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CASTLE

Carew Castle Archaeological Project



1994 Season Interim Report

Edited by David Austin

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CAREW CASTLE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

1994 SEASON INTERIM REPORT

Edited by D.Austin

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Carew Castle Archaeological Project

Interim Report 1994

Introduction

David Austin

1994 was the third year in the second phase of the Carew Castle Archaeological Project which is an historical and archaeological research programme studying the territory of a medieval lordship in south-west Pembrokeshire in Wales (figs. 1 & 2). And it was a good year too with a surprising amount of sunshine despite our proximity to that great nursery of storms, the Atlantic. This was also the first year in which we were able to devote all of our attention solely to the task of our research without need for rescue work for the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park. So the bulk of this year's programme was carried out during late June, July and early August.

As in previous years the excavations and other field work were made easier with the assistance of the officers of the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park in whose care the site is. They provided good warm shelter in the form of their workshop which they had recently vacated, as well as funds and facilities to help the work go ahead. We must thank them and Earthwatch who also continued to provide generous funding for the Project, but who more importantly organised a willing bunch of volunteers in two teams. We enjoyed having them with us and they certainly put in a great deal of effort on our behalf. We are immensely grateful.

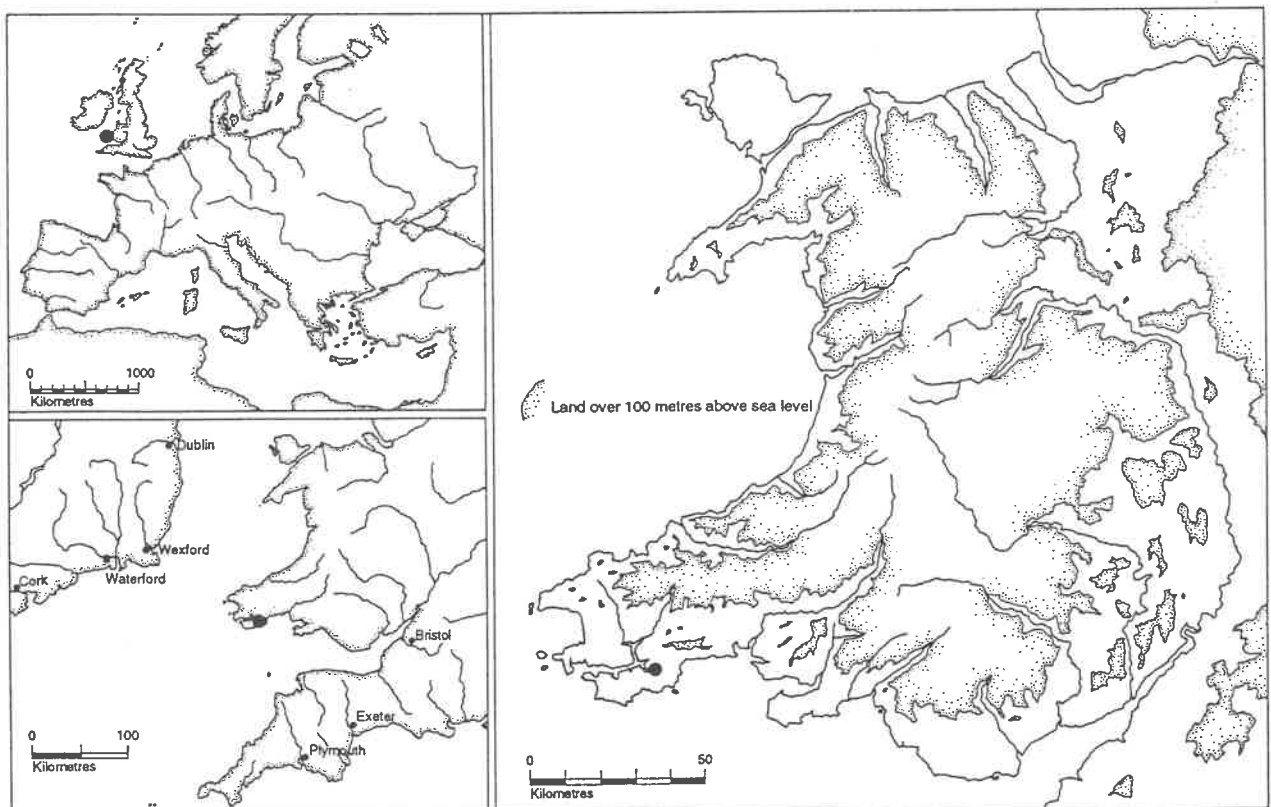


Figure 1: Carew location maps (D. Austin)

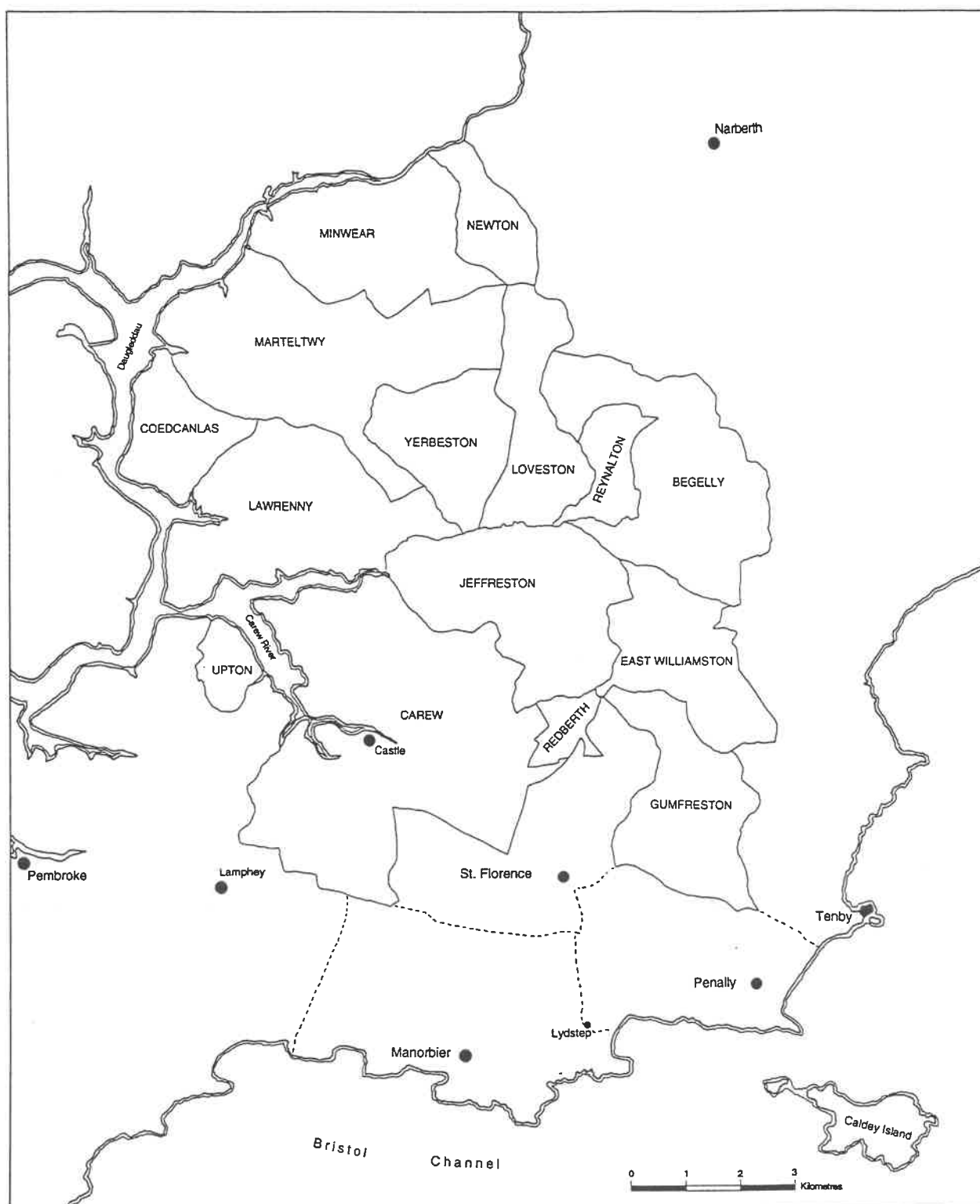


Figure 2: The Carew Lordship (D. Austin)

These volunteers were managed by an organisation by now becoming familiar to readers of these reports. Overall direction of the Project was in the hands of David Austin and, for the first time, Quentin Drew, who ran the excavations. Nicky Evans again looked after the running of the fabric analysis programme and her work was considerably assisted by a lightning raid by Dr. Phil Dixon and colleagues who introduced us to the mechanics of rectified photography. We are very grateful to them for the fun and helpfulness of their presence. The landscape study was in the hands of Dick Cole, the genial Cornisher who inspired his followers to plunge from brier thicket to nettle bed in pursuit of lost buildings and obscure boundaries. We should also thank Ann Reynolds, who saw so efficiently to the finds administration, and Richard Jones, our site photographer, who provided a stream of brilliant images. But I suppose our greatest affection and gratitude is reserved for Martha Holland who not only returned after two Earthwatch experiences, but was even brave enough to run our computer recording systems and keep our tuck-shop in good working order. These were all assisted by eight other staff, including Fred Wildgust who ran the off-site logistics with the help of Neil Croucher (*alias* Jimmy Vegan), our site cook. The staff and the Earthwatch volunteers were supplemented by a large group of fifty students from the Department of Archaeology, Lampeter and a few strays from other universities around the country. Fred Wildgust also organised a number of younger volunteers from regional schools.

We must also thank the headmistress of the Manorbier Primary School for allowing us to use the main hall there for evening lectures about the project and related research, heard mainly by our team, but also attended by some local people. A number of scholars not associated with the Project came to give lectures and we must thank them as well. But a particular thanks should be given to Dr. John Bollard of Florence, Massachusetts, who stood in the Lesser Hall of Carew, facing the fragment of the early Norman tower embedded in its south wall, to tell us of his penetrating insights into the great Chronicle of the Princes and its vivid story of Nest and Owain ap Cadwgan. The packed hall listened in wrapt attention to the story and its meaning, and part of it is reproduced in the text which follows.

This whole chemistry of people and organisations managed again to come together and produce a highly productive season of research as the following report will show.

1. Carew Castle: the Earliest Documentary Evidence

John K. Bollard & David Austin

A chance conversation with David Austin in the Spring of 1994 led John Bollard to a re-reading of the earliest documentary evidence relating to Carew. What follows is the beginning of a dialogue about this text and its meaning.

John:Bollard: This earliest source is the account, in the *Brut y Tywysogion* (hereafter the *Brut*), of Gerald's building of a castle at 'Cenarth Bychan' and of events stemming from the raid on it by Owain ap Cadwgan during which he abducted his cousin Nest, Gerald's wife and the daughter of the last king of Deheubarth. This led me to several hitherto unrecognised features of this account and its relationship to the whole story of Owain's life which in turn brought me to some important conclusions about the nature and composition of the *Brut* itself.

To summarise a long argument, it would appear that the story of Owain (*Brut*, 1108-1116), although embedded in the year-by-year format of the chronicle, is actually constructed as a single, episodic narrative about the same length as, and in other ways structurally similar to, other extant medieval Welsh secular tales such as those in the *Mabinogion*. This is forcibly emphasised in the text by the fact that, under the years in which the story is entered, there are virtually no ordinary *annalistic* entries or notices extraneous to the story of Owain's career and death. This is in stark contrast to annals elsewhere in the *Brut* where material is recorded for a given year or series of years in the more expected mix of events which are largely unrelated to each other.

Another striking feature of these entries is that the whole form of the text during the story of Owain is much more extended than elsewhere. For example, in T. Jones's translation of the Peniarth 20 version the prolix account of Owain averages about 2.5 pages per year, in telling comparison to the terse 0.2 pages per annum for the whole. Even in the most expansive section of the *Brut* outside of the story of Owain, the entries for 1211-1218, the average length reaches only 1.5 pages per year. Clearly then the years 1108-1116 were constructed along different principles to the surrounding chronicle. A clue to the meaning of this is provided by the realisation that alone in the whole of the *Brut*, during the telling of the life of Owain, do we find the narrative device of direct speech. In fact the whole is made as a traditional story rather than as an annal. Quite notably, there are passages which show the writer's familiarity with traditional material and forms of expression employed by the native Welsh *cyfarwydd* or storyteller.

Such features of the text, therefore, strongly suggest that the story of Owain was composed originally as a coherent and self-contained narrative, perhaps even having an existence independent of the making of the *Brut* itself. Having recognised this, we must then approach the whole of this story primarily as a literary rather than straightforward historical text, as a composition serving the intentions of authors writing for the social and political circumstances of perhaps the later thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries rather than ostensibly reporting the details of events from contemporary or near-contemporary annals and memoranda. This has clear implications for the historical uses of this part of the *Brut* as a 'source', but more importantly for the contemporary meaning of the story and the political and cultural intention of the storyteller.

John Bollard and David Austin This important realisation is going to have significant implications for that part of Owain's story which relates to the assault on 'Cenarth Bychan' and the abduction of Nest. It is difficult at this stage to be precise about what this new interpretative tool can do for us, but we are already beginning to feel the force of some allusive cross-references between history, literature and the material culture at Carew. For example, because of the literary root of the

reference to the abduction of Nest we are unlikely to know for certain where it happened, whether it be Carew or Cilgerran (see Austin 1993, 5-7) at least not to the satisfaction of any methodical and empirical historian. But if we consider Owain as the flawed Arthurian idealist and headlong hero, Nest as the fair maiden and Gerald of Windsor as the dark pragmatic knight of a recognisable later medieval genre, and if we then consider that the political intention of the compilers of the story is to find a rôle for Welsh identity in an English hegemony, we may see that the associations of Carew with Nest, Gerald and the king-lines of Deheubarth are part of a wider narrative subverting the fabric of Norman conquest to a tale of constant resistance. In this poetic the beginning of Owain's story which has Gerald plunging down the toilet shaft of his castle to escape from the man stealing his wife becomes potent metaphor, one thematically crucial to the understanding of Welsh history as it was composed by the makers of the *Brut*.

David Austin This has the potential then to take our discovery of the early tower at Carew with its toilet shaft (see Austin 1995) beyond mere Norman architectural history to a meaning more subtle, ambiguous and Welsh. We shall work at it.

2. Excavations in the Research Area

Quentin Drew & David Austin

Introduction

The 1994 season saw the concentration of excavation work in the main research area of the Outer Ward (see fig. 5 for position of trench between the Walled Garden and the Middle Ward curtain). Initially it was anticipated that this area would be completed in the first season of this campaign (1992), but the complexity of the archaeology necessitated in work continuing till the end of the 1994 season. With the completion of the main research area, the project is faced with a large quantity of data that may provide answers to current problems and indeed, raise more questions. Though there is still much post-excavation analysis to be undertaken it is possible to put forward a series of discussions relating to the chronological and character of the material. This is best done under five general headings: the pre-Norman ditch, the Norman activity, the medieval long building, the medieval curtain wall(s), and the sixteenth century quarry and lime kiln.

A) The Pre-Norman Ditch

The earliest activity to be identified within the main research area was a large, rock-cut linear ditch, running on a north-south alignment, directly under the western wall of the Walled Garden and a later medieval stone building. This feature was first identified by geophysical survey, undertaken in 1990, to examine the potential extent of the pre-Norman defences at Carew. Excavation has now demonstrated that it is part of a sequence of six rock-cut ditches previously identified during Phase I (1985-9) of the project (fig. 4). This particular ditch was partially excavated during the 1992 season where a very narrow strip of it appeared within the Walled Garden. In 1994 the rest of the ditch appeared from beneath the overlying archaeological deposits, although opportunities for full excavation were limited by the precarious presence of the unconsolidated west wall of the Walled Garden. The ditch followed an almost straight course with a width of up to 3 metres. Only in one place, at the extreme south end of the Research Area, could we cut a section through the deposits and even here it was impossible to. Apart from being larger than the other five identified ditches, its associated fills conformed with the pattern seen in the others. There was little in the way of silting within the ditch, suggesting that it was continually maintained. The fill of the ditch, loosely packed, irregular limestone fragments, was the result of a singular or rapid backfilling process. This backfilling, as with the other ditches, can be attributed to the initial Norman occupation of the site. The limestone fragments filling the ditch appeared to slope to the east, suggesting an infilling from the west. For the other ditches this was argued as being representative of a collapsed, stone faced embankment associated with the ditches. Further evidence for an embankment associated with the ditch was identified in the main research area. Here, to the immediate west of the ditch, a fragmentary layer of limestone chippings and a buried soil was preserved by the walls of part of the later medieval long building. This deposit seems to be the only remains we have of a pre-Norman rampart.

To the south of the Walled garden's south wall, and immediately to the east of the ditch, a series of significant features were encountered. These consisted of two large post hole cuts, complete with packing (fig.3). Two other, more shallow holes were identified in the immediate vicinity of these post pits, possibly representing an earlier or later phase of the main posts. The stratigraphy of these

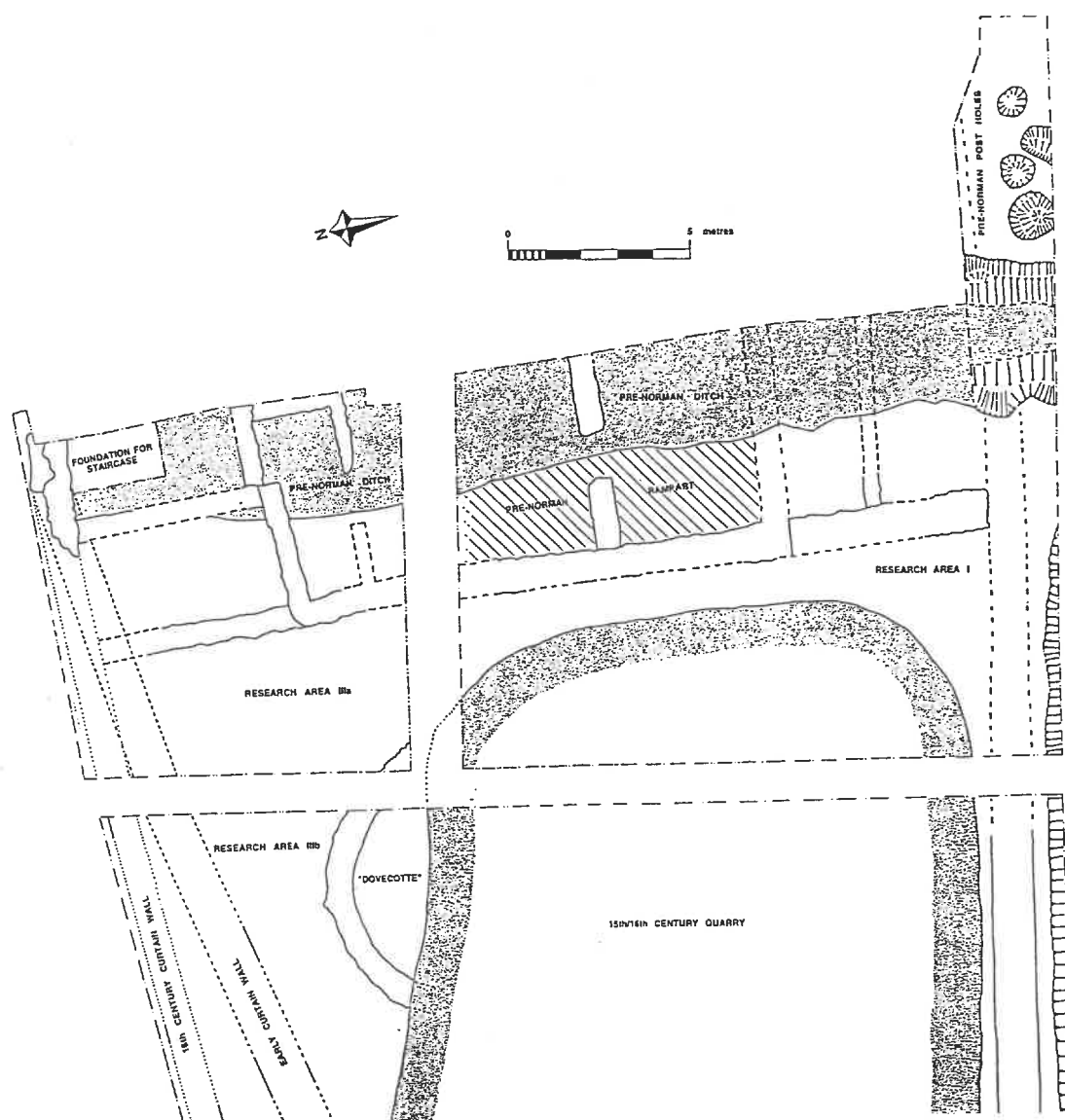


Figure 3: Excavation: the Research Area - Major features (Q. Drew)

post-holes closely parallels those of the pre-Norman ditches in that only the very uppermost layers on the surface of them contained cultural evidence, i.e. early twelfth century pottery. This stratigraphy as well as the position of the post holes (fig.3) strongly suggests either a gate structure or a revetment at one end of the rampart in front of the innermost ditch. In either interpretation it would appear that the excavation just revealed one side of an entrance passage into the defended enclosure. If this is the case then the continuation of the innermost ditch across the line of it is almost certain as can be seen on the plan. This might in its turn suggest that the entrance passage crossed the ditch not over a solid landform causeway but on some kind of bridge. All of this will be closely examined in 1995 when we hope to expose the whole of this gate complex.

The evidence from 1994 and a reappraisal of the material from previous seasons leads us to present a slightly different plan for the pre-Norman ditches from the one published in 1993 after the previous season's work (fig.4). In particular this incorporates the work in the Walled Garden completed in 1993 as well as the results for 1994 reported here. We have also had cause to use an air

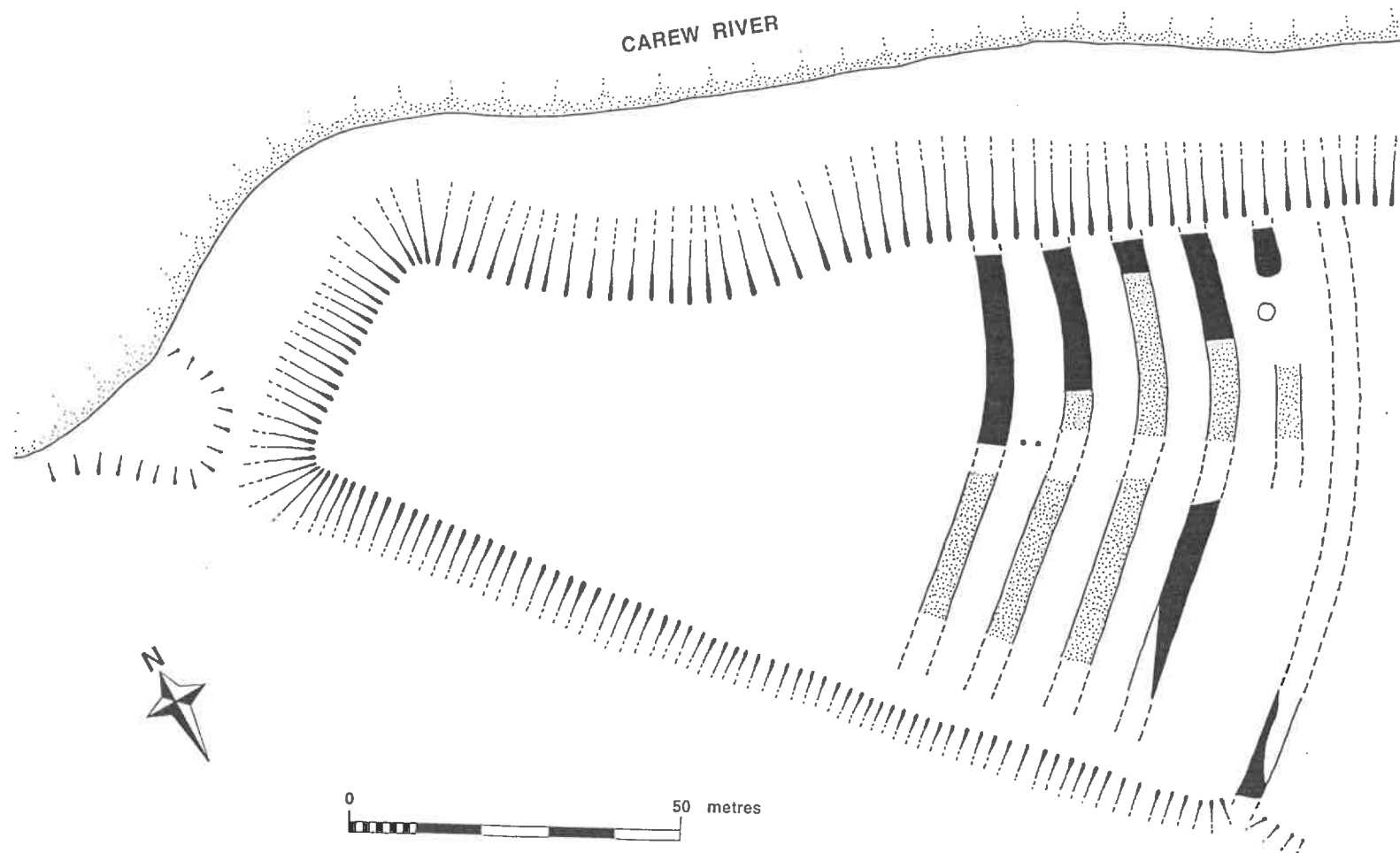


Figure 4: Excavation: Amended Overall Ditch Plan (D. Austin)

photograph recently published by Chris Musson (undated) which shows the site from an oblique angle in 1949 before any development work had been undertaken in the Walled Garden. In this photograph the ditches are very clear as crop marks and they not only cross the Walled Garden, but also seem to appear on the south side of the site well beyond the line of the earthworks of the castle Outer Ward. Here they all seem to stop on the line of a crop-mark which runs down the gulley between the Outer Ward and the modern Mill Lane. In 1994 we plan to look closely at this potential line of return on the ditch pattern.

In the new plan we can be quite sure that there were at least five lines of ditches and ramparts, but a sixth is enigmatic and problematical. This is the one that lies next behind the outermost ditch. Here the excavations and air photographs have revealed only an intermittent presence as if it had not been completed or had another design completely. We will need to re-examine the evidence for this ditch and related features in the coming post-excavation exercise. We have also this time omitted the speculative ditch we proposed in the 1993 publication which would have been on the line of the medieval ditch which lies across the face of the Middle Ward curtain. It could still have been there, but we are unlikely to find any positive evidence for it in the current round of excavations and so we have omitted it here. We might have been in a more secure position to speculate if it were not for the fact that 15th or 16th century quarrying has removed nearly all the area behind (to the west of) the last visible ditch (fig.3) which we had hoped would begin to show us something of the interior of the pre-Norman settlement.

The plan which has emerged from our work so far remains quite remarkable, and to that we can now add a re-evaluation of all the excavated ditch profiles which clearly and consistently demonstrates two principle phases in the lifetimes of all the excavated ditches. First is a profile which is as near a V-shape as the limestone would have allowed the makers to create and the second is a re-cutting on a slightly shallower more flat-bottomed cross-section. For what it is worth at the moment, our earliest C14 date of AD 270 $\pm$ 70 is in the primary silt of the first and our other date of 700 $\pm$ 70 is in the lower deposits of the second phase ditch. Of course this is not in any way definitive and we offer it at the moment as no more than an interesting piece of information. This is all it can be until we start to have more C14 determinations. It does offer an initial thought that the site, that is all of its ditches, was extensively refurbished at some point during the Dark Ages. This might well accord with the additional stratigraphical information that apart from a few Roman sherds the ditches are devoid of cultural material other than bones and this includes all of the sherds of E-ware so far found on the site. It is difficult to know precisely what this might mean at this stage of analysis, but it does open up the possibility that the ditches are open and cleaned until such time as the occupation would have become utterly aceramic, i.e. into the eighth and ninth centuries. As we have said before it is also clear that they were open and in use until just before the Norman acquisition of the site.

In writing of these ditches and their lost ramparts, we have slipped too easily into the habit of describing them in largely functionalist and processual terms. This is largely because of the antecedents of the discourse which are founded on these reductionist assumptions (e.g. Alcock 1987, Burrow 1981 or Dark 1994). As the pattern on the ground and the sequence of the site begins to emerge, we are becoming more comfortable with exploring other modes of discussing the meaning of the site. Its symbolic power by the time of the Normans in relation to the Welsh dynastic line of Deheubarth/Dyfed/Demetia has already been opened up by us and we have recently also begun to consider this also in relation to the Tudor elaboration of the place. It is perhaps more important to begin exploring some of

the simple assumptions we have made about Carew's pre-Norman identity from the archaeological traces already seen there. One of our areas of discussion, for example, has been about the nature of movement through the ditches and ramparts and, later, through the gates and courts of the castle and mansion. One of the most striking things about the pattern of space on the whole pre-Norman site, as revealed in figure 4, is that progress from the exterior to the interior (once allowance is also made for a substantial inner rampart) is very nearly half the length of the entire occupied area. This, of itself, sets up a whole series of allusions to the social experience of power in the place which has much greater complexity than simply that of attacker and defender. Procession and negotiation were clearly important aspects of how the external world came into the presence of authority within the interior. This can be related to the high incidence of liminal experiences of exit, entrance, meeting, greeting, challenging and declaration of identity and status which can be found in the texts of the age: from just one short section of the Mabinogion chosen at random from the story of Peredur;

As they were all making preparations, there rode to the gate a knight the size and strength of a warrior, and equipped with horse and armour; he approached and greeted Arthur and the entire retinue except for Gwalchmei. He carried on his shoulders a gold-chased shield with a bar of azure enamel, and the same colour was on all his armour. To Gwalchmei he said, "you killed my lord through treachery and deceit, and I will prove it against you."

(Gantz 1976, 249)

Early in the day Gwalchmei reached a valley, where he could see a fortress and a great court inside, with proud tall towers all round. he saw a horseman coming out through the gate, riding a glossy black palfrey, wide-nostrilled, proud and even-gaited: this man owned the court, and Gwalchmei greeted him. "God be good to you chieftain. Where do you come from" "I come from Arthur's court." "Are you Arthur's man?" "By my faith, I am"

(Gantz 1976, 250)

Peredur dismounted, and taking his horse by the bridle led it some distance along the highway until he came to a side road; he took this through the forest and on the other side he found a towerless fortress and signs of dwelling. He made for the fortress, and meeting the same priest at the gate again asked for a blessing. "God's blessing upon you," said the priest, "and the better for you to travel with it. You shall spend the night here."

(Gantz 1976, 251-2)

Indeed arriving at the gate or door and then entering the fortress and court is the moment when many a medieval story begins or an important shift in the narrative is made. John Bollard has pointed out to us that the prophetic Dream of Maxen Wledig, again in the Mabinogion, begins with the Emperor riding out of his city to hunt, while from the same source, the story of Owain starts in this way:

The Emperor Arthur was at Caer Llion ar Wysg, and one day he was sitting in his chamber with Owain son of Uryen and Kynon son of Clydno and Kei son of Kynyr, while Gwenhyvar and her handmaidens were sewing by a window. Now, though it is said that there was a gatekeeper at Arthur's court, there was not; however, Glewlwyd Strong Grip was there acting as gatekeeper, greeting guests and foreigners, beginning to honour them, telling them the customs and habits of the court, and informing those who had the right to go to the hall or the chamber, or who merited lodging...

(Gantz 1976, 193)

And it is no accident as John Bollard also indicates, that the narrative of Owain ap Cadwgan in the *Brut y Tywysogion* begins with the hero riding towards Gerald's fortress for the fatal encounter with Nest and continues with him beating at the Norman's door in the middle of the night and abducting the king's daughter.

Entrance and passage then was a nobly-negotiated, primary part of social and heroic action. Those coming and going were honoured, terrified or humiliated by it. At Carew long entrance is one of the most apparent and persistent aspects of the site which spans its whole history and culminates in the re-building of gates and courts by Rhys ap Thomas as a prelude to the grand entry to the Investiture Tournament of 1507. And the innermost of those gates, the porch to the Great Hall, still carries the arms of Arthur, Prince of Wales with all its deliberate allusions to ancient power and authority..

B) The Norman Activity.

Excavations in 1994 once again confirmed that the pre-Norman ditches were deliberately back-filled with rock and clay from the ramparts to the west of them and that Norman buildings and surfaces were laid down before the loose deposits had time to consolidate or form turf levels. This is still interpreted as evidence for deliberate Norman backfilling of the ditches. The ideological motivation for the deliberate suppression of this monument so closely associated with the preceding elite is obvious. But we must also note that it was part of the site preparation in advance of castle building and there are traces of this operation below the long building (fig.3) that is built over the ditch in the main research area. Pre-dating this structure, but stratigraphically later than the ditch backfilling, are a series of irregular pits which vary in size and depth which would appear to be either for sanitation or refuse. Pottery dates for these features are early twelfth century, and may represent the presence of the workforce employed in the construction of the 12th century stone castle.

C) The Medieval Long Building

The Long Building (figs. 3 & 5) as discussed in the 1992 & 1993 CCAP interim reports (Austin 1995, fig.4) was visible, prior to excavation, as a single earthwork. It was a little over 22 metres in length and much of its fabric has been robbed. The eastern side of this structure was truncated by the later Walled Garden, the foundations of which lay over the building's destruction debris which contained later medieval occupation material. Stratigraphically, therefore, the Long Building is sandwiched between the Norman building campaign and the late Tudor reorganisation of the Outer Ward. Thus it may have been in existence throughout the whole life of the medieval castle forming part of the arrangements on the north side of the Outer Ward.

Indeed the structure has several distinct phases of activity, the first being associated with the construction of the original 12th century curtain wall. In this phase the building appears to have been separated from the curtain wall by a gap of 4 metres, presumably allowing for access between the two. This first structure consisted of roughly coursed limestone foundations with a raised timber floor. Following this there was little alteration in the overall dimensions of the Long Building, but there are clear signs that throughout this part of its life the internal spaces were reorganised with partition walls on a number of occasions.

The second major phase occurs with the redevelopment and re-alignment of the curtain wall during Sir John Perrot's re-designing of the castle in the middle

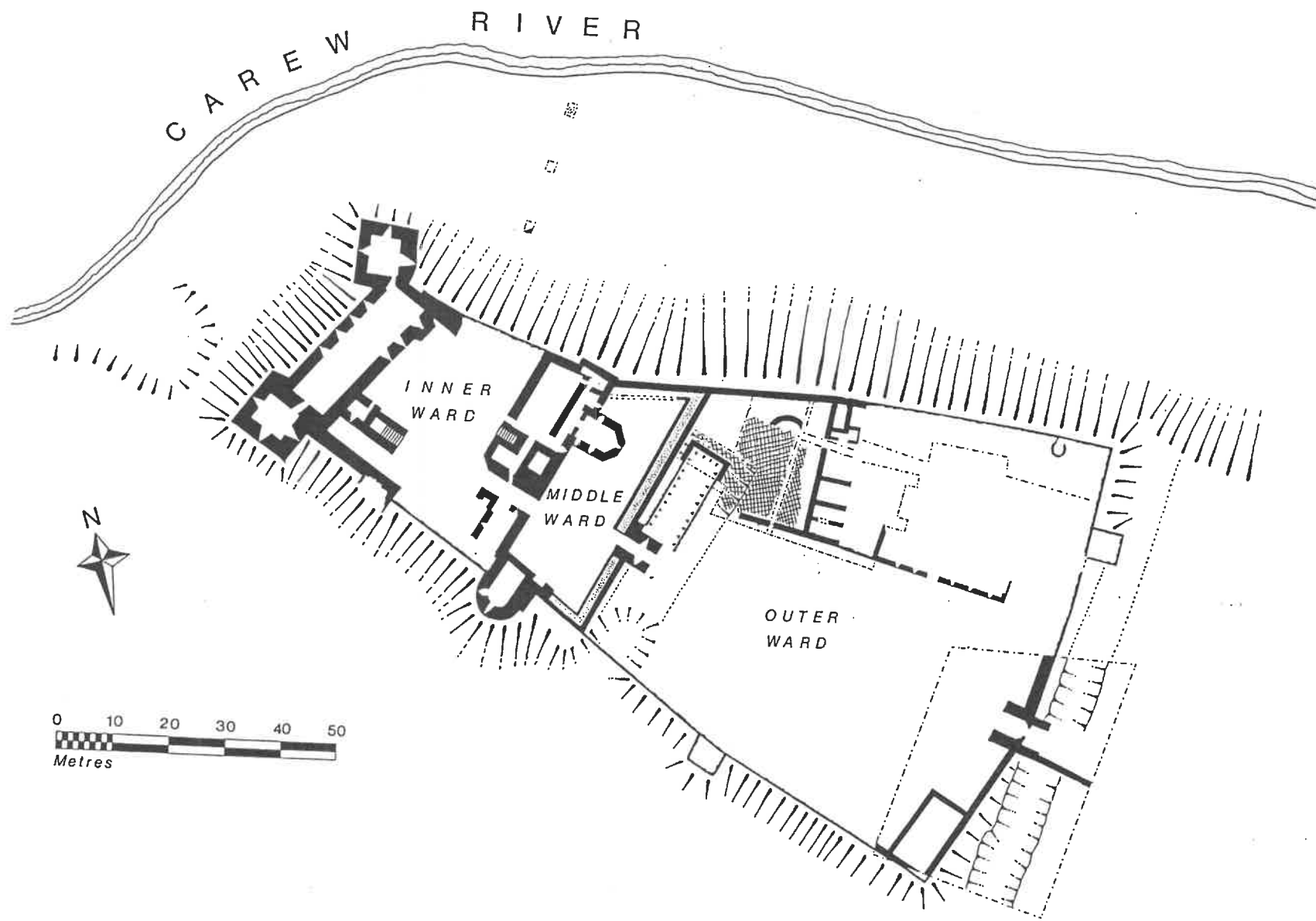


Figure 5: Excavation: Amended Later Medieval Plan (D. Austin)

part of the sixteenth century. At this point, a single room was added at the north end of the original structure, laid out over the remains of the slighted medieval curtain wall and abutting the new one. Immediately to the east of this extension would appear to be either a similar room created in the same fashion, or perhaps an open area acting as a yard between the building and curtain wall.

The building was also extended to the south by some 5 metres, perhaps in the form of an open bay. The gravel and pea-grit surface of this area was suggestive of a floor deposit, possibly the bedding for flagstones, though no evidence for these could be identified. This open bay suggestion for the southern end of the building may, however, be misleading, and there is some disagreement amongst us at the moment about the interpretation. It may rather be that there was a south wall visible only as very faint traces in the first season which connected the east-west barn to the east with the curtilage wall to the west (see fig.3). In this way the full character of the structure at this end would have been lost by differential demolition or erosion.

Another construction phase can be identified within the Long Building, although it is very difficult to see, prior to full analysis, how it can fit within the chronology of the sixteenth century. At the extreme northern end of the structure, to the east of the extension and abutting the Perrot curtain there is evidence for the insertion of a staircase (fig.3), demonstrating that the structure was, for at least the latter part of its use, multistorey. The evidence for this was a broad platform and the remains of two newel stones (forming the central column of a spiral staircase) recovered from the later demolition material covering this area, though these may have been deposited from elsewhere. The broad platform itself was built up with hard-core and demolition rubble, upon which a limestone and mortar base was constructed. Externally at this point on the curtain wall a buttress was added perhaps to take the stress and weight exerted by a staircase.

The possibility of a spiral staircase suggests a higher degree of status for the long building than might have been thought from its position in the Outer Ward. This impression of status is enhanced by the extensive evidence of its roof. The large number of slate roofing tiles were of two tones of dark grey, one pinkish and the other the more traditional blue, and this may suggest that the roof consisted of distinct patterns within its design. A further indication of the elaborate roof design was the large quantity of green-glazed, crested, ceramic ridge tiles recovered. Such patterning and the use of slate itself would have demonstrated high status, at least on the exterior. Other aspects of the Long Building, including the plaster on the internal faces of the walls, the varied contemporary floor surfaces (raised timber and flag-stone), the overall size, its proximity to the entrance to the inner wards of the castle and its traces of constant alteration, all suggest that the structure had some importance in the internal arrangements of the Outer Ward. There was, however, little clue in the form of occupation deposits as to the specific nature of activity undertaken inside the building, although one of the rooms at the north end had large quantities of charcoal and metal-working slag. This material, however, resulted almost certainly from dumping at the very end of the building's life.

D) The Medieval Curtain Wall(s)

On the north side of the Research Area excavation there were the remains of two successive curtain walls. The earliest was clearly the first and main medieval wall of the Outer Ward enceinte and its alignment, if projected westwards, would take it to the north-east corner of the Inner Ward's later Norman North-east Tower (fig.5). This wall was constructed with large, roughly worked limestone blocks, of which only the lower foundation course remained in part bedded into a

construction trench. That this trench did not extend the full length of the wall is peculiar, and the reason for this is not clear. It may be that the stretch of wall in the trench represents a later phase of activity, possibly associated with repair or structural strengthening. It may, in contrast however, also be suggested that the trench itself was in reality an earlier feature, perhaps related to the pre-Norman arrangements. Analysis of the material recovered from this feature may aid further interpretation.

The later wall is clearly part of the re-shaped curtain so designed to abut onto the apsidal east end of the sixteenth-century Perrot Wing and in building technology it was very different from its predecessor. It was considerably thinner and precariously built right on the lip of the limestone cliff above the Mill Pond of Carew River. The earlier wall would have functionally and symbolically emphasised strength and defensibility, whereas the later would have functioned as a curtilage to an outer court or garden, although externally retaining its symbolic aspect of enclosure and fortification. These differences can be seen to represent the transition in the character of the castle as a whole, with the later phase demonstrating the major jerry-built redevelopment of the castle by Perrot.

E) The Sixteenth Century Quarry and Lime Kiln

A major area of investigation during the 1994 season was within what had previously been referred to in earlier reports as 'the open space'. This area, to the south of the curtain wall(s) and to the immediate west of the Long Building appeared to consist of a levelled area, possibly a court-yard, which was sealed by the construction of the civil war ravelin. In the 1994 excavation it was seen that this area was in fact a quarry that had been backfilled with material dated to the 15th-17th century (fig. 6). It clearly cut through the semi-circular 'dovecote' feature discussed in the 1993 season interim report. Within the quarry were the remains of a lime kiln (plate 1), and likewise, this was dated to the 17th century. The quarry had been fully backfilled and the area levelled by the time of the construction of the 1640's ravelin.

The backfill material to the quarry consisted of alternating layers of domestic and demolition debris, specifically material from demolished buildings that would not have been processed through a lime kiln, such as roof slates, sandstone and timber. The depth (over 3 metres), overall size and quantity of material required for the backfilling suggests a major programme of demolition occurring in the near vicinity of the quarry, probably the wholesale clearance of the Outer Ward buildings. The date of the material backfilling the quarry suggests that the major demolition programme occurred during the late 16th. to early 17th. centuries, the period either during or immediately post-dating Sir John Perrot's redevelopment of the castle itself. If this is the case, then we must also take note of the 1592 survey which refers to a number of structures still remaining in that area. Perhaps what we are seeing is a quarry dug to provide building stone and mortar for the construction of the Perrot Wing and the remodelled curtain wall nearby. This would still have been open when the building work was brought to an abrupt end by Perrot's attainder in 1590 and its backfilling would represent a phase of extensive demolition and site clearance perhaps begun in preparation for a landscaping programme of projected Renaissance gardens and completed after the Perrot period perhaps when the castle was being prepared for Civil War action.

During excavation it was seen that the stone lined ditch, situated to the north of the Middle Ward gate-house, was constructed through the demolition material that sealed the lime kiln. This would date this feature to the period after the early 17th century, suggesting that perhaps the structure is indeed a civil war feature,

perhaps a magazine, an interpretation we were very prepared to reject at the end of the 1992 season (Austin 1993). If this is the case, it would have been situated in a somewhat vulnerable location, particularly if the Outer Ward structures had been cleared by this time as suggested. The size of this stone lined structure would also seem to be rather excessive for a single ravelin. It may be that the structure dates to a later period than the Civil War, though the lack of any subsequent dating evidence makes any certain interpretation very difficult.

One certain thing, however, was that the existence of the quarry rendered one aspect the original research design for this area utterly invalid. We could not begin to examine the interior of the pre-Norman settlement!

3. The Fabric Analysis

Nicky Evans

In 1994 we were asked by the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park to draw the seventeenth-century Musketry Wall in the Middle Ward in advance of consolidation. We were also asked to finish our drawings of the South East tower as large cracks in the walls were causing concern and urgent consolidation work was necessary. Consolidation was also to be carried out in the Inner Ward on the north and east façades. So we drew those areas and also started work on the interior of the Lesser Hall, though it was not possible to finish this by the end of the 1994 season.

A) The Musketry Wall (fig.6)

The Musketry Wall was built during the Civil War, possibly in 1643, as part of the defences added to Carew Castle by the Royalists. The wall was built to provide a defensive barrier between the Middle Ward Gatehouse and the Main Gateway to the Inner Ward of the Castle. It was approximately 2.6m high and was originally crenellated.

Access to the Main Gateway to the Inner Ward was through a break in the middle of the Musketry Wall. Both wall ends are badly damaged but four substantial beam slots on each side and a rebate on the eastern side suggest a wooden gate with draw bars behind. The entrance was angled slightly, not aligned at right angles to the wall ends. There are musketry loops about a metre above ground level and it is probable that there had been a wooden fighting platform attached to the western face to enable guns to be fired from the crenellated top.

The wall ends about 1.5m from the Chapel Tower where an ashlar block at ground level suggests another gateway. Possibly this was a sally port to allow defenders to rush out and strike an attacking force from the flank (Dale 1990).

The wall is now badly damaged and is to be consolidated in the near future.

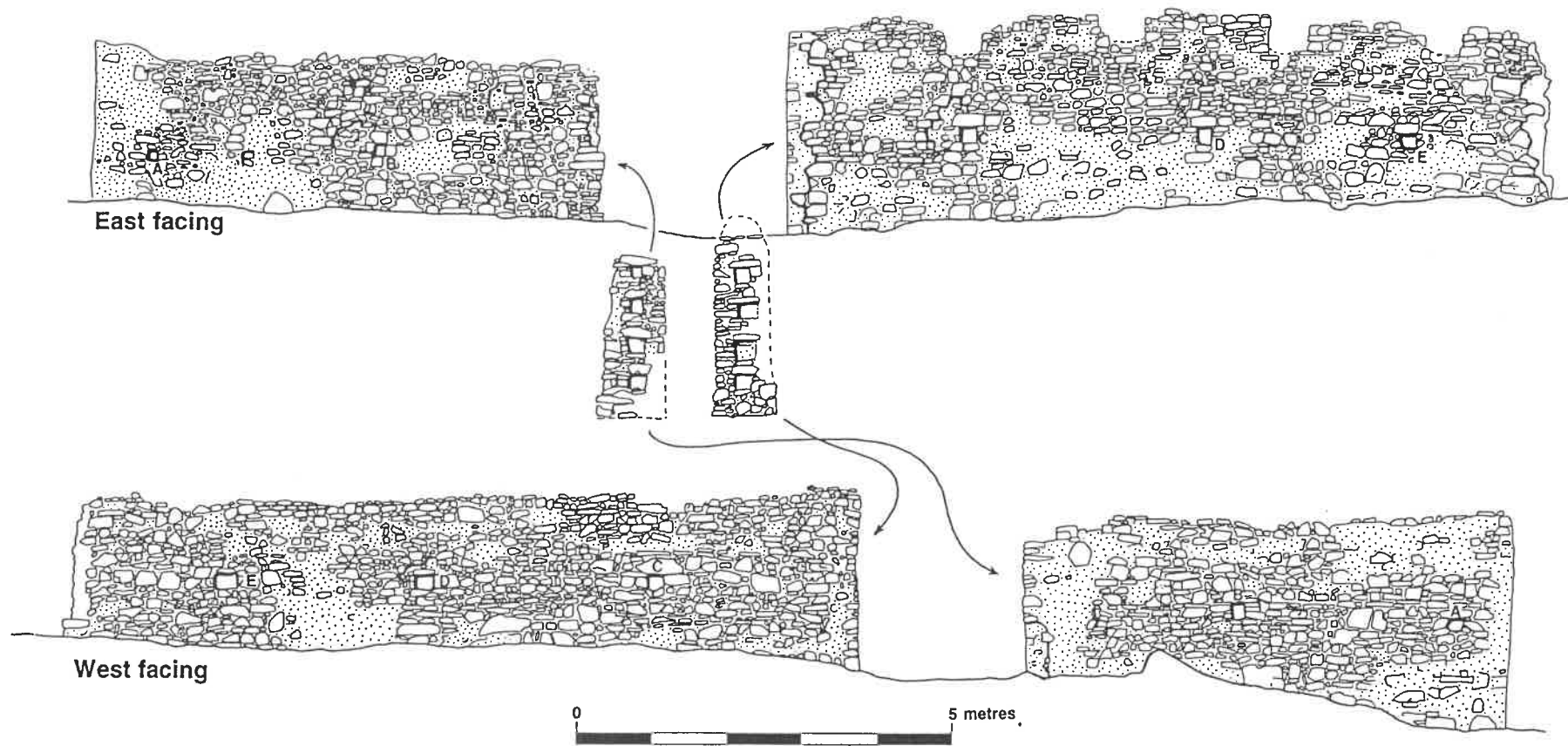


Figure 6: Fabric Analysis: The musketry wall (N. Evans)

B) The South-east Tower

The north and east exterior faces of the South-east Tower had been completed in earlier seasons and most of the analysis is contained in the 1993 Interim Report (Evans 1993). The interior elevations contained few surprises but some further details did emerge.

It became clear that on the ground and first floors there had been wooden partitions dividing the chambers into two parts. The southern parts were living or working areas with large windows for light, the lower chamber had its own garderobe, while the upper had a fireplace and access to the garderobe on that floor. The northern parts of the chambers were divided off as corridors to, and past, the garderobes on each floor, and as through-routes from the southern curtain wall to the eastern wall walk.

The present eastern curtain wall is narrow and only reaches to the first floor of the tower but protruding stonework indicates that originally there must have been a higher curtain wall containing an intermural stair at first floor level and a wall walk at second floor level.

The South-east tower appears to have been built originally as part of the principal second Norman phase, it was a three storey tower with its top storey having three stone sides and the northern side made of timber and jettied out to contain a through-passage reached via the, now blocked, doorway in the curtain wall. The southern chamber was reached through the doorway that is still open. In the later twelfth century a garderobe or latrine block was added which was set behind a new fireplace for the second floor. At the same time probably the southern wall was removed and replaced by an apsidal addition containing three windows on the first and second floors and one light to the undercroft. The northern jettied portion was removed and the present northern wall of the second floor built on the same line as the lower two floors. In the fourteenth century, the second floor partition was removed and a large window was inserted in the north wall, possibly replacing a smaller light. At the same time the small light below the apex of the roof was half filled in so that a flat ceiling could be inserted in the expanded second floor chamber.

The large window on the second floor of the north face of the tower has lost all its stone surround and a concrete lintel was inserted earlier this century. The lack of detail makes it very difficult to suggest an accurate date for its insertion. Lower down on the same face a slit window has also been repaired in modern times so that it appears to be wider than it would have been originally.

The present corbel table and crenellations on both faces appear to be later additions or alterations, though the corbel table on the north face is probably later than those on the other faces. Some of the crennels have been filled in, perhaps when the tower was re-roofed or during the Civil War. The wall walk around the top of the tower was reached from a doorway, that can still be seen, from the top of the curtain wall attached to the central tower and gateway.

C) The Inner Ward, east side, made up of the external aspect of the west wall of the Lesser Hall and its added Porch. (Plate 2)

This wall was drawn in 1994 in advance of proposed consolidation in this area. The wall takes up the greater part of the east side of the Inner Ward courtyard and its northern corner is abutted by the Perrot Wing and the southern corner of the Porch forms part of the passage leading from the main gateway. South of the gateway there are the remains of what was probably a first floor hall but this area is

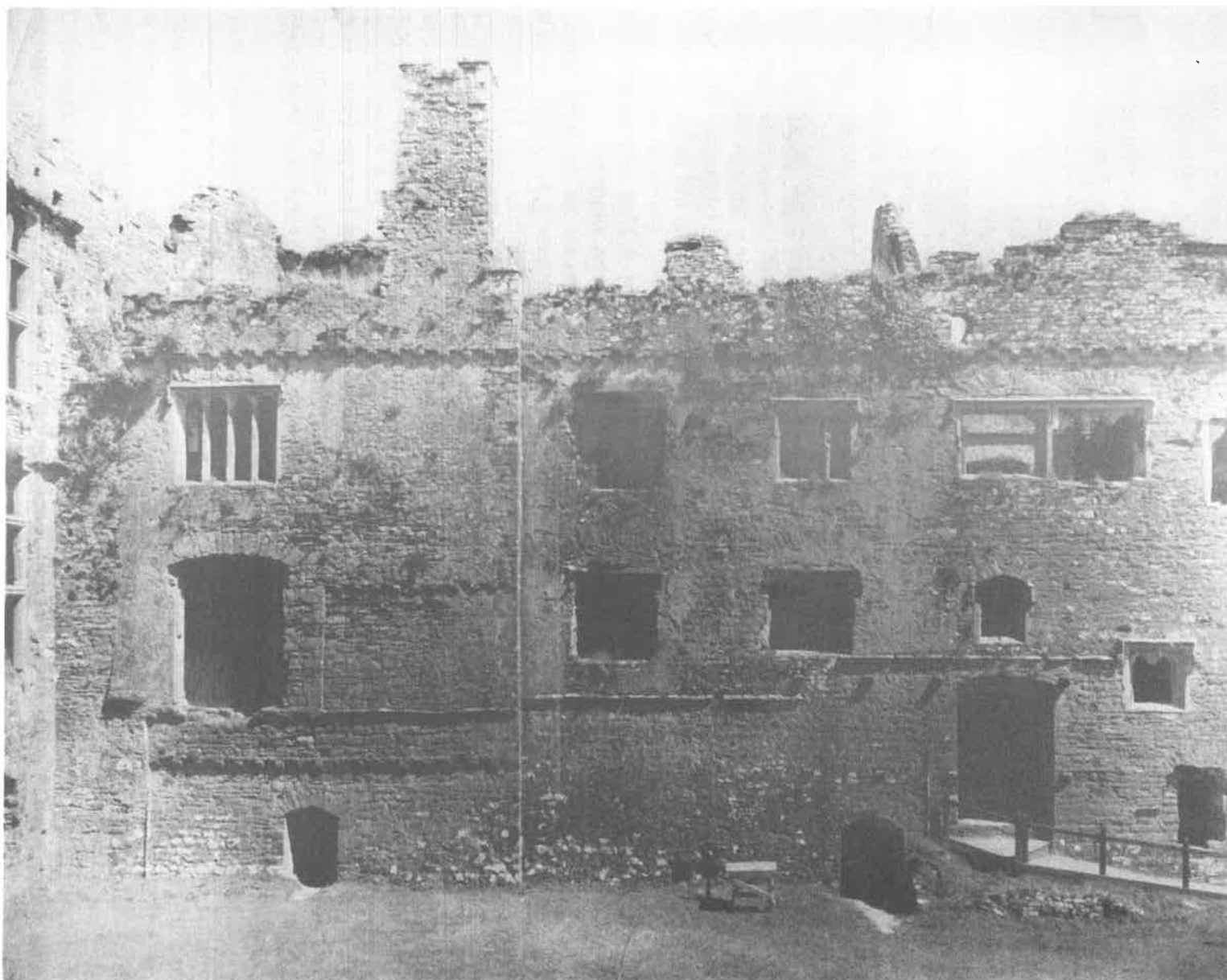


Plate 1: The Inner Ward Court - East (P. Dixon)

very ruinous and most of the standing fabric is modern buttressing to the leaning East Façade of the castle.

The main part of the frontage is taken up by the external façade of the west wall of the Lesser Hall. The Lesser Hall façade is divided into two parts by a rebate, approximately 30 cm deep, which runs from ground level to the crenellations. The lower part of this rebate is battered slightly to the south.

There is an area of infill between the Lesser Hall north-west corner and the later Perrot Wing (which forms the northern side of the courtyard square). Butted onto the south side of the Lesser Hall is the Porch which extends to the main gateway arch. The lower courses of the entire facade are slightly battered though this clearer on the Porch.

The earliest stonework in the façade appears to be a section approximately a metre wide at ground level on the extreme northern end of the Lesser Hall, it extends upwards to two protruding stones just below, and to the north of, the large window on the first floor. A large stone about 1.5m above ground level and the two protruding stones already mentioned may have formed part of the upper arch and lower sill of a doorway leading from an original access route from the courtyard to the curtain wall or the North East tower. To the south of this section is the Lesser Hall undercroft and, to the north, the infill between it and the Perrot Wing. The undercroft section of wall along the entire Lesser Hall façade appears to be built of larger stones than the upper portions and may be earlier. There are two doorways to the undercroft, both have arches and jambs of modified stone blocks but no relieving arches.

North of the dividing rebate there is a corbel table about 2.5m above ground level though this is not continued on the southern part of the Lesser Hall facade. At about 3.5 above ground level there is a line of protruding stonework which supported a wooden pentice serving as a covered walkway between the two undercroft entrances. This appears to extend across the base of the large window at first floor level which is also supported by a row of corbels, some of which are now missing. There is another decorative corbel table at 6.25m above ground level, on the façade north of the rebate, to the south of the large window.

The window aperture itself is very large and has most of its bath-stone surround missing. From the rebate for a transom in the remaining northern jamb it is possible to suggest that it originally contained two rows of lights, with four lights in each row to match the smaller window above. Its large, flat-headed, relieving arch survives, though, if the window was centrally placed under the arch then the right hand jamb appears to have been infilled at some time, perhaps to support the stonework above. To the south of the window there is a narrow rebate from the upper corbel table level to the level of the pentice support. The base of the window appears to have been level with a raised dais inside the Lesser Hall. On aerial photographs a crop mark appears to indicate a circular structure in the courtyard, overlooked by the large window. It has been suggested that this could be an ornamental fountain.

Above the large window on the first floor is another, smaller window with four round-headed lights. Much of the decorative bath-stone surround survives, including the stone mullions between the lights, the square-headed hood moulding and the carved northern stop. The northern stop appears to be represent a hooded head, with human features but with a gaping mouth containing sharp, pointed teeth, though the detail is unclear. The southern stop is badly eroded and it is not possible to suggest a subject. The architrave and mullions are decorated with plain square-edged moulding. A flat-headed relieving arch is visible through the plastering above the window.

To the right of both windows is an area of stone-work containing many, very dark grey, stone blocks. This area is behind the fireplaces on the first and second floors of the Lesser Hall and appears to be related to heat resistance needed in chimney construction. This dark grey stone has been used in the stonework of the chimneys of the Chapel Tower and has also been noted in chimney construction in Manorbier Castle. There is a patch of modern grey cement repair in this area south of the large window and below the middle corbel table.

There is also a corbel table at roof level surmounted by a crenellated wall-walk which is interrupted by a large square-sectioned chimney with a decorative crenellated top. The crenellated wall-walk continues to the south beyond the chimney, along the full length of the Lesser Hall. Two drain holes and three put-log holes can be seen at this level.

Between the rebate and the Porch, and above undercroft level, are four windows, two on the first floor and two on the second. Three of the windows are badly damaged, with most of the bath-stone surrounds missing and modern concrete lintels inserted. One window, the southern on the second floor, is comparatively well-preserved and the others are likely to have matched it. It is very like the example already described further north, with a square-headed hood moulding and stops, but containing three lights. The southern mullion survives but the northern is missing, though the upper and lower angles are still there. Both hood stops are badly eroded and it is not possible to recognise any detail. The window on the first floor has a single stone surviving of the surround on the top, southern corner. Three of the windows have visible relieving arches, the other is probably there, but hidden under plaster.

To the south of the Lesser Hall is the Porch. This was added to the already existing Lesser Hall, the butt joint is visible at roof level, where the wall-walk stonework of the Porch is higher and oversails slightly. Over the Porch, at roof level the wall is extended upwards to form the stepped gable-end for an east-west roof. The upper corbel table on the Lesser Hall is carried over into the Porch structure at the same level.

The junction between Porch and Lesser Hall is unclear further down the wall but the northern jamb of the large door may be formed by the original quoins of the south-west corner of the Hall.

When the Porch was added to the Hall two rows of three corbels were inserted into the stonework over the undercroft door and two more built into the wall to the south of the large door at first floor level. The corbels in the upper row have large rebates on the upper surfaces to hold a horizontal timber. Above the upper row of corbels is another row of protruding stones. The corbels and the protruding stones supported the timbers of an additional covered walkway over the staircase up to the door. At the moment there is a modern earthen ramp and concrete stair leading up to the door alongside the Porch external wall, but originally the wooden or stone stair may have been built at right angles to the main building as the supporting corbels do not continue along the external Porch wall. Also there are two windows in the Porch wall to the right of the door which would have been obscured if the covered staircase was built alongside the wall. The doorway itself only has carved bathstone as its lintel. The lintel is a deep, shallow arch with two orders of serpentine moulding but there is no hood moulding nor are there bathstone jambs. There is no rebate for a door or recesses for door fittings in the stone jambs. The wide staircase leads through the door into the Porch gives access to the Lesser Hall first floor, and up another staircase, to the upper floor of the Porch building.

To the south of the large doorway and level with the door cill is a small single light window which lit the undercroft. It is badly damaged and it is not

possible to be certain whether it had any decorative stonework surround, but the gaps in the stonework do suggest the presence of a square-headed hood moulding.

Level with the arch of the doorway into the Porch, and to the south, is a window which lit the small chamber above the undercroft. This again has a square hood moulding with stops containing carved flowers. These have five elaborately folded petals and a textured centre and are surrounded by square moulding. These carvings appear very clear and fresh compared with the others on the facade. The window had two round-headed lights though most of the stone mullion between is now missing. This window does not appear to have a relieving arch above it and may be a later insertion.

The window above the doorway lit the passage into the Lesser Hall. Much of its surround is missing but enough remains to suggest that it also had a square hood-moulding but with comparatively plain stops that are still quite clear. A stub in the lintel suggests that this window also had two, probably round headed lights. This window does have a relieving arch.

At second floor level, above the main doorway there are two windows, so close together that their jambs touch forming a wide band of bathstone moulding. The square hood moulding covers both windows with fairly plain moulded stops at either side and no stop between, though the hood moulding termination is indicated in the bathstone moulding. The southernmost of the two windows still has the round heads of its three lights but the northernmost has only the southern half of its southern light. Originally there appear to have been three matching lights in each window. There is a wide relieving arch above each of the pair of windows and the northern jamb of the northern window appears to be very close to the joint between the Lesser Hall and the Porch. It is possible that the quoins of the Lesser Hall, at this height, were removed for the insertion of the windows when the Porch was added.

Just below and to the south of the pair of windows, just described, is another window which lit the stairwell connecting the first and second floors of the Porch. Much of the decorative stonework around this window is missing but what remains conforms with the style of the other windows on this facade. There was a square headed hood moulding with stops either side, but the one remaining stop is badly eroded. This stop does, however have a small square recess where a separate carved boss may have been attached.

The twelve windows on this façade of the Lesser Hall and Porch, all had square-headed hood mouldings and the jambs, mullions, lintels and sills were all constructed from the same bath-stone with similar moulding details. The hood moulding stops, however, were not all the same as there are three distinct styles. The windows on the second floor of the Lesser Hall, where the stops still exist, have elaborately carved faces. The stops on the Porch are in two styles, one window has the carved flowers and the others less elaborate moulded decoration.

It is hoped that work on the interior of the Lesser Hall and Porch in 1995 will make the phasing of the façade clear.

D) The Inner Ward, north side, made up of the external aspect of the North Turret and the external aspect of the added Perrot Wing (fig.7)

This wall was drawn in 1994 because of proposed consolidation in this area. The wall takes up the entire north side of the courtyard, in the east it is joined to the Lesser Hall and in the west it abuts the Greater Hall.

The eastern section of this face forms part of the great Wing built in the late sixteenth century by Sir John Perrot. This whole addition is built of comparatively small, unmodified slabs of local limestone with bathstone used for the window and

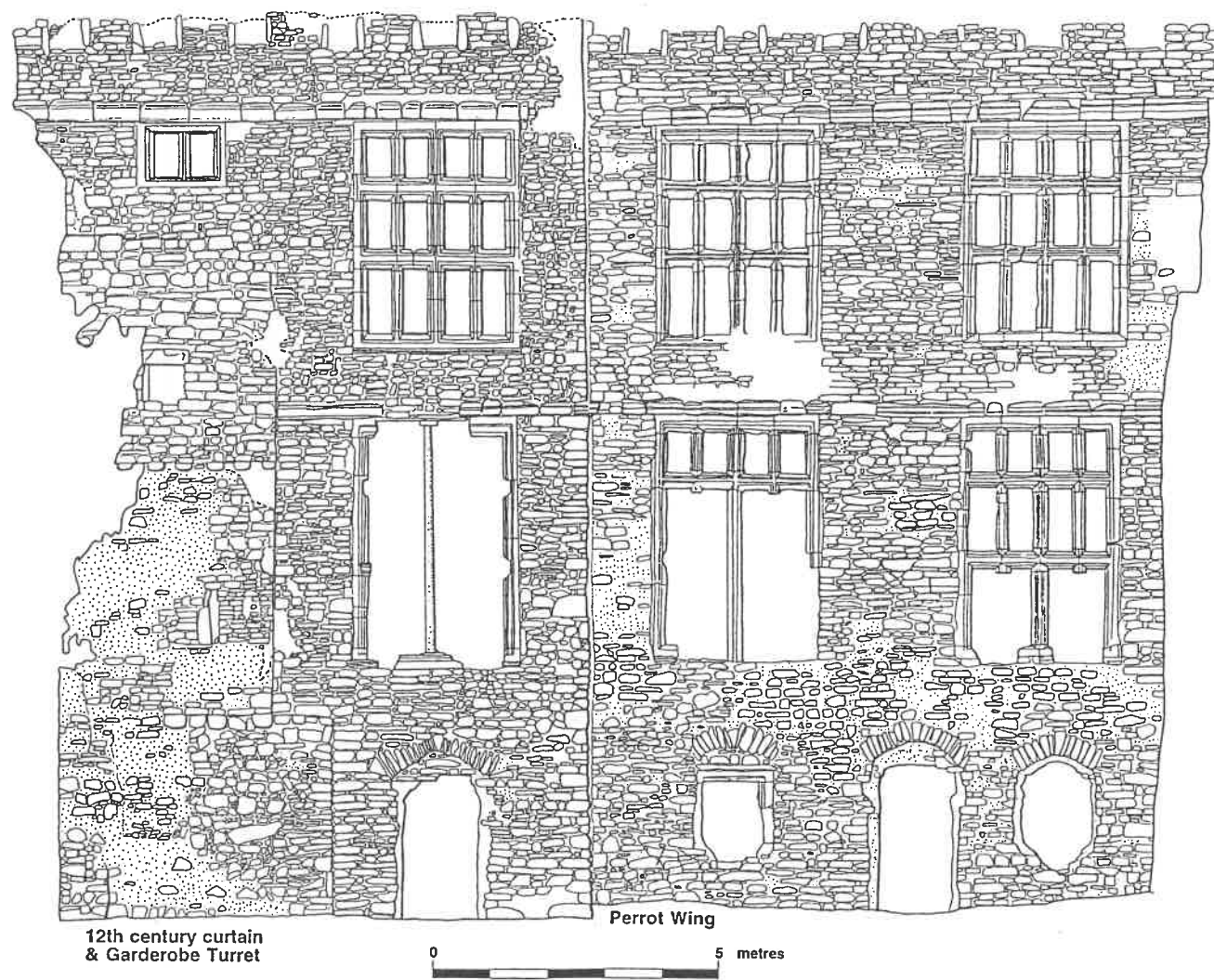


Figure 7: Fabric Analysis: The Inner Ward Court, North (N. Evans)

door surrounds. The Wing consists of a very long gallery on the top floor, a slightly shorter long gallery and one other room on the middle floor, and an undercroft. The drawn portion of the external wall on the eastern side contains a door and two small windows on the ground floor and two, very large, stone mullioned and transomed windows on each of the first and second floors. Above the upper and middle windows are string courses of decorative moulding, though both the mouldings and the bath-stone window surrounds are badly worn and have portions completely missing. The mouldings served both to throw rain water clear of the windows and as decorative features. A single put-log is apparent between the two highest windows on the main façade. Above the upper moulding there are three drain holes from the wall walk around the roof. The roof line is embellished with crenellations which have been filled in, possible during the Civil War.

The shape, size and design of the larger windows are still obvious but the lower part of the middle western window has collapsed and a modern replacement stone mullion has been inserted to support the stonework above. The four large windows have three rows of four lights, graduated in size from smaller in the top row to larger in the bottom row. The bath stone is decorated with plain square edged mouldings, with two fillets on the transoms and mullions.

On the ground floor most of the decorative bath-stone surrounds of the smaller windows and the door are missing. Nevertheless it is possible to suggest that all the lower openings were surrounded by square-headed hood mouldings with decorative stops. The stub of a stone mullion in the western window suggests that both lower windows had two lights. Only the lowest jamb stone on the eastern side of the door survives showing decorative moulding. All three lower openings have surviving relieving arches, though the larger, upper windows do not.

The western half of this façade is more complicated, being of more than one building period. It is approximately 3.2 m further south than the eastern side and attached to it by a plain wall of the Perrot extension style and date.

The western part of the facade is formed by the North Turret which incorporated a two-storey garderobe and was built probably in the late twelfth century along the line of the early curtain wall from the north-west angle of the Inner Ward (later replaced by the thirteenth-century North-west Tower) to the Norman North-east Tower. The south-east corner of the turret is visible where the wall is battered and protrudes at ground level. The lower portion of the wall to the east of this point continues to be battered and there appears to be a filled-in window, and possibly a door for access to the ground floor of the Turret, in this area. The gap between the turret and the Great Hall has been filled in, probably when the Great Hall was built in the thirteenth century.

The Turret has a corbel table at 3.5m above ground level and above this there is slit window which now lights a first floor access corridor between the Great Hall and the Perrot wing. There is another corbel table 7.25m above ground level and, above that, another small rectangular window. This window lights a small rectangular chamber in what was originally the top floor of the turret, this chamber originally contained a garderobe, the chute of which is still evident on the north face of the turret.

When the Perrot Wing was added in the sixteenth century it was abutted to the Turret on its eastern side and the Turret was oversailed by the extension stonework. Above the original turret another floor was added containing a rectangular, two light window which still has an intact bath-stone surround. Above this window there is decorative moulding to match the eastern portion of the facade.

The Perrot Wing abuts the Turret up to second floor level then oversails it. This part of the wall contains a ground floor door and, above that, two large

windows with bath-stone surrounds that exactly match the ones on the other half of the façade. The door surround has not survived apart from a single eroded stone of the lintel/jamb joint which indicates that the surround was square headed and probably matched the door in the eastern portion of the facade. The pointed relieving arch over the door is still evident.

Only the jambs of window on the first floor survive. The mullions and transoms have fallen and an iron prop has been inserted to support the stonework above. The structure of the window is still apparent as the jambs, lintel and sill survive with their joint rebates. Immediately above this window is a moulding to match the eastern portion of the facade. The upper window is intact though the bath-stone is eroded. The moulding above the upper window is continuous from the joint with the Great Hall, around the eastern corner of this face, along the north-south joining wall and onto the eastern part of the façade already described, although portions are badly damaged or missing. The moulding above the lower Perrot window is continuous from where the Perrot building abuts the North Turret around the rest of the building, to match the upper moulding.

Above the moulding there is a crenellated wall walk, again the crenels appear to have been filled in, probably during the Civil War. The crenellated wall walk is also continuous along the north-south joining wall.

This part of the façade has stonework of at least four building phases. The first phase was the building of the North Turret, followed by the later infilling of the gap between the Great Hall and the Turret. The window and the door at ground level in the Turret could have been in-filled when the Perrot wing was butted onto the Turret and the rest of the façade completed. The crenellations were filled in at a later date and there are some modern replacement mullions in the large Tudor windows. There is also a patch of grey modern cement repair between the lower pair of large windows in the eastern part of the façade.

4. Landscape Research

Richard Cole (with thanks to Angie Darlington)

A. An Old Pembrokeshire Trackway? An Exercise in Landscape Archaeology

i). The Hypothesis

During the winter months of 1993-4, morphological analysis of maps covering the Carew area, isolated the existence of a continuous boundary over four kilometres long from the castle at Carew to the village of Hodgeston in the parish of the same name (Fig. 8).

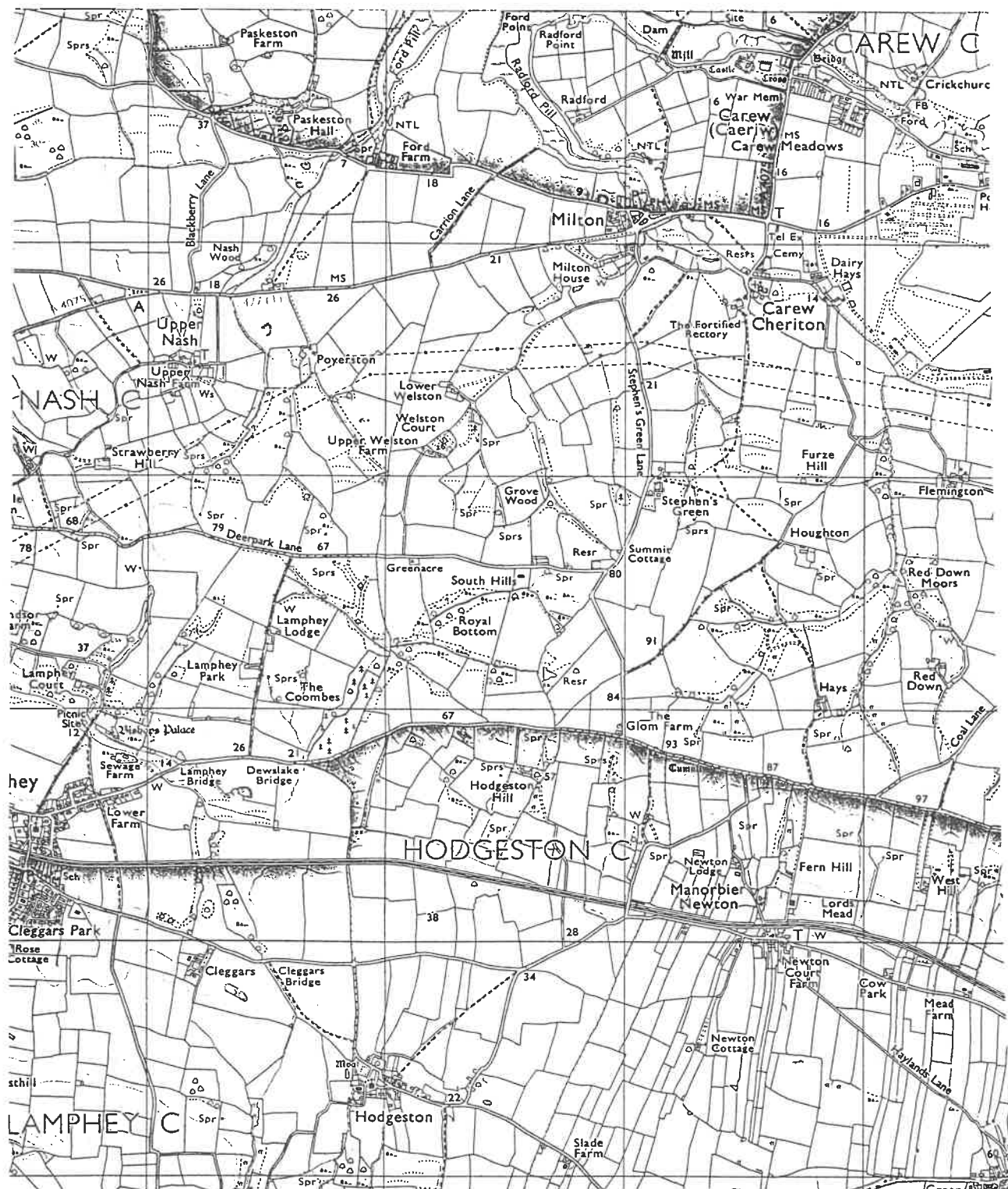


Figure 8: The Landscape: The line of the hypothesised road

Two sections of this seemingly continuous boundary were in fact roads, which were both discernible from the cartography. The first led from Carew Castle and the A4075 Haverfordwest road, to a junction on the main A477 Pembroke to Kilgetty road. The second section of roadway linked the Ridgeway (a known prehistoric routeway) to Hodgeston. These two sections of road were then directly linked by a boundary, which stimulated the hypothesis that a roadway once might have stretched the whole distance between Carew and Hodgeston.

The easternmost section of still-existing road on this axis, where it joined the A4075, is well defined. It leads past Carew Castle along Castle Lane, flanked to the south by the late sixteenth century Orchard Wall (Cole 1993, 44) and by the Castle Green to the north.

These two stone-walled enclosures both post-date the road: the wall around the Castle Green, was built by the Carew Estate in 1769 (D/CAR/40), by which time the castle no longer functioned as an elite residence. An estate map of the Carew Mill Park and Carew Meadows from 1751 further demonstrates that this routeway would have had direct access to the estuary below the west face of the castle prior to the construction of the Castle Green Wall. The estate map recorded this area as "common." This area also includes a possible landing place or small harbour, which was partially excavated in 1993 (Austin 1995). The landing place would have predated the construction of the French Mill and the damming of the mill pond. The French Mill was first recorded in 1476 (Charles 1992, 477).

The Lane continues from the Mill Pond to the ford at Radford farm, but is named Radford Lane from this point. The road lies to the south of the late fifteenth century wall enclosing the Carew Mill Park. The whole length of this road between the A4075 and the estuary is tarmaced and still used as access to the farm.

Directly opposite the farm, across the estuary, the road continued. This section of road, also still known as Radford Lane, leads from the ford to the road linking Milton to Ford farm, Cosheston and Upton. Radford Lane crosses this junction and continues to the main A477 road linking Pembroke to the east. This section of routeway is known as Carrion Lane.

Facing Carrion Lane across the A477, was a boundary that led to Deerpark Lane further south. This boundary appears to be a direct continuation of the road, although there is a pronounced kink either side of this road. It must, therefore, be understood that this section of road or boundary could be an amalgam of more than one landscape feature.

The boundary south of the A477 was the dividing line between two old farmsteads: Welston and Poyerston, both of which are of considerable antiquity: Welston is first recorded in 1326 and Poyerston in 1385 (Charles 1992, 479).

The continued projection of this line, south of Deerpark Lane, follows the easternmost fringe of Lamphey Deer Park to the Ridgeway. Interestingly, this section of the proposed route is also a parish boundary: the northern half dividing the parishes of Lamphey and Carew, and the southern separating Lamphey and Hodgeston.

Parish boundaries themselves, are increasingly being seen as very old features of our landscapes. Chris Taylor has argued that "many scholars see parishes as originating in the Roman period and as having been derived, with certain inevitable modifications, from the tenurial groupings that existed in Roman times or even earlier", (1983, 120), adding that "it may be that the medieval parishes evolved directly from the territorial divisions that emerged as a result of population pressures in the late Bronze Age and that therefore they were already old by the Roman period" (1983, 103-4).

Such considerations of large-scale continuity in the structure of British landscapes further increases speculation concerning the date of such long

distance landscape divisions or the possible existence of a road along such a boundary.

South of the Ridgeway, this north-south axis again becomes a road. Cartographic sources reveal that one boundary has been removed that would have continued the southward orientation of the eastern deer park wall. Slightly to the east of this point, there is now a roadway called Headland Lane, but which then links up to the parish boundary and continues southwards. This road is later dissected by a nineteenth century railway line and then continues to a crossroads on the Cleggars Bridge / Manorbier Newton road. Initial observations prior to the fieldwork demonstrated that this length of road between the crossroads and the Ridgeway was impassable and no longer used.

The road is still in use between the crossroads and Hodgeston. It has become part of the A4139 Lamphey to Jameston road that winds its way through Hodgeston. This orientation of this road, south of the Ridgeway, continues to follow the parish boundary.

This seemingly continuous north-south boundary runs over 4 km, which includes two separate sections of surviving roadway and also crosses or cuts five other east-west routes. There was a clear need to investigate the possibility that there was once a road running the entire length of this axis. But even if this was not so, this axis still reflects a division of some importance or antiquity, and well worth investigation.

ii) The Fieldwork - Carew Lane / Radford Lane / Carrion Lane

As already noted, Carew Lane is a modern tarmaced road leading to Radford Farm, but which many people use as a footpath to explore the Mill Park and walk to Milton. During the first season of the landscape project in 1992 we investigated this area and, in particular, the walled enclosures of the late medieval or early modern periods, as part of the Carew demesne (Cole & Drew 1993, 28-30, 32; Cole 1993, 39-48).

The actual ford at Radford can no longer be seen, due to the silting of the estuary. Local people however, can remember when the stone surface of the ford was last clearly visible. They maintain that carts used this section of road in the 1930s to collect silt from the estuary, which they mixed with coal dust to form balls for fuel. The local community continued to cross the ford by foot until the 1940s.

Across the ford, the southern section of Radford Lane and Carrion Lane are still accessible; being used as a footpath, even if quite overgrown. Material from the earthen banks flanking the road has slipped into the roadway, whilst large stones have been dumped onto the path from bordering fields. It is described on Ordnance Survey maps as a "road used as a public path."

Most of this section of roadway is approximately 3 metres wide, although this does fluctuate and it can be up to 6 metres wide in places. Radford Lane is noticeably more regular than Carrion Lane. At the point where Carrion Lane meets the A477, the nature of the junction has been altered with improvements to the east-west route. There have been two main phases of road improvements in this area; the construction of the Milton by-pass in the early 1960s and the subsequent widening of the road west of Milton in the following decade. The southern boundary bank to the A477 was not altered, but the northern one was grubbed out to accommodate the widening. This process has meant that Carrion Lane is set back from the A477 and its road surface is now higher than that of the trunk road. There is a steep grass verge that slopes down to the main road.

iii) The Fieldwork - Poyerston & Welston / Lamphey Deer Park

South of the A477, the continuous boundary under discussion offered no direct, physical evidence of a roadway along its length but highlighted problems with our hypothesis.

This boundary, near to the A477, contained the only morphological irregularity, a pronounced kink, which we could not explain. Most problems with the hypothesis however, were concerned with the natural topography, which would seem to have made this an unlikely route for any roadway.

In two places, there are steep sections or drops. At the largest of these, there is a kink in the underlying limestone bedrock that crosses two fields to the east of the parish boundary, before crossing the boundary itself and becoming a natural gorge further west. At this point of the boundary however, there is now a pond which may have been partially man-made with farmers taking advantage of the natural topography and utilising a known low place. The field, to the east, also includes a prominent bank feature, which underlies the access road to the 19th century Welston House. This is probably natural but certainly merits further investigation.

Further south from the pond and to the west of the boundary for the next 150 metres, there is a very pronounced ditch which is accompanied by a very wide bank in places. The size of the ditch is startling, often measurable to 2-3 metres wide whereas the accompanying bank can also be recorded in excess of 3 metres in places. This ditch feeds the pond and there is also evidence of a slight ditch on the eastern side of the boundary. There is no evidence to suggest that this large ditch could, in any way, be a reworking of an earlier road.

Lamphey Deer Park lies to the south of Deerpark Lane, surrounded by a stone wall. There are no features of note along its length, until the wall reaches the area of woodland known as the Coombes and dips fiercely into a wet hollow which, like the earlier and very similar natural feature north of Deerpark Lane, made the hypothesis of a road seem rather improbable. The wall then climbs more slowly into drier woodland and here, running alongside its length, was a hollow, almost 5 metres wide, with an accompanying bank. The hollow was stepped into a slope that declined west into the wood, and at first glance, it seemed clear evidence of a roadway.

As this feature lay within a medieval deer park however, it was necessary to skirt the whole perimeter of the park, to check if such a phenomenon could be noted elsewhere. A similar feature was noted inside the northern wall, and where the western wall of the park passed through woodland there was an almost identical hollow. It appears most likely therefore, that the bank, on the north-south axis under discussion is an integral part of the deer park rather than part of a road.

The Deer Park is first noted in The Black Book of St Davids, summarising the lands of the Diocese of St Davids, in 1326. It states "there is there a park which contains 144 acres, of which 48 are wood" and further states that "there can be kept in the said park 60 great beasts, as well as the wild animals". The record though, makes no actual reference to a stone wall surrounding the park. It seems sensible therefore, to speculate that the banks and ditches or hollows which survive within the park, are the remnants of an earlier enclosure, which was then superseded by the stone wall some time after 1326. Presumably the earthen features once continued around the whole site. Where the farmland is used today the bank has been removed, with the exception of the north-west of the park, whereas it has survived well in the areas of woodland. There was also a large amount of material silted up against the eastern side of the actual wall

iv) The Fieldwork - South of the Ridgeway / Hodgeston

Morphologically the continuous boundary that we are tracking should cross straight across the Ridgeway at this point, but no boundary exists. There is cartographic evidence to suggest that it has been ripped out. Headland Lane, just to the east, can be examined as it leads southwards from the Ridgeway, but then joins the north-south axis further south.

This section of road on the north-south axis, leading from the bottom of Headland Lane to the Cleggars Bridge / Jameston road, is disused and has been greatly altered in the last 150 years. The nineteenth century railway line has cut this road. To the north of the railway line, the road survives at field level flanked by two tree-lined earthen bank boundaries. To the south of the line, the roadway is deeper and almost totally overgrown for approximately 100 metres. From this point southwards, the eastern boundary of the road has been almost totally removed except at the top of the field.

The final discernible part of this axis has become part of the main A4139 road into Hodgeston. Instead of turning east past the moated site, as the modern road does, the road may have once continued on the west side of the feature suggesting a different village layout in the past. A further investigation to the south of Hodgeston was also deemed necessary, as the parish boundary continued on the same axis as our proposed road.

In woodland below Hodgeston Farm, two features of note were discovered. Regular, almost square cut channels over 2 metres deep and 1 metre wide were noted that could only be explained as leats of a water mill complex. The channels are most certainly not natural. Close to the water courses, we also discovered a circular, banked enclosure with an external diameter of approximately 24 metres. The earthen bank that surrounds it, is reasonably well preserved although worn down in two places clearly opposite to each other, possibly evidence of a later (animal?) track over and through the feature. This feature has been interpreted as an Iron Age enclosure.

Also of interest, must be the parish boundary to the south of the woods which is accompanied by a large ditch; deeper than the ditch north of the Ridgeway but without any bank. This boundary was followed until it met another east-west road, this time leading to Freshwater East.

v) Conclusion

This investigation as part of the Carew Castle Archaeological Project has not succeeded, as we might have hoped at the very start of the season, in discovering definite proof of a routeway, over 4 kilometres long, linking two parishes and crossing 5 east-west routes including a known prehistoric route, the Ridgeway.

Our hypothesis that there may have been a road, between the A477 and the Ridgeway, does fall down for two main reasons; not least that we discovered no physical proof of a roadway whilst the topography was overtly hostile to such a suggestion in a number of places.

However, we do still have the evidence of a continuous boundary for over 5 kilometres (if we include the parish boundary of Hodgeston south of the village); a deliberate and structured division of landscape, demonstrating the probable antiquity of this north-south axis as a landscape division in South Pembrokeshire.

The large ditches alongside two separate sections of this boundary, appear purely functional. It has to be suggested though, that these large trenches, that lay by parish boundaries, were also emphasising these important and ancient territorial demarcations.

If the studies of scholars such as Taylor can be supported, then perhaps we could argue that this "boundary line," existing as only either a road or as a defined parish boundary, is very old indeed. Just as people are starting to question the origins of co-axial field systems in Pembrokeshire, and suggesting that they may be prehistoric (Cole 1993), it is worth noting that the north-south axis under discussion partially runs along the same orientation as these field systems the entire length of Hodgeston parish. If it can be demonstrated that these co-axial field systems (and their resultant parishes are pre-Norman or prehistoric) the same conclusion would have to be drawn for this boundary linking the parish of Hodgeston, at least as far north as the A477.

As the work progressed, it became increasingly clear we were also operating within a relatively high status landscape. The concentration of elite influences is evident at many points along the north-south axis under discussion. First at Carew, with its elite structure of over 2000 years and its stone walled parks, it is noticable further along by the limits of the deer park associated to Lamphey Palace and then also at the moated site at Hodgeston. If we wish to speculate further, it could be argued that our north-south axis linked two sites of possible Romano-British / Iron Age activity - at Carew and also at Hodgeston, with its recently discovered enclosure.

B. Sample Excavations at Houghton Farm and Flemington Mill

Two weeks were set aside this season, for a reasonably large-scale programme of sample excavation, at the neighbouring sites of Houghton and Flemington Mill. This follows the limited degree of targeted sample excavation used during the 1993 season.

The ring-fence farm of Houghton was discussed in the 1993 Interim Report, (Cole 1995) when it was compared to the hamlet of Carew Newton. There is no real need for us to repeat that information here, although some details need partial updating. The site of Flemington Mill however, was only briefly covered in the first interim report (Cole & Drew 1993, 33-34) so it is necessary to expand on those initial observations.

i) Houghton Farm Update (fig.9)

During last year's fieldwork at Houghton Farm, we argued that the road running past the farm had originally extended to the Ridgeway, and therefore pre-dated the present road called Stephens Green Road which links Milton, via Stephens Green, to the Ridgeway (Fig. 10). This suggestion has since been corroborated by documentary evidence.

One document confirms that the road did continue further, running along the line of a still-existing boundary, straight to the Ridgeway until 1802. In that year it was noted that "the greatest part thereof [is] narrow and cannot be conveniently enlarged and made commodious for travellers without diverting and turning the same" and ordered that the "old highway ... be stopped up" and a new section of road created (PQ/AH/2/3).

Up until the early nineteenth century therefore, the more modern Stephens Green Road abutted the roadway to Houghton further demonstrating that Stephens Green Road, or at least the most southerly section of it, could only be later.

The same document also suggests that much of the road network in the area was being improved at this time. It proposed the "widening and enlarging [of] the said highway leading from the village of Lamphey to the village of Milton aforesaid

and making the same more commodious and easy for all his Majesties subjects ..." (PQ/AH/2/3).

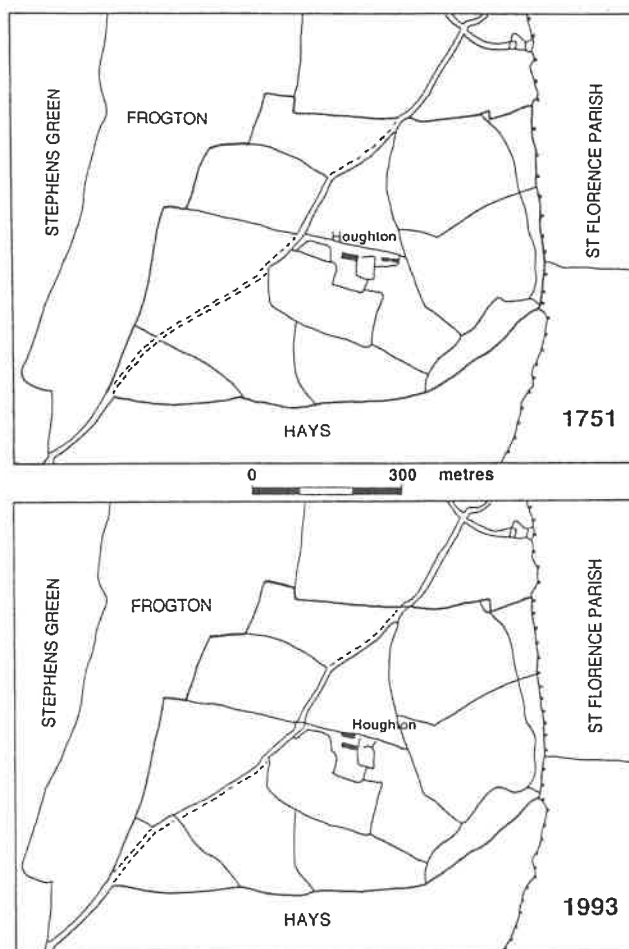


Figure 9 : The Landscape: Houghton Farm (R. Cole & Q. Drew)

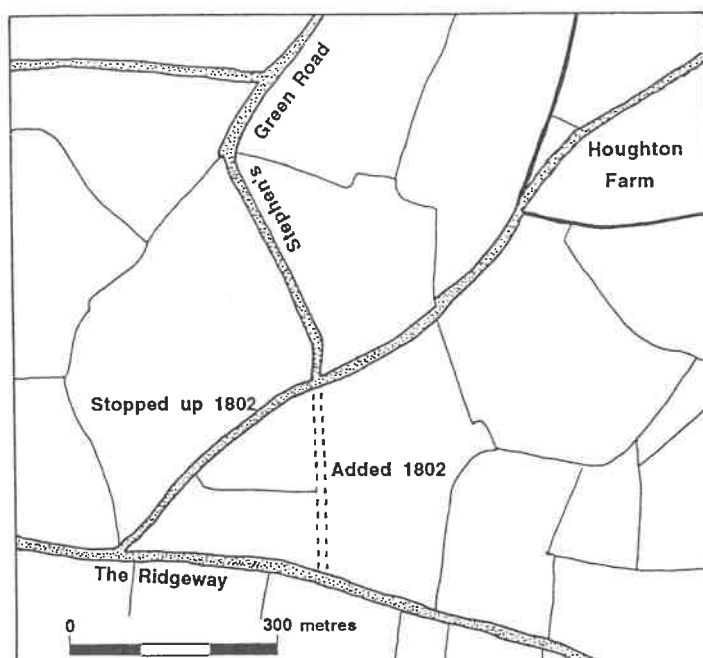


Figure 10 : The Landscape: Houghton Farm: Road system to southwest (R. Cole & Q. Drew)

ii) Flemington Mill

The now derelict mill at Flemington lies to the north of Houghton Farm, near the Carew / St Florence parish boundary, at a focus of 4 disused trackways that once linked a number of settlements to the milling complex. These include Houghton (and through traffic from the Ridgeway), Carew Cheriton (and also the traffic from the Pembroke to Kilgetty road) and Flemington Farm in the neighbouring parish of St. Florence. There is only one access route in and out of the mill.

All these roads are now blocked by either vegetation or fencing, and are therefore impassable to vehicular transport. The existence of so many roads clearly converging on this holding suggests that it was once a place of importance for the local agricultural community, and the socio-economic interactions of that community.

On the site, there are the remains of three stone-built, single storey structures, in various states of disrepair. The actual mill, survives as a two cell structure, lying upon a large earthen bank or raft next to the water course (Fig. 11). The watercourse itself, can still also be traced. A pond holding water for the mill can be located in the north-east corner of Pond Field on Houghton Farm, which is fed by a single leat and a number of springs. Another sizeable leat then links this pond to a rectangular, stone-walled enclosure directly over the mill itself, from where the water was obviously released to power the water mill. After passing the mill, the water was diverted to flow back into the stream which is the parish boundary between Carew and St Florence. The stream was also the boundary between the lordships of Carew and St. Florence, as well as the hundreds of Narberth and Castlemartin. This leat is now dry - by Welsh standards - and water is no longer diverted into it from the parish boundary.

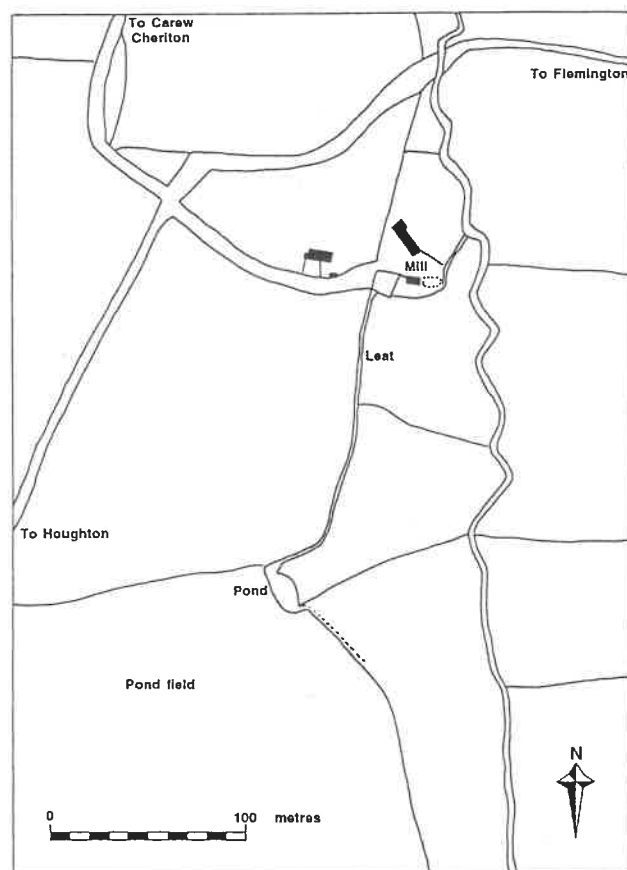


Figure 11: The Landscape: Flemington Mill (R. Cole & Q. Drew)

The other two structures could be interpreted as domestic rather than industrial structures, although each building was certainly crucial to the operation of this site or the existence of its tenants. Next to the mill, on a slightly different orientation, was the largest building, constructed in at least three distinct phases. Of particular note was the circular-based chimney in its north-eastern corner, which might have been associated with an oven. The close proximity of this building to the mill, and the roadway, however could mark it out as a possible storehouse.

The third building lies next to the entrance road, and is a single-cell structure. There is also some evidence for a chimney in this building. A small yard separates this building from the road, but there is also a small square building, to the east of the yard, which may have acted as a form of control point for entry into the milling complex.

This area appears to take its name from the neighbouring farm called Flemington which borders it. At this present time it is only a farm, but it once appears to have been a larger nucleated site or village. Brian Roberts has noted the regular layout of the site and possible tofts surrounding the farmstead (1987, 199-201), whilst a survey of the St Florence Lordship in 1424 records "Fflemyndon" as including 20 cottages (Pembs. Rec. 107-9).

Flemington is first recorded as a name in 1348, in association with the farm. The name does not, as often suggested, point to the presence of Flemings but records a common personal name (Charles 1992, 717). Interestingly however, the site of the mill has an alternative surviving name of Welsh derivation, Kilfiggin which Charles has suggested could be derived from "*cil* 'nook' and *mign* 'a bog' (1992, 481).

The Mill complex itself, is recorded as part of the Carew estate in 1592, following the attainder of Sir John Perrot. It was leased by a James Bull, who also farmed at Houghton and he paid 40s. "for a grist mill called Flemington mill" (PRO 2/260 f. 38d).

Spurrell notes that the mill finally fell into disuse during the 1820s (1921, 125), and it is possible to plot the desertion of the mill during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from the documentation.

By 1798, George Rogers, the current tenant had hit upon hard times. Surviving correspondence shows that the land agent to the Carew estate, J.B. Allen, "gave notice to Rogers of Flemington Mill to quit, or to rebuild his mill and pay up his arrears" (D/CAR/115/4). At this point, George's more successful brother, who leased the quarries at West Williamston, agreed to vouch for such rebuilding as was necessary, although it was noted "that it is the custom of this county that the landlord finds the timbers for the repairs of mills and the tenant the expense of working them up" (D/CAR/115/4).

The following year 1799, Allen noted in another letter to the estate that "there is no default of any rents but Rogers and he has lately erected his new mill in an handsome manner, and has added a bolter to it, so I am not surprised of his being a little exhausted" (D/CAR/115/5).

Roger's problems were not unusual. The land agent noted in 1800 that few tenants were able to pay their rents on time and "such poverty and distress the like was never known," presumably caused by poor weather and/or crops with "bad wheat at 16s per winchester and bad barley at 9s 6d" (D/CAR/115/8).

A further letter to the estate in 1822 from a certain John Copp, lists those tenants who are in arrears. It records that "George Rogers of Flemington Mill acknowledges about one years rent in arrears" and has agreed to pay next rent day. John Copp however questions "what the land is worth these bad times" and then lists Rogers' possessions as two cows worth eight pounds, a single calf worth 10 shillings and a stack of hay worth two pounds (D/CAR/121/10).

iii) The Excavations

The decision was taken to use the tactic of sample pitting (1 metre square excavations) to amass examples of material culture from these two settlements, to build up chronological sequences of pottery, and also supplement (or predate) the earliest documentary references with examples of artefactual evidence. It was also planned as a relatively non-destructive form of archaeological investigation - only the top soil was excavated. Each individual excavation was always stopped when an archaeological layer or possible archaeological layer, was discovered.

Both Houghton Farm and Flemington Mill could be sites of some antiquity. Houghton is first recorded in 1382 (Charles 1992, 478) although the Middle English form of its place-name might make it a century or so earlier. Flemington Mill could quite feasibly also be a later medieval complex.

In last year's interim report, we discussed the possibility that sites such as Houghton were in existence in the pre-Norman period. The existence of the alternative Welsh name for Flemington Mill gives a further tantalising hint that perhaps the site contained a pre-Norman holding. It was accepted however, that this exercise of sample excavation, would be unlikely to find material evidence of early medieval settlement, even if it had been present on the two sites, because this part of Wales was largely aceramic between A.D. 400 and 1100.

A total of 38 pits were excavated, 17 at Houghton (Fig. 12) and a further 21 at Flemington Mill (Fig. 13). In each case, the majority of the pits were positioned close to the structures (ie. areas of known human habitation and activity). At Flemington Mill (Fig. 13) pits were placed around the two structures nominally described as domestic whilst other pits were set back from these buildings and along the entry road.

On Houghton Farm (Fig. 12), the majority of the excavations were in a field to the south of the buildings. This field contains a number of irregular earthworks some of which are clearly dumps of modern material. One sample pit was positioned centrally on the largest bank-like feature, but this excavation did not discover any specific layers of dump material. Three other sample pits were placed on the edges of this feature, one of which was not completed as we encountered a layer of stones. On two other occasions, we also stopped at layers of rubble which we classed as archaeological deposits, although the majority of pits close to the buildings at Houghton contained a large amount of stones.

iv) The Results

The ceramic finds from the test pits have been examined by Cathy Freeman and her preliminary results are given below (Tables 1 & 2, p.40).

In relation to the research aims of this part of the project, the scarcity of medieval material from both these sites may seem, at first sight, to be disappointing. However, it is a common feature of the archaeology of dispersed settlement in the Middle Ages to have very little surface indication of its material culture, outside of those areas such as Dartmoor where later farming and occupation has had little or no impact on the remains. By contrast it is encouraging to see good evidence at Houghton for the continuing presence of occupation from the Middle Ages to the present. It is also meaningful that the profile of dates from Houghton, a farm site, is very different from Flemington Mill where the bulk of the pottery underlines a dominant presence only in the last 300 years. This appears to suggest that the mill activity in that location has been most intense in that period.

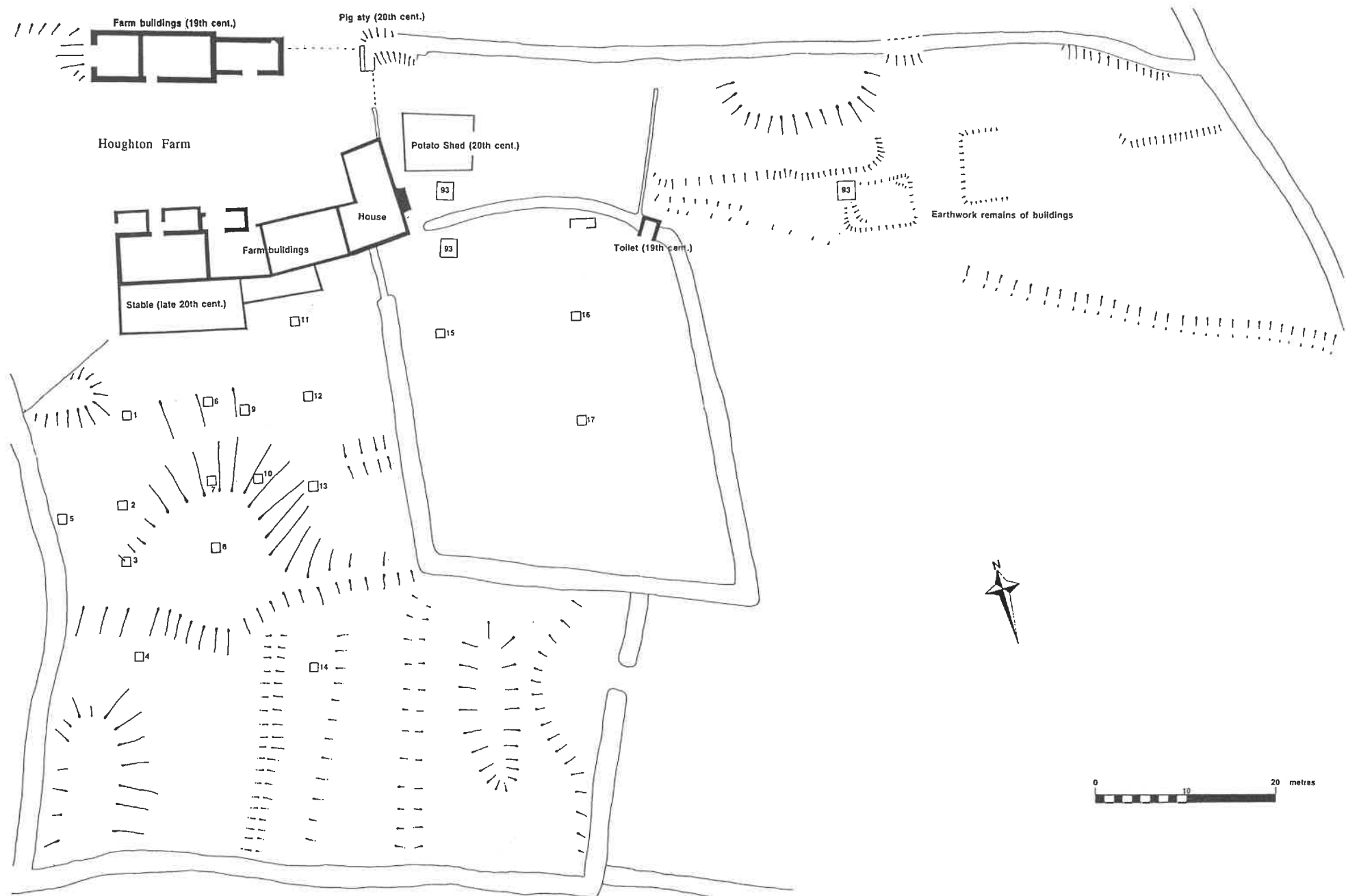


Figure 12: The Landscape: Houghton Farm trenches (R. Cole & Q. Drew)

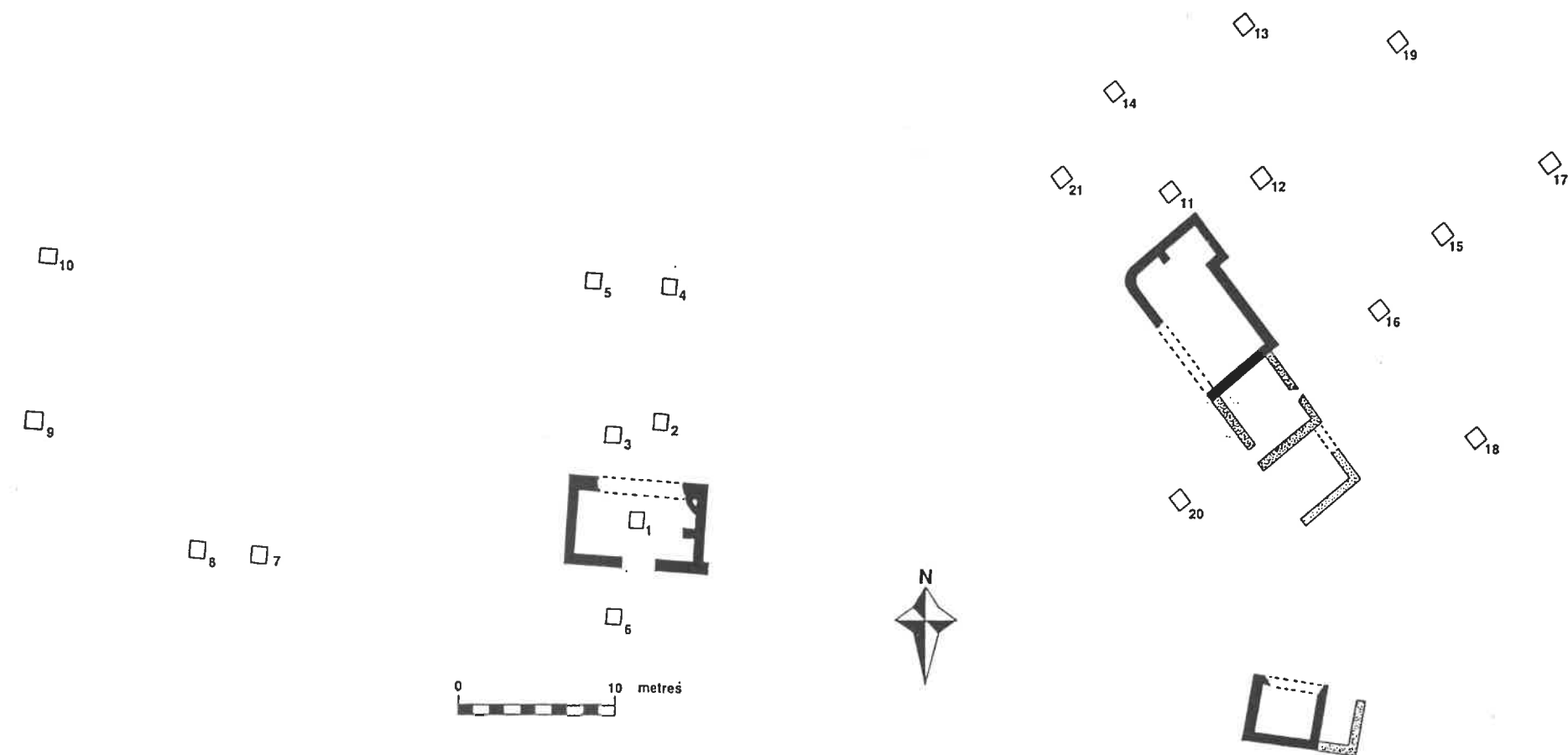


Figure 13: The Landscape: Flemington Mill trenches (R. Cole & Q. Drew)

Table 1: Houghton

Trench	Med	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th
1				*		
2				*		
3						
4				*		
5				*	*	
6				*		
7			*	*		
8			*	*		
9				*		
10	*			*		
11						*
12				*	*	*
13		*		*		
14		*	*	*		
15		*	*		*	
16				*	*	
17		*	*		*	

Table 2: Flemington Mill

Trench	Med	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th
1				*	*	*
2					*	*
3				*	*	*
4				*	*	*
5	*				*	
6					*	*
7				*	*	*
8						
9				*	*	*
10				*	*	*
11				*	*	*
12					*	*
13		*		*	*	*
14				*	*	*
15				*	*	*
16				*	*	*
17				*	*	*
18		*	*	*		*
19				*	*	*
20				*	*	*
21				*	*	*

In the light of these results we shall have to consider our future strategies, especially with regards to the depth and size of pits. It is likely that we will need to supplement small pits with one or two larger excavations which do go down to the sub-soil, simply because the later activity of these sites may be masking the earlier. Our policy, in small pits, of not going through the uppermost archaeological deposits may be giving us a distorted pattern of understanding.

4. The finding of a tower-house in Lamphey Park

David Austin and Quentin Drew

As Dick Cole has reported earlier in the text, fieldwork by chance took him and David Austin into Lamphey Park, once owned and hunted in the Middle Ages by the Bishops of St David's from their palace at Lamphey itself (fig.14). We took the opportunity to walk the bounds and have a look at one of the modern farms, Upper Lamphey Park, on the way back. Our eye was first caught by the farmhouse itself which is clearly a Pembrokeshire longhouse in origin, although much altered. This was interesting in its own right, but not worth any detailed work by us since it lay outside the Carew lordship and, therefore, the area of our study. However, after courteously showing us strangers round his home and his wife giving us a cup of tea and piece of cake (the perils of fieldwork!), the farmer, Mr. Evans, said that one of his barns might interest us. Imagine our surprise when we found what was a building with a long and complex history at the heart of which stood a previously unrecognised medieval structure in a remarkable state of preservation. It was immediately recognisable as a tower-house like the Old Rectory at Carew Cheriton which is also being studied by the project (fig.14). After a quick initial examination, David Austin released Quentin Drew and Nicky Evans from their principal tasks to play for couple of days making a detailed survey of the building.

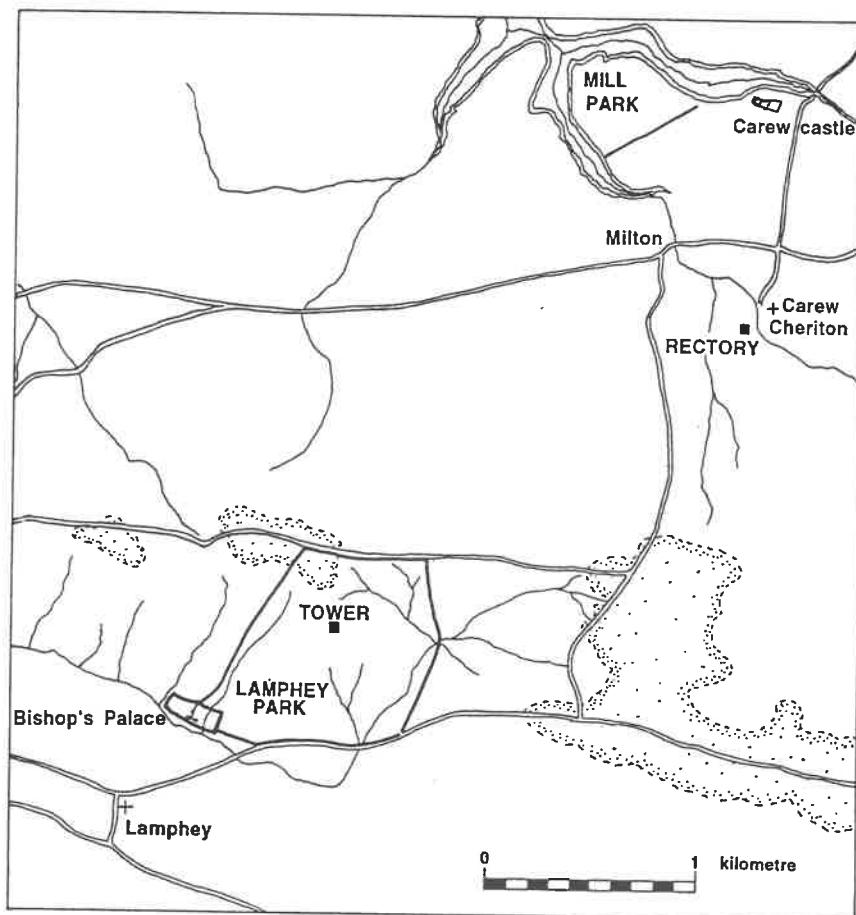


Figure 14: Upper Lamphey Park Tower: Plan of Lamphey Park and Carew (D. Austin)

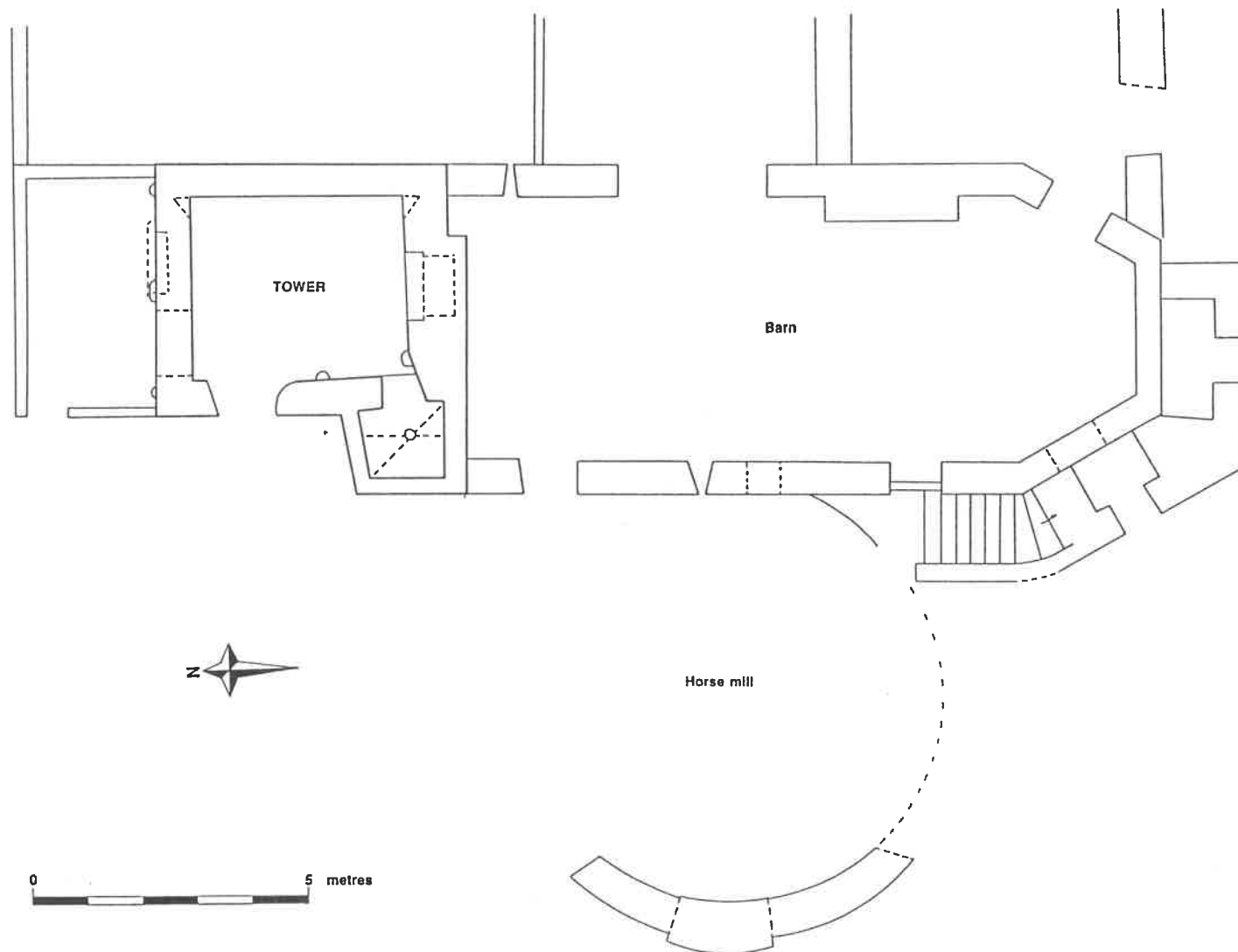


Figure 15: Upper Lamphey Park Tower: Plan of the Barn complex (Q. Drew)

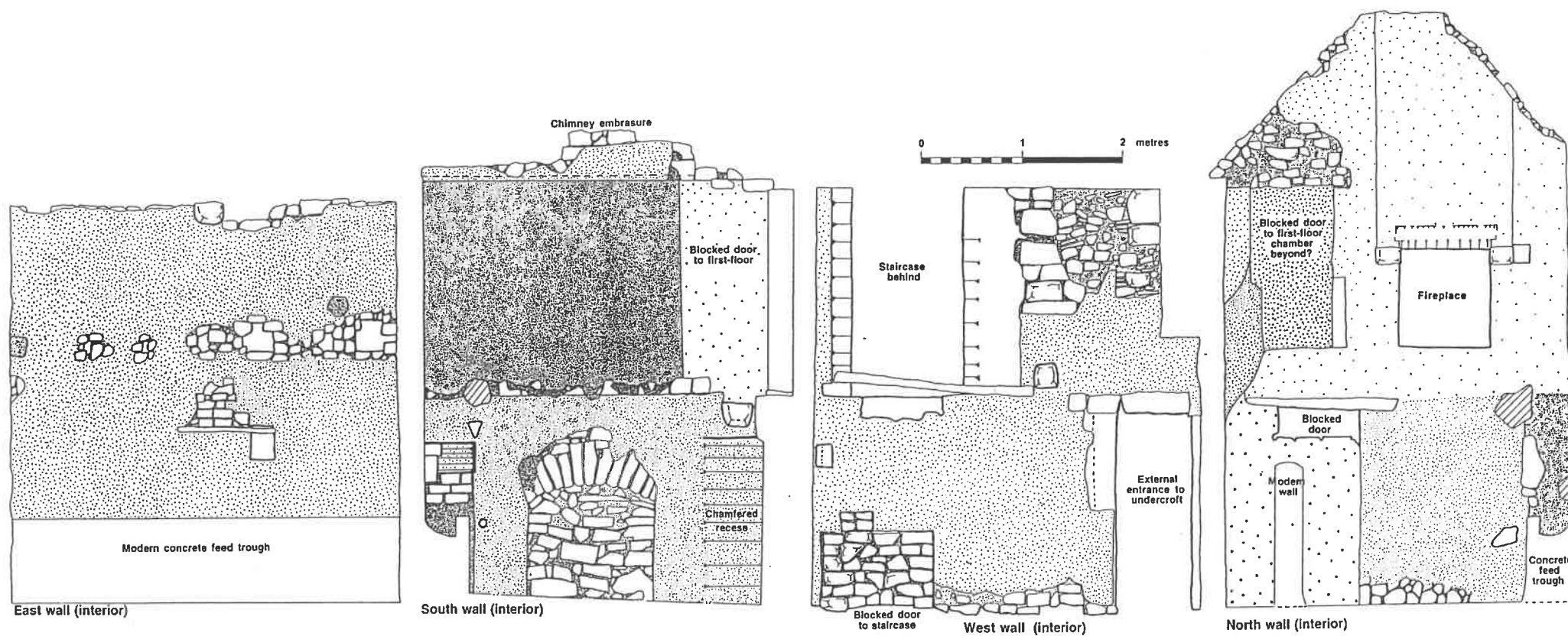


Figure 16: Upper Lamphey Park Tower: Fabric Analysis of the Interior (Q.Drew)

The barn as a whole (fig.15) is a composite structure. The main part appears to be a late seventeenth or eighteenth century hay barn with a curious faceted south gable around which, at a later date, had been wrapped an external stone-built staircase to a loft. Under the staircase there were two small recesses which had once probably functioned as dog kennels. Attached to the west side of this main barn were the traces of a round open-sided house for a horse-whim or mill.

At the north end stood the tower-house. Because the bulk of the informative fabric was on the inner faces of the tower, it was decided to draw and analyse these elements (fig.16) rather than the outside where in fact three of the walls were not easily visible because of buildings lying against them. Two of the exteriors have, however, been represented in the isometric drawing (fig.17). This shows that the building was either two or, more likely, three stories high. It had clearly had no vaulted undercroft, unlike many of its peers in the region (Smith 1988, figs. 7 & 8), but like the Old Rectory at Angle it had a spiral staircase in a corner turret. It was this in fact which had the clearest evidence that the tower had once had a third storey since it continued above the doorway to the first floor.

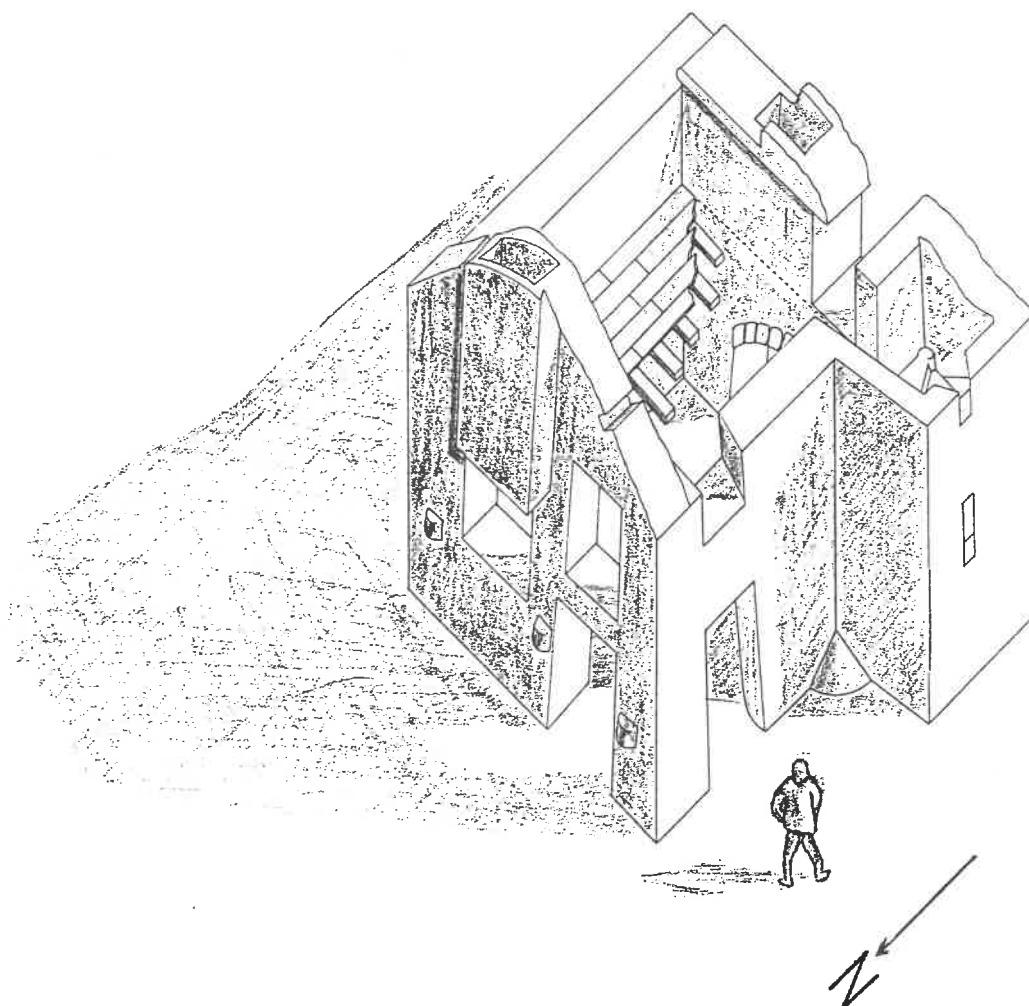


Figure 17: Upper Lamphey Park Tower: Isometric Drawing (Q. Drew)

The present entrance to the basement is at ground level, but it is very difficult to assess at what date this was created and it is not entirely impossible that it was medieval, although it was almost certainly not original. On this ground floor there was also a medieval fireplace in the south wall whose chimney was built into the fabric of the wall. In the opposite wall there was a blocked entrance to a building now lost. This was matched directly above on the next floor by another blocked door. In this same chamber and on the same wall there was a rather more elaborate but plain fireplace with stone hood sitting on two moulded corbels. The chimney for this projected from both the internal and external walls. This wall appears also to have been cut down to house a later pitched roof. In the west wall at this level was the entrance to the stair turret and on the south another blocked door which may be a candidate for an original first-floor entry.

As noted, there is evidence in the form of blocked doors and three corbels on the outer face of the north wall for a building on this side with at least a first floor. It is difficult to believe that this was original, but there is, by contrast, nothing to prove that it was not. It is normally assumed that these towers were free-standing, but it might be that it stood as a semi-fortified camera to a hall. Further examination will be needed to clarify this, as indeed will a look at the external south wall where there are some other indications of an earlier building on that side as well. In the background of the Buck print of Lamphey Palace (1740) there is a building within the park on the sky-line (fig.18). It looks like a church, but in fact it is in the correct position for the tower we found. If it is that structure, then the engraving shows a tower with buildings to north and south of it, with an external staircase on the southern gable of a barn or hall.

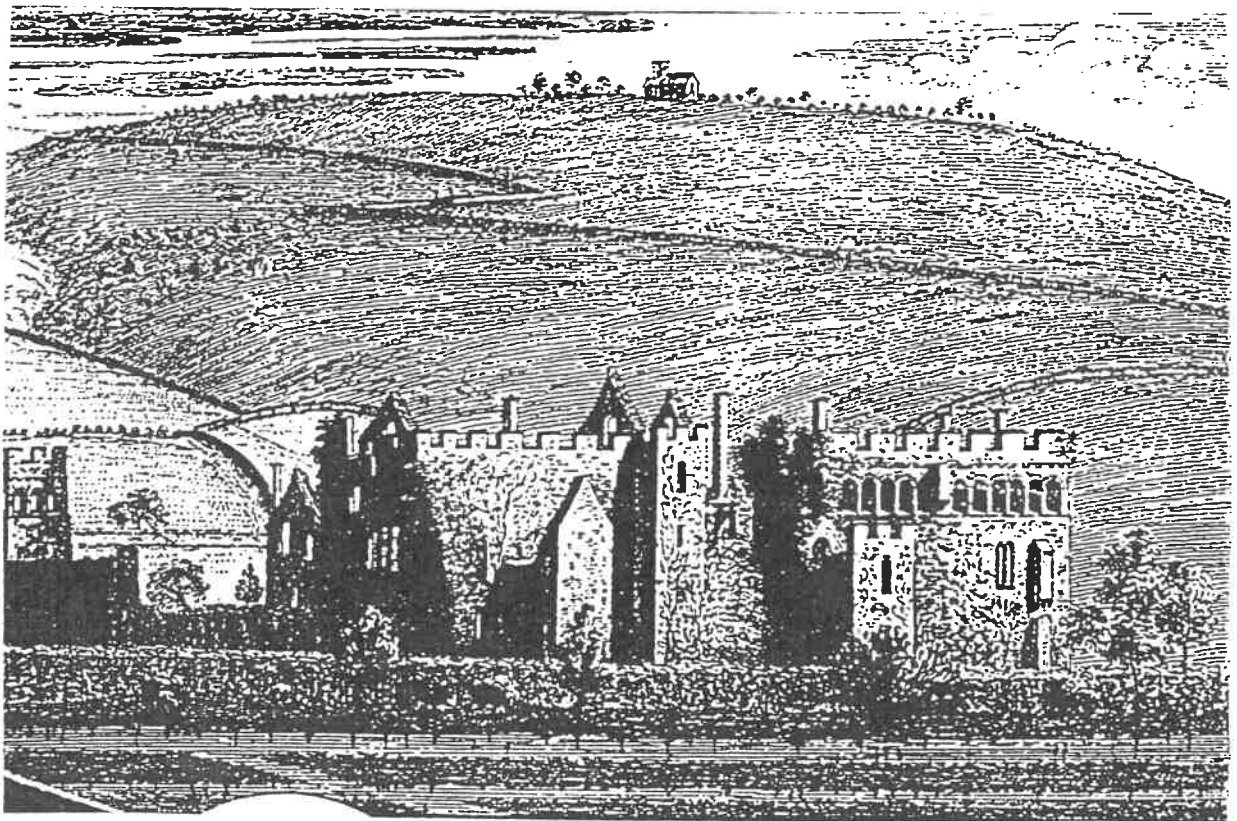


Figure 18: Upper Lamphey Park Tower: Buck print of Lamphey Bishop's Palace (detail)

Conclusion

David Austin

After three years of work in this part of the South Pembrokeshire landscape a number of important threads are beginning to be identified. We can now see more clearly, for example, in material terms the landscapes and social life of the immediate environs of Carew from the end of the Middle Ages onwards. At this time there was radical reorganisation and readjustment of the fabric of existence into one which was more highly geared to the demands of an early capitalist estate by some of its first Tudor practitioners. This created the 'typical' landscapes of South Pembrokeshire, so long regarded by historians as an icon of the Anglicisation of the region in the post-Welsh phase. This may require us to begin re-adjusting parts at least of the simplifying historical myths of identity in this area.

We have also been able to see that the making of the castle was a deliberate act of symbol-making in a context where the meanings of an ancient and pre-Norman past were subtle and persistent. The castle was a massive piece of military iconography which was clearly being repeated in the design of crenellated church towers and the creation of tower-houses to an extent not previously recognised. If the English and Flemish settlement had been so extensive and so secure, why the constant immuring of its central ideologies and centres of power? I begin to wonder whether we should now begin to see their presence much as we now see the impact of the Danes in the Danelaw in the 9th and 10th centuries, that is as essentially one of lordship appropriation and control rather than as one of extensive settlement of Scandinavian farmers. It is interesting in this respect that the two are very comparable in terms of the major changes which occurred in the stock of place-names.

These and many other themes will continue to be pursued in the 1995 season.

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