◆ The gatehouse of Pevensey Castle

by Anthony Chapman

Excavations in 1993–95, undertaken by the Department of Archaeology of the University of Reading, discovered a sequence of rebuilding the east wall of the keep during the later Middle Ages. Alongside the excavations, the department also carried out fabric surveys of the Roman walls, the keep and the medieval walls of the inner bailey. Certain results of the keep survey and excavation were included in the 1999 English Heritage guidebook, notably reaffirmation of the homogeneous character of the keep inside the Roman wall (Allen & Al Shaikhley 1994). However, only a preliminary report on the gatehouse was produced from the survey of the medieval walls and this paper provides a revised summary of that work, with some observations on the subsequent structural development of the castle through the thirteenth century. There are documentary and architectural contexts for the construction of the lower storeys of the gatehouse during the reign of Richard I.

INTRODUCTION

The architectural history of Pevensey Castle is largely the result of documentary research, excavation and conservation in the early 20th century (Salzman 1906; Peers 1933a, 1). These efforts were distilled in the official guide first published by the Office of Works in 1933 (Peers 1933b), eight years after the castle was presented to the State in October 1925. Excavation and preservation of the site continued until the outbreak of the second world war when the castle was refortified and manned by troops. During this period the towers of the medieval fortress were renovated as accommodation for soldiers while concrete pillboxes and tank traps were constructed in and around the castle in 1940 (Peers 1952, 6, 7 & 9). These modern works, largely preserved after the war, sometimes obscure the early fabric and therefore we are often reliant on Peers's summary for the archaeological interpretation of the castle; no comprehensive report for the site has been published.

Sir Charles Peers's official guide, with anonymous revisions after his death in 1952, remained the standard description of the castle until a new guide by John Goodall was published by English Heritage in 1999, incorporating the interim results of excavations below the east side of the keep from 1993 to 1995 (Goodall 1999). Meanwhile, Derek Renn's 1970 guide to the castle included a revised interpretation of the structural history of the keep, previously suggested by Sidney Toy (Renn 1970; 1971; Toy 1953, 74–5; also proposed in Sands 1910). In a subsequent paper Renn placed Pevensey within the context of gatehouse development in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Renn 1981). In 1997 Kathleen Thompson updated the political history of the Rape of Pevensey and the various holders of the castle from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, partly filling the void left by the absence of a volume of the Victoria County History for this part of Sussex (Thompson 1997).

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF PEVENSEY CASTLE

Peers's summary history of the castle was originally published in two versions in 1933 (1933a,b, and plans therein). Then aged 65, he was about to retire after 24 years in control of the Ancient Monuments Department. Mortimer Wheeler's entry on Peers for the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1971) is worth quoting:

> he laid down the principles which have governed architectural conservation in the United Kingdom and have served as a model in other parts of the world. His cardinal principle was to retain but not to restore the surviving remains of an ancient structure; and in this respect he departed emphatically from the tradition of Viollet-le-Duc and his successors in France and Italy, where exuberant restoration frequently obscured the evidence upon which it was based … Above all, his sound scholarship ensured that the historical evidence implicit in these structures was preserved and displayed, both by clearance on the ground and by the
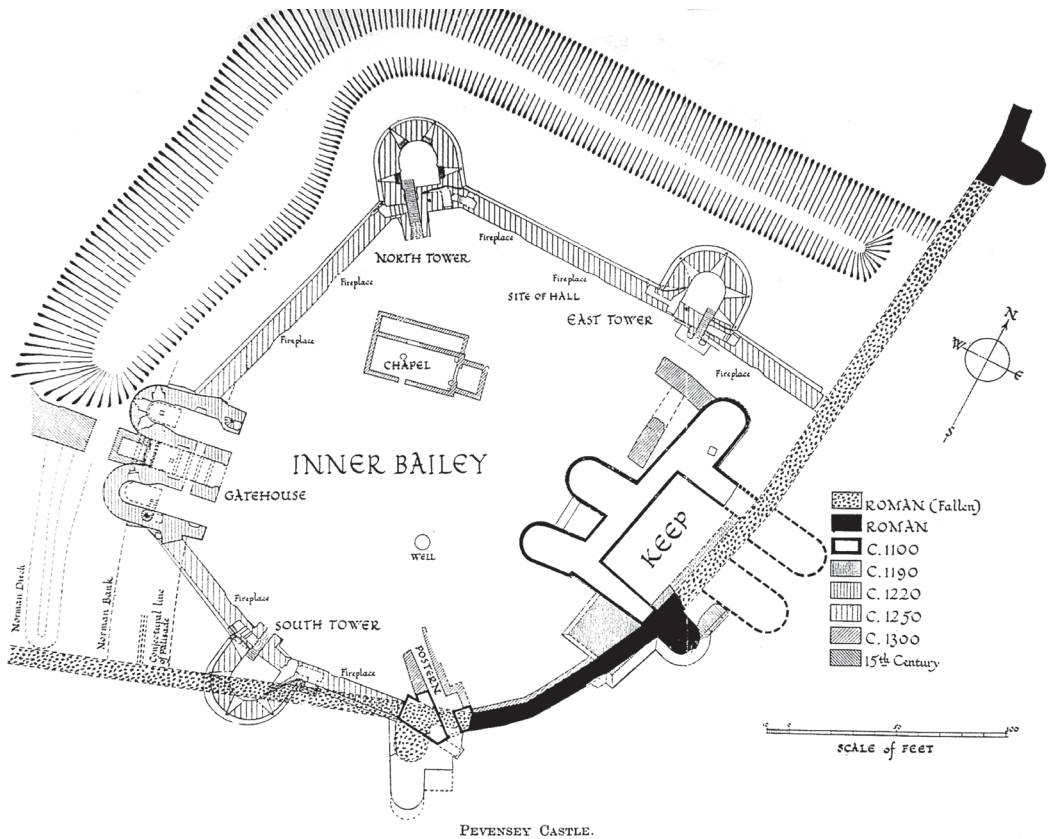
Fig. 1. Plan of the inner ward of Pevensey Castle (from Peers 1933).

publication of succinct guides, many of them written by himself. If the process of clearance was sometimes carried through with less than the meticulous supervision demanded by modern standards, the immensity of Peers's pioneer task is at least a partial excuse. In matters of excavation, which lay outside his personal experience, he was always ready to listen to criticism and to accept advice if proffered from authoritative quarters. But he never suffered fools gladly.

Peers's architectural history of the medieval castle is as follows (Fig. 1):

a. Late eleventh century: reuse of the Roman fort; enclosure ('a castle') of the southeast corner by a palisaded bank and ditch; partial refacing of northeast and east Roman walls; no motte (unnecessary due to the Roman walls).

b. *c.* 1091–1130: masonry keep built (mentioned 1130) and adjacent Roman bastion heightened.

c. early twelfth century: masonry postern fills a gap caused by the collapse of a Roman bastion and part of the Roman wall; Roman northeast bastion (and others) heightened.

d. *c.* 1190: block added to southeast angle of the keep; thickening of Roman wall against the keep.

e. *c.* 1220: gatehouse begun; 'first step in replacing the wooden defences with stone'.

f. mid-thirteenth century: curtain walls and three towers built.

g. late thirteenth century: gatehouse altered; stretches of Roman walls collapse.

h. *c.* 1302: timber chapel and hall; east curtain wall repaired; rear passage of postern extended; internal face of Roman wall between postern and keep repaired; stone and timber bridge to keep entrance.

i. fourteenth or fifteenth century: postern arch altered.

j. early fifteenth century: keep is ruinous, revetment of its Roman bastion and adjacent walls; stone causeway or piers added to the gatehouse; garderobes added to southern gatehouse tower and South Tower.

k. late fifteenth century: castle abandoned as a fortress.

l. sixteenth century: keep: east bastions demolished and keep gradually collapses.

It is possible Peers contributed to the second edition of the official guide that appeared in 1952, the year of his death. However, the description of the mural towers of the inner bailey then stated that the 'upper rooms had fireplaces', which is true only of the North Tower (Peers 1952, 12); Peers would likely have spotted this error had he read the proofs. This inaccuracy persists in subsequent guides and highlights the lack of a comprehensive pre-war report on the fabric. The interior chambers of the towers are obscured by the skin of brickwork added in 1940 when they were adapted as quarters for troops. A number of unpublished excavations are alluded to in the 1952 guide (9–10), otherwise it follows the outline of the 1933 first edition. Modifications to the accompanying plan show Roman and Norman (*c.* 1100) foundations and ditches in and outside the West Gate; a length of Norman curtain where the Roman wall had fallen on the southwest; Norman repairs to the Roman East Gate; a moat dam (*c.* 1100) south of the medieval gatehouse; the omission of Peers's putative Norman bank south of the gatehouse; and the foundation of a Norman bastion on the east side of the keep (previously suggested only by an outline). This version of the plan was reused in the 1963 edition of the guide.

Subsequent reprints of the 1952 edition of Peers's guide were subtly modified by anonymous Inspectors of Ancient State monuments. The gatehouse description is headed 'The Norman Gatehouse' in the 1952 guide, but the curious qualification had been withdrawn by 1963. In the 1963 guide the gatehouse was not just the first step in replacing the 'wooden defences with stone' (Peers 1952, 11), but rather the 'earthern and wooden defences', a correction possibly derived from William of Jumièges' mention of the 1066 castle and the nature of royal works in 1192–93 (Armitage 1912, 186; Pipe Roll 5 Richard I). The distinction is appropriate, as parts of the Roman south wall may have survived to the thirteenth century. Peers saw the profile of earthern banks 'in the rough masonry on either side of the gatehouse', and claimed to have found traces of the Norman bank and ditch between the gatehouse and the Roman south wall (1933a, 9). Yet while the 1952 and 1963 guides rather ingeniously state the 'eleventh-century bank was removed to make way for the [curtain] walls' (both p. 12), Peers had previously noted that the medieval south curtain deviated from the Roman and Norman defences in joining the gatehouse to the South Tower and thence to the postern; he thus implied that the Roman wall fell or was demolished sometime between the construction of the gatehouse and the curtain, perhaps during the second quarter of the thirteenth century (1933a, 10). If standing at this period, the Roman south wall would have maintained some defence while works could be carried on within. However, the Roman bastion below the twelfth-century postern had already slipped taking a short section of the Roman wall to the east with it. The treatment of each side of the postern suggests the extent of the adjacent walls: to the east the ancient and medieval walls are bonded, whereas the west side of the postern is finished with an ashlar face (unlike the rough facing on the lower sides of the gatehouse). Whether the postern is of twelfth-century date or not, it appears that no older masonry wall survived immediately to the west of it and therefore earth and timber defences extended somewhat towards the extant bank on the south side of the later gatehouse, either straight or partly re-using Roman foundations or masonry.

In the 1978 official guide, following Derek Renn's 1970 popular guide, the gatehouse remained 'the first step in replacing the earlier earthwork [sic] defences', though its date of construction could be slightly earlier than previously suggested. Peers himself thought it was begun about 1220, but the later guide amplified this description:

> Its detail is still rather in the Norman [sic] fashion, but military architecture can be old-fashioned in this point. In any case, it is not later than the 1220s and may be as early as the 1190s. (Peers 1978, 21)

Peers also originally noted that, 'on the evidence of the records', the gatehouse was 'much altered late in the same century' (Peers 1933a, 9; 1933b, 6), modified in the later guide to 'much altered in succeeding years'. From this we could assume that

the surviving fabric is largely of the early thirteenth century and the documented alterations are no longer visible, even though the upper part of the northern tower of the gatehouse has architectural affinities with the mural towers, themselves a generation or so older — indeed the curtain walls and the three mural towers 'were *probably* built by Peter of Savoy' in the middle of the thirteenth century (Peers 1978, 21). Again, the accompanying guide plan does not quite mirror the text. The gatehouse is hatched as 'mid-thirteenth century A' and the curtain wall and towers as 'mid-thirteenth century B'. This perhaps reflects a dating scheme that avoided precise years and one that is not wholly incongruous with the written description. However, the plan does suggest the gatehouse and curtains are part of a single scheme of rebuilding the defences, if over a protracted period.

Charles Peers's last reincarnation at Pevensey was in the reprint of the 1978 guide by English Heritage in 1985. A new guide, by John Goodall, appeared only in 1999, ostensibly based on the 1978 guide but making use of the interim reports from the 1993–95 excavations (Goodall 1999). Goodall's architectural history of the medieval castle is as follows (not including Duke William's 'rapidly erected campaign-castle', p. 20):

a. late eleventh or twelfth century: reuse of the Roman fort, divided to form two baileys (inner bailey phase I, pp. 5, 21); combination of stone, earth and timber defences.
b. twelfth century: postern built (p. 9).
c. Reign of Richard I, *c.* 1200: keep and gatehouse built (pp. 6, 8, 22; Richard, of course, died in 1199 and had spent much of his reign abroad).
d. *c.* 1216: King John ordered castle to be slighted (p. 22).
e. mid-thirteenth century: curtain walls and three towers built (pp. 9, 23).
f. late thirteenth century: repairs to the castle from the 1270s onwards (p. 25).
g. *c.* 1302: timber chapel and certain buildings along the curtains rebuilt (pp. 10, 12, 25).
h. early fourteenth century: ongoing repairs; keep partially demolished and rebuilt *c.* 1325 (pp. 8, 25).
i. fifteenth century: stone gatehouse causeway built 1405 (p. 6); castle maintained and repaired as a royal prison (p. 27).
j. late fifteenth century: castle abandoned as a fortress (p. 27).
k. 1573: survey records the buildings are in total ruin (p. 27).

The 1999 guide's historical plan shows the gatehouse, keep and postern (including the rear passage) as twelfth century; the curtains and mural towers as mid-thirteenth century; and the additions to the keep as early fourteenth century. The chapel is hatched only as medieval uncertain. Confusingly, the development plan of the keep on p. 8 suggests its original form is early thirteenth century.

The architectural models offered by Peers and Goodall have some common elements but diverge at key periods. Peers saw the outline of the existing inner bailey as an early feature within the Roman enclosure whereas Goodall believes the original Anglo-Norman inner bailey was larger and comprised the eastern third of the ancient fort (following Peers 1978, 18, 20) — which contracted to the existing extent only with the construction of the curtains and mural towers in the mid-thirteenth century; the period of the moat dam is unclear. Proof of either view may lie in the unpublished 1930s excavation of the silted ditch within the Roman north wall. Goodall's adoption of the gatehouse as a building of *c.* 1200 is not very far from Peers's date, a generation later, but making the keep a contemporary feature is a departure from the traditional Romanesque origin of this great tower. From the clearance of the site in the early twentieth century Peers found slight traces of two D-plan towers on the east side of the keep and believed they were contemporary with it. Rediscovered by the excavations of 1993–95, these towers are now seen as secondary, part of an extensive rebuilding of the east side of the keep in the early fourteenth century and shown in the development plan in Goodall's guide, itself based on the 1995 interim excavation report (Goodall 1999, 8; Fulford & Rippon 1995, fig. 5).

FABRIC SURVEY 1995–96

INTRODUCTION

The recording of the medieval walls of the inner bailey by the Department of Archaeology of the University of Reading took place over four weeks in July 1995, carried out by Tim Eaton and me, and during two weeks in October 1996, by myself alone. This survey followed an examination of the keep in March 1994 by the same Department (Allen &

Al Shaikhley 1994). The method of both surveys was largely the same. English Heritage supplied rectified photographs of all the main elevations and these were copied twice onto drawing film. Each photograph usually represents a discrete elevation, or length of wall, though in some cases, e.g. a D-plan tower, several photographs were necessarily combined. For each elevation, one photograph was annotated for stone types and the other for architectural contexts, the latter coded to recording sheets taken from Museum of London Archaeological Site Manual (Spence 1990). The annotated photographs and records were not redrawn or applied to a database, and are now kept by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Reading.

Tim Eaton produced a report on the gatehouse in 1995 to which I provided notes for the historical context (Chapman & Eaton 1995). Otherwise the survey remains unpublished. I wrote a prose synthesis of all the contexts in 1997 and this is stored with the site records. This synthesis included a new interpretation of the gatehouse; I revised and expanded the typescript in 2004, and the current paper is derived from the later version.

In the 1995 report the gatehouse was largely treated in isolation from the remainder of the castle. There the traditional view was accepted: that the gatehouse predated the south and west curtain walls, though reservations were made whether the chronological difference between the two phases was indeed great (Chapman & Eaton 1995, 16 and 19–20). However, my recording in 1996 within the upper storeys of the mural towers produced some evidence that the curtain walls and mural towers developed in at least two major horizontal phases. Consequently, a reassessment of the gatehouse report and the structure itself was necessary. Regrettably, there are elevations of the gatehouse for which English Heritage photographs were not available and these parts still await recording: the basement interiors, the passageway, and the internal re-entrant of the northern tower and the curtain; the exterior of the southern tower has now been cleared of railings and this too can be recorded to distinguish the relationship with the adjacent curtain.

The principal stone-types identified in the inner bailey of Pevensey Castle are local flint (beach cobbles and chalk-borne nodules), ironstone and greensand, and imported Caen limestone, all used variously for rubble or facing (after White 1926, 84–5; cf. Gallois 1965, 83–7). Other sources belong to modern conservation (e.g. Bonchurch limestone) and are usually conspicuous exotics. Flint is the chief material quarried in the region and is of long use; it is clearly present in the Roman walls of Pevensey. The facing blocks used by the Romans at Pevensey are of Tunbridge Wells sandstone from Chilley on the Pevensey Levels and clay-ironstone from the Wadhurst Clay and Weald Clay. The sandstone from the Upper Greensand near Eastbourne is perhaps most apparent in the medieval walls of the castle and also forms the catapult balls found in and around the site. Chalk is avoided for facing but was used for producing lime mortar, as perhaps were the Purbeck limestones of the High Weald. It is more difficult to speak of the exact local sources of sand and gravel (or shingle), the inert fillers for the mortar binder; these fillers were probably graded by size to achieve not only economy of mortar but durability and strength too. Finally, although this was ostensibly a masonry survey, the timber component should not be forgotten: there is evidence for the medieval roofs and tower floors, and wood was a feature of the masonry construction as formwork, scaffolding, centring, lime-burning or the means of carriage. Nor should we forget the tradition of Sussex ironworking, still evident as shutter hinges within the mural towers or bars on the outside of the North Tower slit apertures.

If the stone used at Pevensey Castle has any broad chronological significance, it is that greensand and flint are predominant and used consistently in the early structures – keep, postern, gatehouse – and more mixed stonework is found in the later works, including Caen limestone from Normandy.

THE WEST CURTAIN WALL

The view of the North Tower and gatehouse linked by the west curtain is perhaps the most impressive aspect of Pevensey Castle, once backed up by the great tower (Nairn & Pevsner 1965, pl. 9). This design is best appreciated from the Westham approach, rather than via the settlement at Pevensey. The broad expanse of greensand ashlar reflects the sun to the south, whereas the variable fabric of the north curtain lies in the shade.

Because of its fair preservation and common relationship with two towers of differing design, the external face of the west curtain provides a
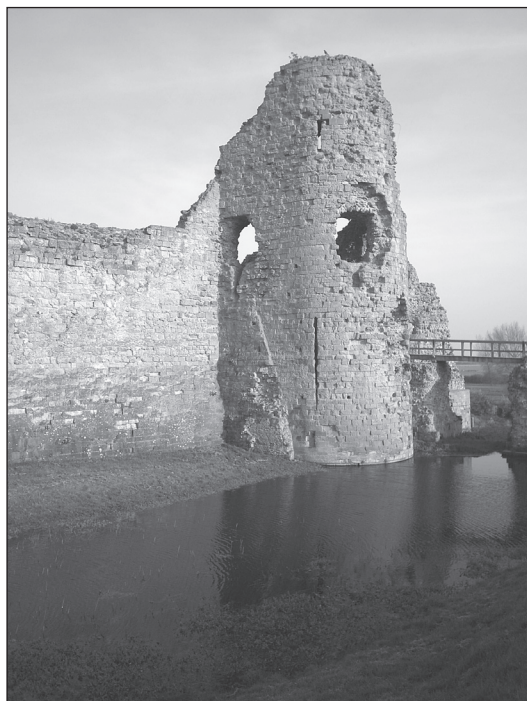
Fig. 2. The northern tower of the gatehouse.

benchmark in assessing the development of the castle. Some caution must be used in accepting broad areas of ashlar as homogeneous but until measurement proves otherwise, it seems reasonable to accept the batter as one of the most uniform stretches of walling in the castle.

At its southern end the batter butts against the lower storey of the gatehouse and there is no reason to doubt that the basement of the gatehouse is the earlier structure (Fig. 2). Indeed the lower face of its northern tower runs behind the batter while the chamfered ground-floor offset around the gatehouse does not continue along the west curtain, nor is it level with the top of the batter as may be expected. Less conclusive but important are the putlog holes seen on the gatehouse's northern tower but not visible on the curtain; these putlog holes are discussed below.

The central horizon of the curtain above the batter may also represent a discrete phase. An upper limit to the 'squared to courses or random coursed' facing was recorded as a context, but this is an irregular and nominal level mainly determined by the 'eye of faith'. The apparent poorer quality of

this stonework compared to the batter could imply a hurried increase in construction or a shortage of materials. Moreover, the rectangular conduit within this horizon suggests a chronological or functional difference to the half-round ones in the north curtain. At the southern end of the curtain the joint with the gatehouse is ambiguous owing to the extensive robbing of the adjacent slit aperture in its northern tower. Nor is it clear if this horizon of facing bonds well with the North Tower.

The lowest courses of the west curtain's third, uppermost horizon, approximately level with the surviving base of the gatehouse slit, appear to butt against the gatehouse, thereby continuing the relationship observed with the batter and facing below. Yet immediately above the slit the curtain parapet clearly courses and bonds with the upper storey of the gatehouse.

THE GATEHOUSE

Like the keep, to which it also bears a physical resemblance, the gatehouse to the inner bailey is heavily ruined. This is in marked contrast to the postern, curtains and mural towers, which largely preserve their original outline even if details are missing. The gatehouse had achieved its present condition by the eighteenth century, when a fragment of the southern D tower still stood to full height (Renn 1970, 17; Goodall 1999, 27); conservation by the Office/Ministry of Works in the twentieth century has involved only some necessary underpinning and the repointing of the wall head. Tim Eaton has already described the gatehouse and here I give a revised interpretation of its architectural features (Chapman & Eaton 1995).

It was stated in the 1995 report that 'Putlog holes associated with the erection of the gatehouse are preserved only in the North Tower' (Chapman & Eaton 1995, 5). In truth the putlog holes rise to only about half of the height of the tower, approximately the middle of the first floor (Chapman & Eaton 1995, figs 3, 4 & 5). At this level *inside* the tower the report noted a change in the facing from 'roughly-hewn greensand blocks squared to courses' to 'greensand ashlar' (Chapman & Eaton 1995, fig. 10); the report concluded 'There is no doubt that this second form of facing is original Phase 1, for the ashlar is well coursed with all surrounding features.' (Chapman & Eaton 1995, 6–7). But this is not

evidence for continuity between horizontal contexts, nor are the surrounding 'features' particularly well-preserved. The fragments of the first-floor embrasure reveals suggest a size similar to the round-headed embrasures beneath, though there is a slight hint that they had segmental rear arches resembling the ground-floor embrasures in the mural towers.

The character of the external putlog holes must re-examined. These are square and were cut *into* the fine ashlar facing; the cut is variably in the bottom left or bottom right of a block and in a vertical sequence there is no consistent left or right tendency. Indeed, there is no certainty that the putlogs are exactly aligned vertically (or if they needed to be). Taking into account the general absence of systematic putlog holes exposed within the ashlar facing at the castle, and the variable joint observed between the gatehouse and the west curtain, it seems likely that these putlog holes were cut into an existing structure in order to provide access for builders *adding* new stages to the gatehouse. This upper work was completed with the putlog holes being covered later by ashlars. The quasi-buttress feature on the north side of the gatehouse is still difficult to explain, but can be seen as part of an early gatehouse plan that was never completed, or else finished off in an *ad hoc* fashion to meet the changed circumstances of the castle and its owner. Seen from beyond the North Tower this feature is redolent of the gradient of the batter on the mural tower and the west curtain. It is tempting, therefore, to see the quasi-buttress as the ghost of a curtain wall hardly begun or demolished in favour of a new position further back, or even as the base of the gateway itself, subsequently removed to the southern side of the tower as construction progressed. Notably, the gatehouse's ground-floor arrow slit flanks this feature rather than the batter of the west curtain.

The proof of this speculation may be found — or disproved — in the clearance records of the 1930s. A photograph in a pre-war Ward Lock guide to Eastbourne (11th edn *c*. 1938–39) shows the whole west curtain in the process of clearance down to the present berm level with perhaps a metre or so of the batter newly exposed. This berm level is clearly dated by the presence of numerous stone catapult balls, with a small concentration around the base of the northern tower of the gatehouse; the related siege (1265?) may be accepted as a *terminus ante quem* and it is possible that archaeology still survives within the berm.

Putlog holes as evidence of secondary-cut features can be demonstrated by a comparison of the cathedral and the West Gate at Canterbury. A new vault was added to the cathedral cloister at the end of the fourteenth century and its supporting scaffolding was cut into the ashlar of the existing side walls. This is in contrast to the slightly earlier West Gate (*c*. 1378/1380) where the putlogs rise as part of the coursing of the building (Harvey 1944, pls. 26, 27). The design of the gateway is attributed by its style to Master Henry Yevele and the same mason was responsible for overseeing works on the similar gatehouse at Carisbrooke Castle in 1380 (Harvey 1984, 361; HKW ii, 594). This apparently involved the heightening of the two towers of the front section of the gatehouse, which had been added by Edward III in 1335–36. The date of the heightening is controversial, particularly owing to the presence of novel keyhole gunports in the upper storey. A carved armorial shield on the parapet dates to about 1470. Remarkably, the putlog holes here are cut features in the ashlar facing and occur both inside and out; they may even run through the thickness of the wall, and if so, it is unlikely that they are secondary. The cut-feature putlogs extend up in a grid pattern to the same level as the keyhole gunports and thereby represent a homogeneous phase. Making sense of this pattern without detailed study of the fabric is difficult and perhaps the nature of the Edwardian work needs to be reassessed. Whatever, either the putlogs are original or were cut later to hold the scaffolding for masons and carpenters working above. (As this volume goes to press, the Weald and Downland Museum, West Sussex, has an example of rope-lashed pole scaffolding. This reminds us that the square putlogs were part of the rising wall, and projected as cantilevered supports or were tied to scaffolding.)

A composite example of putlog construction survives at Lessay Abbey in Manche, Normandy. The church was extensively, but accurately, restored after the second world war. Externally putlog holes survive in the original fabric as part of the coursing, yet internally they appear as cut features in the ashlar, probably inserted as part of the restoration of the vaults between 1385 and 1420 (Musset 1987, 322). As a note

Fig. 3. The ground-floor north embrasure in the northern tower of the gatehouse.

details to enable a reconstruction (Fig. 3). They are of two orders, a large plain semicircular rear arch then the semicircular splay of the slit itself with its steep downward rake; externally the plain slit is very long, extending through the chamfered offset, and marked only by a round head cut into a coursing block.

In terms of function, the ground-floor embrasures in the Pevensey gatehouse likely relate to the more efficient use of the bow and crossbow within castles in the late twelfth century (Mesqui 1997, 24–5). Other broadly contemporary types survive at Dover, Framlingham and Rochester castles. The Romanesque round-headed form at Pevensey complements the basement doorway in the southern tower of the gatehouse and a stylistic date before 1200 is reasonable. However, a later date is possible and there is a favourable comparison with the embrasures and overall ashlar finish of the Wakefield Tower at the Tower of London, built c. 1225 (Curnow 1977); indeed its lower chamber is a simpler version of the basement of Pevensey's North Tower. At nearby Battle Abbey the eastern range, rebuilt c. 1240, has mature Early English features along with round-headed doorways (Hare 1985, 26). Without a documentary context, it is clearly difficult to assign a certain date or period to these Pevensey embrasures on architectural form alone.

Jean Mesqui notes the contemporary embrasure designs of Capetian and Angevin fortifications in France (Mesqui 1997, 25). The former — Philippienne — are economical, acute and subservient to the mass of the structure, whereas the earlier Angevin or Plantagenet embrasures are characterized by their accessibility and ample size within the wall, consciously or otherwise continuing an antique tradition. To illustrate his point, and fortunately for our purpose, Mesqui illustrates a Plantagenet embrasure at Chinon, a castle unambiguously associated with the Angevin kings — it is almost identical to the Pevensey embrasure. I visited Chinon Castle in September 2001 and found the said embrasure as part of a group of three surviving in the curtain wall facing the eastern approach and entrance to the castle (Fig. 4). The type also occurs in the Tour du Moulin within the castle, a slim but novel circular tower overlooking the Vienne river. The interior of the Tour du Moulin appears to have been reconstructed to take a sexpartite chamfered rib vault, springing

of caution, the putlog holes cut into the ashlar of the mid-eleventh-century church at Jumièges Abbey, Normandy, appear to be contemporary, perhaps necessary due to the great height of the building. However, there is controversy over the construction of the church and the apparent cut-putlog method of construction is not obvious at the next major church in the duchy, St-Etienne at Caen (Taralon 1979, 33–7). More distant still for comparison, the Pisan Romanesque churches on Corsica often show putlog holes as cut features in ashlar facing and they are clearly an integral part of the original build. Whatever the time and place, the character of putlog holes must be always be seen in the context of each particular structure.

In addition to the putlog holes and the internal change in facing, there is also an architectural feature that suggests the Pevensey gatehouse rose in at least two construction stages. The northern tower retains the best part of two slit embrasures on both the ground and second floors. Sadly, those on the critical first floor have been mostly robbed of their dressings and are now shapeless. The ground-floor embrasures together provide enough

between the round-headed rear arches, and these modifications might have inspired the developed Plantagenet embrasures in the curtain wall. Wall and tower apparently predate the fall of the castle to Philippe Auguste in 1205 and belong to the extensive works of Henry II and his sons (Mesqui 1997, 126). A dynastic change in the architectural form of the embrasures at Chinon is clearly seen in the characteristic circular tower or donjon built by Philippe as part of his reconstruction of the castle at the start of the thirteenth century. On a broader scale, however, John Gillingham has concluded in his analysis of the Angevin empire that 'There was no such thing as a Plantagenet civilization which embraced all the people living in the various Angevin dominions and at the same time set them apart from their neighbours' (Gillingham 2001, 118). Thus, despite Henry II's extensive building works across England, Normandy and the Loire valley, 'there was no distinctively Angevin or Plantagenet style in art and architecture' (Gillingham 2001, 118).

The counts of Anjou had held Chinon since the eleventh century, a result of their expansion into Touraine (Gillingham 2001, 7 and *infra*). The castle was one of several Angevin strongholds in the charge of a comital official, who collected demesne revenues, and the profits of justice and local dues; Chinon itself became an important comital treasury. In 1173 Henry II endowed his youngest son John, then five years old, with the fortress. Chinon is close to the Angevin mausoleum abbey at Fontevraud, the resting-place of Henry II and Richard I. During the few years as king when he enjoyed his hereditary empire, John spent more time at Chinon than at any other royal or comital castle (Gillingham 2001, 74–5). And as that empire collapsed beneath the expansion of Philippe Auguste, Chinon was among the last Angevin castles to hold out, succumbing only in 1205 under the command of Hubert de Burgh.

Embrasures similar in size and form to those at the Angevin fortress of Chinon survive in Poitou at Le Coudray-Salbart (Curnow 1979, 58). The present castle was built in about 1200 or in the early years of the thirteenth century and it illustrates a turning-point between the experimental castle designs of the late twelfth century and the mature plan of the thirteenth century, of which the inner ward at Pevensey is but one example of many in western Europe. At Le Coudray-Salbart we see a

Fig. 4. Embrasure in the east curtain of Chateau de Chinon, Chinon, Indre-et-Loire, France.

rectangular stone ward with round and beaked angle-towers; the fruition of 'the development of loops at all levels in both towers and curtains'; and the 'increasing subordination of the great tower to the general scheme of defence' (Curnow 1979, 47, 53). The castle itself was part of a pro-Angevin lordship, which, with English support, strengthened Poitou against the French who were now advancing beyond the Loire. As Curnow neatly summarizes:

> the interplay of Anglo-French warfare during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries undoubtedly led to rapid development and perhaps experiment in military architecture under Henry II and his sons on one side and Philippe Auguste on the other. This rapid change of design is strikingly portrayed [at Le Coudray-Salbart] … Despite some characteristics not frequently found elsewhere, the Angevin castles of the Loire and northern Aquitaine are therefore a

proper study for the student of the Anglo-Norman kingdom, and a rewarding one especially in the seminal period c. 1200, when the Angevins were fighting for their patrimony (Curnow 1979, 44, 62). Indeed, the competition of continental politics in the twelfth century was such that 'Any of the Norman and Angevin rulers who were able to do so spent more time in France than in England' (Bartlett 2000, 13).

Hubert de Burgh, one-time defender of Chinon Castle, later successfully held Dover Castle in Kent against Prince Louis during the French invasion of 1216–17, and oversaw the expensive restoration of the castle after the siege (Colvin 1963, i 93, ii 633). Hubert's military experience also affected his own castles on the southern Welsh march: at Grosmont and Skenfrith we can see the pragmatism in scale of royal and private castle-building in the early thirteenth century. There is certainly a common theme between Skenfrith, Le Coudray-Salbart and the cylindrical donjons of Philippe Auguste, and the embrasures at the Welsh castle may derive from the Loire region. (The circular keep at Skenfrith, *c.* 1219–32, has round-headed openings.) However, I have not found embrasures of the Pevensey or Chinon form at Dover, though many of the towers are inaccessible to the public. To judge from the large plan in the *History of the King's Works*, Hubert de Burgh's work at Dover appears to use embrasures of the Philippienne tradition; only John's earlier embrasures bear a passing similarity in plan to Pevensey (Peverell's Tower is a candidate). The royal castle of Montgomery, completed by Hubert in 1232 just before his downfall, does contain a large Angevin-type embrasure in the gatehouse though its resemblance to those at Pevensey is slight. Recently, by comparing a contemporary account of the 1216 siege at Dover Castle with the surviving northern defences there, John Goodall has proposed that the twin drum-towered gatehouse was built during John's reign, and subsequently restored by Hubert de Burgh (Goodall 2000). Dover may thus join Pevensey, Warkworth and Chepstow as a group of novel gatehouses developed at the turn of the twelfth century (Goodall 2000; Turner 2006). The date of the Pevensey gatehouse is also discussed in the *Castle Studies Group Journal* where a date during the reign of Richard I is preferred (anon. 2005–6, 51–2).

Derek Renn, in his 1970 guide to Pevensey, remarked that 'When King John retreated before the invading army of Prince Louis of France in 1216, Pevensey was dismantled, but soon afterwards the gatehouse was rebuilt in stone' (p. 17). It has been noted already that in the 1978 guide the gatehouse is 'the first step in replacing the earlier earthwork defences' (Peers 1978, 21). Peers himself originally thought it was begun about 1220 but the later reviser of his guide amplified the matter: 'Its detail is still rather in the Norman fashion, but military architecture can be old-fashioned in this point. In any case, it is not later than the 1220s and may be as early as the 1190's' (Peers 1978, 21). The more recent guidebook suggests the gatehouse was built about 1200 and we appear to have median date for the embrasures (Goodall 1999, 6). Peers was probably mindful of the evidence — or rather lack of it — for the 1216 slighting, and this may have influenced his late date. For, short of demolition, the only way to disable a massive masonry structure quickly was to take out its timber floors and fittings. Replacing them later would require cuts into the original beam sockets and no cuts have been identified in the gatehouse, though the skin wall within the keep may be evidence for such an action. It could also be argued that the rough stonework on the north side of the northern tower represents something of the dismantled castle — the more so as it contains secondary cut putlog holes (Chapman & Eaton 1995, fig. 3).

We know little about the dismantling or slighting of the castle in 1216 (Annales Mon., III, 46; Salzman 1906, 5). Having seized it from Gilbert de Laigle in 1216, over fears of his suspected loyalty to the Capetians, King John ordered the castle to be put into a state of defence and castle ward was distrained (*Letters Hen. III* 1216–35, p. 2; *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1216–25, p. 17; Salzman 1906, 5). Obviously, if Gilbert could not be trusted with the castle, it must have had a certain military value. However, the castle ward pressed by the sheriff appears to have been inadequate and the constable appointed by the earl of Arundel complained of his weak garrison; the king accordingly spared a further 10 men (Salzman 1906, 5). Whatever might have been the size of the garrison it seems reasonable to assume that something akin to the inner ward was being defended. Indeed the Roman circuit might even have been a liability with the garrison available.

Round-headed rear arches also occur in the basement embrasures of the East and South towers, though these are more acute in plan and do not follow the apparent Angevin form in the gatehouse, perhaps because they are vulnerable at ground level. However, the gatehouse and mural towers share very similar embrasures in their upper storeys. The first-floor interior of the northern tower of the gatehouse has been systematically robbed of its dressed stonework (which storey is butted by the west curtain) but the topmost second floor retains a complete embrasure plus half of another in cross-section. This type has a segmental rear arch narrowing to an inner order with rebate after about a third of the wall thickness; in the gatehouse and the South Tower the rebate is flush with a plain lintel, but in the East and North towers it meets another segmental arch. Traces of iron hinge pins, two on one side only, show that the rebate seated an internal single shutter, which when open partly projected into the chamber. (The first floor of the North Tower is the best accessible: Fig. 5). The simpler form of this embrasure found in the southern towers of the castle suggests that this section was completed first in order to restore the enclosure quickly, or that those in the northern towers had a higher status. Whatever the importance in the slight variation — there may not be any — the top storey of the gatehouse is contemporary with the South Tower at least, and only slightly earlier than the remainder of the curtain walls.

The significance of the surviving external putlog holes in the northern tower of the gatehouse is now evident: if they relate to secondary works, then the second floor at least is an addition or reconstruction. This restoration is reinforced by the bonding of the upper storey with the west curtain, which in turn links it to the North and East towers and the peculiar embrasures therein. But from this sequence comes the problem of the time difference between the lower gatehouse and the curtains and towers of the inner ward, a problem that possibly led Peers to date the gatehouse as late as possible while acknowledging that the records show it 'was a good deal altered in the latter part of the thirteenth century' and also 'in succeeding years' (1933a, 9; 1933b, 6). Thus the 'great bridge in front of the castle gate was mended' in 1284 and work on the gate itself was ongoing in 1288–91 (Salzman 1906, 8, 9–13). It is difficult to quantify the scale

Fig. 5. Embrasure in the first floor of the North Tower.

of works during the late 1280s precisely, but they seemingly involved no new buildings but extensive repairs to the whole inner ward and keep. Yet the existence of scaffolding, masons, large quantities of stone (facing blocks) and the three-year period point to a considerable undertaking. A possible context is the repair of damage from the siege of 1264–65. Indeed, it requires no special pleading (allowing for Salzman and Peers's translation) to state that the accounts directly refer to the building of the upper storey of the gatehouse; if so, then its embrasures carry with it the first-floor chambers of the mural towers, and there is enough in the documents to show that these too were restored. An upper room or 'solar' had been built in the North Tower in 1286 and repairs to this tower were continuing in 1289/90 (Salzman 1906, 8, 11); the fireplace there is demonstrably a secondary feature. More specific is a reference in the final year's accounts that has some resonance in the structural archaeology: 'For wages of Simon the mason and two other masons and one assistant mending the battlements between the gate and the north turret for 15 days 12½d.' (Salzman 1906, 13). Can this work be the upper part of the west

curtain that bonds with the northern tower of the gatehouse? This work was in progress as Edward I was building a chain of large castles around North Wales. The Pevensey expenditure for 1288–91, about £110, is small beer compared to the Welsh works, though £117 was paid for six sections of the town wall at Conway, about 213 m long (Taylor 1986, 74). Moreover, embrasures similar to those in the upper gatehouse at Pevensey occur in the Aberystwyth and Criccieth gatehouses. The date of Criccieth Castle gatehouse is controversial: it has been seen as part of an indigenous Welsh castle built by Prince Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (the Great, died 1240) in the early thirteenth century or an addition by by Edward I's masons later in the same century (Avent 1989, illustration p. 22; Johns 1984). No evidence of this type of embrasure survives at Castell y Bere (author's visit, May 2007), another castle of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, and so it is difficult to prove this architectural feature is characteristically Welsh.

The proposed time-frame for building the gatehouse, involving royal works from Richard I to Edward I, raises further questions. For the undocumented castle built by Peter of Savoy, *c.* 1250, is over half a century later than the lower gatehouse — or a generation if it is placed early in the reign of Henry III — with little archaeology evident from the interim. Charles Peers suggested one explanation, that the rough masonry scar on the north side of the gatehouse reflected the profile of an earth rampart, i.e. the gatehouse builders did not waste good ashlar on a face that cannot be seen. But the scar is more likely the three-dimensional stub of a missing wall, either hardly built or demolished, and some evidence of its foundations should survive in the berm if it was ever begun or completed. The Savoyard reconstruction was apparently drastic, though beforehand the massive keep or great tower, documented through the twelfth century, always provided a citadel within the Roman enclosure. The Pipe Rolls refer to the 'work and repair of the houses/rooms of the tower' in 1179 and the 'work of the tower and ditch/moat/embankment' in 1193 (*Pipe Roll* 26 Henry II, 29; *Pipe Roll* 5 Richard I, 153).

The royal Exchequer records are fairly complete for the period 1154–1216 and if the gatehouse belongs to these years it is hidden in the obtuse language of the account rolls. The Pipe Rolls of Richard I's reign do not suggest a massive investment in refortifying the castle, if large investment was needed, but there was clearly a building campaign of sorts between 1192 and 1197, marked by payments in two successive accounts to Elias the engineer or carpenter (Harvey 1984, 91; the expenditure noted for 1194 in Brown 1955 is actually the balance for the previous year's work); in addition, there were expenses on the garrison and provisions, perhaps necessary in a castle weakened by building works.

Otherwise, documented expenditure on the castle during the early thirteenth century is lacking. One small but ambivalent clue survives from the short period 1232–34, when Peter de Rivallis was given the lands of Gilbert de Laigle, with the custody of the castles of Pevensey and Hastings. Despite the perquisites of the king's gift, in 1234 Peter was specifically not allowed to fortify or strengthen the castle (*Cal. Close Rolls* 1231–34, p. 439). Even if this was a consequence of Peter's political downfall in this year it is an odd restriction, followed as it was by an order to surrender the castle (*Cal. Close Rolls* 1231–34, p. 462; *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1232–47, p. 58). The documents can be read in various ways: Peter had begun works as part of his custody, but had exceeded his prerogative; or he was not allowed to strengthen the castle in the immediate circumstances. Either way, there is a suggestion that the castle was not beyond improvement.

Other architectural traits at the Pevensey gatehouse are the open-back plan (probably filled by timber framing), notable at Dover Castle in the work of Henry II and John but also seen at the barbican at Chepstow, *c.* 1219–45; the now-robbed segmental arches of the gateway, the entrance passage doorways and the vault (the similar, late-twelfth-century east gateway at Chepstow Castle has a segmental arch: Turner 2006); the seat recesses with a pointed segmental arch, and the half-round portcullis slots, above a chamfered plinth. The gatehouse passage was not included in the 1995–96 survey, but I returned to make some notes in May and September 1999. Not clearly visible today is the inner east wall of the drawbridge pit that Charles Peers judged as contemporary with the thirteenth-century curtains and mural towers (1933b, plan). This retaining wall apparently extends directly between the jambs of the front gateway and is about the depth of its former arch; presumably this wall belongs to the reconstruction

or completion of the gatehouse in the mid- or late thirteenth century. It is also possible that this secondary retaining wall belongs to a rebuilt or restored timber bridge.

THE SOUTH CURTAIN WALL

Since the fabric survey was carried out in 1995–96, English Heritage has removed the railings and undergrowth that covered the junction of the ruined gatehouse with the south curtain. At the same time the stonework of the southern tower of the gatehouse was repointed with lime mortar as part of the programme of conservation at Pevensey. Essentially only the basement and parts of the ground floor of this tower survive, its exposed concrete core consisting of random-coursed greensand rubble, and flint cobbles and nodules. The remains of a rectangular garderobe chute between the gatehouse and the curtain belong to the southern tower, either serving the first- or second-floor chamber. Its surviving greensand ashlars seem to be on the same coursing level as the fabric of the stairwell chamber to the west. The base of the chute is now ruinous and the slight indication that it vented well above ground level is difficult to prove with certainty, but any structural relationship with the later stone pit below is now lost. The gatehouse garderobe was a point at or behind which the later curtain had to join, otherwise the garderobe would become redundant. This constraint obviously applied to the builder of the gatehouse and therefore the contemporary defences must have joined at roughly the same point as the later curtain wall, whether on the same angle of alignment or not.

The combination of a garderobe and stairwell in the south tower of the gatehouse appears to be a flawed design, creating a vertical line of weakness. It is even possible that the pilaster projection on the south side of the gatehouse represents a buttress to reinforce a subsiding wall. This feature is certainly inferior in quality to the fine ashlar of the gatehouse — roughly squared stones built to courses with rubble spacers — and was dated by Charles Peers to the fifteenth century (1933a, plan). Certainly, this corner of the castle is not easy to reconstruct. The moat that may have washed the gatehouse towers — and negated the need for a batter here — was never likely to extend along the south curtain, though it could have served (or was intended to serve) the garderobe in some way.

We do not know how the damming of the moat affected the design of the castle at this point, or even if the dam is related to the pilaster projection, but some clues may survive within the bank or in the reports of the modern clearances in this area.

The relationship of the southwest curtain wall to the ruined gatehouse is now best seen at the internal re-entrant where later repairs and conservation have been few or negligible. This junction consists of a short stub wall of greensand ashlar (no more than 0.58 m long — a single block) leading from the south side of the gatehouse at an acute angle and meeting the curtain to form an obtuse angle (Fig. 1). The junction between these two walls is not a true butt joint, rather the gatehouse stub is a tusker or toothing; further, the internal facing of the curtain is not coursed with the stub's ashlars and the joint is packed with smaller blocks or rubble, showing that the curtain was built against the gatehouse stub. Whether the stub was originally extended and subsequently demolished to accommodate the later curtain can be proved only by excavation of the external bank. But it appears that the builder of the gatehouse originally envisaged a different plan for the medieval castle than was subsequently developed.

In the 1995 survey the gatehouse stub wall was identified only up to a height of about 4.18 m above courtyard ground level. The surviving uppermost courses of the re-entrant may represent a discrete horizon/context separate from the curtain and gatehouse walling below, and can best be described as either squared random or squared, built to courses. Sadly, the loss of the south side of the gatehouse prevents any certain conclusions about the structural and chronological relationships of its upper storeys with the adjoining curtain.

HECKAGE

The Pipe Rolls record several bursts of works or repair at the castle between 1160 and 1197. Previously there are only indirect references to work at Pevensey, about the reign of Henry I. During the reign of John there are again no direct references to any building work though his expenditure on English castles was no more or less than that of his brother Richard or their father, Henry II (Brown 1955). There is an obscure reference to work in 1205–06, '*xiiij m. ad viij heos faciendos in eodem castro*', and this may be related to the appearance of heckage, the service to maintain a hedge or enclosure, at Pevensey in John's reign,

(*Pipe Roll* 8 John, 59; Salzman 1906, 3–4). Heckage for Pevensey is first mentioned in 1201 and next in 1203 and 1205, after the building of the gatehouse. The references are entries in the Curia Regis Rolls for a dispute between Hugh de Dives and Henry de Dives. By the last date the issue had gone to a grand assize but Henry had not appeared and thereby seems — it is not clear — to have been liable to the service. Thereafter heckage next appears in 1226, in the Close Rolls, when William de Monceux, constable of Pevensey, was ordered not to exact heckage from Ralph de Wilinton while he is on the king's service (Salzman 1906, 4). Presumably the heckage service was not done otherwise, or perhaps not even urgent or necessary. Heckage appears to be relatively new in John's reign, for in the accounting year 1187–88 £5 18s. 4d. was spent on repairs of the pale, a reasonable sum (*Pipe Roll* 34 Henry II, 148). Moreover, the *Pipe Roll* 8 John suggests that heckage had to be subsidised by the Crown. The castle was briefly returned to Gilbert de Laigle in 1215–16 (Thompson 1997, 214–15), who presumably was allowed to continue the Crown innovation of heckage.

THE SERVICES OF PEVENSEY CASTLE

PEVENSEY GAOL

Pevensey is the only Sussex castle that preserves good structural evidence of a medieval gaol. In both the 1952 and 1963 guides the basement chambers in the gatehouse are each described as a dungeon, on account of the external drawbar in the round-headed doorway to the south chamber and the trapdoor above the north chamber. Peers had refrained from a functional explanation of these chambers in his 1933 papers. If they were prisons — the north chamber, perhaps accessed by rope ladder, contains a urinal that drains to the moat — then we should take account of the royal and private right to imprison as a possible factor in a castle's design or licence (Colvin 1963, i 67, 79; Steane 1984, 25–8; Pounds 1990, 98–100). Moreover, the potential survival of at least two forms of gaol in a single place is remarkable. (Alternatively, the south basement chamber could have been a cistern.) The former external iron grilles on the basement slits of the North Tower could also have kept people in as well as out, and this tower has an external doorway to the berm (which is restricted by the moat).

There were three kinds of medieval gaol: the county or common gaol managed by the royal sheriff; the private or franchise gaol, and those for clerics (Pugh 1959). The 1166 Assize of Clarendon made provision for county or common gaols as part of the administration of royal justice (Douglas & Greenaway 1981, 441): where one is lacking in a county 'let such be made in a borough or some castle of the king at the king's expense and from his wood, if one shall be near, or from some neighbouring wood at the oversight of the king's servants, to the end that in them the sheriffs may be able to guard those who shall be arrested by the officials accustomed to do this, or by their servants' (Douglas & Greenaway 1981, 441). Timber gaols, therefore, would be sufficient when the accused was held only until the next eyre and a custodial sentence was not yet a judicial instrument. Existing masonry structures likely served or continued to serve as gaols and the attractive candidate is a castle's keep — the medieval donjon or great tower (Renn 1973, 10). The basement of a great tower might seem a suitable place for incarceration but this would be wasteful and inconvenient on an occasional basis. Indeed, the basement chamber was essentially a prerequisite for the main floor of any great tower. A prison was not always a discrete part of a castle's architecture and various parts could easily be used as the need occurred (King 1983, I, xvii). The increasing or systematic volume of justice after Clarendon might have resulted in a number of purpose-built gaols within new or renovated castles. In 1176 the Assize of Northampton revised the Clarendon provision for gaols: 'let a thief be handed over to the sheriff of the place where he is arrested for safe-keeping. And should the sheriff be absent, let the accused be brought to the custodian of the nearest castle, and let him keep him in ward until he may deliver him to the sheriff' (Douglas and Greenaway 1981, 446). Thus ten years after Clarendon the provision of suitable gaols would appear to be reasonably sufficient.

In 1166 there was expenditure on prisons in 17 counties, but almost nothing in Sussex until 1198, and later still in neighbouring Surrey (Pugh 1959, 69 ff; much of the Sussex detail that follows is based on this paper). The two counties might already have had suitable prison buildings, or else the sheriffs used the two gaols of London; Surrey contributed to the building of the Fleet prison in 1172–73.

A prison at Pevensey is first mentioned in 1178–79, possibly as a consequence of the 1176 Assize of Northampton, when the Sussex account in the Pipe Roll records works to the value of 13s. 6d.: *Et in operatione gaiole de Peuenesel I m. per breve regis*. The relatively small sum might relate to the conversion of an existing structure. However, there were sizeable works and repairs specifically in the castle in 1177–78 and 1179–80, which totalled £8 0s. 8d. (*Pipe Roll* 24 Henry II, 89; *Pipe Roll* 26 Henry II, 29). Thereafter in the Crown records the prison is mentioned in 1234, next in 1259 (*Close Rolls* 1231–34, pp. 473, 483; *Close Roll* 1256–59, p. 395), in the Hundred Rolls of 1275, in 1289 (*Close Rolls* Edward I 1288–96, p. 2), 1291 (*Fine Rolls* 1272–1307, p. 288), 1295 (*Close Rolls* 1288–96, p. 431), 1305, 1316 (*Patent Rolls* 1301–7, p. 351; *Patent Rolls* 1313–17, p. 509), then 1325 and 1326 (*Close Rolls* 1323–27, pp. 418, 422, 479), before a lull until 1396 (*Patent Rolls* 1396–99, p. 14). Apart from the peculiar 1291 and 1305 cases, no gaol delivery, the commission under which justices tried prisoners in gaol, is known at the castle. Ten Welsh hostages were held at the castle in 1295, no doubt a consequence of Edward I's conquest of Wales.

Work on a common gaol in Chichester Castle is recorded in 1198 and there was further expenditure in the 1220s and 1230s. The Surrey gaol at Guildford was established in 1207. The two counties were formally linked for shrieval administration from 1242 and the importance of the Chichester gaol thereafter declined. By 1248 Guildford was holding Sussex prisoners as well as its own accused, leading to some congestion as well as inconvenience for the men of Sussex. Gaol delivery was probably held at Guildford. Despite this centralization and the absence of a recorded gaol delivery for a Sussex prison between 1236 and 1272, some prisoners were kept in the county apart from Chichester, notably at Hastings Castle when held by the Crown (*temp.* John, 1225–49, and after 1268; from 1249–68 the castle was held by Peter of Savoy). From 1272–93 there were numerous deliveries at Hastings (until 1275–6), Arundel (until 1295), Chichester and Battle, but thereafter the prisons declined with a change in gaol delivery. In 1220 a new system of delivery involved a group of local knights with a justice visiting a gaol, but from 1293 they 'are finally replaced by a couple of professional justices who go on circuit over a wide

area'. Surrey and Sussex 'were grouped in the same circuit' and Sussex pleas were recorded at Guildford (Pugh 1959, 70, 76–7).

Private or franchise prisons served the needs of local, landed jurisdictions. The Sussex rape centres of Arundel, Bramber, Lewes and Pevensey each had a castle and these probably served as central prisons. However, the franchise gaols of Sussex were not exempt from royal intervention. Pevensey is mentioned as the king's prison in 1259, when it held Thomas de Preston, even though Henry III had granted the fortress to Peter of Savoy in 1246 (*Charter Rolls* 1226–57, p. 296); '[i]n law all prisons were the king's and the term *prisona regis* is as often given to franchise prisons as to those that were at a sheriff's entire disposal' (Pugh 1959, 74). Peter of Savoy's death in 1268 brought Pevensey back into royal hands and the castle, like the other franchise gaols, 'could be used, as Hastings had itself been used, to supplement the common gaol in Surrey' (Pugh 1959, 74).

The Sussex eyre of 1279 concluded that a man could be kept in the county gaols for no more than three nights, except for Pevensey Castle, before they were forwarded to Guildford, though the case before the eyre suggests the rule was being flouted (Pugh 1959, 75). A few years earlier the Hundred Roll for the Rape of Pevensey recorded accusations of unlawful imprisonment in the castle by the queen's bailiff or steward, Richard of Pevensey. Richard had also accepted bail for two homicide suspects. Specifically, the return of Longbridge hundred states that 'Richard the bailiff of Pevensey impedes the royal authority in that he arrests accused persons and imprisons them at Pevensey whereas they ought to be imprisoned at Guildford in the King's prison, and in this [he acts] without the bailiffs of the King, and he detains those arrested at his pleasure' (Salzman 1943, 44, 46). Seemingly then, by 1279 the loose practice of Richard of Pevensey had been somewhat formalized.

In 1320 a plea by the commons of Sussex to the Crown for a county gaol and a county court failed. The gaols at Chichester and Battle were still used intermittently in the early fourteenth century but Arundel, Bramber and Lewes were by then barely mentioned. Pevensey was only slightly more remarkable when in 1325–26 the castle was one of several royal prisons being used to hold some of Edward II's rebellious subjects,

at the end of a reign marked by political mistrust and murderous rivalry (*Close Rolls* 1323–7, pp. 419, 422, 423, 479). A further plea for a common gaol in 1347 failed and we wait until 1389 for the next recorded Pevensey prisoner, a trespasser who had assaulted a man within the liberty of the Cinque Ports. The castle had been a possession of the dukes of Lancaster since 1372 and after the accession of Henry IV became a parcel of the duchy. The castle's subsequent role as a royal prison was apparently reserved for persons of high status. A senior duchy official and also Edward, Duke of York, were held here in 1404; King James I of Scotland in 1415; the Queen Mother, Joan of Navarre, from about 1419 to 1422; and Sir John Mortimer in 1422 and 1423. (Pugh 1959, 79). Despite incarceration these prisoners probably had some comforts and there may be archaeological evidence of domestic improvements from this period.

The county gained a common gaol at Lewes only in 1487, by then the meeting place of the county court. Subsequently, 'in July 1489, the justices appointed to deliver Guildford castle were, by a separate commission, appointed to deliver Lewes gaol as well' (Pugh 1959, 79). Lewes deliveries continued into the sixteenth century. Meanwhile evidence of gaol delivery elsewhere in Sussex is sparse through the fifteenth century. No records survive for Battle after 1438 though a special commission in 1487 delivered the town prison of Winchelsea and there may have been other urban cases.

THE PORTER OF PEVENSEY CASTLE

Another context for the construction of the gatehouse lies in the particular serjeanty of guarding the gate or entrance to the castle (Round 1911, 14). A rent payment or farm by William, son of Alured, for the land of the janitors (doorkeepers) and watchmen of the castle or tower is noted in the Pipe Roll accounts for 1130 (Budgen 1935, 118; Green 1986, 278). Though the land is not named, Walter Budgen reasonably identified it with the parts of the manors of Eastbourne and West Firle mentioned in Domesday Book allocated by Count Robert of Mortain to the watchmen of the castle (*custodes castelli*), i.e. Pevensey. William's father, Alured, was the butler of Count Robert, lord of the Pevensey rape. Alured may have had another

son, Richard, and William died about 1155 (Green 1986, 270, 279). In Domesday Book the watchmen's tenure appears to be a serjeanty to a great lord, unlike knight service or socage, whereas in the Pipe Roll of 1130 (when the castle was held by the Crown) a rent was paid for the land and an allowance of 16s. given to the watchmen. The contractual basis for this task was seemingly modified or changing after the castle reverted to the Crown (cf. Round 1911, 50).

About 1150, a Richard, son of the porter of Pevensey, witnessed a charter for Lewes Priory (Salzman 1932, 121, 122). Then, about 1160, possibly the same Richard the Porter of Pevensey granted certain rights to Lewes Priory in relation to his marsh property near Langney, witnessed by Eilwin the Mason (Salzman 1932, 162). Budgen refers to the same Lewes charter and to the Pipe Rolls, when the sheriff himself from 1164 to 1175 accounted for 'the land of Richard the Porter' and 'the land of the warders [watchmen] of Pevensel and of Montagu' (Budgen 1935, 119; *Pipe Rolls* 11, 12, 14, 15 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 Henry II). Richard, Budgen proposes, was likely the successor to the watchmen's property in Domesday Book, and his tenure came to an end by 1164, when it reverted to the Crown. (Though in the Pipe Rolls Richard's land is distinct from that of the watchmen.) The old or former farm *de Hecton* associated with the one-time watchmen is probably to be associated with Heighton Street in West Firle, the other Domesday property of the watchmen (Budgen 1935, 121). Apart from the 1160 reference, Richard the Porter is not directly associated with Pevensey and his name disappears from the royal accounts in about 1175. Also, there is no mention in the Pipe Rolls of the warders of Pevensey and Montacute in a Sussex context after 1169.

In the late 1160s, during the Becket dispute, Henry II confiscated the lands of the archbishop. In 1165 the Kent sheriff, Ralph de Broc, accounted not only for this Church property but also for the escheated land of the watchmen of Pevensey. This was in addition to the Sussex sheriff's account for the land of the watchmen of Pevensey and of Montacute (*Pipe Roll* 11 Henry II; Budgen 1935, 122). Two years later, in the 1167 Pipe Roll under Kent, £5 10s. 5d. was spent on the work of the castle of Pevensey by the king's writ from the income of the absent Archbishop of Canterbury.

So from 1164 until 1175 or some years later the porter serjeanty lapsed at Pevensey. Although the Laigle family regained many of their former Sussex lands within Pevensey Rape from about 1161 until 1204, and from around 1215 to 1231, the castle itself remained in the possession of the Crown. Before the death of Henry II in 1189 the serjeanty of guarding the gate had been granted to John de Palerne (Budgen 1935, 119). He held it through Richard I's reign, and his brother Henry de Palerne carried on from 1201 to 1219, though there may have been a second Henry from 1208 (*Book of Fees*, i, pp. 272, 340; *Oblata and Fine Rolls* John, pp. 421, 422; *Pipe Roll* 10 John, p. 73). I presume the serjeanty refers to the inner gatehouse, not the entrances in the Roman circuit, for in 1219 'Henry de Palern guards the gate/entrance outside the tower from the bailey by that serjeanty' (*Book of Fees*, i, p. 272). No related lands are mentioned for the Palernes' serjeanty. There were small, intermittent works at Pevensey Castle during Henry II's reign (from when the Pipe Rolls survive) but from 1188 to 1197 works are recorded for eight years; little subsequent construction work is attributable in the royal accounts to the reign of King John. If the gatehouse was built during this period, then the serjeanty was revived when the castle was a building site.

In the 1220s a Robert the Porter appears as a witness in local documents. Robert was possibly the heir of the Richard Portarius who had made the grant to Lewes Priory in about 1160, though he must have been an infant at that time (Budgen 1935, 117–18). In 1236 Robert passed land to Henry de Palerne, including two hides in Eastbourne, possibly the same hides in Domesday Book that were allowed to the watchmen of the castle. Budgen believes the Palernes were the successors of Robert Portarius despite the confused chronology; perhaps the original land and the serjeanty were recombined. By this time the castle and rape were used as awards to royal favourites, who may or may not have maintained the serjeanty (Thompson 1997, 216). From 1232 until his fall from favour in 1234, Peter de Rivallis was granted both castle and rape. Subsequently they passed to Gilbert Marshal, who held them until June 1240. In 1246 the honour and castle were granted to Peter of Savoy, during whose tenure the castle was to be greatly renovated. The porter serjeanty is mentioned again in the reign of Edward I, when the castle returned to the Crown (Salzman 1906, 7; Budgen 1935, 120). However, by now and in the reign of Edward II the references are to the outer (*forinsecam*) gate (e.g. *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem* Vol. V Edw. II, 94, 95, 152).

CONCLUSIONS

A table of the documented Crown works at Pevensey from the reign of Henry II to that of Edward III, a period when state records survive in increasing numbers, highlights three significant periods of expenditure (Table 1). Firstly, the years 1192–97 suggest a protracted building campaign, if not of high value; the expenditure of 1195–96 is an assumed half of the total spent between Pevensey and Hastings. It has been suggested above that the lower three storeys of the gatehouse belong to this period.

Thereafter, during the mid-thirteenth century when the castle was held by royal supporters, the documentary record and architectural character of the site is unclear. The supply of oaks from Portchester forest to the castle in 1271, *inde reparandum*, but without details of further material or labour costs, is evidence that our documentary references are seldom complete for any period (*Cal Close Rolls* 1268–72, pp. 340, 357). Of course, the timbers could equally have been used for shoring siege-damaged walls as much as new works or restoration. From about this time the honour of Pevensey was allocated to Eleanor, wife of Henry III, which honour after 1272 became a dower (Thompson 1997, 216–17). Income from the honour was used to maintain Eleanor's household, and some of it might have paid for small repairs at the castle, though the fortress still effectively belonged to the Crown (*Liberate Rolls* 1267–72, p. 219; Salzman 1943, 37). Item 30 of the 1274–75 royal inquiry known as the Hundred Rolls refers to local peculation by sheriffs or keepers who had recently undertaken works at the king's castles and manors (Salzman 1942, 23). No such abuse is recorded for Pevensey Castle though the keeper of nearby Hastings Castle was found wanting (Salzman 1945, 75). However, carriage service to Pevensey Castle is mentioned, appropriated by the bailiff or serjeant of the castle, Walter of Endlewick, and which included the carriage of timber: 'the

Table 1. Pevensey Castle works 1154–1371.

Year	Works £	PR all castles £	% of PR	Primary source	Secondary source
1161	3.185	258.210	1.23	PR 7 Hen II	Salzman 1906, 3
1167	5.520	483.655	1.14	PR 13 Hen II	Salzman 1906, 3
1178	4.535	513.160	0.88	PR 24 Hen II	-
1180	3.500	658.740	0.53	PR 26 Hen II	-
1183	5.000	917.120	0.55	PR 29 Hen II	-
1188	5.915	307.190	1.93	PR 34 Hen II	Salzman 1906, 4
1192	3.335	464.440	0.72	PR 3 & 4 Ric I	-
1193	30.760	738.570	4.16	PR 5 Ric I	Brown 1955
1195	6.670	285.160	2.34	PR 7 Ric I	-
1196	10.000	318.360	3.14	PR 8 Ric I	-
1197	2.000	147.950	1.35	PR 9 Ric I	-
1271	0.000			Close R 1268–72, 340	HKW
1283	0.950			SC6 1027, No 17	Salzman 1906, 7
1284	0.000			SC6 1027, No 17	Salzman 1906, 7
1285	0.000			SC6 1027, No 17	Salzman 1906, 8
1286	0.000			SC6 1027, No 17	Salzman 1906, 8
1287	0.000			SC6 1027, No 17	Salzman 1906, 8
1288	0.000			SC6 1027, No 17	Salzman 1906, 8
1289	25.160			E101/479/15	Salzman 1906, 9
1290	42.905			E101/479/15	Salzman 1906, 10
1291	43.165			E101/479/15	Salzman 1906, 12
1301	11.220			E101/479/16	Salzman 1906, 14
1302	11.325			E101/479/16	Salzman 1906, 15
1303	4.410			E101/479/16	Salzman 1906, 16
1317–1321	146.435			Close R 1318–23, 276	Salzman 1906, 19
1322	20.100			Close R 1318–23, 429	Salzman 1906, 19
1329	20.100			Close R 1327–30, 449	-
1339	0.000			Patent R 13 Edw III	Salzman 1906, 19
1370	41.070			SC6 1028, No 4	Salzman 1906, 21
1371	20.000			SC6 1028, No 4	Salzman 1906, 21

Notes
Zero values represent works mentioned without accounts.
Pipe Roll values ex Brown 1955
The 1195 and 1196 accounts represent half of the total works recorded for Hastings and Pevensey castles.

HKW — History of the King's Works
SC6 — Exchequer Ministers' Accounts
E101 — Exchequer King's Remembrancer, Accounts Various
1321 — cf. Close R 11 Edw II; PR 12 Edw II [HKW]; Close R 14 Edw II.
1322 — cf. Close R 1327–30, 449.
1329 — a retrospective payment for works temp Edw II, 60 oak trees at 6s 8d each (£20); possibly refers to 1322.

said bailiffs distrain men of the neighbourhood to do carriage service otherwise than they should, including those who never did such service; and they did so in the time of Peter of Savoy and of the Queen' (Salzman 1943, 37, 43, 40). The Hundred Rolls also detail the onerous regime of Walter's colleague, Richard of Pevensey, the dowager's bailiff or steward, who appears to have exploited the court held at the gate of the castle, established by Gilbert Marshal or Peter of Savoy in the middle of the century (Salzman 1943, 45). This court was backed up by the use of the castle as a franchise prison, though this could impede royal authority (and no doubt profit) since the accused should have been detained at the king's prison at Guildford (Salzman 1943, 46). The establishment of the court

by Marshal/Savoy no doubt played a part in the design of the castle and subsequent works later in the century might have been an embellishment of this status symbol.

This brings us to the second period of extended expenditure, 1283 to 1291. Costs for works from 1283 to 1288 are barely stated by Salzman, though they were evidently a precursor for the building campaign of 1289–91, which is very detailed. Evidence of the dower property includes work done to the Queen's chamber (1283 and 1285) and the Queen's hall (1288, when its roof was tiled); if purpose-built they must be less than 20 years old, otherwise they are older buildings reused (Salzman 1906, 7, 8). Further work on the Queen's chamber is detailed for the years 1289–90 and 1290–91, when it was mended by a carpenter and then thatched, rendered and plastered (Salzman 1906, 10–12); the survey of the castle in 1307 noted that the 'Queen's chamber with a chapel and other chambers annexed' could be repaired for £20, whereas just over 10s. had been spent restoring the chamber in 1289–91. The chamber is not directly mentioned in the 1317 survey of the castle (Salzman 1906, 16). None of this work was recognised in the 1995–96 survey; unless it was one of the rooms in the towers, the Queen's chamber was an attached or free-standing structure. This apparent absence is regrettable, for the chamber is one of the few structures in the castle whose contemporary name alludes to an individual.

In 1286 an upper room or solar was added to the North Tower, though there can be confusion between the present North and East towers in the documents (Salzman 1906, 8, 11). The fireplace in the first floor of the present North Tower is demonstrably an addition. (The East and South towers have fireplaces in the ground-floor chamber.) Two years later, the Pevensey building accounts for 1288 clearly refer to the rebuilding or restoration of the gatehouse, perhaps reusing part of the fabric of the keep and the walls of the outer bailey (Salzman 1906, 9–10); this restoration explains the putlogs as cut features on the lower face of the gatehouse, where the scaffolding was not an intrinsic part of the rubble concrete core. But for this year only blocks of Caen limestone were purchased (or costed), and this exotic is not used in the gatehouse, which unusually has pure greensand facing. More remarkable for 1288 is the £8 15s. 1½d. spent on masons' wages, including Master Simon, for shaping and laying stones, in addition to the workers laying stones on the gatehouse. This masons' work took up to 16 weeks to complete. According to the accounts again, this presumably involved the use of the Caen limestone bought in that year (though the 95 blocks purchased would not have gone far). The masons could not be working on the keep or great tower as this was still roofed with lead in 1288 (subsequently repaired in 1289–90). Caen was used extensively only in the reveals of thirteenth-century openings, within the upper storeys of the mural towers and in the upper courses of the west curtain between the gatehouse and the North Tower. If Caen and perhaps reused greensand were the principal materials, then from the surviving fabric it is fair to state that the upper parts of the curtain walls, gatehouse and mural towers were being added, rebuilt or restored in this year.

During the following seasons of 1289 and 1290 a mason repaired the openings of the room in the west turret [?North Tower], perhaps the mural latrine, while a carpenter remade the chimney of the north turret [?East Tower]; the former, costed at 18d., was working for about a week while the carpenter, at 25d. and including some other work, was employed for slightly longer. Meanwhile the south turret [tower] roof was repaired and thatched (Salzman 1906, 11). The upper chamber of the last tower has windows identical to the upper floor of the gatehouse and these features are likely to be contemporary. The scaffolding from the south part of the gate was taken down.

In this same period a large quantity of Eastbourne greensand ('stone') and another 42 blocks of Caen were purchased, and aggregates and stone for mortar were excavated locally. These materials were probably for Master Simon the mason, who was paid £17 17s. 8d. 'for building the north part of the gate' (Salzman 1906, 12). Finally, in the last season of this programme of works, 1290–91, Simon and two other masons mended the battlements between the gate and the north turret. To this day a fragment of the parapet survives against and bonded into the gatehouse, whereas below this horizon the main curtain and northern gatehouse tower meet with a butt joint (discussed above). There are other works detailed for the years 1288–91, not least on the keep, but I have selected items from the accounts that with a reasonable certainty can be associated with the building archaeology of the site. The skills

of a quantity surveyor would be needed to take interpretation significantly further.

The works of 1301–03 are not insignificant in value and include the building or restoration of a hall and chambers within the 'wall of the castle', the remaking of the chapel of the castle, repairing the roof of the great tower (keep), 'rebuilding the gate of the outer ward', and the rebuilding of part of the wall of the inner ward (Salzman 1906, 14–17). Except for the last task the works are largely carpentry with the addition of roofing (a hierarchy of tiles, thatch and lead). The repair of 'a piece of the wall of the inner ward of the castle towards the town of Pevensey which had fallen down' required only sand and mortar and scaffolding to complete and was in effect restoration. Correlating this domestic work to the masonry survey, given the nature of the materials, is highly speculative, the more so since the repaired wall is likely the missing section north of the keep. Even the mason's work 'mending the chimney of the hall chamber in the castle' is impossible to isolate. No masons' wages are specified for the building of the hall in 1301, which makes it difficult to ascribe the inserted roof corbels inside the west and northwest curtains to this time, unless they were reused stones.

The third significant building campaign from our period of study, in 1317–22, follows surveys in 1307 and 1317 that chart the gradual dilapidation or wilful neglect of the castle (*Patent Rolls* 1301–07, p. 523; *Inquisitions Misc.* ii, p. 87). The latter survey attributes the onset of structural decline to the constableship of Sir William Leybourne, which began in 1294, though there were of course repairs in 1301–03 under John de Wintershull, bailiff of the honour and one-time constable (Salzman 1906, 14, 19). There are no specific accounts for the 1317–22 works, which presumably reflect in part the defects in the 1317 survey, though the £357 estimated to make good the inner ward is in excess of the £166 actually spent (*Close Rolls* 1313–18, p. 518; *Close Rolls* 1318–23, p. 276). Some repairs may have been overcharged in the survey or simply not accomplished, but there were local subsidies whereby 100 oaks were allowed from Ashdown Forest and some costs were offset from the issues of the manor of Esthalesham (*Close Rolls* 1313–18, p. 518; *Close Rolls* 1318–23, p. 429). Also, perhaps £20 should be added to the bill, when a late payment in 1329 for works in the previous

reign allowed for 60 oaks at 6s. 8d. each (*Close Rolls* 1327–30, p. 449). In total, it is likely over £200 was spent on the castle during this building campaign, for both materials and labour.

It is reasonable to assume that the North Tower, whose first floor had collapsed and fallen through the basement vault, was repaired at this time (Salzman 1906, 18; the estimate for its repair is £100). Otherwise the tower would have become redundant as a domestic structure at least. Whether the vault was rebuilt is unknown. During the clearance of the basement in 1910 Harold Sands excavated a pit in the southern angle of the tower, in the area of the present basement steps and the adjacent southwest embrasure. As a measure of the depth of spoil within the basement, the entrance doorway and vault springers were largely buried. Initially the spoil consisted of soil mixed with broken stone, probably in part the debris from the stone robbing of the ground-floor chamber. However, on April 18, roughly between the level of the first and fourth steps *within* the basement (there would be seven steps in all, each about 200 mm high), Sands' workmen encountered 'stiff clay, yellow & unmoved since filled in. A bed of burnt & decayed wood just above it forming a dark layer some 3" [7.6 cm] thick'. A later journal entry on April 30 records that 'Mr P [Charles Peers] thought they had raised [the] basement with clay & mortar floored it as found, to be above the wet floor'. This clay level was perhaps just above the present concrete floor, and the North Tower excavation was continually hampered by flooding due to the higher level of the moat outside. Sands even 'doubted whether at first the moat was not merely a dry ditch & did not become wet till post 1277, thus rendering 2 of the posterns to [the mural] towers practically useless' (Sands 1910, May 14 entry). Given the problem with the water table and the consequent living conditions, it may be doubted whether the vault was restored or even restorable. After April 18 Sands began stoping the remaining basement spoil and it is difficult to gauge the stratigraphy from his notes. However on April 21, when widening the bank by a vault rib springer, a loose moulded rib block was found, significantly at a level above the yellow clay. Five more similar ribs were found on April 28 though their exact position is unstated. This very tentative evidence shows that the basement floor had been clay-lined after the steps had been built but before the first or later

fall or demolition of the vault. The only pottery vaguely described in the basement excavation was glazed red ware (Sands, April 29 entry). Sadly, the renovation of the tower during World War two has covered up any telltale marks on the inner walls of the ground-floor chamber.

Other priorities in the early fourteenth century must have been the Roman wall north of the keep, and probably the subsiding eastern wall of the keep itself, both part and parcel of the same foundation problem in the yellow clay. Evidence for work in this area lies in the 1993–95 excavations, which concluded that the east wall of the keep was indeed demolished and rebuilt further out (Fulford and Rippon 1995); part of the new east wall still survives against the more stable Roman bastion. The speculative survey estimate for the repair of the keep and adjacent curtain was about £160. Even if this estimate was excessive or not, the restoration or enlargement of the keep with all new floors and roofs must have consumed a large part of the final bill. Taking just the North Tower and keep together, their renovation must have greatly preoccupied the constable, Robert de Sapy, in the years 1317–22.

Elsewhere the 1317 survey mentions the three-storey East and South towers, which then lacked crenellations and had never been roofed with lead. Presumably the South Tower still retained something of the new rafters and thatch applied in 1289–90 (Salzman 1906, 11). Curiously, the survey suggests two repair options, one to make good or otherwise crenellate with the requisite flat lead roof. This implies that the military aspect of the towers was perhaps no longer crucial. The surviving structural evidence for either option is very slight: there are no traces of a parapet on the towers while the tenuous evidence for a timber chase on the East Tower may suggest that thatched roofs were maintained. A possible similar feature was found on 19 May 1910, during the excavations under Harold Sands: 'Bray reports [the] discovery of a possible loop [sketch plan of a simple splayed embrasure] with a mortar floor at top of [the] Sth tower, indicating a possible top storey now totally destroyed; this seems improbable but otherwise it is difficult to account for it being found there' (Sands 1910). Other seemingly essential repairs listed in the survey of the inner ward include the repair of the inner (timber-framed?) face and re-roofing of the gatehouse, repair of the gatehouse bridge, the crenellation of parts of the curtain walls, some work to the postern, and the repair of a hall and its associated rooms. Again, how much work was actually done is difficult to prove, more so where the wall tops have largely been robbed of the topmost courses. It is possible that the inserted roof corbels inside the west and northwest curtains relate to the hall restoration, but previous repairs to a hall are also documented in 1285, 1289–91 (thatching and rendering) and 1301 (building); on balance, from the surviving sources, 1301 is the likely date for the corbels though no mason's wages are specified in the detailed account (Salzman 1906, 14). Subsequently 10s. was spent in 1396 'repairing the old hall, namely thatching it with straw and plastering the walls', and the 'royal hall' was included in the general repairs of 1443 (Salzman 1906, 22, 26); little was spent on the castle after this date.

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