosures), and has been demonstrated in the vassal castles at La Lande-de-Goult,

Orne (ringwork and bailey; Louise 1991, 256-7) and La Chapelle-près-Sées, Orne (partial ringwork; Louise 1991, 238).

The enclosure castle at Domfront (Orne) directly overlies a late Roman building, perhaps a reception hall or *aula* (Nissen-Jaubert 1998, 147-62), and many more castles were established within Gallo-Roman towns.

Re-use in Britain

Only one castle associated with the Montgomery-Bellême family, in Britain, is known to occupy a Bronze Age/early Iron Age ritual site: the motte at Newton-le-Willows, Lancs., was excavated during the 1830s and found to be adapted from a burial mound (Youngs *et al*. 1988, 261). Prehistoric origins are however strongly suspected at two more mottes, Mount Bures, Essex and Skipsea, Yorks. (see above), while circular features revealed through geophysics, at Pembroke Castle, were suggested as possible barrow ring-ditches (Day and Ludlow 2016, 81).

Iron Age origins are farily certain at four castles, at Llandinam and Llanidloes (Montgomery) and Tong and Whittington (Shropshire). Llandinam and Whittington are motte castles (see above), while Tong is a partial ringwork within which occupation during the Anglo-Saxon period has also been demonstrated, as it has at Whittington (see above). Llanidloes is of uncertain form, usually called a 'ring-motte' and bailey (King 1983, 298; Spurgeon 1966, 27), within an Iron Age enclosure (Spurgeon 1966, 27-8).

The west Wales castles at Pembroke, Cardigan, Castlemartin, Narberth and Tenby may all have Iron Age origins; this is discussed in Appendix **7b**. Tenby is a large enclosure on or around a coastal hilltop; Castlemartin is a smaller ringwork. Pembroke, Cardigan and Narberth are all partial ringworks, although it should be stressed that re-use is far from a given with this form.[28]

Roger the Poitevin's castle at Lancaster utilises a corner of a Roman fort (see above). Manchester Castle, which may be another of his foundations, possibly referenced a Roman fort but does not appear to have occupied the same site. The castle has gone, but investigations have revealed a series of ditches cutting off a promontory 0.5 kilometres north of the Roman fort, which may relate either to the castle or the Anglo-Saxon *burh* (Pastscape website). Chichester Castle, Sussex, was established within the Romano-British town (see above).

Eight Montgomery-Bellême castles overlie Anglo-Saxon or Welsh manorial sites. Continuity from Anglo-Saxon manor site, to castle, appears to be the norm in eleventh-century England: where studies have been undertaken, eg. in Norfolk and the east Midlands, most rural castles are associated with pre-Norman lordly residences, while it is seen or suggested elsewhere (Shapland 2017, 105). And even where castles may not directly overlie existing centres, their siting was predominantly governed by existing 'patterns of seigneurial significance' (Gregory and Liddiard 2016, 155). We will see in Appendix **7b** that similar continuity is also strongly suggested in Wales.

Of the eight above-mentioned castles, Halton (Lancs.), Mount Bures (Essex), Penwortham (Lancs.) and Hodnet, Tong and Whittington (Shrops.) have already been described (see above). Laughton-en-le-Morthen was a motte-and-bailey castle of Robert de Bellême's Honor of Tickhill, and is the subject of another Castle Studies Trust project. It is thought to have been established by Roger de Busli, after 1070, over an Anglo-Saxon manorial site (Bromage 2018, 2). Tenby Castle in

[28] For instance, the partial ringwork on the promontory at Barnard Castle, Co. Durham, which is morphologically very similar to Pembroke, is not thought to have pre-Norman origins (Hislop 2019, 3, 12, 23-4).

Pembrokeshire almost certainly has early medieval antecedents, probably within an Iron Age enclosure (see Appendix **7b**).

Lydham, Shrops., was very probably an existing manorial centre when the castle was founded (see above). In addition, four west Wales castles – Cardigan, Castlemartin, Narberth and Pembroke itself – may overlie pre-Norman administrative sites, and are discussed in Appendix **7b**.

Masonry

No masonry work can be unquestionably assigned to the House of Montgomery-Bellême, either side of the Channel, and their castle-building may solely have been in timber. This can be considered to be rather unusual, given Robert de Bellême's reputation as an engineer (see above). And they will certainly have had experience of a number of masonry castles, in both Normandy and Britain.

No masonry can however be firmly attributed to the family in France (Chibnall 2003; Louise 1990 and 1991). A length of walling at Saint-Rémy-du-Val has recently been C^{14} dated to the early eleventh century, but both its dating and context are in considerable doubt (Meunier 2014, 21). And as Christian Corvisier has noted, 'the castles of Robert de Bellême . . . were designed primarily for defensive purposes, and there is nothing to indicate that they bore anything other than donjons and towers of wood' (Corvisier 1998 (2), 334).

Whilst limitation to timber may be understandable in campaign castles, at least some masonry might be expected in their residential or caput castles. It may be that Montgomery-Bellême stonework existed, but has been lost or rebuilt out of recognition, for instance perhaps at Shrewsbury, where the earliest surviving masonry is thought to be twelfth-century (see above). And while stonework is absent from their Welsh caput at Old Montgomery, this may have seen restricted use (see above). Nevertheless, no masonry is suggested at their chief centre at Alençon (Orne), either by the sources or through excavation (Chibnall 1978, 209; Louise 1991, 190, 223). And it is clear that the castle at Bellême itself was still of timber in 1113, including the donjon, when it was 'burnt to the ground' (Chibnall 1978, 182-3; Chibnall 2003, 121). The donjon was rebuilt in stone later in the twelfth century, but the castle in the family's Sées patrimony appears never to have received stone defences (Neveux 1995, 156-8; Neveux 1997, 280). And neither of the castles at the ancestral fief of Montgommery (Calvados) ever seems to have received stonework (Louise 1991, 277; Neuville 1867, 534).[29]

The paucity of Montgomery-Bellême masonry in Britain has been noted by Michael Fradley (Fradley 2011, 262; also see Mason 1963, 26). It has however been suggested that the inner gatehouse at Arundel Castle (Sussex) may belong to a group of square masonry gatehouses from the late eleventh century including, *inter alia*, Exeter, Lewes, Lincoln and Ludlow, although the presence of a portcullis groove may, if primary, militate against this (Guy 2016, 144-6). And either way, Henry I may instead have been the builder (Guy 2006, 20), which may tie in with the suggestion that the lower bailey, which is accessed through this gatehouse, was a new addition of 1102-1135 (see Guy 2006, 22), when the castle appears to have been 'turned round' to face the town. The large square donjon at Roger the Poitevin's Lancaster is stylistically early, and a date between 1093 and 1102 is sometimes suggested (see Guy 2015, 150-3), but we saw above that Roger may have had no intention of revisiting his British lands after 1094. The donjon – which cannot have been completed within a year – appears residential, as well as

[29] In this context, it is noteworthy that the castle of Earl Roger's sheriff of Shropshire Reginald de Bailleul, at Le Renouard (Orne) near Montgommery, was of masonry construction by 1119 when it was described, by Orderic, as 'lapideam domum' (Chibnall 1978, 217 and n. 1).

ceremonial and symbolic, and perhaps inappropriate to a castle that was henceforth the custody of a steward.[30]

It is thought that the masonry gatehouse in the Busli caput castle at Tickhill, Yorks., dates from 1090-1100 (Guy 2016, 142). Robert de Bellême's tenure of the castle was apparently confined to custody, rather than outright grant, during a relatively short period from 1100 until mid-1102 (see above), and the gatehouse is likely to have been the work of Roger de Busli, between *c*.1090 and 1099.

The church in the castle

The establishment of collegiate churches within castles was a feature of eleventh-century Normandy, and was brought to Britain in 1066, though it was never particularly frequent in either country. Nevertheless, collegiate churches were established within or outside a number of Montgomery-Bellême foundations.

A collegiate church, dedicated to St Leonard, had been established in the castle at Bellême when it was founded in the early tenth century (Chibnall 1969-78, *passim*; Louise 1991, 195; Travers 1896, 282). In Britain, Roger de Montgomery established a collegiate church, dedicated to St Michael, within Shrewsbury Castle (Mason 1963, 10; Pounds 1990, 234), and we have seen that the collegiate church at Quatford was moved to the interior of Bridgnorth Castle in 1100-1102 (see above). Moreover a priory, dedicated to St Symphorien, was established within Domfront Castle before the 1090s, as a dependency of Lonlay Abbey (Orne), which had been founded by William de Bellême in around 1010 (Nissen-Jaubert 1998, 149-50).

Nevertheless, Montgomery-Bellême religious communities in France were in no sense confined to their castles: their collegiate church (later priory) of St Nicholas at La Roche Mabile (Orne), for instance, occupied the site of the present church of St Pierre, at the foot of the castle hill (Sicotière 1845, 26). The collegiate church at Quatford similarly lay outside the castle (see above). And there is no reason to suppose that the priory of Pembroke, founded in 1098, ever stood anywhere other than its present location, just over the river from the castle, at Monkton. An early confirmation of the foundation grant tells us that Arnulf gave to Sées Abbey 'the church of St. Nicholas at Pembroke, a castle of his in Wales' (Round 1899, 237-8). But here the term 'castle' is clearly being used in in its jurdisdictional sense, meaning the *castellaria* or region under the control of Pembroke Castle, as discussed by Charles Coulson (Coulson 2003, 179-86).

Conclusion

The above review helps clarify some of the issues raised in the introduction. But it was emphasised above that care must be taken in its interpretation, and dating at most sites is absent, or solely through association. Certain themes are nevertheless apparent, and are summarised here.

Firstly, mottes strongly predominate in British castles known to have been held by the Mongomery-Bellême family and their vassals (representing nearly 75%); in most cases, however, we do not know whether they might be later additions. The ratio of mottes is just over 50% in France, where there is however a possible trend towards enclosures in the early castles of the Bellêmes, and the suggestion that a motte may have been added in at least one instance – at Bellême itself (Louise 1991, 231) – although this has not been proved. Moreover, enclosure castles and partial ringworks (to which mottes have never been added) continued to be built

[30] John Goodall had preferred a start-date under Roger the Poitevin, but now considers it possible that the donjon was not begun before 1102 (Goodall 2013, 61-3).

up until 1102, including Robert de Bellême's castle at Bridgnorth (Shrops.). Nevertheless, in his French campaign castles, of the 1090s, there is a strong probability that the mottes were a primary feature.

Many castles occupy centres of early medieval power, possibly up to a quarter of the British sites. They are mainly represented by urban castles in France – in towns of varying importance – and by manorial sites in Britain where, as with other castles, existing administrative and manorial structures were adapted by the Normans. The situation in Wales is discussed futher in Appendix **7b**.

A number of these manorial sites occupy Iron Age enclosures which, particularly in Wales, may represent unbroken occupation through the Roman period. The sequence of Iron Age to medieval use in France may not always be as seamless, and here re-use may be chiefly predicated upon convenience rather than continuous occupation. The sites are often promontory forts re-used as 'partial ringworks', but also include contour hillforts; the addition of mottes is more-or-less confined to the latter form (although this is not universal among castles in general). Iron Age re-use, with or without intermediate occupation, is suggested at around 20% of castles in each country.

Few castles, in either country, could be described as large (less than a quarter). Around 10% of castles in France show more than one bailey; the figure rises to nearly a quarter of British sites. However, not all enclosures are necessarily primary features or contemporary with each other, particularly (but not only) at rural sites. At least 10% of castles with more than one bailey, in both countries, overlie Iron Age contour forts, which may have dictated their form and extent.

It has been suggested by a number of authorities that the Montgomery-Bellême family took a keen interest in urban development, in both England and Normandy (eg. Lilley 1995, 69), but the evidence suggests otherwise – and certainly in terms of new strategic plantations. Only five or six castle sites in France (around 15%), and one or two in Britain (around 5%), are certainly associated with new towns under the family. The French towns are, with two possible exceptions from *c*.1090-1113, confined to the early/mid-eleventh century. Town plantation was not a component of Roger de Montgomery's military and settlement strategy in Wales and the Marches, nor Robert de Bellême's strategy on his Norman frontiers, and no town was founded at their Welsh caput of Old Montgomery (Hen Domen); nor are urban foundations without castles much associated with the family. Where towns were established, or already existed, they were not always defended eg. Montgommery, Sées and Vignats in France, and Arundel, Quatford and (arguably) Bridgnorth in Britain.

No castle masonry can be unquestionably assigned to the House of Montgomery-Bellême, either side of the Channel, and their castle-building may solely have been in timber – as it demonstrably was at Old Montgomery. While the masonry inner gatehouse at Arundel might have been built before 1100, a twelfth-century date is equally possible, and the latter dating may be more likely for the square donjon at Lancaster.

In summary, the castles of the House of Montgomery-Bellême were, in general, not notably large and were relatively unambitious. Mottes could be large, and some multiple enclosures may be attributable to the family, but their frontier castles, in particular, were usually small, with a single line of defences. The plantation of towns or *bourgs* does not seem to have played a significant role in their military or economic strategy. And while some masonry work has been attributed to the family, it cannot be demsontrated with any confidence. What does this imply for Robert de Bellême's military engineering expertise, made much of by Ordericus but also brought in by King William Rufus, at Gisors? Might it have concerned strategy and siting, rather than innovative design? John Mason considered his main skills to lie in an 'eye for the ground', and in the defence and subjugation of enemy castles

(Mason 1963, 26).[31] But is it possible that Ordericus attributed this expertise – at least in part – as a kind of symbol or metaphor for the diabolic and Machiavellian nature he persistently assigned to Bellême?

The suggested layout of Pembroke Castle under Arnulf's tenure, in the late eleventh/early twelfth century, is closely paralleled at Ludlow and Exeter castles: a medium-sized triangular enclosure at the end of a spur, defined by a semicircular ditch and with a large gate-tower – though at Ludlow and Exeter, the eleventh-century gate-towers were of masonry rather than timber (Shapland 2017, 110-12), Ludlow's gate was associated with a masonry curtain while the enclosure at Exeter re-used the Roman city wall on its other two sides. Ludlow is thought to have been established by Walter de Lacy, a follower of Earl William FitzOsbern of Hereford, between 1067 and 1085 (Coplestone-Crow 2006, 21) – although foundation by Roger de Montgomery, as a tenant of FitzOsbern, cannot be entirely ruled out (Renn 1987, 57-8). The castle was initially known as 'Dinham', a compound place-name suggesting it was an Iron Age defended settlement or '*dinas*' (see Whitehead 2006, 99)[32] – as suggested at Pembroke – while Exeter may have been the site of an Anglo-Saxon royal palace (Shapland 2017, 110).

And, like Pembroke, the outer ward at Ludlow was a secondary addition over an area of the town, during the mid-late twelfth century (Curnow and Kenyon 2006, 195; Renn and Shoesmith 2006, 191, 194),[33] as it may also have been at Exeter, in around 1200 (Vachell 1966, 330-9), while excavation has shown that the castles at Wallingford and London were extended over the respective towns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Fradley 2017, 127). However, this extension was the exception rather than the norm, and the predominant trend in urban castles was towards reduction of seignuerial space (ibid. 123, and see above).[34]

Pembroke's early morphology also finds echoes at Robert de Bellême's Bridgnorth, another partial ringwork without a bailey (see above), and in many other partial ringworks of the Montgomerys in Britain and France (see Tables).

The castles of the Montgomery-Bellême family may be contrasted with the immense enclosures, without mottes, built by the dukes in Normandy at eg. Caen and Falaise (Mesqui 2013, 32; Fichet de Clairfontaine *et al.* 2016, 231-5, 252), and with the large enclosures being increasingly recognised in immediate post-Conquest England. The former appear to have been associated with prestige, while the latter are thought to relate to a campaign environment, for the accommodation of large bodies of troops and horses. They stand in sharp contrast to Bellême's castles in Maine, in which baileys could be small or even absent. Yet the latter are similarly thought to represent campaign castles (Corvisier 1998 (2), 334; Valais *et al*. 2010, 166-9), as are Roger de Montgomery's castles in the Welsh Marches – including perhaps Old Montgomery (Barker and Higham 1982, 93-4) – in which baileys are normally single and of no great size, or again can apparently be absent.

[31] It is worth noting that the so-called 'Fosses Robert', long thought to have been a system of defensive trenches built by Bellême along the Normandy/Maine frontier, are now thought to be hollow roads (Valais et al. 2010, 167).

[32] The suggestion that the 'Din' element is derived from the personal name of its early twelfth-century lord, Jocelin de Dinan, is less convincing: use of the suffix 'ham' is generally confined the the early part of the Anglo-Saxon period (Myres 1989, 44), while Jocelin may have taken his name from Dinham rather than vice versa (Renn 1987, 58)

[33] There is however no consensus over the early development of Ludlow and, as at Bridgnorth, a number of different models have been proposed (eg. Haslam forthcoming; Lilley 1999, 14-17; Slater 1990, 60-82). This will be discussed in a forthcoming paper. Keith Lilley suggests that the inner and outer wards were contemporary, facing the Saxon settlement to the south from which the castle was originally accessed through the gateway in the outer ward (Lilley 1999, 15 and n. 19). However, this entry was a new breach of the eighteenth century (Renn and Shoesmith 2006, 193-4). So we have a further comparison with Pembroke where, though the castle was not re-oriented, the focus may initially have been both to the south and to the east – and was later only to the east.

[34] The establishment of an outer ward over part of the town is suggested elsewhere, including Swansea Castle (Evans 1983, 17).

This calls into question wider interpretations of function: where were the troops lodged in these smaller castles – and, perhaps more importantly, where were the horses stabled? There is little physical evidence for stabling, either standing or below ground, at castles in general (Kenyon 1990, 155-6), although they are frequently referenced in the sources.[35] Where they do survive, they are generally late-medieval or early post-medieval (ibid. 144, 155-6, 207), and the evidence shows just how large they could be: 32 x 10 metres at Goodrich Castle (Herefs.),[36] representing space for around 60 horses (Ashbee 2009, 25), and roughly 45 x 9 metres in the non-military bishop's palace at Bishop's Waltham, Hants. (Hare 2015, 20). Evidence for earlier stabling is less frequent. For instance, though the bailey was not excavated in its entirety, none of the many buildings revealed at Old Montgomery was identified as a stable (Barker and Higham 1982, 92) – a frontier castle at which, one might imagine, secure accommodation for horses would be vital. In this respect, however, castles are typical of manorial sites in general, and indeed monastic enclosures, where evidence for stabling is similarly slight (see eg. Rigold 1978, 35). There is nevertheless clearly scope for close analysis of these small Montgomery-Bellême frontier castles, in Britain and in France.

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[35] David King cautiously speculated that the long building on the west side of the inner ward at Pembroke, interpreted as a chapel (Day and Ludlow 2016, 68), might instead have been a stable (King 1978, 108). The geophysics and Ground Penetrating Radar survey revealed two buildings in the outer ward, against the curtain wall (Buildings ***M*** and ***N***; Day and Ludlow 2016, 82). It is possible that either might represent a stable, although the former may have been a barn, or even a building of higher status.

[36] The low walling interpreted as stabling in the outer ward at Goodrich was formerly assigned a date around 1300, but is now thought to be seventeenth-century (Ashbee 2009, 25).

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APPENDIX 7:

CASTLE-GUARD, DEMESNE AND THE EARLY LORDSHIP OF PEMBROKE

By

Neil Ludlow

APPENDIX 7: CASTLE-GUARD, DEMESNE AND THE EARLY LORDSHIP OF PEMBROKE

(Neil Ludlow)

APPENDIX 7a: CASTLE-GUARD AT PEMBROKE

The payment of 'ward-silver' to Pembroke Castle is first recorded in 1307, in the *Inquisition Post Mortem* of Joan de Valence (Owen 1918, 82), in which it was due from eleven fiefs –

> *'The rent of Carew for the ward of the castle of Pembroke, 28 shillings at Michaelmas; rent of Stackpole, 18 shillings payable in equal sums at the aforesaid times; ditto Kilgetty, 4 shillings; Cosheston, 8 shillings; 'Gilcop', 4 shillings; Golden, 4 shillings; Upton, 4 shillings; 'Saint Syrone' [South Carew, St Twynells?], 5 shillings; Manorbier, 17 shillings; Minwear, 4 shillings; Nash, 1d; all payable at the aforesaid two terms'.*

Twenty years later, in 1327, 30s 6d was received 'for the ward of the castle of Pembroke' (Owen 1918, 126) –

> *'From Cosheston (4 shillings), 'South Cyroni' [ie. Saint Syrone] (2s 6d), Golden (2 shillings), Upton (2 shillings), Corston (20 shillings), Manorbier (8 shillings), Gilcop (2 shillings) and Thornston [Bosherston] (9s 6d).*

Similarly, in 1331 (Owen 1918, 133), rent 'for the ward of castle of Pembroke' was demanded from –

> *'Five knight's fees at Carew, five ditto at Manorbier, half a knight's fee at Nash, from the rent of the vill at Thornston, two knight's fees at Cosheston, half ditto at Jordeston [St Florence], one ditto at Coedrath, ditto the rent of Minwear, one carucate of land at 'Le Thor' [Tarr, Manorbier?), one carucate at Carswell, five knight's fees at Manorbier, one knight's fee at Moreston [Hundleton], rent of the vill at Upton, rent of two bovates at 'St Ciro' [ie. Saint Syrone], and rent of two-thirds of the vill at Corston'; total £9 7s 7d.*

In another account, also from 1331 (Owen 1918, 138), 'rent due for the ward of the castle of Pembroke' was received from –

> *'Five knight's fees at Carew at Michaelmas only, 28 shillings; five knight's fees at Manorbier at Easter and Michaelmas, 17 shillings; from Thornston at Michaelmas only, 9s 6d; from half a knight's fee at Nash at Michaelmas, 1d; two knight's fees at Cosheston at Easter and Michaelmas, 8 shillings; from half a knight's fee at Jordeston, 12d; one knight's fee at Coedrath, 4 shillings; from Minwear at Easter and Michaelmas, 4 shillings; from one carucate at Carswell ditto, 2s 6d; six knight's fees at Stackpole ditto, 18 shillings; one knight's fee at Moreston ditto, 4 shillings; from Upton ditto, 4 shillings; bovates of land at 'Seynt Cyrou' [ie. Saint Syrone] ditto, 5 shillings; and from two perches at Corston which are held in socage, £4'.*

The *Inquisition Post Mortem* of Lawrence Hastings gives the total ward-silver received in 1348 as £10 3d (Owen 1918, 93). Finally, an account of 1481 mentions rents 'lately received of the ward of the castle' from Corston, Stackpole, Upton, Gilcop, Orielton, Golden, Cosheston, Minwear, Kilgetty, Manorbier and Hodgeston, Carew, Jordeston, 'Sensiron' [ie. Saint Syrone] and Moreston (Owen 1918, 158-60).

Ward-silver represented the commutation, to a cash payment, of the knight-service that had been owed, to Pembroke Castle, by the mesne tenant lords of these fiefs, ie. 'castle-guard'. Castle-guard was the most frequent expression of the feudal military service that was a precondition of landed tenure, requiring the fief-holders to serve in the garrison of the earl's castle of Pembroke (Turvey 2002, 376; Walker 2002**a**, 172; also see King 1988, 15). When was it initiated at Pembroke? When was it commuted to cash? And how might its commutation have affected the development of the castle?

It is apparent, firstly, that there was no standard sum per fief – in 1307, the five fees in the Barony of Carew paid 28 shillings, the five fees in the Barony of Manorbier paid 34 shillings while the five fees in the Barony of Stackpole paid 36 shillings. The two fees of Cosheston manor meanwhile paid 16 shillings. In this, Pembroke was not exceptional: rates of commutation were generally irregular being, in most cases, the outcome of individual negotiations (Painter 2003, 208-9). Similarly, the terms of service varied widely and were a response to particular local conditions (Suppe 2003, 221). Although a period of 40 days per fief, at the knightly rate of 8d per day for campaigning in the field, is still often seen as the 'idealised' norm suggested in 1902 by J. H. Round (Pounds 1990, 47; Round 1902), service at some castles was undertaken year-round, by tenant soldiers in rotation, while at others it was confined to time of war (Painter 2003, 204). And it could be undertaken by serjeants or even archers (King 1988, 16; Suppe 2003, 211). All these factors will affect the sums involved.

The figures recorded at Pembroke are universally very low. In 1307, the total sum was £8 1s 2d – which, if applied year-round, would only extend to payment for one serjeant, at the standard field-army rate of 4½d per day, for any one 40-day term. Such figures are not unusual at baronial castles, where castle-guard duty often seems to have been 'a serjeanty . . . of small value [that] was used to support one man-at-arms, the conditions of whose tenure could be varied at will' (Pounds 1990, 47). But alternatively, service at Pembroke may not have been year-round, but limited to 40 days in which the tenants performed their duty together, during wartime – rather than in rotation – as has been suggested at eg. Clun Castle, Shrops. (Suppe 2003, 211). If so, the total figure would allow the services of 10-11 serjeants – ie. the 11 fiefs listed in the account – or possibly two knights and five serjeants.

Moreover, Sidney Painter noted that rates of commutation were generally low, varying 'from the insufficient to the ridiculous, from the point of view of hiring substitutes' (Painter 2003, 208-9). He felt that tenants simply refused to commute at the same rate as for field campaigns, castle-guard being considerably less arduous, much closer to home and thus much cheaper (Painter 2003, 209). So commutations may not reflect the terms of the actual service: 'the tendency was towards a very modest settlement' (King 1988, 18). Nevertheless, 'the average baron must have forced to entrust the peacetime defence of his castle to the porter, the watchman, and one or two of his household knights, while his tenants were bound to supply a more adequate force in time of war' (Painter 2003, 204).

There are in addition a number of differences between the four accounts reproduced above, and the sums involved. For instance, the number of holdings increases between 1307 and 1331. It has been suggested that all tenant lordships within the Lordship of Pembroke owed castle-guard service (Howells 2002**a**, 404; Turvey 2002, 376 n. 44), and that commutation was gradual, on a fief-by-fief basis – with the implication that the other fiefs carried on rendering service into the later Middle Ages. But the *Inquisition Post Mortem* of 1348 implies that all former castle-guard services had been commuted and were now rendered as 'socage' (Owen 1918, 93). And while military services in kind are recorded later in the fourteenth century – from Ludchurch, and from the demesne manor of Coedrath (which was becoming farmed out, see below) – they are carefully distinguished from former castle-guard

services (Owen 1918, 98). Castle-guard, moreover, was not exacted from all tenant fiefs of lordships elsewhere in Britain: it was not, for example, at New Montgomery, Clun and Richmond (see below; Barker and Higham 1982, 18; Butler 2003, 97-101; Suppe 2003, 216-17). In fact, the additional castle-guard rents recorded at Pembroke in 1327, 1331 and 1481 came from the division of demesne manors, which had been newly farmed out during the early fourteenth century, eg. Jordeston (demesne manor of St Florence), Corston, Moreston, Orielton and South Carew (demesne manor of Castlemartin) and a portion of Coedrath; some are entered as units of land rather than knight's fees. Others result from subdivision of existing castle-guard fiefs: Thornston was merely a vill of the Barony of Stackpole, while the lands at Carswell and Tarr lay in the Barony of Manorbier. Similarly, the dues received from Upton and Nash appear to have resulted from an earlier division of a single holding (see Owen 1918, 88, 95). Hodgeston features solely in the last account, from 1481, alongside the Barony of Manorbier – within which, for the purposes of this payment only, it appears to have been assessed.

A sixteenth-century source suggests that the Barony of Cemais was liable for castle-guard service at Pembroke, citing a grant from 1278 in which the release of its tenants from the obligation is mentioned (Owen 1897, 514-5). Cemais would be an unusual outlier, within which castle-guard may have arisen through particular circumstances; these are discussed below.

It is unlikely moreover that commutation would not have occurred throughout the lordship by the later fourteenth century, at least. And while all vassal lords would, by the nature of their tenure, have owed some form of military obligation during the early years, castle-guard was only one of a range of services (Stenton 1961, 206-7, *et al*.); the remainder of Pembroke's vassals may, like Ludchurch, have provided service in the field – another standard form of military obligation and one that was solely employed at, for example, Carmarthen Castle (Ludlow 2014, 205).

David King thought it possible that, in general, the trend towards commutation of service into ward-silver may have begun fairly soon after the conquest (King 1988, 17-18); it was certainly in practice during Henry II's reign (Painter 2003, 206, 210), and is mentioned in Magna Carta (King 1988, 15). But, while most castles owed service were 'older' foundations, service in kind (rather than cash) was initiated throughout the Middle Ages, in new castles at eg. Holt (Denbighs.) and Folkingham (Lincs.), both from *c*.1300 (King 1988, 17). Nevertheless, 'castle-guard, in peacetime at any rate, was very much of an anachronism under the Plantagenets' (King 1988, 18) – though it featured, to some extent at least, during the baronial wars of the mid-thirteenth century (Painter 2003, 210). Overall, it persisted rather longer in Wales and the Marches (Pounds 1990, 47, 49), and still seems to have been practiced at Clun Castle in 1272 (Suppe 2003, 212). And commutation appeared earliest where castle-guard fiefs were widely dispersed (characteristic of some royal castles), rather than tightly grouped around the caput castle as at Pembroke (Pounds 1990, 46-7).

The document from 1278 in which the tenants of Cemais were released from castle-guard has been lost, and we only have a reference to it in a late sixteenth-century source (see above). Was it a total release, or a commutation? Was it a grant, or the confirmation of an existing grant? At any rate, it proves that obligation in the form of service was already in decline at Pembroke.

A castle's defences could be divided between its castle-guard fiefs, with towers and portions of the perimeter being assigned to individual tenants, as at Dover and Richmond, Yorks. (King 1988, 15; Pounds 1990, 47, 49). Lawrence Butler however suggested that this was a later medieval development of the practice, influenced by Round Table mythologies; and that, until the fourteenth century, the complement of castle-guard knights, from each tenant fief in rotation, garrisoned the entire castle during their term there (Butler 2003, 96). However, it is still not

entirely clear how these knights were accommodated. Of necessity, they had to remain at the castle day and night but, as Norman Pounds noted, we do not know where they slept, nor do we know who was responsible for feeding them (Pounds 1990, 49).[37] It may be assumed that knights from the larger fiefs, at least (eg. Carew and Manorbier), would have expected appointments befitting their station – which may provide a context for some of the features in the outer ward towers at Pembroke.

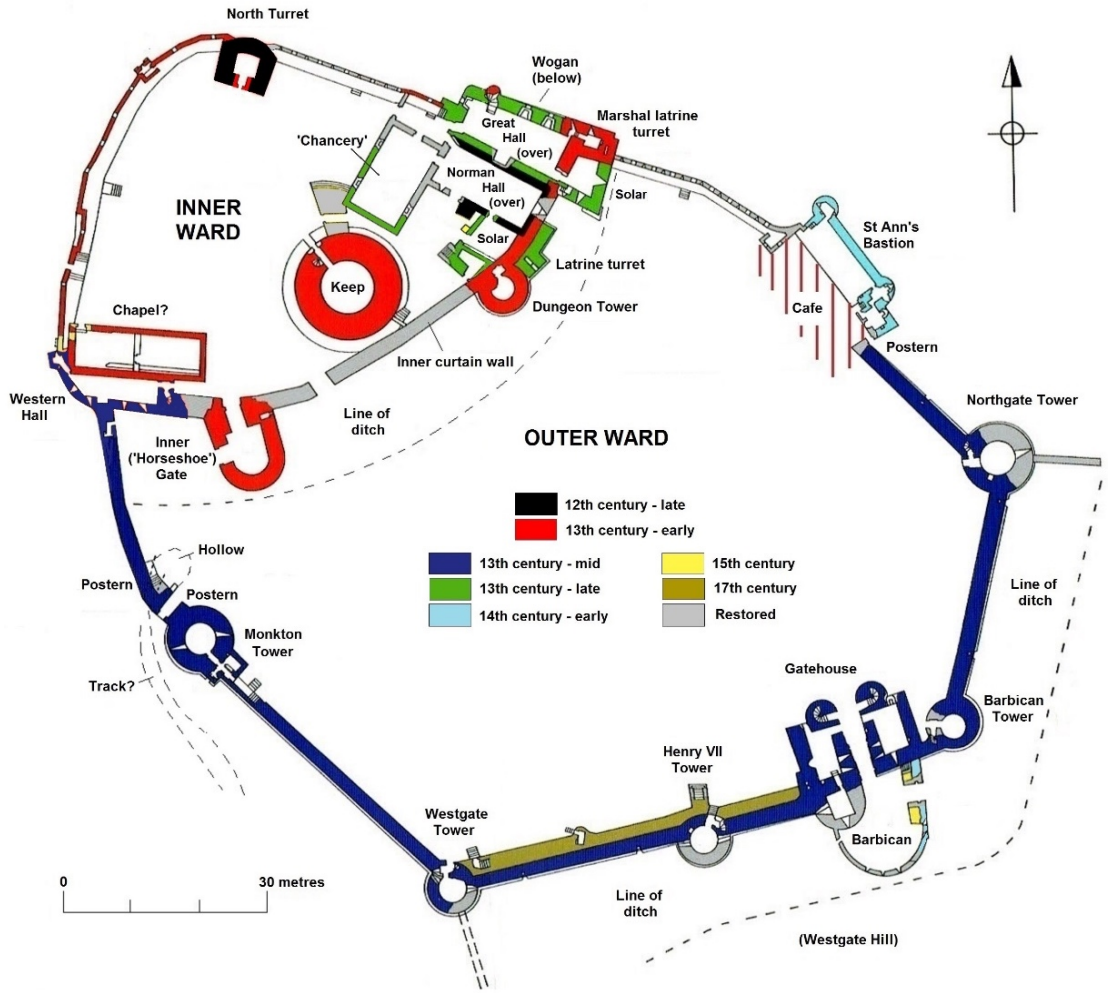

Figure 1: Ground plan of Pembroke Castle

The outer ward towers and castle-guard

The suggestion that the winged building at Pembroke Castle represents the birthplace of Henry VII depends largely on the manner in which the outer ward towers were used in the late fifteenth century. I suggest these towers were not fully habitable, and not at the level of society occupied by Lady Margaret Beaufort. As begun, perhaps, these towers were intended to be residential – but there is evidence for a change of design during their construction.

[37] Sidney Painter suggested that soldiers supported themselves from their own fiefs while on castle-guard service (Painter 2003, 209 n. 32), but this was queried by Norman Pounds who pointed out that it would be impractical for those serving at any great distance from their home manor (Pounds 1990, 49).

Westgate and Henry VII Towers

This change is apparent in the two main towers of the south front – the Westgate Tower and Henry VII Tower (Fig. 1). The rear portions of both towers, lying within the bailey, represent original work from the thirteenth century, but both were subject to restoration in the early twentieth century when the outer faces of the towers were entirely rebuilt. These rear faces both show a large opening at second-floor level. That in the Westgate Tower is blocked: it occupies a central position within the internal arc of the tower, where a spiral stair from the ground floor lies in a thick mass of masonry (Figs. 2 and 3) – showing that the opening is medieval, and that the stair was secondary to it. In the Henry VII tower, the opening was not blocked, and can be seen to be a small window; it lies west of centre within the arc, with a fireplace and chimney lying further west (Fig. 4). The Westgate Tower opening too appears too small to have been a door, and there is no evidence of sockets for an external stair or gallery, so presumably it was another window. The windows can be compared with that facing the bailey in the Monkton Tower, but are smaller and of different design, perhaps originally of two lights under a common outer arch. The large windows in the outer faces of both towers belong to the twentieth-century rebuilding, and may have played no part in the original design.

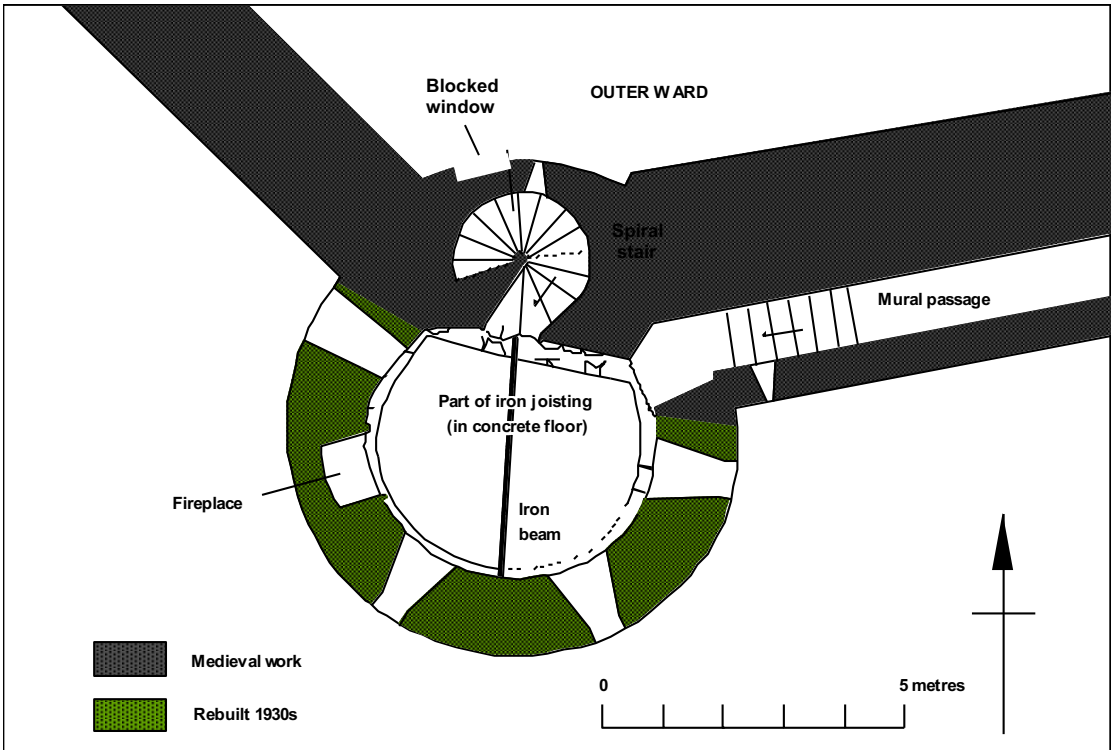

Figure 2: Plan of the Westgate Tower at second-floor level

Figure 3: The rear face of the Westgate Tower, from north

Figure 4: The rear face of the Henry VII Tower, from north

Figure 5: The mural passage just east of the Westgate Tower, looking east. The former latrine shaft lies beneath the square recess in the middle distance, on right, and is now represented by a small opening for a pipe

The two towers, and the Great Gatehouse, are interconnected via a long mural passage at first-floor level (rising to second-floor level in the Westgate Tower). The passage features, either side of the Henry VII tower and near its junction with the Westgate Tower, the top of a latrine shaft (Fig. 5), the outfalls of which can be seen at the foot of the external face of the curtain. The latrines themselves would thus lie within an open passage – an impossible arrangement. It is clear that alteration to the original design has occurred. I suggest that in the initial design, the latrines were to be accessed from short passages from each of the towers – an arrangement that can still be seen in the Northgate and Barbican Towers. But, during construction, the decision was made to instead connect the towers with a continuous mural passage, without latrines. The seamlessness of this change of design suggests that it occurred during, rather than between building campaigns, very early on in the construction of the passages, and that no hiatus occurred.

Figure 6: The Great Gatehouse and Henry VII Tower in 1815, from north (courtesy of Neil Guy)

The generous provision of heating within both towers – and in the Barbican Tower, at the east end of the south front – may also be noted: fireplaces occupy both the first and second floors of all three towers. In his detailed study of Pembroke Castle, David King considered the two fireplaces in the Henry VII tower to be original, if restored (King 1978, 93); both lie in medieval fabric in the rear wall, while the projecting stack of the second-floor fireplace is shown in pre-restoration sketches (Fig. 6). Those in the Barbican Tower similarly occupy the rear wall. King regarded both as twentieth-century, considering the entire wall to have been rebuilt (King 1978, 91-2), although it is shown intact in pre-restoration photographs (Fig. 7); the fireplaces may therefore be reconstructions of medieval originals. The two fireplaces in the Westgate Tower lie in the outer face, external to the curtain, and demonstrably occupy twentieth-century fabric; restoration-period photographs show that, above ground-floor level, the tower had been demolished right up to its junction with the curtain (Fig. 8). It may be noted that medieval fireplaces also occupy the Northgate and Monkton Towers, as well as the Great Gatehouse.

Figure 7: The rear face of the Great Gatehouse and Barbican Tower (on left), in the early twentieth century (© Pembroke Castle Trust)

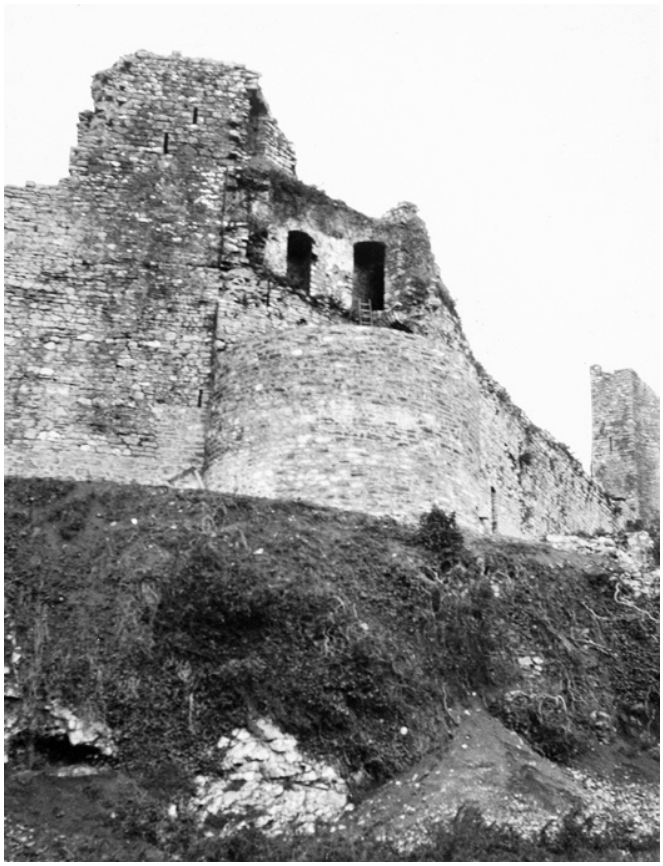

Figure 8: External view of the Westgate Tower during restoration, *c*.1930, from south (© Pembroke Castle Trust)

Also of interest are the discontinuous spiral stairs in the Henry VII and Barbican towers, in which an upper chamber has to be crossed in order to continue ascending the towers. This is normally taken to imply high status and restricted access (McNeill 2006, 123, 125). Whatever arrangements were originally planned in the Westgate Tower were replaced by a continuous spiral stair.

In summary, at least two of these towers appear to have been well-supplied with original fireplaces, at least one window was blocked at an early date, access within one of the towers was made open, and the latrine design was abandoned in favour of a more 'military' arrangement. The altered design may be related to a change in composition of the castle garrison, and perhaps specifically to the replacement, with a cash fee, of castle-guard obligation.

Castle-guard and the towers

The likelihood that the outer curtain wall and its towers were begun by William de Valence after 1247, when the outer ward was laid out from scratch, over part of the town, was discussed in the report on the geophysical survey undertaken for the Castle Studies Trust in 2016 (Day and Ludlow 2016, 68). The Monkton Tower is flanked by turrets that project like ears – a very early appearance of this feature, and part of the original design rather than an addition.[38] 'Eared' turrets reach their full development in royal castles, for instance in the Beauchamp Tower at the Tower of London, in the later thirteenth century (Goodall 2011, 206-8), pehaps confirming that Henry III's officer Robert Walerand was acting steward at Pembroke, as suggested by Huw Ridgeway (Ridgeway 1992, 253 n. 80), and that he supervised the work at Pembroke Castle (see Day and Ludlow 2016, 67). A variant on the 'eared' theme is seen at William de Valence's Goodrich, where the later thirteenth-century towers have rectangular annexes (Goodall 2011, 209).

The almost universal use of segmental rear-arches in Pembroke's outer ward also suggest influence from the King's Works under Henry III, within which they 'may reflect his own taste' (Coldstream 1994, 118). Two or three full-centred semicircular arches also appear (including the Henry VIII Tower window), though they are more representative of Valence's later work in the inner ward. They can also be seen in work from the 1260s at Leybourne Castle, Kent, and Barnwell Castle, Northants. (Goodall 2011, 227); the former was built by Roger de Leyburn, a follower of William de Valence (Ridgeway 1992, 248).

A degree of change in the use of Pembroke's donjon, under Valence, is also implied by the addition of the outer ward: its appearance doorway and platform could no longer be viewed from the town (see Day and Ludlow 2016, 66). The need to keep these visible may have been a powerful disincentive for the expansion of the castle under the Marshals.

As begun, probably in the late 1240s, the Henry VII and Westgate towers were to be supplied both with latrines and large windows facing the castle interior; access to one, or perhaps both towers was to be restricted by rank, and the Henry VII Tower, at least, was heated on two floors. All these attributes are associated with status, and privacy.

However, midway through the construction of the two towers, and with no apparent break of any great duration in the building campaign, there was a change of design. The window in the Westgate Tower was blocked by a new spiral stair, which

[38] The flanking turrets are clearly-defined, as distinct elements, at ground-level. They may suggest that the Monkton Tower was one of the last outer ward towers to be commenced. A later rather than earlier date might also explain the similarities between this tower and Barnard's Tower, on the town wall, which is even later.

provided unrestricted access to the interior (though not ascending right to the parapet). It may also have blocked fireplaces in the rear wall, as in the Henry VII Tower. While the fireplaces and window in the latter tower seem to have remained open, the latrines serving both towers were abandoned in favour of a continuous mural passage. This passage was primarily intended to facilitate rapid movement, under cover, from one tower to another. It is lit by regularly-spaced, square lights which lack embrasures, and are far too small to be used as loops. It was therefore not a 'shooting gallery' as at eg. Caernarfon Castle, but nevertheless was probably military rather than domestic in purpose. While a measure of privacy might be afforded by the rebates, for doors, between the passage and the towers (though they were not draw-barred), the overall move is towards their integration. At the summit of the towers, the redesign featured eared turrets as in the Monkton Tower. The new arrangements clearly indicate a drop in status and privacy in the two Pembroke Towers, which became more public – and more obviously 'military' in nature.

It is suggested therefore that the two towers, as built, were intended to be residential, and for occupants of some status. But their location and appointments are perhaps inappropriate to an officer of the residential household. They may be contrasted with those in the nearby Monkton Tower, which is larger, features a separate bedchamber (although latrine facilities are limited), and controls a postern, while possibly featuring a gaol cell (Day and Ludlow 2016, 121), attributes that suggest occupation by an administrative officer.[39] The Northgate Tower, equally large and probably contemporary, may also have accommodated a household officer. And the Barbican Tower forms an interconnected part of the Great Gatehouse, while showing no change of design.[40] It may therefore have been used by one of the constable's deputies, or perhaps the treasurer/chamberlain (see Appendix **5**).

The Henry VII and Westgate towers, on the other hand, may have been designed as lodgings for more temporary residents of the castle – perhaps tenant lords visiting Pembroke's manorial and county courts. But their redesign suggests a residential context that suddenly changed in the mid-thirteenth century. Might this be linked to the replacement of castle-guard, as a physical service undertaken by representatives of the leading tenants of the lordship, with a cash-rent? Had the towers initially been designed for knights on military service? (as suggested by Wiles 2014, 198). Ward-silver rents contributed towards the payment of service by mercenaries (Painter 2003, 209) – men who were lower down the social scale, and more content with communal living in a period of increasing privacy. Military expedience appears to have replaced domestic comfort as the primary consideration in the design of Pembroke's outer ward.

We do not know when commutation began at Pembroke. It may have been a gradual process. In Cemais, it had begun by 1275 at the latest, and elsewhere was complete by 1307 (see above). However, the latter date is furnished by the death of the Countess of Pembroke, Joan de Valence, who succeeded her husband William in 1296; commutation may have been complete many years beforehand. A garrison is suggested at Pembroke in 1277 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-81*, 194-5, 211-12; Owen 1918, 4), and the castle was almost certainly garrisoned during the Welsh wars of 1257-8 and 1282-3. But Wales had been in a state of subjection for eight years

[39] The small chamber off the lower-storey entry lies opposite a latrine and may have been a gaol (Day and Ludlow 2016, 121). Felons arrested in a subordinate lordship had to be sent after three days to be imprisoned at Pembroke to await trial (Owen 1918, 133; also see Walker 2002a, 176), so there may have been a 'remand' cell in addition to the very secure prison in the Dungeon Tower. Alternatively, this small chamber may have been used as a guardroom: the main chamber beyond was perhaps a repository for valuables and records. There is, however – and, it seems, very deliberately – no communication between the two storeys in the tower.

[40] The 'kink' in the passages between the tower and gatehouse merely negotiate a (relatively) thin section of curtain wall, without placing the doorways in inconvenient locations.

following the Treaty of Woodstock in 1247, and it was not until 1255 that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd began to consolidate his position (Morris, 22-3). Valence may have felt secure enough, during this period, to dispense with some of his feudal services in return for cash – in which, and for all that the commutation rents were small, he consistently showed a keen interest (Ridgeway 1992, 257, *et al*.). And it is suggested that the outer ward was substantially complete before 1254, when the royal agent Robert Walerand relinquished his stewardship of Pembroke (Day and Ludlow 2016, 67).

We have seen above that, under one formulation, the ward-silver rent was sufficient to defray the expenses of two knights. It is tempting then to assign the towers to knights from the two larger fiefs ie. Carew and Manorbier; the smaller fiefs may have provided the serjeants. However, this must remain pure speculation – while the arms of the Barri lords of Manorbier, scratched into a wall of the Monkton Tower, are probably just a little too convenient and should not be over-interpreted.

At any rate the status of the towers, as designed, is consistent with the high status of the outer ward that was suggested by the geophysical survey in 2016 (Day and Ludlow 2016, 93-5). In their redesigned form, they became more 'democratic', perhaps allowing additional and wider *ad hoc* usage – for example as potential accommodation for Valence representatives journeying to and from Ireland, or mercenary lodgings during time of war.[41] And, irrespective of the status of the enclosure, the two towers were primarily male, military spaces of middling status during the 1450s, when Henry VII was born. The Henry VII Tower was clearly not an appropriate place for young women of the highest status, like Lady Margaret Beaufort, to be giving birth.

[41] The use of castle towers as ad hoc accommodation, as and when required, is discussed in relation to Carmarthen Castle in Ludlow 2014, 207-8.

APPENDIX 7b: CASTLE-GUARD AND DEMESNE: THE EARLY LORDSHIP OF PEMBROKE

The disposition of Pembroke's castle-guard fiefs, taken along with that of its demesne lands, may be useful in mapping the extent of Arnulf de Montgomery's lordship (and/or his authority, as boundaries may have been ill-defined), between 1093 and 1102, as both are likely to have been determined at an early date. It has been observed, in relation to Leinster in Ireland, that a lord's demesne lands had to be established in the course of the original settlement of a newly-conquered territory, as it would not be possible after subinfeudation had begun (Empey 2017, 43-4); the creation of castle-guard fiefs, too, was unlikely to have withstood a great deal of subsequent alteration and we have seen that, at Pembroke, all additional rents came from the division of demesne manors.

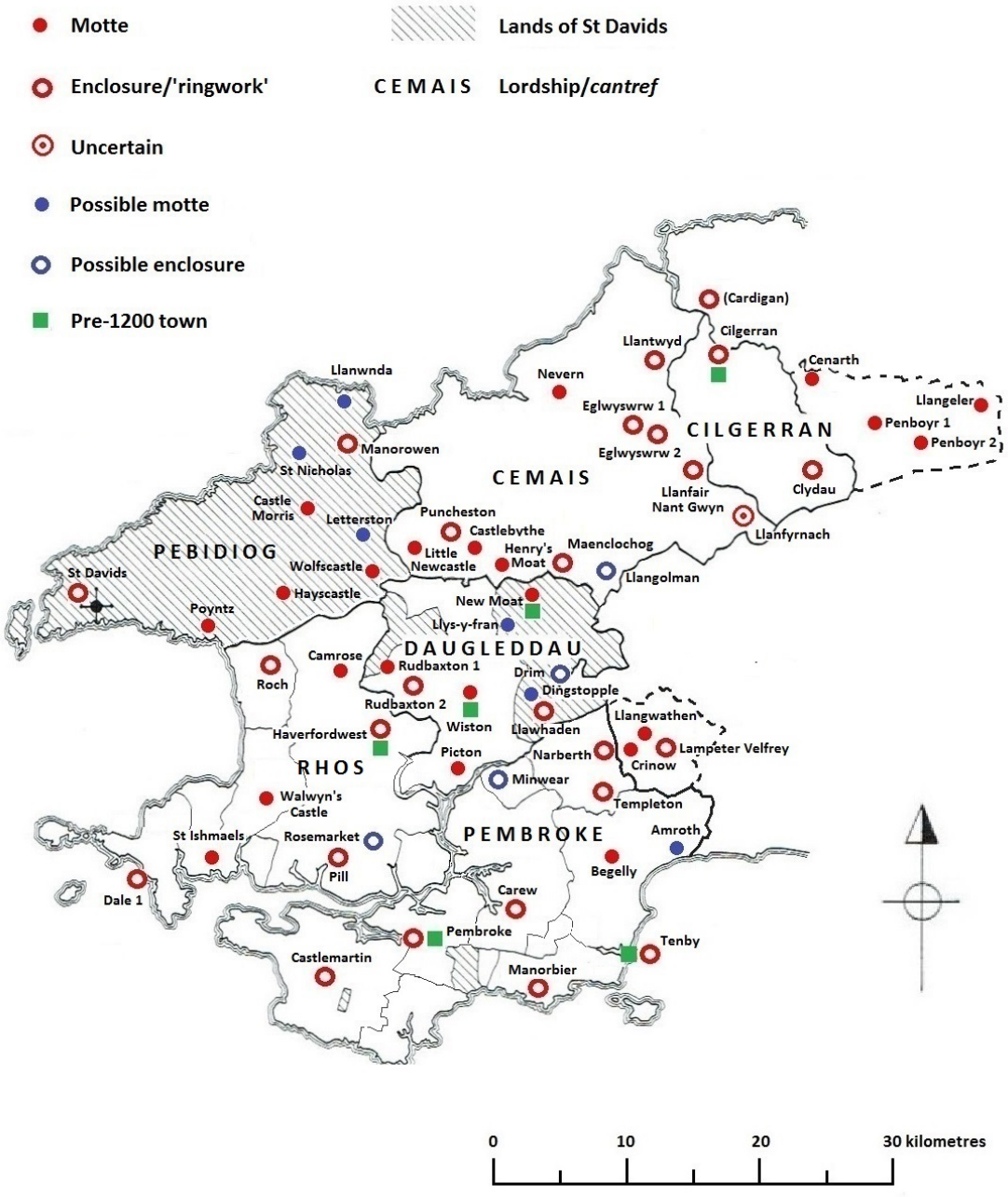

Figure 1: The lordships and castles of Pembrokeshire, *c*.1100 – *c*. 1200

The following review attempts to chart the early development of the lordship of Pembroke and its demesne. Nb. in Pembrokeshire, as elsewhere in Wales, native administrative divisions were largely retained to form the basis of the Anglo-Norman lordships (Fig. **1**): the lordship of Pembroke largely corresponded to the Welsh *Cantref Penfo*, the lordship of Wiston and episcopal Llawhaden occupied *Cantref Daugleddau*, Haverford lay within *Cantref Rhos*, and so forth – while Cemais retained its Welsh name. However, Pembrokeshire's commotal system is only fully-known in the *cantrefi* of Cemais, Emlyn and Pebidiog.

Demesne

The demesne lands of the lordship of Pembroke, as listed in 1247 and first fully-recorded in accounts from the fourteenth century, comprised Pembroke castle and borough, with its liberty (comprising parts of the modern parishes of Pembroke St Mary and Pembroke St Michael), Tenby castle and borough (Tenby St Mary and St Mary out Liberty), along with the manors of Castlemartin (Castlemartin, Hundleton, St Twynells and part of Warren), Kingswood and Golden (part of Pembroke St Mary), the *cwmwd* of Coedrath (most of St Issells parish) and St Florence, which was the site of the lordship's deer park (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1364-67*, 275; Jones 1987, 200-1; Owen 1897, 374 and n. 17, 394; Owen 1918, *passim*; Walker 2002a, 171).

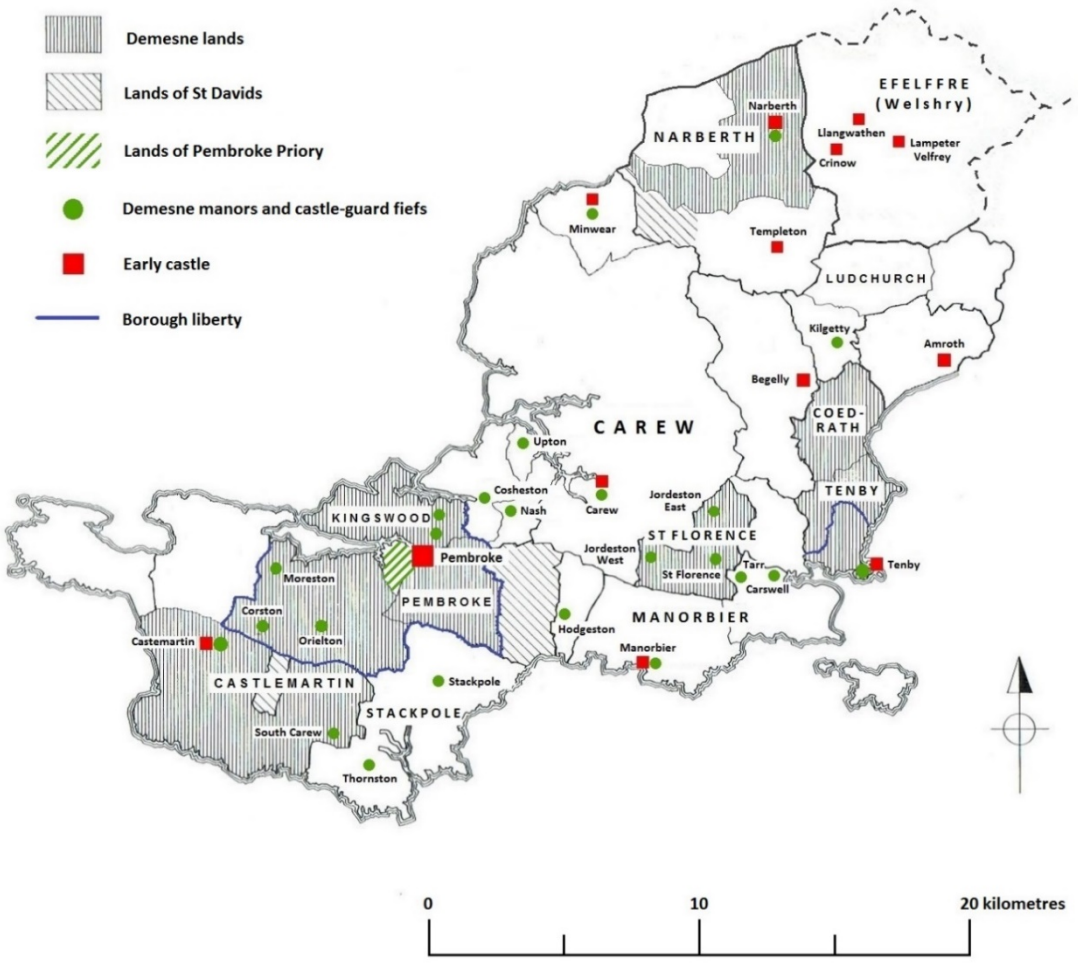

Figure 2: The Lordship of Pembroke *c*.1130, showing castle-guard fiefs and demesne

The lordship of Narberth is treated as demesne in a source from 1102-30 (Walker 1989, 138); it is also listed as demesne in 1247. However, by the 1150s it had become a tenant lordship, later termed a barony, and was demesne by tradition only (Owen 1897, 374 and n. 17, 394), although it was never assessed in terms of knight's fees (Walker 2002a, 149).[42]

These demesne lands were confined to the South Pembrokeshire peninsula, the largest concentration being close to Pembroke itself (Fig. **2**). The same overall pattern is followed by Pembroke's castle-guard fiefs (as noted by Ifor Rowlands; Rowlands 1981, 152; Rowlands 2002, 4).[43]

Subinfeudation

Turning to the mesne and other tenant lordships subject to Pembroke, our earliest source is the Pipe Roll of 1130, compiled while the lordship of Pembroke was in the hands of King Henry I, 1102-35 (Hunter 1833, 136-7). Henry radically overhauled Pembroke's administration along English shire lines, appointing a sheriff (ibid.), as he did in Glamorgan which was also administered as a county between 1107 and around 1120 (Altschul 1965, 258; Hart 1863, 347). The king planted colonisers from Flanders and southwest England (see below). He granted a borough charter to Pembroke, after 1102 and probably before 1130 (Walker 1989), encouraging settlement outside the castle, and – as at royal Cardiff – established a mint there (also see Blackburn 69-70; Boon 1986, 46). 'Walter the king's forester' is mentioned in the roll, and presumably had responsibility for the demesne forests of Narberth and Coedrath (also see Walker 1989, 138).

The Pipe Roll also shows that subinfeudation within the lordship had begun. We find the mesne lordship of Manorbier (later described as a barony, and a castle-guard fief) in the hands of the Barris, the family with whom it remained until the late fourteenth century. Also mentioned are Wiston (Daugleddau *cantref*), which was held by the Fleming Walter FitzWizo; also later called a 'barony', it remained a mesne lordship of Pembroke (Owen 1897, 374). The *cantref* of Rhos was parcelled among several individuals including the sons of 'Tanchelini', possibly meaning Tancard, the early twelfth-century lord of Haverfordwest known from other sources (Lloyd 1911, 425), and Godebert 'the Fleming' of Roch lordship, while several other fiefs are suggested (eg. Hubberston and Lambston). So the roll shows that a substantial portion of modern Pembrokeshire was, by 1130, under the control of King Henry through his sheriff at Pembroke. In addition, the lordship of Cemais was under Henry's authority (see below), and presumably Cilgerran, though their apparent absence from the roll suggests they were perhaps were not directly accountable to his sheriff.

But when was all this territory annexed to Pembroke? and under whom? Much depends on the nature of Arnulf de Montgomery's tenure there. But we will see that the political situation in west Wales, in the 1090s, may have severely limited his

[42] Cilgerran and Haverford lordships are listed alongside the demesne manors of Pembroke in the account of 1247, but are not themselves clearly defined as such, and nowhere else is it implied that they were held in demesne (although Cilgerran was included in a list of 'ancient demesne' in c.1600; Owen 1897, 394). Cilgerran had been conquered by King Henry I's custodian of Pembroke, Gerald de Windsor, in 1108 (Jones 1952, 28 and n.; Jones 1971, 105; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 34 and n.), and was always held of the lordship of Pembroke rather than in demesne (Owen 1914, 1-68). Meanwhile Haverford (ie. Rhos cantref) was never treated as demesne (see below). It did not form part of the Clare lordship as inherited by William Marshal (Hardy 1835, 105), while later lords of Pembroke had great difficulty imposing any form of jurisdiction within it (Owen 1911, 34-44; also see Owen 1897, 394).

[43] The furthest outlier is the isolated castle-guard fief at Minwear, lying to the northeast of the peninsula but close to the lordship of Narberth. Minwear first appears in the records in c.1150 when the manor and church were granted to the Commandery of Knights Hospitallers, at Slebech, by one Robert son of Lomer (Davies 1946, 363; also see Walker 2002a, 144, 173). Its earlier status, and relationship to the lords of Pembroke, is uncertain.

consolidation in the region; it may be that the pattern of demesne and castle-guard reflect the extent of direct rule, from Pembroke, during its earliest years.

A tenuous foothold: 1093-1102

Pembroke Castle was established by Roger de Montgomery and/or his son Arnulf, to whom it was committed, in summer 1093 (Jones 1952, 19; Jones 1971, 85; Rowlands 2002, 4; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 29), nine years before it fell to King Henry.[44] Their army marched southwest across the spine of Wales, heading straight for Cardigan, and then Pembroke – suggesting the two were known to them, perhaps as existing administrative centres (see below). They may have become known to Hugh de Montgomery during his raids into Ceredigion and Dyfed, in the early 1070s (see Appendix **6**; Jones 1952, 16; Jones 1971, 79; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 26). Further campaigns in the region were put on hold until 1093: the Montgomery family was otherwise involved during the 1070s (Mason 1963, 12), while west Wales and its king, Rhys ap Tewdwr, were under royal protection from 1081 until 1093 (ibid.; Lloyd 1911, 393-4; Rowlands 2002, 4).

Having established Pembroke Castle, Arnulf granted its custody to his officer Gerald de Windsor and then left Wales, for England (Jones 1952, 20; Thorpe 1978, 148); together with his father he was at Gloucester, with King William Rufus, by Christmas 1093 (Johnson and Cronne 1956, 401). It is uncertain whether Arnulf ever returned to Pembroke before 1102. He was with Rufus in Normandy in July 1098 (Round 1899, 237-9), was apparently there on at least one other occasion between 1094 and 1100 (Davis 1913, 103; Round 1899, 446-7), and he was with King Henry I at Dover in March 1101 (Johnson and Cronne 1956, 7). Otherwise we have no record of his movements, although Ifor Rowlands suggested that he may have spent some time in Holderness (Yorks.) after receiving lands there in 1096 (Rowlands 1981, 145; also see Round 1899, xli, 238, 447).

Pembroke Castle's first four years were a time of great insecurity, during which its existence was several times threatened by concerted Welsh opposition. A series of wide-ranging counter-attacks, beginning while Rufus was absent in Normandy in 1094, and continuing through the baronial rebellion against him in 1095-6 (Chibnall 1975, 233), saw the loss of many castles including, in 1094, Roger de Montgomery's Cardigan and 'all the castles' of west Wales except Pembroke and Rhyd-y-gors near Carmarthen (Jones 1952, 19-20; Jones 1971, 87, 89; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 29-30); it is not clear where these other castles may have been, but they may represent campaign castles of Roger and Arnulf (see below). In 1095 the Montgomery *caput* in Wales, at Old Montgomery, was itself lost (Barker and Higham 1982, 16). Pembroke was attacked in 1094, only a year after its foundation and, presumably, before a formal lordship could be established from it, and again 1096 when it was 'despoiled' and the surrounding land 'ravaged' (ibid.). Giraldus Cambrensis suggests it was isolated for some considerable time, even going so far as to say that fifteen knights of Gerald de Windsor's garrison deserted him, although his authority was apparently maintained at least as far as the episcopal lordship of Lamphey, three miles to the east (Thorpe 1978, 148-9). He must nevertheless have relied heavily on supply by sea.

A campaign by Rufus, in spring 1097, may have penetrated as far as St Davids (Chibnall 1975, 223 n. 3, 233; Thorpe 1978, 169 and n. 295). Consolidation was possible at last; Gerald de Windsor is found raiding in north Pembrokeshire later that year (Jones 1952, 20), and Pembroke was sufficiently secure in 1098 for Arnulf to establish a priory at nearby Monkton, when a 'castlery' of Pembroke is alluded

[44] Although the Welsh chronicles tell us that Arnulf received Pembroke 'by lot' on the death of his father in July 1094 (Jones 1971, 95), Orderic Vitalis suggests – more convincingly – that the Dyfed campaign was mounted chiefly to provide lands for him (Chibnall 1972, 149; Chibnall 1978, 31), and that he received the castle immediately.

to in the sources (Round 1899, 237-9; see Appendix **6**). However, the area under his direct control may initially have remained small, and it was probably only the period after 1098, and its relative security, that saw any extension of his authority in the region. And it not until around 1101-2 that Arnulf seems to have taken a personal interest in Pembroke, when he begun to harbour ambitions in Ireland (Chandler 1989, 10-11; Chibnall 1978, 31-3; Jones 1952, 23-5; Jones 1971, 97; see below), but he was probably never resident in Wales (Rowlands 1981, 145). And the *Brenhinedd* tells us that, in 1102, he held 'the castle of Pembroke *alone*' (Jones 1971, 97, my italics), suggesting that any other castles he'd established had not been regained, and that no new ones had been built. If the statement has any substance, it may also imply that Arnulf had yet to reward his followers with grants in Pembrokeshire; like his contemporaries, he doubtless maintained them on promises of land, as and when it could be gained.

Consolidation: the early twelfth century

Significant too is the fact that, when further Anglo-Norman advances can be dated in Pembrokeshire, they are notably later – Cemais and Cilgerran were not subdued until around 1108, while Cardigan had to wait until 1110 before it was regained (see below). The deliberate plantation of Flemings in Rhos, by King Henry I, was recorded in 1108 when the Welsh chronicles state that the incomers 'drove away all the inhabitants from the land' (Jones 1952, 27; Jones 1971, 105 and n.; also see Forester 1854, 222-3; Thorpe 1978, 141; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 34),[45] implying that the occupants were native Welsh and, possibly, that the region had until then been under Welsh control. So it may be that no Anglo-Norman settlement, or even overlordship, had occurred before this. There are strong indications that the parallel Flemish settlement in Daugleddau (later the barony of Wiston) was also undertaken through force of arms: on his way to take possession of Daugleddau in *c*.1108-1113, the Flemish leader, Wizo, promised to grant all the churches within the region to Gloucester Priory (Darlington 1968, xxxi-xxxii, 134-5; Hart 1863, 265-6), suggesting this region too had not been subdued by Arnulf and, perhaps, that Wizo sought divine blessing for his mission. The violence of Flemings towards the native Welsh was moreover remarked upon by contemporary writers (Chibnall 1978, 443; Thorpe 1978, 142).[46]

Many of the villages that were newly-established by these Flemings – a number of which bear the names of recorded individuals eg. Wiston ('Wizo's *tun*'), Letterston ('Letard's *tun*') and Tancredston ('Tancard's *tun*') – are 'classic' Anglo-Norman linear settlements of planned rows (Kissock 1997, 124-31). Other settlements, at Angle, Cosheston, Redberth and elsewhere in south Pembrokeshire, show a very similar morphology (ibid.) – otherwise infrequent in southwest Wales – suggesting they may be closely contemporary with Flemish settlement, ie. during the first two or three decades of the twelfth century.

Moreover, Carmarthen was only settled and subinfeudated once King Henry I gained possession after 1100. The baronial castle at Rhyd-y-gors, like Pembroke, had been an isolated outpost during the troubled 1090s. It was finally abandoned in 1106, soon after which a new castle was built, for the king, at Carmarthen itself, from which over the following two decades a compact crown lordship was carved (Ludlow 2014, 18-19, 26); its tenant lords are also recorded in the Pipe Roll of 1130 (Hunter 1833, 89-90). Interestingly, the 1130 Pipe Roll, together with a roughly contemporary royal writ, suggest that Pembroke may until *c*.1126 have been under the control of Walter sheriff of Gloucester (Davies 1946, 255; Hunter

[45] The Welsh chronicles are quite clear, and unanimous, about the date.
[46] But this violence, and the probable Welsh environment, go unremarked in many recent studies (eg. Kissock 1997; Toorians 1999).

1833, 136; Johnson and Cronne 1956, 233), who was also active in the royal administration at Carmarthen.

So Pembroke's re-organisation as a shire probably began around 1109-10, after the concerted attacks on Cemais and Cilgerran, and the Flemish settlement – both of which were apparently undertaken with royal consent, if not co-ordination. In addition, East Dyfed was taken from the Welsh in 1106-1109 (Ludlow 2014, 18-19), securing the lordship's eastern flank. This may also be the most persuasive context for the establishment of a town at Pembroke.

Lordship and settlement

No Montgomery followers in Pembrokeshire, apart from Gerald de Windsor, are mentioned in the sources.[47] Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that, during one the sieges of the mid-1090s, Gerald confiscated the estates of 15 of his garrison knights, and re-granted them to another group of knights (Thorpe 1978, 148) – but he does not specify where these estates lay, while the entire episode reads like one of Giraldus's morality tales and cannot be relied upon. And while it is possible that, for example, the Barris of Manorbier settled in Pembrokeshire under Arnulf, there is no recorded association and their arrival is equally possible after 1102.[48]

Nor should it be assumed that potential tenants in 1090s Pembrokeshire may have suffered forfeiture after the Montgomery rebellion of 1101-2, leaving vacant fiefs for King Henry to fill: many of the family's leading followers in Shropshire and the borders kept their lands, including the Says, the FitzHelgots, and even active participants in the rebellion like the FitzCorbets (see Chibnall 1978, 25; Eyton 1857, 51-3; Eyton 1858, 5-6; Suppe 2003, 218).[49] And by no means did the Montgomerys receive the support of all their vassals: another leading Shropshire vassal, William Pantulf, went over to the king (Chibnall 1978, 25). Most remarkably of all, Gerald de Windsor – the vassal who had done the most to assist Arnulf during the rebellion, negotiating assistance from the Irish king Muircheartach Ua Briain and brokering Arnulf's marriage to his daughter (Chibnall 1978, 31-3; Jones 1952, 22-3; Jones 1971, 97) – was granted the custody of Pembroke, three years after King Henry seized it in 1102, and held it until his death in 1116-36 (see below).

And although no Flemish settlement is recorded in south Pembrokeshire, it does not mean the region was already occupied by Arnulf's followers. Settlement by Flemings was accompanied by immigration from the English West Country (Rowlands 1981, 146, 149-50), and their English names suggest that at least some of the tenant lords in south Pembrokeshire – and a lot of the place-names – may have originated from that region.[50] And we can be certain that at least two fiefs were still vacant after 1108 – Caldey Island and 'Benegardun' (Minwear parish?) – as they were granted to the FitzMartins of Cemais (Charles 1948, 179, 193; Davies 1946, 242), themselves a Devon family.

So we cannot be certain that, when it was confiscated by King Henry in 1102, Arnulf's authority extended beyond the south Pembrokeshire peninsula, to which his demesne manors and castle-guard fees were confined. It may be, as well, that the fledgling lordship was in Arnulf's direct possession throughout, and that neither subinfeudation, nor civil settlement, had got fully underway.

[47] There is no foundation for the suggestion, made by Sir Richard Fenton in 1811, that their familiare Picot de Say received Amroth (Pembs.) from Arnulf (Fenton 1811, 472).
[48] And their association with Gerald de Windsor is uncertain until around the 1120s, when Gerald's daughter Angharad married William de Barri (Thorpe 1978, 10-11).
[49] Earl Roger's sheriff of Shropshire, Reginald de Bailleul, appears to have still been in office in 1102; while there is no evidence that he incurred forfeiture after the rebellion, he is subsequently only recorded in Normandy (Chibnall 1978, 402 n. 1).
[50] It is also significant that land in the lordship of Pembroke was measured in Devonshire acres (Howells 1968, 227).

Castle-guard and its introduction

As we have seen, the introduction of castle-guard was doubtless closely contemporary with the first subinfeudations in Pembrokeshire. But it is quite possible that this, too, occurred after 1102. The Montgomery family were no strangers to the service, which was already well-developed in France and Normandy before 1066 (Stapleton 1844, 296, *et al*.), and was practiced fairly widely in England and Wales during the late eleventh century (King 1988, 15-16; Painter 2003, 210; Pounds 1990, 45-7; *et al*.). It was rendered, by 1060, to two of their castles in Normandy – at Échauffour and Saint-Céneri-le-Gérei (Orne) – where, in both cases, it had been initiated under previous owners (Chibnall 1969, 83).

In Britain, however, the situation under the Montgomerys is less clear. Roger de Montgomery established Old Montgomery Castle (Hen Domen) in *c*.1071-86, and probably before 1074 (Barker and Higham 1982, 15; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 26). It was the centre of a 'castlery' of 22 manors, all in Shropshire and what is now Montgomeryshire (Open Domesday). A number of these manors are later recorded as providing castle-guard to New Montgomery Castle, founded in 1223 (Barker and Higham 1982, 8; Eyton 1860, 54-5). But, as Barker and Higham point out, we do not know whether castle-guard had previously been operational at Old Montgomery, or whether it was a new introduction of the 1220s (Barker and Higham 1982, 16, 17-18). And while castle-guard obligation is recorded at a number of other Montgomery-Bellême castles including Arundel, Lancaster, Tickhill and Skipsea (King 1988, 16-17; Open Domesday; Painter 2003, 203 and n. 3), the records are either later or relate to periods when these castles were held by other individuals.

Castle-guard was recorded at one Montgomery vassal castle in the earldom of Shrewsbury, at least: Clun Castle, Shropshire (Eyton 1860, 232-5; Suppe 2003). Nevertheless the manor was held in chief rather than from Earl Roger in the eleventh century (Open Domesday), while it is uncertain when the service was introduced; it is not recorded there until 1272, but is thought to have earlier origins (Suppe 2003, 213). Clun Castle was founded after 1086, but before *c*.1140 (Round 1899, 403, 411), and a date in the 1090s is likely (Guy 2017, 99). Frederick Suppe assumed it had been built before the Welsh rebellions of 1094-6, but felt that castle-guard, as it existed in 1272, did not begin to be assembled until Henry I's reign (Suppe 2003, 218, 220), which would effectively mean after the king assumed control of the earldom of Shrewsbury in 1102 and thus, possibly, some years after the castle was established.

Castle-guard service was also a feature of royal castles, within which it doubtless originated. In 1935, following on from J. H. Round's study of castle-guard (Round 1902), Sidney Painter identified 43 instances of castle-guard in Britain (Painter 2003, 203). Eleven of these castles were royal, and 32 were baronial; David King later added another 55 sites (King 1988, 16-17).[51] While mainly baronial, the two lists feature a number of important royal castles including Cambridge, Devizes, Dover, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northampton, Norwich, Rockingham, Sarum (Salisbury), Wallingford and Windsor. Most instances of baronial castle-guard in fact occur in frontier areas – the Welsh Marches and the north of England, where it persisted longest (Pounds 1990, 47).

So there are question-marks concerning the date at which castle-guard service began at Pembroke. At Clun, the widespread Welsh counter-attacks of the mid-1090s are regarded as possibly instrumental (Suppe 2003, 220). However, the evidence at Pembroke may indicate a later date. It is generally thought that King Henry I arranged the marriage between Gerald de Windsor and Princess Nest at around the same time that he appointed Gerald as his custodian of Pembroke Castle, in 1105 (Lloyd 1911, 416; also see Jones 1952, 26; Jones 1971, 101;

[51] Though neither authority noted its practice at Pembroke.

Thorpe 1978, 149).[52] Gerald appears to have received the lordship (later barony) of Carew soon afterwards, and there is a strong tradition that it represented Nest's dowry, as part of the inheritance of King Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth who was killed in 1093 (Austin 1992, 7; Clark 1878, 3; Hilling 2000, 5); excavation at Carew Castle seems to confirm that it was a pre-Norman manorial site (see below). If there is any substance to this tradition, then either Arnulf had taken Carew as part of his demesne, or it confirms that subinfeudation within the Lordship of Pembroke was incomplete when King Henry took possession of it: whilst it is possible that Arnulf respected the claim of Rhys ap Tewdwr's descendants, his other actions – and the politics of the period – make this less likely. It would also suggest that castle-guard was initiated – or at least the full appointment of castle-guard fiefs was only achieved – under King Henry. The castle-guard fief at nearby Upton had formerly been an ecclesiastical manor of the bishops of St Davids, from whom had been taken during the episcopacy of Bishop Wilfrid (Brewer 1861, 309), ie. between 1085 and 1115, too broad a range to help with the dating.[53]

The possibility that castle-guard was owed by the Barony of Cemais was mentioned above (Owen 1897, 514-5). Assuming it to be true, it is of some significance in dating the origins of castle-guard in Pembrokeshire. Cemais was not established as an Anglo-Norman lordship until 1108-13 (Johnson and Cronne 1956, 143; Walker 2002**a**, 151, 154) – further evidence, perhaps, that castle-guard and subinfeudation were both introduced into Pembrokeshire under Henry I. It would represent an unusual outlier of castle-guard service (see above); no obligation is recorded within the intervening Barony of Wiston, for example, or anywhere else in Pembrokeshire. The obligation may have been imposed on Cemais because its FitzMartin conquerors – unlike Gerald de Windsor in Cilgerran (annexed 1108), Wizo the Fleming in Wiston (annexed *c*.1108-1112), or the Flemings Godebert and Tancard in Rhos (annexed 1108) – were not acting under the authority of, or tacit agreement from, the king. Cemais, moreover, was subsequently held in chief from the Crown (Owen 1897, 425-6; Johnson and Cronne 1956, 143; Round 1899, 352), further suggesting royal intervention during or after its conquest.

Castle-guard obligation was no impediment to a tenant lord garrisoning his own castle. At least two of New Montgomery's thirteenth-century castle-guard manors, Dudston and Hockleton near Chirbury (Shrops.), featured tenant castles (Eyton 1860, 157-61; King and Spurgeon 1965, 74, 77, 79), while Picot de Say's castle-guard tenants held castles at eg. Broadward, Clungunford and Hopton, Shropshire (Eyton 1860, 255-8, 297-301). This situation is also seen at Richmond in Yorkshire where, as at Montgomery, the tenant castles were usually small motte-castles (Butler 2003, 97, 101-3). It is also seen in Pembrokeshire itself, where castle-guard tenants could moreover hold large and complex castles themselves, eg. Carew and Manorbier.

Castles, demesne and the pre-Norman legacy

Apart from Pembroke itself and, perhaps, three others in its demesne manors, none of Pembrokeshire's castles can be confidently assigned to Montgomery tenure (Table **1**), and the consensus seems to favour a date after 1102 for the rest (eg. Coflein; Kenyon and King 2002, 522; King 1981, 7-9; Rowlands 2002, 9, *et al*.); a fifth, at St Davids, may however also be eleventh-century (see below). While the sources suggest the presence of other castles, built in 1093 and lost in 1094 (see

[52] Two of their sons did not die until the 1170s, so the marriage cannot realistically have been any earlier.

[53] A C^{14} date of cal 1010-1160 AD was yielded by one of the burials in the parish church during a 'Time Team' production in July 2012, and no earlier features were revealed; this may support the suggestion that the church was relocated to its present site from Church Field, 1 kilometre to the north, when Upton was re-organised as an Anglo-Norman manor c.1100-1115 (Ludlow 2003a, PRN 3450). Upton Castle appears to be a *de novo* 'fortified' manor-house (or rather a show-front) of c.1300.

above), there is otherwise no hint of them in the record; if they existed, they may have been campaign castles, although later re-occupation and adaptation might of course be possible at all of them. Establishment of tenant castles can only have followed subinfeudation. Manorbier, for example, was in existence by 1146, when it was well-established (Thorpe 1978, 150-1); its lord Odo de Barri was sheriff of Pembrokeshire in 1128 (Davies 1948, 255; Johnson and Cronne 1956, 233). Castles in Rhos (Haverford), Daugleddau, Cilgerran and Cemais appear to have been both a process and a product of the concerted conquest and settlement that began in 1108 (see above), and although Wizo the Fleming's castle at Wiston is not mentioned until 1147 (Jones 1952, 55-6; Jones 1971, 151-3), it was probably founded soon after he arrived *c*.1108-12; Tancard's castle at Haverfordwest is closely contemporary (see below). The castle at Cilgerran was established in 1108 (Jones 1952, 28; Jones 1971, 105; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 34),[54] and Nevern Castle in Cemais was built around the same time (Caple 2016, 383). Pebidiog's castles were probably mainly founded after 1115, when the Norman Bernard was appointed bishop (see above).

Table 1: Pembrokeshire castles of potential pre-*c*.1200 date

Mult. encs. – Multiple enclosures
* – Possible castle
BA – Bronze Age
IA – Iron Age
CCR – Calendar of Close Rolls
CChR – Calendar of Charter Rolls

Site name	Form and size	Mult. encs.	Date	Earlier use	Remains	Early town	References
			PEMBROKE (PENFRO)				
*** Amroth** Church Park	Motte? Small	No	?	Unknown	Vestigial	No	King 1983
Begelly	Motte and bailey. Size?	No	?	Unknown	No	No	King 1983
**** Carew** *castle-guard fief*	Partial ringwork. Medium	No?	c.1105	IA enclosure. Early med *llys*	Yes	No	Gerrard 1990; King & Perks 1964
Castlemartin Court Castle *demesne of Pembroke*	Ringwork. Medium	No	Before 1171; C11?	IA enclosure? Early med *llys?*	Yes	No	*CChR* 1226-57; Kissock 1997; Owen 1918
Crinow Llandeilo Velfrey *Welshry of Efelffre*	Motte (and bailey?). Small	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Lampeter Velfrey 1 Castell Cynen *Welshry of Efelffre*	Ringwork	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Lampeter Velfrey 2 Llangwathen *Welshry of Efelffre*	Motte	No	?	Early med *llys?*	Yes	No	Evans 1981
**** Manorbier** *castle-guard fief*	Partial ringwork. Medium	No?	Before 1146	IA enclosure? Early med *llys?*	Yes	No	Thorpe 1978; King & Perks 1970
*** Minwear** *castle-guard fief*	Ringwork? Medium	No	?	IA enclosure?	Vestigial	No	King 1983
**** Narberth** *demesne of Pembroke*	Partial ringwork (and bailey?). Medium	No	Before 1116; C11?	IA enclosure? Early med *llys*	Yes	No (C13)	Gantz 1976; Jones 1952; Ludlow 2003
**** Pembroke** *demesne of Pembroke*	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	1093	BA ring-ditches? IA enclosure? Early med *llys?*	Yes	Yes	Day & Ludlow 2016
Templeton Sentence Castle	Ringwork. Small	No	C12?	Unknown	Yes	No (vill)	King 1983; Ludlow 2003
**** Tenby** *demesne of Pembroke*	Enclosure. Large	No	Before1153; C11?	IA enclosure? Early med *llys*	Yes	Yes	Jones 1952; King 1983; Owen 1841
			Subotals				
11 sites; **2 possible sites**	3-4 mottes; 8-9 'ringworks'	None?		1-7 IA enclosure 2-7 early med *llys*	12	2 (1 C13)	

[54] The 'C' version of the Annales makes it clear that Cilgerran is meant, and that it is the 'Cenarth Bychan' of other texts (Williams ab Ithel 1860, 34 and n.).

WISTON and LLAWHADEN (DAUGLEDDAU)							
** **Llawhaden 1** *to Bishop*	Ringwork. Medium	No	1115-1175	IA enclosure?	Yes	No (C13)	Thorpe 1978; Turner 2000b
* **Llawhaden 2** Dingstopple	Motte? Very small	No	?	BA barrow?	Yes	No	King 1983
* **Llawhaden 3** Drim	Ringwork? Small	No	?	IA enclosure?	Vestigial	No	King 1983
* **Llys-y-Fran** Y Castell *to Bishop*	Motte? Size?	No	?	Early med *llys?*	No	No	King 1983
New Moat	Motte and bailey. Large	No	Mid-late C12	Unknown	Yes	Yes	King 1983; Pritchard 1907; Willis-Bund 1902
Picton 1 Slebech	Motte. Medium	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983; Murphy 1995; Turner 1996
Rudbaxton 1 The Mount	Motte. Small	No	?	Unknown	Vestigial	No	King 1983
Rudbaxton 2 Simon's Castle/Rath	Ringwork. Small. Outer enclosure, IA?	Yes; IA?	?	IA enclosure	Yes	No	King 1983
** **Wiston**	Motte and bailey. Large	No	1108-1147	IA enclosure?	Yes	Yes	Jones 1952; Murphy 1995; Turner 1996
				Subtotals			
6 sites; **3 possible sites**	4-6 mottes; 2-3 'ringworks'	1 (IA?)		1 BA barrow? 1-4 IA enclosure	8	2 (1 C13)	
HAVERFORD, ROCH and WALWYN'S CASTLE (RHOS)							
Camrose	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Castle Pill	Ringwork. Medium	No	?	IA enclosure?	Vestigial	No	Owen 1897; Murphy etc. 2007
Dale 1 Great Castle Head	Partial ringwork. Small	No	C12?	IA enclosure	Yes	No	Crane 1999
** **Haverfordwest**	Partial ringwork (and bailey?) Medium	Yes?	1108-1130	Unknown	Yes	Yes	James 2002; King 1983; Thorpe 1978
** **Roch**	Enclosure. Medium-large	No	1108-1180	Unknown	Yes	No	Meek etc. 2012; Round 1899
* **Rosemarket**	Enclosure? Medium	No	?	IA enclosure	Yes	No (vill)	Murphy & Ludlow 2002
St Ishmaels	Motte. Small	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Walwyn's Castle	Motte and bailey. Outer enclosure, IA	Yes; IA	?	BA barrow? IA enclosure	Yes	No	King 1983
				Subtotals			
7 sites; **1 possible site**	3 mottes; 4-5 'ringworks'	1? (+ 1 IA)		1 BA barrow? 2-4 IA enclosure	8	1	
ST DAVIDS or 'DEWISLAND' (PEBIDIOG)							
Castle Morris	Motte. Size?	No	?	Unknown	No	No (vill)	King 1983; Willis-Bund 1902
Hayscastle	Motte. Small	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
* **Letterston** Parc Moat	Motte? Size?	No	1108-1137	BA barrow?	No	No (vill)	King 1983; Williams ab Ithel 1860
* **Llanwnda** Castell Poeth	Motte? Small	No	?	BA barrow?	Vestigial	No	King 1983
Manorowen Parc Castell	Ringwork. Small	No	?	IA enclosure?	Yes	No	King 1983
Poyntz Castle	Motte (and bailey?). Small	No	Late C12?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
St Davids Parc-y-Castell	Ringwork and bailey(s). Medium.	Yes?	1080s? After 1115?	Unknown	Yes	No (diff. site)	Boon 1986; King 1983; Turner 2000a
* **St Nicholas** Parc Castell	Motte? Small	No	?	Unknown	Vestigial	No	King 1983

Wolfscastle	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	1115-1229	Unknown	Yes	No	*CCR* 1227-31; King 1983; Willis-Bund 1902
				Subtotals			
6 sites; **3 possible sites**	4-7 mottes; 2 'ringworks'	1?		2 BA barrow? 1 IA enclosure?	7	None	
				CEMAIS			
Castlebythe	Motte (and bailey?). Medium	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Eglwyswrw 1	Ringwork (with motte?). Medium	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Eglwyswrw 2 Llain-fawr	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Henry's Moat	Motte. Small	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Little Newcastle	Motte. Small	No	1108-1200	Unknown	No	No	King 1983; Willis-Bund 1902
Llanfair Nant Gwyn Castell Dyffryn Mawr	Ringwork. Small	No	C12?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Llanfyrnach	Motte? (medium) Ringwork? (small) Possible bailey	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
*** Llangolman** Castell Pengawsai	Ringwork? Small	No	?	IA enclosure?	Yes	No	King 1983
**** Llantwyd** Castell Pen-yr-Allt	Partial ringwork. Large	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Maenclochog	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	c.1108	IA enclosure? Early med *llys*	No	No (vill)	Schlee 2008; Jones 1952
**** Nevern** (Nanhyfer)	Motte and bailey. Large. Motte secondary?	No (later)	c.1108	IA enclosure? Early med *llys?*	Yes	No (vill)	Caple 2011; Caple 2016; Turvey 1989
Puncheston Castell Mael	Partial ringwork. Medium	No	?	IA enclosure?	Yes	No	King 1983
				Subtotals			
11 sites; **1 possible site**	4-6 mottes; 6-8 'ringworks'	No		4 IA enclosure? 1-2 early med *llys*	10	None	
				CILGERRAN (EMLYN)			
**** Cilgerran**	Partial ringwork (bailey C13?)	No	1108	IA enclosure? Early med *llys?*	Yes	Yes	Hilling 2000; Williams ab Ithel 1860
Clydau Castell Crychydd	Ringwork and bailey. Medium	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Cenarth **(Carmarthenshire)**	Motte. Small	No	1108-1184?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Llangeler Pencastell **(Carmarthenshire)**	Motte (and bailey?). Medium	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Penboyr 1 Tomen Seba **(Carmarthenshire)**	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
Penboyr 2 Tomen Llawddog **(Carmarthenshire)**	Motte and bailey. Medium	No	?	Unknown	Yes	No	King 1983
				Subtotals			
6 sites	4 mottes; 2 'ringworks'	No		1 IA enclosure? 1 early med *llys?*	6	1	
				TOTALS			
Sites	**Form and size**	**Mult. encs.**		**Earlier use**	**Remains**	**Town**	
47 sites; **10 possible sites**	22-30 mottes 24-29 'ringworks'	2? (+ 2 IA)		4 BA barrows? 4-21 IA enclosures 2-11 early med *llysau*	51 sites	6 (+ 2 C13). 6 vills	

The table also includes four castles that are now in Carmarthenshire, but lay within the medieval cantref of Emlyn which may, in entirety, have formed the early twelfth-century lordship of Cilgerran (Walker 2002, 157).

In total, Pembrokeshire shows between 47 and 57 early castles, ie. those with a potential foundation date before 1200. They are fairly evenly divided between those with mottes, of which there are between 22 and 30, and the 24-29 castles without mottes (see Table **1**). There is now physical evidence for multiple baileys, at an early date, at only two castles – where they appear to be Iron Age in origin – but they are suggested at another two (see below; and see Appendix **6** for the caveats).

The distribution between motte castles and enclosure castles becomes more interesting at lordship level (Table **1**; Fig. **1**). In the lordship of Pembroke (including Narberth), enclosure castles far outnumber motte castles: 8 or 9 enclosures against 3 or 4 mottes. And the mottes may be later than the enclosure castles: two are in the Welshry of Efelffre – whose relationship with the lordship during the earlier twelfth century is not fully-understood – the third has gone, and its form thus unproven, while the fourth is doubtful.[55] So, unless deliberate removal has occurred during or after castle development, mottes may never have been present at any of the early Anglo-Norman castles in the south Pembrokeshire peninsula.

This is in stark contrast to the situation in Daugleddau, where there are 4-6 mottes and only 2-3 enclosure castles. And in its secular lordship of Wiston, mottes predominate in a ratio of 3:1 (Table **1**; Fig. **1**).[56] However, we cannot necessarily put this down to Flemish influence. In the neighbouring lordship of Haverford, also settled by Flemings in 1108, it is enclosure castles that predominate: four or five, against three mottes. Mottes demonstrably outnumber enclosure castles in the episcopal lordship of St Davids (Pebidiog), enclosures predominate in Cemais, while the two castles in Cilgerran lordship (Emlyn) are both enclosures; the eastern half of Emlyn (now in Carmarthenshire) may have been part of the early lordship (Walker 2002a, 157), but was always a Welshry and the four motte castles here may be fairly late.

Can this pattern tell us anything about foundation date and tenure at these castles? Only 15 castles in Pembrokeshire can be securely dated (King 1983, 390), though dates can be suggested at two or three others (Table **1**); the rest can only be dated by inference. Does the near-absence of mottes in south Pembrokeshire suggest that its castles are among the earliest in the county? Reflecting its tenurial history? Or were other factors involved? The earliest Anglo-Norman castle in Pembrokeshire may in fact be at St Davids, where a ringwork-and-bailey, of moderate size (with a doubtful second bailey), lies 1 kilometre west of the cathedral and Bishop's Palace (King 1983, 397; Turner 2000a, 91). King William I visited St Davids in 1081 (Jones 1952, 17; Jones 1971, 81) and, during his reign, protection was conferred upon the bishopric and to the reigning Welsh king of Dyfed, Rhys ap Tewdwr (Lloyd 1911, 393-4; Rowlands 2002, 4). A royal mint was established at St Davids, producing coins until 1087 at least (Boon 1986, 40), and may be a context for the castle (argued in Murphy and Ludlow 2001, Area 288); its distance from the cathedral suggests that it was unlikely to have been the residence of the bishop. Nevertheless, a foundation date for the castle after 1115, when the first Norman bishop was appointed (Davies 1946, 238), is also possible – perhaps as the HQ of the steward of the diocese.

[55] Efelffre occupied Cantref Gwarthaf but, along with Templeton and Robeston Wathen, it had become appendant to Narberth by 1247 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1364-67, 275). Native tenurial systems were maintained and its castles may have been established by Welsh tenants later in the twelfth century, or the earlier thirteenth century. Begelly, with its former castle, may originally have been held directly of Pembroke, but by the later fourteenth century was attached to the lordship of Manorbier (Owen 1897, 334-6). While Amroth is generally regarded as the site of an early castle, it has been suggested that the present mound close to the parish church may be colliery spoil, and that the castle lay elsewhere (Coflein).

[56] The episcopal lordship of Llawhaden, in the eastern half of Daugleddau, features several earthwork castles of which three are very dubious and more akin, in form, to the numerous prehistoric earthworks of this district (see Williams 1988, 33-40); these may include the earthwork beneath Llawhaden castle itself (see below).

Re-use of Iron Age enclosures

Otherwise, we have seen that the earliest castles in Pembrokeshire seem to have been enclosures without mottes, while the motte at Nevern Castle, in Cemais, for example may be secondary (see below). However, many if not most of these enclosure castles appear to re-use pre-existing defended enclosures.

While the term 'castle' defines an Anglo-Norman defended residence, it will be seen that the Welsh nobility of southwest Wales – like their counterparts in England – appear to have had defended residences of their own. Is there any evidence for continuity between existing, native fortified residences, and the earliest Anglo-Norman castles? Continuity under Anglo-Norman settlement in Britain is increasingly recognised as of equal – or perhaps even greater – importance as change (see Appendix **6**). And, as noted by David Longley in Gwynedd, Iron Age hillforts appear to be the forerunners of many later high-status sites (Longley 1997, 53).

Re-use of earlier defended enclosures appears as if it may have been widespread across the region. While both Iron Age origins and early medieval occupation can only be suggested at most sites, a number appear to have prehistoric origins, at least: four sites show definite or probable re-use, and another 17 cases are possible (Table **1**). A good number of these are 'partial ringworks' on promontory or spur sites, both coastal and inland – like many of those where early medieval occupation is suggested, including Pembroke (see below).

Excavation at one of these sites, the Iron Age coastal promontory fort at Great Castle Head, Dale, showed that the defences had been refurbished during the twelfth or early thirteenth century, and suggested occupation of the interior (Crane 1999, 110, 133-8). However, no archaeological evidence for any intervening use, during the early medieval period, was encountered. It is thought that the castles at Manorowen, Puncheston, Castle Pill, Rudbaxton Rath and Walwyn's Castle also re-use prehistoric enclosures (King 1983, 394-9; Murphy *et al*. 2007, PRN 3173). A motte was added at Walwyn's Castle, as at Nevern Castle and in the possible Iron Age enclosure at Wiston (Murphy 1995, 97), which are discussed below.[57] Other examples, with suggested re-use during, or continuity into, the early medieval period, are also discussed below.

In addition, four mottes have suggested, but unproven origins as Bronze Age/early Iron Age burial mounds (Table **1**), for which there may also be evidence at Pembroke Castle (Day and Ludlow 2016, 81).

Re-use of early medieval enclosures

As noted above, the Welsh administrative units of *cantref* and *cwmwd* persisted to form the basis of the new Anglo-Norman lordships. It was long ago recognised by Goronwy Edwards that, in many parts of Wales, the distribution of castles is closely linked to this framework; in Ceredigion for example, there is one castle per *cwmwd* (Edwards 1957, 15-16). However, these castles may have been established over a long period of time, while they may reflect the successor lordship rather than the native unit, and at least some may be of Welsh origin and thus represent a rather more unbroken continuity. For instance, David King suggested that many of the earthwork castles in the Welshries of Cemais may have been built by native gentry

[57] The small Iron Age enclosures at Drim (Llawhaden), Llangolman and Minwear are suggested to have been re-used as castles (King 1983, 394-5), but this has not been proven and medieval use at all three is questionable. It is however suggested that the Iron Age enclosure at Rosemarket shows all the attributes of a twelfth-century castle – it lies next to the parish church, and is axial to a planted linear settlement (Murphy and Ludlow 2001, 'Rosemarket').

families after 1100, and not necessarily at an early date; they far exceed the 'one castle per *cwmwd*' formula (Kenyon and King 2002, 530 and n. 25).

In England, continuity from Anglo-Saxon manorial site to castle appears to be the norm (see Appendix **6**). In Wales, the case for the deliberate siting of 'alien', Anglo-Norman castles within pre-existing manorial and administrative centres – or *llysau* – is considered likely but, in general, remains untested. In Gwynedd, David Longley noted some correlation between mottes and important Welsh royal estates centred on the *llys*, and its associated estate or *maerdref*, but only in around 20% of sites could it be proven (Longley 1997, 43). Recent work in Ceredigion, by Jemma Bezant, was even less conclusive (Bezant 2009, 20). Evidence for continuity between native site and alien castle might be more conclusive in a fully-Anglicised lordship like south Pembrokeshire, within which no Welsh intervention occurred after 1097; it may however be impossible to recognise Edwards's correlation here, as the commotal system is incompletely known.

Across Pembrokeshire, there is good archaeological evidence for pre-Norman *llysau* at two castles, Carew and Maenclochog, while another nine castle sites show varying degrees of probability. Among them is Pembroke itself (Day and Ludlow 2016, 63; Fenton 1811, 368; Howells 2002b, 468; *et al*.), and the archaeological evidence for Iron Age and Romano-British occupation is discussed in the main body of the report above. Pembroke shares its name with the *cantref* within which it lies, *Penfro* (Rowlands 2002, 1), which may suggest it had long been significant within the native administration.[58]

Carew's origins as a castle would appear to date from *c*.1105 (see above), but excavation has shown that it occupies a royal manorial site from which imported seventh-century pottery has been retrieved, and which was itself established within a multivallate inland promontory fort (Austin 1992, 5-7; Gerrard 1990, 46-7). The second castle in which excavation conclusively proves re-use of a pre-Norman *llys* lies well to the north of the lordship of Pembroke, at Maenclochog in Cemais. It was similarly a defended site, and continuity from the Iron Age through to the Norman period is again suggested (Schlee 2008, 9-12). It was possibly occupied until the Anglo-Norman conquest of Cemais, and Daugleddau to the south, in *c*.1108 (ibid.), meaning the transition from native to Anglo-Norman possession may have been uninterrupted. The castle is mentioned in 1215 (Jones 1971, 213).

Early medieval manorial occupation is almost certain at Tenby Castle, a demesne holding of the lordship of Pembroke. Although the castle is not mentioned until 1153 (Jones 1952, 58; Jones 1971, 157), a fortified crag next to the sea, with a hall for feasting, is described in the poem *Etmic Dinbych* or 'in Praise of Tenby', from the late ninth-century *Book of Taliesin* (Clancy 1970, 89-91), convincingly referring to the present castle site on the headland. The *praepositura* (or bailiff) of 'Dymbych' is moreover mentioned in the tenth-century 'Laws' of Hywel Dda (Owen 1841, 306), along with those of St Ishmaels and Llanrhian, in Pembs. – both of which were important centres of the pre-Norman bishops of St Davids (Charles-Edwards 1971, 247-62; Davies 1946, 237) – and Tenby is clearly meant. Again, the castle is thought to be a reconditioned Iron Age enclosure (Campbell and Lane 1993, 60; Murphy *et al*. 2007, PRN 39120), and it is worth emphasizing that the poem stresses the fortified nature of the early medieval site.

Narberth Castle is recorded in 1116 (Jones 1952, 40; Jones 1971, 127) when, like Tenby, it was the head of a demesne manor of Pembroke (Ludlow 2003b, 6).[59] It is described as another *llys* site in the *Mabinogion*, where it is called 'the chief court'

[58] Alternatively, this may derive from being the first and, for several years, probably the only Anglo-Norman castle in the cantref. The process is similarly uncertain at Builth, Brecon and Kidwelly castles, which are also named from their respective cantrefi/cwmwdau.

[59] There is no support for the suggestion that Sentence Castle, at Templeton to the south, represents the original site of Narberth Castle (see Ludlow 2003b, 6).

of Dyfed (Gantz 1976, 46, 51, 59, 86) but, while doubtless preserving older traditions, it is generally thought that the stories were composed during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries; the texts themselves are later still (Gantz 1976, 21). Nevertheless, the Narberth site is consistent with that of an inland promontory fort and, like Pembroke, the site took its name – perhaps from an early date – from its c*wmwd*, 'Arberth' (ie. *yn Arberth*).

The oval enclosure at Pembroke's chief demesne manor of Castlemartin is traditionally thought to be represent a castle (King 1983, 392, *et al*.); the identification has been questioned, as the site more closely resembles a small Iron Age enclosure of local type (see eg. Kissock 1997, 133). A castle is however suggested by the place-name, which had been recorded by 1171 in the personal name Alfred of Castlemartin (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1226-57*, 258-9).[60] Alfred and his successors, all 'of Castlemartin', formed the backbone of the administration at Pembroke Castle, and also furnished the reeves of the demesne manor (Owen 1918, *passim*). Their residence is mentioned in 1386, when it was called 'Castlemartin Hall' (Owen 1918, 105-6), while the enclosure is known locally as 'Court Castle' (King 1983, 392): re-use of an Iron Age site is again indicated. Jonathan Kissock has also suggested early medieval occupation as a manorial centre, based on the radial morphology of the surrounding village (Kissock 1997, 133-4; see below).

Roger de Montgomery established a castle at Cardigan in 1093, *en route* to Pembroke (Jones 1952, 34; Jones 1971, 115-16). It is clear from the sources that it occupied the present castle site, which had already acquired the name 'Din Geraint': the castle was rebuilt by Gilbert de Clare in 1110, 'in the place that is called Dingeraint, which Earl Roger had begun' (Jones 1971, 115-16) or 'where Earl Roger had before that made a castle' (Jones 1952, 34).[61] Ken Murphy considers it likely to be a re-used Iron Age enclosure (Murphy and O'Mahoney 1985, 202; Bezant 2009, 20), and in form it is a ditched promontory, like Pembroke. The name 'Din Geraint' may suggest early medieval occupation, and high-status use is perhaps implied by its subsequent history: after its recapture in 1164, the Welsh prince Rhys ap Gruffudd gave precedence to Cardigan Castle, where he hosted a celebration of Welsh culture – the 'eisteddfod' of 1176 (Jones 1952, 71; Jones 1971, 183) – possibly in recognition of its past importance. Rhys also chose to receive Archbishop Baldwin at Cardigan in 1188 (Thorpe 1978, 171-2), while outrage among the Welsh chroniclers followed its sale to King John, by Rhys's son, in 1200 (Jones 1952, 80-1).

Re-use of early medieval sites is suggested elsewhere in Pembrokeshire and its borders. Nevern Castle in Cemais has been regarded as an Iron Age enclosure and possible *llys* (Caple 2011, 326; Turvey 1989, 57-8), Extensive excavation by Chris Caple has, so far, revealed no evidence of occupation before *c*.1108 (Caple 2016, 383), but it cannot yet be ruled out; Nevern was an important pre-Norman ecclesiastical centre, and an accompanying manorial centre can be surmised in the 'paired site' model that has been noted in southwest Wales (see James 1994, 405). The castle established in *c*.1108 as FitzMartin's caput was a large enclosure, again in a promontory location, to which the motte may have been a secondary addition (Caple 2016, 383; also see Turvey 1989, 58); as in south Pembrokeshire, and at Maenclochog, direct continuity of occupation into the Anglo-Norman period can be speculated.

[60] B. G. Charles considered that 'Martin' element is derived from the original dedication of St Michael's Church, Castlemartin (Charles 1992, 678).

[61] While there were at least two cases in which a castle site was relocated by the Montgomery family (see Appendix 1), there is little other evidence to support the tradition that Roger's castle was instead built at Old Castle Farm, 1 kilometre to the west of Cardigan (as noted by Murphy and O'Mahoney 1985, 190).

Gerald de Windsor's castle at Cilgerran is another ditched promontory, suggesting possible Iron Age origins. Suspicions that it might also have been a *llys* site are aroused by the nearby church, which may have been an early centre of the cult of St Llawddog (Ludlow 2003a, PRN 46781), and by the Welsh attack of 1109 and the abduction of Gerald's wife Nest (Jones 1952, 28-30; Jones 1971, 105-7), which may make the most sense in the context of a native 'reclamation' bid upon Rhys ap Tewdwr's patrimony. If so, it is possible that occupation had continued until Gerald's takeover in 1108.

Re-use of pre-existing earthworks was clearly not always dictated by convenience. It may have been the case at those Iron Age enclosures that saw no intervening occcupation, but re-use was undoubtedly dictated by existing patterns of status and influence at early medieval manorial sites (see Appendix **6**). Significantly, re-use has been suggested at nearly all the caput castles in Pembrokeshire and its borders – Pembroke, Wiston, Nevern, Cilgerran and, across the Teifi, at Cardigan – and it is possible at both Haverfordwest and Llawhaden.

The large bailey at Wiston Castle has been suggested to be a re-used Iron Age contour hillfort (Murphy 1995, 97) to which, as at Nevern and Walwyn's Castle, a motte was added. The ringwork at Llawhaden Castle, caput of the episcopal lordship in Daugleddau, is very similar in form to the numerous small prehistoric enclosures of this district (Turner 2000b, 32; see Williams 1988, 33-40), and might be argued as a residence of the bishops of St Davids before the Norman, Bernard, was appointed to the See in 1115. Haverfordwest Castle was established before 1130 (Thorpe 1978, 142-4 and n. 226), possibly around 1110 (James 2002, 431); it was another partial ringwork on a promontory site and, though there is no tradition of earlier origins, they cannot be ruled out.

An interesting aspect of many early castles in west Wales is their distance, where the two occur together, from the parish church – sometimes up to 0.5 kilometres – in sharp distinction to the close church-castle relationship normally associated with Anglo-Norman settlement (see Murphy 1997, 154). In Pembrokeshire and its borders, we see this more distant relationship at Pembroke,[62] Tenby, Carew, Castlemartin, Cilgerran and Cardigan, all of which are potential pre-Norman centres of influence. Were the Normans reluctant to establish military/secular settlements close to existing ecclesiastical sites, and to relocate such sites? Or might it be another manifestation of the 'paired site' model (see above), indicating early origins for both church and castle? Some other Anglo-Norman settlements exhibit the same tendency – Manorbier Castle lies at the tip of a promontory clearly separated from the church by a steep valley. It appears, like Carew, to have been an early grant within the Anglo-Norman lordship, though probably after 1102 – with the possibility that it was former demense. Might it occupy the site of the *llys* of Cwmwd Maenor Pyr? Charter No. 253 in the collection of early episcopal documents known as the *Liber Landavensis* ('Book of Llandaff') records a list of churches in Cantref Penfro in *c*.1025. One of them is stated to be near *mainaur pir*, ie. Manorbier, but this entry, like many others in the charter, is thought to be a twelfth-century interpolation and cannot be taken as definite proof that a high-status site existed here (Davies 1979, 126; also see Campbell and Lane 1993, 57).[63]

Pre-Norman *llysau* could clearly be fortified, and defendable – as proven through excavation at Carew and Maenclochog, and indicated by the sources at Tenby – but, in most cases, they appear to re-use Iron Age defended enclosures. Nevertheless, they demonstrate the existence, as in contemporary England, of fortified manorial sites that fulfilled many of the social functions of castles (though not administrative in England), while showing a strong physical resemblance to the

[62] In its relationship with Monkton Priory. The two parish churches in the town are later.
[63] The motte at Lampeter Velfrey 2 may reference the early medieval ecclesiastical centre at Llangwathen (Evans 1981, 65; Ludlow 2003a, PRN 9915) – or perhaps an associated secular centre. Early medieval origins may like behind the place-name and motte at episcopal Llys-y-fran.

earliest Norman enclosure castles (see eg. Shapland 2017, 105-6; Williams 2003, 29-31, 37, 40).

The partial ringworks at Carew, Cilgerran, Manorbier and Narberth are each around a quarter of a hectare in area, roughly the same size as Pembroke's inner ward and typical of smaller promontory forts in Pembrokeshire (Day and Ludlow 2016, 81).[64] The inner ward at Ludlow Castle, Shrops, is of comparable size and shape and it, too, has possible Iron Age origins (see Appendix **6**). All seem to have been single enclosures in their earliest post-Conquest phases, with secondary baileys, forming outer wards, from later in the Middle Ages. At Carew, the outer ward overlies the infilled enclosure ditches (Gerrard 1990, 46-7); at Narberth, it was used for burial in the twelfth century, and perhaps earlier (Ludlow 2003b, 39). Manorbier's outer ward is very lightly defined and may be contemporary with its later medieval curtain wall (see King and Perks 1970, 117). No outer ward is suggested at Ludlow until the later twelfth century (see Appendix **6**), nor at Cilgerran until the thirteenth century (Hilling 2000, 12-13). And Pembroke's outer ward appears to have been an entirely new addition of the mid-thirteenth century (Day and Ludlow 2016, 68). There is moreover no evidence that the ringwork at Castlemartin was ever accompanied by a bailey (*contra* King 1983, 392); outer wards are in fact unusual at any of the enclosure castles of Pembrokeshire (Table **1**), where multiple baileys are also sparse. Most early castles in the region seem to have been single enclosures, of medium size and without mottes in south Pembrokeshire, and most of them seem to have re-used Iron Age/early medieval enclosures. The bailey/contour fort at Wiston is much larger, as is the enclosure at Nevern; they may represent the kind of large, early Norman enclosure increasingly being recognised (see Appendix **6**), and it is possible that the mottes at both were secondary.

The second-century Roman pottery retrieved from the 2018 excavations, at Pembroke Castle, may provide further evidence of its origins as a promontory fort, and perhaps as a *llys*. Continued Romano-British occupation is perhaps best seen in the context of the 'de-militarisation' of Pembrokeshire early in the second century, with the possible disuse of at least parts of the Roman road through the county (James 2019, 42). It is attested in the promontory forts at eg. Castell Henllys (Pembs.) and Coygan (just over the border in Carms.), as well as other Iron Age enclosures such as Dan-y-Coed (Llawhaden) in Pembs. (Edwards and Lane 1988, 45; Williams 1988, 47-8), and at Pembroke may have lasted until the end of the period to provide a context for the late Roman coins found in the Wogan cavern beneath the castle (King 1978, 76). At Coygan, occupation continued into the early medieval period (Edwards and Lane 1988, 45).

Demesne and continuity

One of the more striking patterns to emerge from the above review is the correlation between probable early medieval high-status sites in south Pembrokeshire, and post-Conquest demesne land. The suggested sites occupied by the castles at Narberth, Tenby, Castlemartin and Pembroke all lie within land that was later held in demesne, perhaps indicating that, like the castle sites, the estates also have pre-Norman origins, as *maerdrefi* or demesne associated with the *llysau*.

As noted above, the establishment of demesne was a crucial early stage in the formation of the Anglo-Norman lordship and, as with other institutions, it would be practical, convenient and speedy to take over existing demesne. Those lands in the west half of the peninsula, closest to Pembroke, were presumably acquired soon

[64] Tenby Castle is much larger but is not a promontory fort, instead being a near-island separated from the mainland by a narrow isthmus. Inland hillforts in southwest Wales average around 1ha – the size of the bailey at Wiston (Murphy 1997, 147).

after 1093 and may have been retained during the Welsh counter-attacks. Those to the east may have remained in native hands until 1097-1102.

It is possible then that Castlemartin manor had long been a *maerdref* estate associated with Pembroke, within which lay grazing and arable held in demesne (or '*tir bwrdd'*), and the seat of its official (the *rhaglaw* or *maer*). There is no castle on the demesne manor at St Florence, but by the fourteenth century at least it was the hunting preserve of the lords of Pembroke (Owen 1918, 83-4, 105), where an unfortified residence or lodge will have been present. It may similarly have had a distinct aristocratic function before 1093.

Further evidence that Pembroke's demesne lands originate from pre-Norman demesne is furnished by the continued use of the Welsh term 'commote' (ie. *cwmwd*), when defining the demesne manor of Coedrath, into the later fourteenth century (Owen 1918, 23-4). And it was not always the best land that was held in demesne. Whilst the soils of Castlemartin were notably fertile (Owen 1892, 55), Coedrath was agriculturally unproductive, with poor Coal Measures soils generally supporting acid heathland; nevertheless it was a managed economic resource, as a manorial forest which in the fourteenth century provided timber, turf and coal (Owen 1918, 84, 130).

It is likely that the barony of Carew, at least in part, represented demesne associated with the *llys* there. Whilst it might have been demesne under Arnulf, like the castle it may have only have become available through Gerald's marriage to Nest (see above) and so was never attached to Pembroke Castle. The situation at Manorbier is less certain. Nevertheless, the extent of Pembroke's demesne as it survived in the early fourteenth century, when detailed records begin, and with the addition of Narberth – taken along with the post-1100 date indicated at all tenant castles – strongly suggests that Arnulf exercised direct rule over his entire territory, but that this territory was confined to the area of Pembrokeshire south of the Eastern Cleddau. Subinfeudation, and castle-guard, appears to have begun under Henry I, under whom Anglo-Norman control in Pembrokeshire was hugely increased and extended, as elsewhere in west Wales, and new lordships were both created and granted.

This may be confirmed by the fact that, with the exception of Arnulf's chief officer Gerald de Windsor, none of the tenant lords in early twelfth-century Pembrokeshire have any known associations with the Montgomerys: they were mainly Flemings, or other immigrants like the Barris, a number of whom were from the West Country – where the Montgomerys had neither land, nor influence. And it is notable that Gerald de Windsor had received Carew from the king, after 1102.

One version of the Welsh chronicles seems to imply that Arnulf's authority stretched into Ceredigion (Jones 1952, 24).[65] The meaning of the passage is not clear: John Mason suggested the possible existence of a 'client' king in Ceredigion (Mason 1963, 27), but it may just memorialise the castle established by the Montgomerys at Cardigan in 1093, which had been lost to them in 1094 (see above).

[65] The Peniarth MS 20 version of the Brut y Tywysogyon implies that the grant of Ceredigion made to a Welsh prince by Henry I, in 1102, represented territory under Arnulf's control (Jones 1952, 24); none of the other chronicles however make the same association.

Early towns

Six Pembrokeshire castles are accompanied by towns with origins before 1200; another six are associated with planted vills, four of which are planned, and at least two of them may be regarded as failed towns.

The town at Pembroke's demesne manor of Tenby rose to prominence in the thirteenth century, when it received defences; it is first mentioned in Pembroke's borough charter of 1102-35, and there is no reason to regard it as any earlier; its parish church is also thought to be an early twelfth-century foundation (Walker 1989, 137, 141; Walker 2002b, 479, 482).

A town was established at Wiston at some point during the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; it was always small and a borough only 'by prescription' (Murphy 1995, 97-9). Burgages are mentioned at New Moat in episcopal Daugleddau, in *c*.1180-90, when they were granted to Pill Priory (*Cal. Charter Rolls* 2, 468-9; Pritchard 1907, 126), and the small settlement was regarded as a borough, if also by prescription, by the early fourteenth century (Willis-Bund 1902, 127-36). A town developed outside the castle gate at Haverfordwest at some point between *c*.1110 and the mid-twelfth century (Charles 1948, 180-1, 190-1; James 2002, 433-5), and became the pre-eminent town of the region during the later medieval period. Cilgerran seems to have been the site of a town by 1204, when it was termed '*oppidum*' (Williams ab Ithel 1860, 63); it too remained small, with only 22 taxpayers in 1292 (Owen 1914, 10-11).

All the above show evidence of planning, with regular rows of burgage plots. The vills at Letterston, Templeton, Maenclochog and Rosemarket also show planned rows, with widened streets as if for marketplaces, at the latter two. All four belong to the early twelfth-century settlement of mid-Pembrokeshire (see above).

Narberth's early history is little-known and, while it is possible that civil settlement began soon after the castle was established in the twelfth century, it is not suggested until 1282 when a fair at the 'vill of Narberth' was recorded (Owen 1914, 75): by no means all towns of medieval Wales were necessarily contemporary with their castles. The town shows no sign of planning, remained small and was never accorded borough status.

In summary, none of the above towns can be assigned a pre-1102 foundation date under the Montgomerys. The establishment of the sixth early town, at Pembroke itself, is sometimes ascribed to Arnulf de Montgomery (including Lilley 1999, 68; Mason 1963, 17-18; Rowlands 1981, 152 and n. 53; Turvey 2019, 106). But we have seen in Appendix **6** that the family were not great urbanisers, in either Britain or Normandy, and that towns seem not to have been part of their settlement strategy within their newly-conquered dominions. No town is mentioned in the contemporary accounts of events at Pembroke during the 1090s and in 1101-2, while we have seen that the surrounding environment was extremely hostile until at least 1097. Monkton Priory was not established until late 1098 (see above), when it was primarily a memorial chapel to Arnulf's brother Hugh (Round 1899, 237-8), as well as a source of revenue for Sées Abbey in Normandy. Nor is there documentary or physical evidence for settlement at contemporary Rhyd-y-gors, near Carmarthen.[66] The foundation of Pembroke, in all likelihood, was made possible by the conquest of Pembrokeshire north of Milford Haven, in 1108-12 – and, like Carmarthen, it may have had to wait until the eastern flank of the lordship was secured through the annexation of east Dyfed, in 1106-9. So the town was in all likelihood founded by Henry I, who granted its first charter (see above; also see Howells 2002b, 468). Known eleventh-century town foundations in Wales are moreover very few in number, and limited to the relative security of the borderlands

[66] The two may be contrasted with Carmarthen itself, which is recorded soon after its foundation in 1116 (Ludlow 2014, 19).

rather than the peripheral west: Abergavenny, Mon. (*c.*1090), Chepstow. Mon. (1075), and Rhuddlan, Flints. (1086).

Pembroke's origins as a royal chartered borough may be confirmed by the fact that it fundamentally remained one: no further charters or privileges were subsequently granted by its baronial lords. All grants and exemplifications instead continued to be issued by the Crown, as under William Marshal I in 1201, when further privileges were granted by King John (Hardy 1837, 95); under William de Valence in 1256, when the charter was confirmed by Henry III (*Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1358-61, 489); and a further royal exemplification under John Hastings in 1369 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1377-81, 106-8).

Conclusion

The Anglo-Norman subjugation of Pembrokeshire north of Milford Haven and the Cleddau estuary does not appear to have been begun until 1108, when it was probably initiated as a concerted campaign by Henry I. The Haven therefore probably represented the northern limit of Arnulf de Montgomery's Lordship of Pembroke. The pattern of demesne and castle-guard fiefs within the lordship may reflect the extent of direct Anglo-Norman rule under Arnulf, and during the early years of Henry I's tenure, with Narberth at its eastern limit – that is, more-or-less coterminous with *Cantref Penfro*.[67]

In addition, while subinfeudation in the lordship of Pembrokeshire – with the reservation of demesne, the allocation of knight's fees, and the appointment of castle-guard fiefs – may have begun during the later years of Arnulf de Montgomery's tenure, it is more likely to belong in its entirety to the period after 1102 and the seizure of the lordship by King Henry I.

This raises a number of questions regarding the nature and extent of Arnulf's authority. His lordship – the area firmly under his control – may perhaps best be described as his *castellaria* (or 'castlery'): that is, the area under the jurisdiction of Pembroke Castle. The term is used for a number of lordships in Wales in the late eleventh century (Walker 1979, 134-5) – and is even suggested at Pembroke itself in 1098 (Round 1899, 237-8; see Appendix **6**). It was clearly a fluid entity during the Welsh counter-attacks of the mid 1090s, and of varying extent. The situation appears to have settled by 1098, when Monkton Priory was founded at Pembroke. But recovery is likely to have been slow (Howells 2002a, 402; Rowlands 2002, 6); the administrative machinery and plantation suggested by John Mason, and followed by successive authorities (Mason 1963, 17-18; also see eg. Lilley 1999, 68), are unlikely to have been in place before 1102.

Whether or not Arnulf had intended a programme of colonisation and settlement – and we have seen that town plantation was not normally a feature of Montgomery strategy – it will have been critically disrupted during the 1090s. As Ifor Rowlands noted, 'the assertions that a good number of castles, rural boroughs and other parts of a colonial infrastructure had been established [before 1102] should be treated with scepticism' (Rowlands 2002, 6). And the establishment of baronial castles, vills and boroughs will have been dependent upon, and consequent to subinfeudation. It follows that these processes, too, are likely to belong to the early years of Henry I's reign: to quote Ifor Rowlands again – 'from 1102 onwards Henry virtually created a new march [in west Wales], in his own image' (Rowlands 1981, 151). The processes were accompanied by the establishment of shire machinery before 1130, and the foundation of a town at Pembroke. They were consequent upon the concerted, and possibly co-ordinated annexation of central and north

[67] Roger Turvey suggests an even smaller area, with its eastern limit at Tenby and extending no further north than Carew (Turvey 2019, 106-7), which may not take demesne and castle-guard fiefs into account; he notes however that the extent of Arnulf's lordship 'is still a matter of debate'.

Pembrokeshire *c*.1108-13, and the securing of eastern Dyfed, as well as the shire machinery that was in place by 1130.

It is significant that the years between 1106 and 1120 saw the establishment of all the major Norman lordships in southwest Wales, the construction of most of the castles in the region including royal Carmarthen, and the establishment of most of the other early towns in the region including Carmarthen, Cardigan, Kidwelly, Tenby, Haverfordwest and Llandovery; King Henry was moreover a great founder of towns elsewhere in England and Wales.

Arnulf's relationship with Pembroke is difficult to determine. He may never have visited after the foundation of the castle in 1093, although his interests in Ireland, and marriage to an Irish king's daughter, may suggest an increasing involvement around 1101-2 (Chandler 1989, 10-11). Nevertheless, Pembroke is scarcely mentioned at all by Orderic Vitalis, a chronicler with a close personal interest in the House of Montgomery-Bellême, suggesting it wasn't that important in their scheme of things.

Given Arnulf's limited authority and territory in west Wales, it is likely that, irrespective of how he was styled by his contemporaries, he was never formally created Earl of Pembroke. The matter has been extensively discussed, with varying conclusions – John Mason, for example, strenuously argued that he was created earl of a territory that was organised as a shire (Mason 1963, 17-18), a view also followed, if somewhat more cautiously, by Victoria Chandler and Kathleen Thompson (Chandler 1989, 9; Thompson 1991, 275 and n. 56). Scepticism was however already apparent by *c*.1600 (Owen 1892, 14-15), and Sir John Lloyd regarded it as 'pure conjecture' (Lloyd 1911, 403 n. 13). More recently, Ifor Rowlands and Ron Walker rejected the idea of an earldom but felt the title may have been honorific (Rowlands 2002, 7; Walker 2002a, 20), a view also favoured by Roger Turvey (Turvey 2019, 106). Arnulf is termed earl in a number of primary sources, including Orderic's *History* (eg. Chibnall 1972, 149; Chibnall 1973, 303; Johnson and Cronne 1956, 205; Jones 1952, 24; Round 1899, 239). Most of these however are rather later, from the 1120s and 1130s, while the *Brenhinedd y Saesson* calls him 'earl of Montgomery', which is incorrect (Jones 1971, 125). Moreover Orderic also calls Roger the Poitevin 'earl' in Lancaster (Chibnall 1978, 31), a title which was not created until the 1260s. It is noteworthy that their father, Roger de Montgomery, styled himself 'earl' in a charter of 1068 (Lewis 1991, 220; Davis 1913, 6), nearly three years before receiving his earldom. Titles were very readily assumed, informally, by leading nobles.

Castle-building in Pembrokeshire was mainly a product of the first two decades of the twelfth century. The earliest seem mainly to have been enclosure castles without mottes, including all those in south Pembrokeshire; the motte was a later addition to at least one castle. Most of these early castles were however adapted from pre-existing Welsh lordly enclosures, which were themselves, in the main, probably adapted from Iron Age fortifications.

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PEMBROKE CASTLE:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION 2018

RHIF YR ADRODDIAD / REPORT NO. 2018/45

RHIF Y DIGWYLLIAD / EVENT RECORD NO. 113212

Paratowyd yr adroddiad hwn gan / This report has been prepared by

JAMES MEEK

Swydd / Position: **Head of DAT Archaeological Services**

Llofnod / Signature  Dyddiad / Date: 03/Sep/2019

AND

NEIL LUDLOW

Llofnod / Signature  Dyddiad / Date: 03/Sep/2019

Mae'r adroddiad hwn wedi ei gael yn gywir a derbyn sêl bendith /
This report has also been checked and approved by the above

Yn unol â'n nôd i roddi gwasanaeth o ansawdd uchel, croesawn unrhyw sylwadau sydd gennych ar gynnwys neu strwythur yr adroddiad hwn

As part of our desire to provide a quality service we would welcome any comments you may have on the content or presentation of this report

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