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Clifford Castle, Clifford, Herefordshire: Archaeological, Architectural and Aerial Survey and Investigation

Mark Bowden, Rebecca Lane and Eleanor Salkeld

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CLIFFORD CASTLE
CLIFFORD
HEREFORDSHIRE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL, ARCHITECTURAL AND AERIAL INVESTIGATION AND SURVEY

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SUMMARY

This report presents the results of a programme of archaeological, architectural and aerial survey undertaken on the site of Clifford Castle and its environs. This work was intended to inform on-going conservation and research of the site. Clifford Castle is a substantial motte-and-bailey castle, almost certainly constructed by William Fitz Osbern between 1066-1071. The castle received further significant investment at some point in the early to mid-13th century, under either Walter Clifford II or Walter Clifford III. Although the defensive significance of the site would have been reduced after the conquest of Wales in 1295, there is some evidence that it continued in use until at least the early 15th century. The surrounding area includes significant remains associated with the castle, including the Priory. Other sites such as the deer park, borough and chapel are known from a mixture of documentary and place name evidence. Evidence of earlier settlement is also extant, including traces of several Roman forts associated with the important frontier of the River Wye.

CONTRIBUTORS

Survey and research was undertaken by the authors with the assistance of Olaf Bayer. The plans were prepared by Amy Wright. New photography of the site is by James O. Davies.

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ARCHIVE LOCATION

The archive arising from this project has been deposited at the Historic England Archive, Swindon.

DATE OF INVESTIGATION

March-April and August 2018

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CONTENTS

'...generations have enjoyed the romantic tragedy of Queen Eleanor penetrating the protected maze at Woodstock by the clue of the silken thread and offering her hapless supplanter [Rosamund Clifford] the hard choice between the dagger and the poisoned cup. Tiresome investigators have undermined this excellent tale, but it certainly should find its place in any history worthy of its name'

Winston Churchill 1956 *A History of the English Speaking Peoples* vol 1, 160).

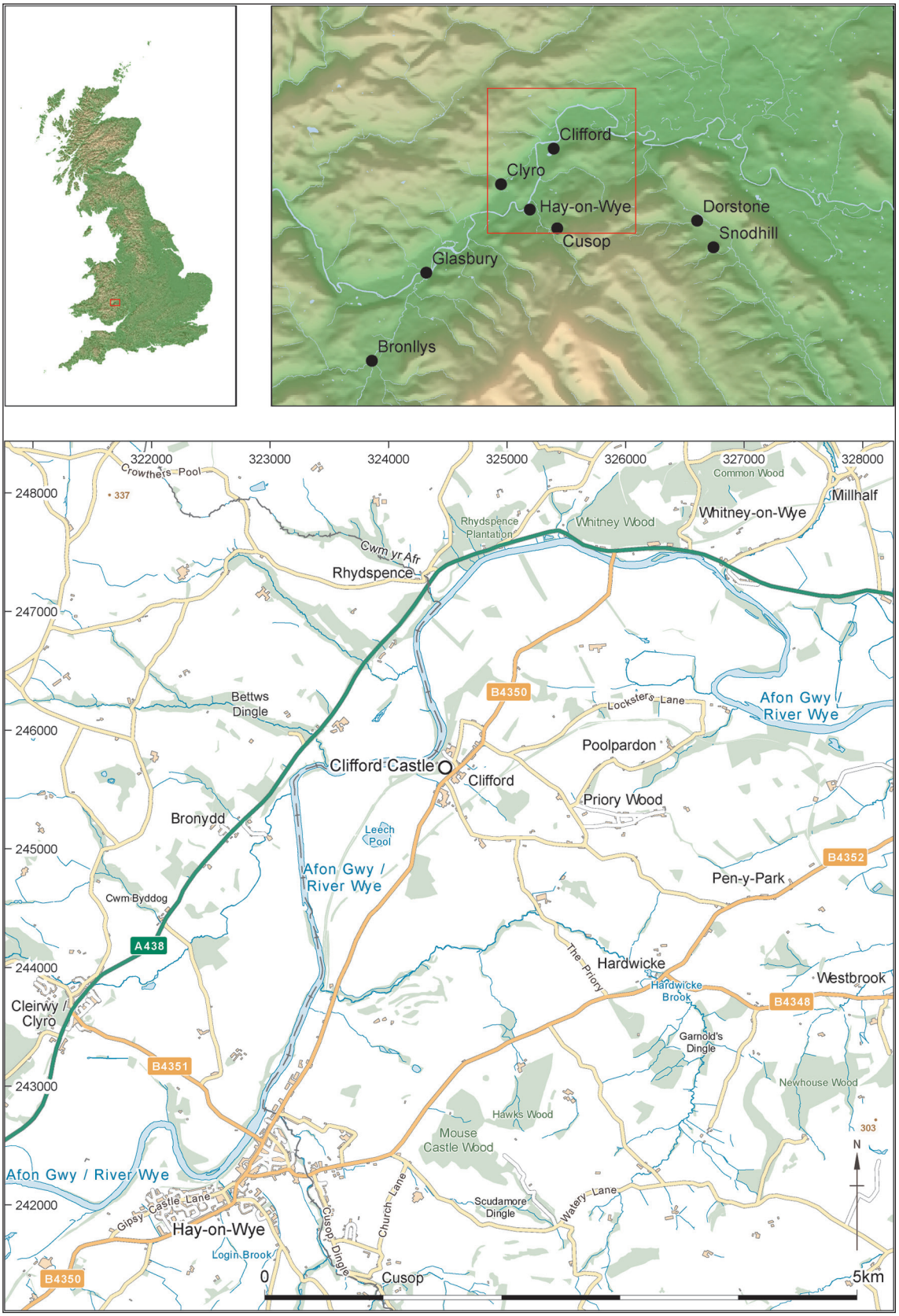

Figure1 Location map Contains digital surface model data derived from 90m SRTM topography data courtesy of CGIAR http://srtm.csi.cgiar.org. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2018.

INTRODUCTION

Clifford Castle (NRHE 104883; SO 24 NW 1) lies in Clifford Parish on the east bank of the River Wye in Herefordshire, centred at SO 244 456 (Figure 1). It is a Scheduled Monument (1001774). The castle occupies a prominent ridge alongside the river which probably gave rise to the 'cliff' element in the place name. The ford part of the name comes from a crossing point on the river, which is still identifiable just to the northwest of the main castle earthworks (Figure 2). The underlying geology is Lower Red Sandstone.

Clifford is a large parish even though a substantial part, Hardwicke, was separated off in the 19th century. It includes the village of Clifford itself, the dispersed settlement of Priory Wood – which appears to be encroachment on common land – and several farms, including one on the site of Clifford Priory (NRHE 104909; SO 24 SE 3), a Cluniac house which was founded by Simon fitz Richard, a son of Richard fitz Pons, in *c*1129. Clifford was described as a borough at Domesday (NRHE 890426; SO 24 NW 27). The precise location of the borough remains uncertain though Hal Dalwood plausibly argued that it occupied the site of the current village, immediately to the north-east of the castle (2005, 2). The parish church (NRHE 1570570; SO 24 NE 80) occupies a hilltop site away from the main settlement and the castle; it has 12th-century origins. A number of park place names in the area suggest the presence of a deer park and there is one documentary reference which confirms it but its bounds have proved elusive.

The motte-and-bailey at Old Castleton (NRHE 104842; SO 24 NE 2) is another early castle in the immediate area, though the only dating evidence is two sherds of pottery, which are thought to date to the 12th century, from a badger sett in the base of the motte (Phillips 2005, 281). This castle is in a rather similar topographical location to Clifford but it is a smaller site.

Clifford Castle has recently been removed from the Heritage at Risk Register. It is one of the four most significant sites identified by Anthony Streeten of English Heritage in the Marcher Castles Survey of 1999 and the last of those four to be subject to a repair programme. Consequently Historic England has been working with the owner to remove it from the Register. A number of building repairs to the fabric of the castle have taken place recently, with funding contributions from Historic England totalling over a quarter of a million pounds; the opportunity has been taken to instigate architectural and archaeological research (Baker 2018; Baker and Hoverd 2018; Roseveare 2017), which has also been funded by HE. The survey and investigation by Historic England reported here is also part of that effort, as an additional contribution in kind, taking the opportunity to develop understanding of this key border castle.

Figure 2 The ford at Clifford, visible during low river levels in the summer of 2018 (DP220720)

Clifford is perhaps unique among English castles in that the most famous historical personage associated with it is a woman, Rosamund Clifford. Known in fable as 'Fair Rosamund', she was mistress to Henry II. Many romantic tales about her life and death have been told over the years, and her popularity with the Victorians in particular gave Clifford a unique allure. Many of the stories told about her life are unsubstantiated, but nonetheless persistent, not least the story of her living at the centre of a labyrinth created for her at Woodstock by Henry, where she was confronted by his jealous queen and forced to choose the method of her death.

HISTORY

The following account of the early history of the castle is based largely on the research of Bruce Coplestone Crow, who undertook research on behalf of the Castle Studies Group in 2017, and on earlier work by Paul Remfry (1994). Where readily available (and identified in their texts) the original sources of their information have been examined, although it has not been possible within the confines of this project to look at all sources. The two accounts agree on most important points, although there are some discrepancies which have been noted in the account below.

Foundation and the 11th and early 12th centuries

Clifford Castle was established by William Fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford, some time prior to 1071. The Domesday Book records that 'Earl William built it on waste land, which Browning [Bruning] held before 1066' (Thorn and Thorn 1983, 183). That it was built on land that had been waste indicates that the castle was a new foundation. The earlier name for the area was Llanfair-ar-y-Bryn (the church on the hill) – suggesting that the original focus of settlement in the area was further south around the church. Although the surviving church building is of 13th century and later dates it presumably represents the position of this earlier church. The name Llanfair-ar-y-Bryn was used interchangeably with that of Clifford for the parish until the 16th century (Bangor University Archives GB 222 WHC). It is likely that settlement in the area was always dispersed.

Clifford is recorded in the Domesday Book as a 'castlery'. This was a 'well defined district' with fees and other financial returns within the area specifically focused on maintaining the castle. Domesday specifies that 'the castle is in the Kingdom of England and not subject to any customary dues' (Thorn and Thorn 1983, 183). It has been suggested that the castlery extended to the whole of the later parish of Clifford (that is the current parishes of Clifford and Hardwicke), some 10,500 acres with a number of sub-tenants holding estates in the area (Remfry 1994, 2). These are named as Roger, Gilbert, Drogo and Herbert. Remfry (1994, 2, following Marshall 1938, 153) has identified these tenants as Roger de Lacy, Gilbert Fitz Thorold, Drogo Fitz Pons and Herbert d'Aigeneux.

Construction of the castle is widely attributed to the immediate post-Conquest period, that is 1066-7, as one of a series of castles built to secure the border with Wales. These castles, from Chepstow in the south to Wigmore in the north, became important places not just for defence but also as administrative centres. Shoesmith (2009, 87) places construction slightly later, in 1069-71, although it is not clear what evidence this is based on. Earl William died in 1071 and after this date it was probably held by his son, Roger, who briefly became Earl of Hereford before forfeiting his lands after rebelling against the king in 1075.

By 1086 the castle was held by Ralph de Tosny, fitz Osbern's brother in law (Coplestone Crow 2017, 1), although the castle was in the hands of 'Gilbert the Sherriff', presumably the tenant Gilbert Fitz Thorold, who held it on the lord's behalf. De Tosny had extensive lands in England and Normandy, and it is likely that he spent very little time in this country (Lewis 2004). The Domesday entry

for Clifford records that by 1086 there was a 'borough' with 16 burgesses, 13 smallholders, 5 Welshmen, 6 male and 4 females slaves (Thorn and Thorn 1983, 183). This settlement is likely to have been established in association with the castle. There was also a mill (ibid).

The castle appears to have remained with the de Tosnys into the early 12th century. Ralph de Tosny died in France in around 1102, and his holdings passed to his son, another Ralph (Lewis 2004). The second Ralph died in 1126. His son Roger succeeded to his lands, with his daughter Margaret married to Walter Fitz Richard who held land in Clifford castlery from the de Tosnys, either as part of the marriage settlement, or possibly from some years earlier (Remfry 1994, 3 quoting Clifford 1987, 18).

Walter Fitz Richard (or Walter Clifford I) c1139 to 1190

Walter in fact was a descendant of Drogo Fitz Pons who held land in Clifford at the time of the Domesday survey. At some point in the late 11th century they also carved out a 'barony' at Llandovery, during one of Bernard Neufmarche's successful expeditions into Wales (Remfry 1994, 5 citing various early sources). Coplestone Crow (2017, 3) states that Drogo or his successor also received Bronllys castle as part of this settlement, building the motte and bailey castle there, although Remfry (1994, 5) thinks that they didn't gain this site until some time later, in the early 12th century. The family holdings also appear to have been extended by gaining some land in Clifford previously held by Gilbert Fitz Thorold, who rebelled against de Tosny in 1095 (Remfry 1994, 4). The Fitz Pons holdings in Clifford and Wales passed to one of Drogo's nephews, Richard Fitz Pons (Remfry 1994, 4 citing Clifford 1987, 6), although there is some uncertainty over the precise relationship, and Coplestone Crow calls him his brother (2017, 3). Richard was resident in Clifford in 1127, when he made a grant at the house of Master Hugh in Clifford (Remfry 1994, citing Round *Ancient Charters, royal and private, prior to 1200* (London 1888), 20-5). The last reference to Richard is in 1128 (Remfry 1994, 5 citing 'Llan Dav' 30-8). Coplestone Crow (2017, 3) considers that the land was inherited initially by Richard's eldest son Simon but that he died in 1137/9. Coplestone Crow (ibid) states that Simon was responsible for founding Clifford Priory; this is confirmed by a later entry in the Close Rolls where the Prior states that it was founded by 'Simon son of Richard Poncius sometime lord of Clifford' (Close Rolls, Edward III: May 1347). By 1138/9 the holding had passed to his younger brother, Walter Fitz Richard, or Walter Clifford I, the first of the family to be referred to as Clifford, although Remfry (1994, 5) suggests it may have been his father Richard who first used the name.

Walter was described as seneschal at Clifford in 1144 (Coplestone Crow 2017, 3 citing *Cartularies of the abbey of Gloucester*, no 276). He married Margaret, the sister of Roger de Tosny, (Coplestone Crow 2017, 3; Remfry 1994, 6) thus strengthening his claim to the holding at Clifford. It is unclear when the marriage took place, but as their daughter Rosamund is estimated to have been born before 1140 (Archer and Hallam 2004), it must have taken place around or before that time. Roger de Tosny died sometime after 1157, and his son Ralph died soon after

in 1162, leaving a son, another Roger, as a minor to inherit their lands. He did not reach his majority until around 1180. It appears to have been during the minority that Walter was able to become tenant-in-chief at Clifford (Remfry 1994, 4; 6), presumably strengthened by his marriage into the de Tosny family.

The slow rise in the fortunes of the Clifford family was certainly boosted by Walter's daughter Rosamund, or 'Fair Rosamund' as she became known in later myth and legend. She became the mistress of Henry II in around 1174 (Archer and Hallam 2004 citing Gerald of Wales). Associated with this may be the grant of Corfham in Shropshire to Walter her father (Remfry 1994, 7 citing *Rotuli Hundredorum*; Copestone Crow 2017, 4), and Remfry also speculates that it may have been this association that allowed Walter to become tenant in chief at Clifford (ibid). Coplestone Crow states that Walter died in 1190 (ibid).

Walter Clifford II (1190 – 1221)

Walter's holdings were inherited by his son, Walter Clifford II. He also made an advantageous marriage to Agnes, heir to Roger de Conde and niece to Earl Ranulph of Chester (Coplestone Crow 2017, 4). He gained 27 manors with the marriage, although none were in Herefordshire, instead being spread across Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Oxfordshire and Kent (ibid, 5).

In 1193-4 Gerald of Wales mentioned Clifford Castle in his Description of Wales. His account of the River Wye mentions it rising in 'Plinlimmon' mountains, flowing past Hay and Clifford Castles, through the city of Hereford, past Wilton and Goodrich Castles, through the Forest of Dean and out at Striguil Castle (Chepstow) (Thorpe (ed) 1978, 225-6). While it gives no detail, the inclusion of Clifford suggests it formed one of the more significant castles on the river at this time.

Walter served as Sherriff of Herefordshire in 1198/9 (Coplestone Crow 2017, 5 citing Pipe Roll 1 John, 214) and again in 1205/6 (ibid, citing Pipe Rolls 8 John, 65 and 10 John, 190). He may have been involved in the rebellion of William de Braose, and had to make restitution to the king in 1208 (ibid, citing Pipe Roll 10 John, 99). Nonetheless, Coplestone Crow considers that he would have profited enormously from his offices, and may have been in a position to invest heavily in the castle (ibid). Walter spent considerable time with King John on his various unsuccessful campaigns in France, and remained loyal to him during the uprisings of the English magnates in the later part of his reign (Remfry 1994, 9). His son Walter Clifford III (*see* below) also appears to have been active on behalf of the king in Wales (ibid, 10) during the later part of Walter II's life.

Walter Clifford III (1221-1268) and Matilda and John Giffard (1263-1299)

Walter was active in the Welsh borders from 1207 onwards (Remfry 1994, 11-12). He was Sherriff of Hereford in 1215 and custodian of the See of Hereford on the death of the Bishop later that year (ibid). In the 1220s he played an important role in the on-going attempts to control Welsh lands. He was appointed custodian of the castles of Cardigan and Carmathen in 1228, shortly after they were recaptured from the Welsh, and in 1229 he also had custody of the lands of the Bishop of St

David's, making him hugely powerful in south Wales (Remfry 1994, 12). He also served in France under the king (ibid, 13). Walter and his holdings were important strongholds in the Welsh rebellion of 1231, during which his brother Richard died (ibid). Walter along with various other landholders in the area were ordered to provision their castles and prepare for siege as part of the rebellion (ibid, citing CCR 1227-31, 601).

In 1233 Walter was involved in a rebellion by various marcher lords, lead by the Earl Marshall, against the King and his closest allies. Henry III appears to have acted quickly, moving into the area and seizing lands and assets belonging to the rebels (Remfry 1994, 14). Clifford Castle appears to have been held against the king by various retainers of Walter Clifford's although he himself was not there when the garrison was given safe conduct to come to the king at Hay on the 3rd September 1233 (ibid, 15 citing CPR 1232-47, 25). Walter himself was given safe conduct from the castle at Montgomery on the 16th September (ibid, citing the same source), 'to treat for his peace' (CPR 1232-47, 35), following the submission of the Earl Marshall, who had lead the rebellion, on the 8th September. Walter was pardoned and granted some of his holdings in Clifford – the townships, woods and his knights, but not the manor or castle (Coplestone Crow 2017, 6), and the manor of Corfham, Shropshire and other manors in England. Henry however retained Clifford Castle until the following year, with Henry Turberville, one of his loyal retainers, holding Usk, Clifford, Aberllyfni, Hay and Corfham on behalf of the king. Walter finally received Clifford back in March 1234, but not before the Earl Marshall had rebelled again, although this time Walter Clifford remained loyal to the king (Remfry 1994, 15). Walter evidently found favour with the king through continued service for him in the Marches, and by the end of 1234 he was also ordered to take the Three Castles (Grosmont, White Castle and Skenfrith) under his control, their previous custodian having formed part of the second rebellion (Remfry 1994, 17 citing CCR 1231-4, 462).

Throughout the remainder of the 1230s and into the 1240s and 50s, Walter continued to be a trusted ally of the king, and is recorded involved in various sorties against, or tentative treaties with, the Welsh (Remfry 1994, 11). Control of lands to the west in Wales ebbed and flowed over the period between the 1230s and the 1260s, and at various times Walter was ordered to aid in defence, or to support incursions into Welsh-held lands (Remfry 1994, 14-15). Walter's only heir was a daughter, Matilda (or Maud), who was married to a son of the Earl of Salisbury in 1249 (Remfry 1994, 12). During this period he was also borrowing substantial amounts of money – particularly from a notable Jewish family in Hereford (Hillaby 1985, 246). Coplestone Crow (2017,6) speculates that he could have been using this money to fund work at Clifford, or at Bronllys or Llandovery – or all three – or that it was simply the result of extreme monetary inflation in the years after 1200.

Despite his continued loyalty, Walter was clearly fierce in protecting his rights to his lands, in particular the rights of the marcher lords to hold land outside the writ of the crown. In 1249 during a dispute over his control of the neighbouring landholding of Dorstone, a messenger brought a letter from the king. The contemporary chronicler Matthew Paris records that Walter made the king's

messenger eat the letter, including the wax seal affixed to it. He was apparently subsequently fined (Coplestone Crow 2017, 7-8 quoting Paris *Historia Anglicorum*, II, 324-5).

In 1261 Walter was granted (or re-granted) free warren on the demesne land at Clifford, and a weekly market there on Wednesdays (Remfry 1994, 14). By 1262 however he stopped taking an active role in affairs in the Marches. Coplestone Crow thinks he died in 1263 (2017, 8); Remfry believes he lived until 1268, but that his titles had already passed to his daughter five years earlier (1994, 14). Matilda's husband had died in 1257, and she held her father's lands in her own right, with the aid of a few key retainers, one of whom was John Giffard of Brimpsfield, who acted in defence of Clifford in the 1260s (Remfry 1994, 14). In late 1270 or early 1271 he took his control a step further by abducting Matilda and forcing her to marry him (ibid), gaining control of all of the Clifford holding in doing so. He was fined by the king for his act, but the marriage was sanctioned and he retained control of the lands (ibid).

Giffard was active in the various wars against the Welsh in the 1270s and 1280s, up until the final conquest of Wales in 1295. Matilda died in 1284, but he retained a life interest in her lands. Giffard died in 1299, and Matilda's lands were divided amongst her heirs. In his Inquisition Post Mortem Giffard is recorded as holding Clifford with the hamlets of Middelwode and Broadmedewe, and the borough of Clifford (which included a number of burgesses) (IPM, III, 420). Clifford and its associated holdings were granted to Margaret's daughter by her first marriage to William Longespee; Margaret, wife of Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (Remfry 1994, 15). At this point therefore the castle was subsumed into a much larger holding, that of Margaret's husband who was obviously an influential figure at the time, and an extensive landholder. She died in 1309, and her husband died in 1311.

Later medieval history

Margaret's holdings passed to her daughter and only heir, Alice, who had been married aged 10 to Thomas of Lancaster, son of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (Edward I's brother) under the terms of a very advantageous marriage contract. The marriage appears to have been in name only, with neither party apparently able to tolerate the other, and they lived apart for much of the time. Despite this Alice was implicated in Thomas' rebellion against the king in 1322, arrested and allegedly tortured into giving up her lands to the king's favourite Hugh Despenser (Maddicott 2004). This apparently included Clifford, as a much later quitclaim by Thomas Despenser in 1398 indicates that the Despensers had a claim to Clifford until that date (Close Rolls, Richard II: February 1398). Despite the vagaries of a divorce, two further marriages and other dramas, Alice appears to have regained control of Clifford, presumably after the fall of Edward II, and Hugh Despenser with him. An entry in the Close Rolls in 1347 dealing with Clifford Priory implies that the manor was in the ownership of the 'Countess of Lincoln' (Close Rolls, Edward III: May 1347). Alice died in 1348, and Maddicott (2004) suggests that her land reverted to the Lancasters, under the terms of the marriage agreement, but as Thomas of Lancaster had been executed in 1322 and was without direct heirs, it is unclear

whether this would have been a straightforward process. Instead, Watkins (1897, 15) suggests that the lands reverted to the Crown.

In 1368 the men of Hay attacked the town of Clifford and it is recorded that 200 houses were burnt (Dalwood 2005, quoting Davies 1978, 241-2). This must be an exaggeration as it is impossible that the town can have been that large (*see* below, Discussion).

By 1381 Clifford was in the hands of Edmund Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March. It is likely that it was in fact acquired somehow by his father, Roger Mortimer, 2nd Earl of March, who was a close favourite of Edward III and built up vast lands on the border in the mid-14th century. Roger was created 2nd Earl of March in 1348, the year that Alice, Countess of Lincoln died, and it may be that the manor was granted to him at that time, assuming it had reverted to the crown upon Alice's death. Strategically this was a sensible consolidation of Mortimer's holdings on the Welsh Border, as he exercised almost total control of the area and was largely responsible for its administration. It is not clear how the Mortimers may have used the castle, and it may be that the castle was in slow decline as Remfry (1994, 15) suggests. However, a document in the Herefordshire Archives records repairs to the castle in 1377-1378 (HA G33/I/1). This seems likely to have been repairs instigated by the Mortimers, which suggests that there was some concern to ensure the castle was maintained in some way.

Shoesmith (2009, 88) suggests that Richard II and John of Gaunt stayed at the castle in 1381, although he does not indicate what the evidence for this visit is. Edmund Mortimer died in 1381, leaving as an heir his son Roger who was only 7 at the time of his death. The Crown therefore assumed control of the Mortimer lands in the time of his minority. It may be that the story of Richard II visiting is associated with the Crown acquiring control of the manor in 1381. Davies (2004) states that in fact the Crown quickly granted control of the Mortimer lands to a consortium controlled by the Earls of Warwick and Arundel. It seems however, that the Crown were involved more closely in managing these lands, perhaps because of more disputes arising in a period of uncertain control (*see* next paragraph). The heir, another Roger Mortimer, was granted his English and Welsh lands in his own right in 1394, but he died fighting in Ireland just four years later, and a further long minority ensued for his son Edmund, with the crown again involved in administering the states.

A series of entries in the Close Rolls in the late 14th century relate to the crown involvement in the Mortimer holdings, including Clifford, focused on the two periods of minority between 1381 and 1394 and 1398 and 1405. Clifford typically appears to have been administered with Glasbury, another former Clifford family manor further south-west along the River Wye. The first two references in February and November 1394 relate to confirmation of Edmund Mortimer's grant of a pension from the two manors to a retainer, John Bromwych, knight (Close Rolls, Richard II February 1394 and Close Rolls, Richard II: November 1394). In these Clifford is simply described as the 'castle, lands and lordship of Clifford'. A 1398 reference confirms payments of rent due to Edmund, brother of Richard Mortimer,

2nd Earl of March, as granted to him by his brother (Close Rolls, Richard II: October 1398). A further reference in 1400 relates to arrears in the payment of William Raulyns, who is described as 'yeoman for life constable of Clifford Castle and keeper of his park there' (Close Rolls, Henry IV: February 1400). This is the first reference to there being a park associated with the castle at Clifford. The position is one he is described as holding by a grant for good service from 'Roger Mortimer, late Earl of March'. These two edicts would seem to confirm that it was Roger, 2nd Earl, who initially held the castle, before it passed to his son Edmund, although as Roger died in 1360, William Raulyns must have been a long-lived retainer.

It is presumed that Clifford was fortified during the Welsh rebellion of 1403-5, although there was apparently no specific order to do so, perhaps because the castle was under the control of the crown. In 1404 custodianship of the castle was granted by the king to Robert Whiteney [Whitney]:

> 'Whereas the father of Robert Whiteney, esquire, and his uncle and a great part of his relations were killed on the king's service at the taking of Edmund Mortemer and the substance of his living is burnt and destroyed by the Welsh rebels so that he has no castle or fortress where he can stay for the resistance and castigation of the rebels, the king grants to him the castle of Clufford [Clifford] and the lordships of Clufford and Glasbury.... Which castle and lordships before they were burnt, wasted and destroyed by the rebels were of the value of 100 marks yearly, to hold from 15 October last during the minority of Edmund son and heir of the Earl of March, and so from heir to heir, so that he cause the castle to be repaired and stay it in defence during the war and answer for any surplus yearly at the Exchequer' (Calendar of Patent Rolls Henry IV Feb 14 1404).

The Edmund Mortimer who the Whitney family were instrumental in seizing was the uncle of the minor Edmund, Earl of March, who rebelled in 1402 supporting his nephew's claim to the throne (Griffiths 2004). The extent to which Clifford Castle had been 'burnt, wasted and destroyed' is unclear, but presumably as it was given in compensation for the destruction of his castle at Whitney then it must have been considered more habitable, or at least more reparable, than Whitney Castle. How long Robert Whitney held Clifford is unclear, but it certainly suggests that the castle was habitable, or made so, in the early 15th century.

Edmund Mortimer came of age in 1405, and was knighted by Henry V on the eve of his coronation (Griffiths 2004). He was granted his lands, presumably including Clifford, although given the vast estates that came to him it is possible that Whitney continued as custodian of the castle at Clifford. Edmund Mortimer died in 1425 of plague with no heirs, and his lands passed to Richard, Duke of York (Griffiths 2004). From him they appear once again to have become crown lands, presumably following the accession of Richard's son Edward as King Edward IV in 1461.

In 1513 Henry VIII granted the stewardship of the manor of Clifford to Richard Cornewall, a local knight, and made him constable of castle:

‘Richard Cornewall, squire for the Body. To be, for life, steward of the lordships of Clyfford, Glasbery, and Wynforton in the marches of Wales, and constable of the castle of Clyfford, as amply as Ralph Hackuluet held the same.’ Greenwich, 22 May 5 Hen. VIII. *Del*. Westm., 13 June. *Pat*. 5 *Hen. VIII. p*. 2, *m*. 15. (Brewer (ed) 1920).

The following year the position was granted again to Richard Cornewall and apparently Ralph Hackuluet [Hackluyt] jointly.

‘Richard Cornewall, esquire for the Body, and Ralph Hackuluet. Grant, in survivorship, of the office of steward of the lordships of Clyfford, Glasbery, and Wynforton, in the marches of Wales, and the office of constable of Clyfford Castle.’ *Del*. Westm., 2 March 5 Hen. VIII. S.B. *Pat*. 5 *Hen. VIII. p*. 2, *m*. 22. (Brewer (ed) 1920).

Both Richard and Ralph were Herefordshire landowners, who held various administrative positions. It seems unlikely that the castle was being maintained at this time, and perhaps the position of constable was granted as a sinecure by this date.

Later history

Several 19th century sources record that the site was given to Lord Clinton in 1547 in return for his service to the king in Scotland (Trumper 1889, 368; Robinson 1869, 36; Watkins 1897, 16). This must have been Edward Clinton, 9th Baron Clinton, who was made 1st Earl of Lincoln in 1572, and who was an important ally to successive Tudor monarchs. Robinson suggests that the manor was sold by Clinton’s son and heir, the 2nd Earl, presumably sometime after he inherited the Lincoln estates in 1585 (1869, 36). However, in 1561 the position of constable of the castle was still being granted by the crown, to another Robert Whitney (Hasler 1981). Whether this means that the castle was retained by the crown when the manor was handed to Clinton is not clear.

From the Clintons the manor (and possibly the castle with it) apparently passed to a series of local landowners. Watkins (1897, 16) lists several different owners in the late 16th and early 17th century – principal amongst them is the Whitney family, and it seems likely that the family became the principal landowners in the parish at some stage in the 17th century. In 1692 the will of Thomas Whitney of Whitney Court included the Castle and Manor of Clifford, and the Park of Clifford (Watkins 1897, 83). Following Thomas Whitney’s death the Whitney estate was sold to the Wardour family and appears to have passed through several generations of the family, retaining a consistent size until the early 20th century.

In 1657 Silas Taylor, a local antiquary, noted that there had been a chapel of ease ‘by ye castle of Clifford the steeple & chancell yet remaining’ (BL Harleian MS 6726). The exact location of the chapel is uncertain, but the use of the word ‘by’ rather than ‘in’, might suggest that it was adjacent to the castle and not in the bailey. The description of it having a ‘steeple’ suggests it was a substantial structure, although it is not clear precisely what Taylor might have meant by the term – he might have been referring to a tower of some form, or he may have meant a more modest bell cote.

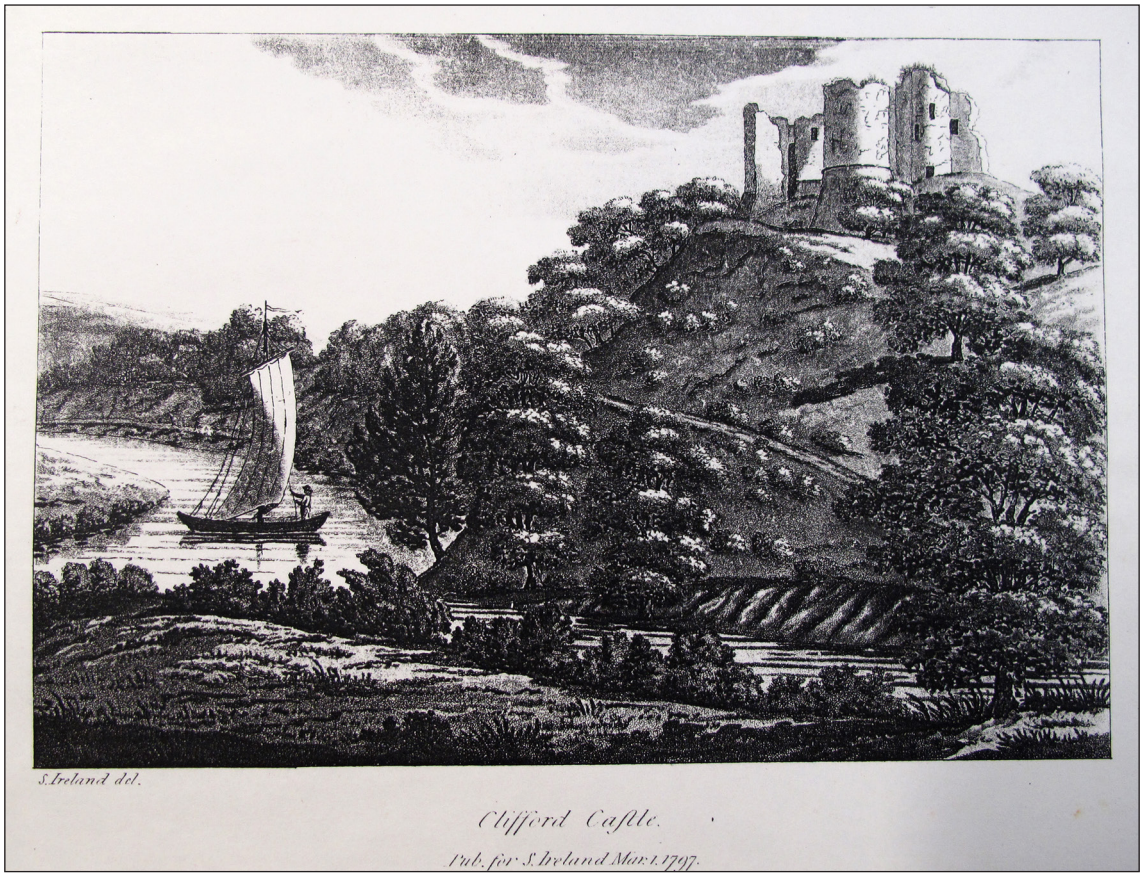

Figure 3 Clifford Castle as depicted by Samuel Ireland in 1797 (Reproduced with permission of Herefordshire Archives CE91/23)

By the 18th century the site was obviously the subject of interest, clearly for its Picturesque qualities as a romantic site overlooking the Wye. A series of engravings produced in the late 18th and early 19th century appear designed to highlight the romance of the site (including HA BE60/48 and CE91/23/1; Figure 3). The northern side of the castle is often shown with the River Wye in the foreground, often with sailing boats, cattle or other subjects of interest. Depictions of the ruins of the castle themselves focus on the buildings on the motte, and do not appear to be particularly accurate. Of note however, is the consistent depiction of the northern side of the motte sloping straight down to the river. Whilst the engravings may not be accurate, given the later truncation of the motte (*see* below) these views potentially provide some indication of the original profile of the mound.

A survey of various parts of the estate was undertaken in 1783 by Edward Penry. This survives as a folio volume at Bangor University, but copies are held in the Herefordshire Archive (HA CC67/10). Notwithstanding a note added to the end of the set of plans in 1784, noting that they are 'very bad & not at all correct', the plan of Clifford Castle shows an area demarcated as 'the castle' and with a small depiction presumably showing the ruins on the top of the motte (Figure 4).

In the early 19th century the Whitney estate, including both the manor and castle, were owned by Tomkyns Dew, a descendant of the Wardour family. In 1817 the development of the Hay Tram Road saw a strip of land along the River Wye

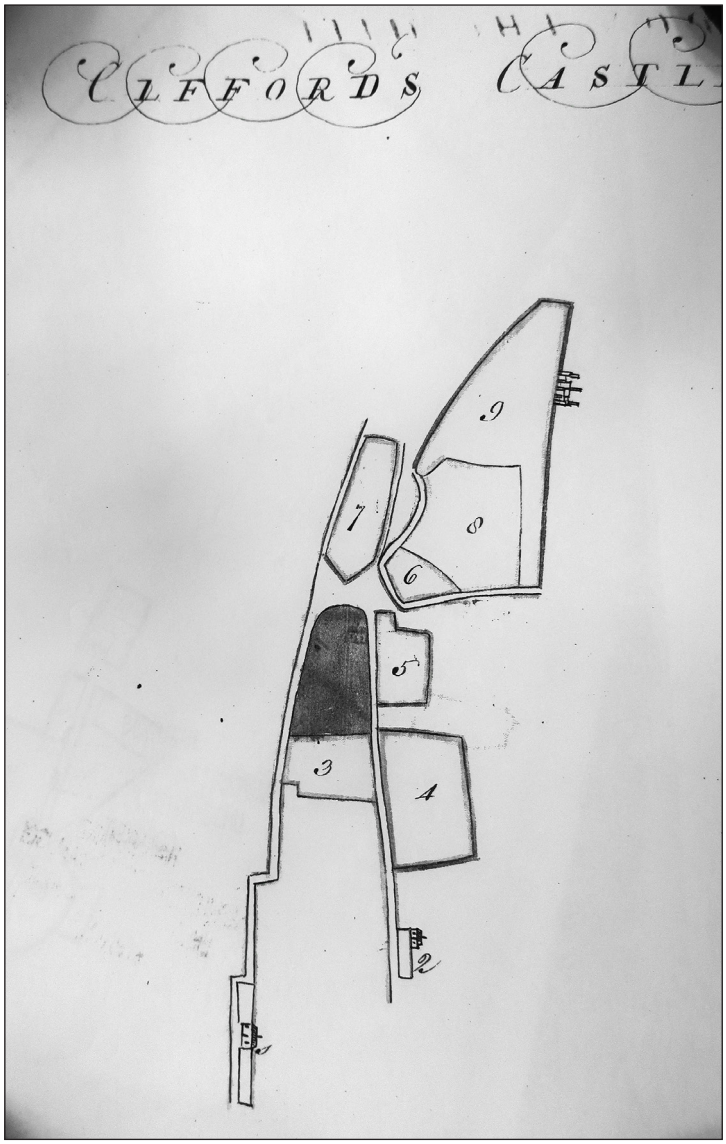

Figure 4 Clifford Castle depicted on an estate map of 1783 (Reproduced by permission of Herefordshire Archives CC67/10)

purchased from various landowners in the area. A sketch plan survives of the approximate route of the tramway as it passed through the Lower Court estate to the east of the castle (HA 1817R58). A deed of sale for the land immediately adjacent to the castle refers to 'ALL that piece or parcel of pasture land heretofore forming part of Mounds on the north side of Clifford Castle' which Tomkyns Dew sold to the Hay Rail Company for £488.10.0 (HA D13/2). The tramway was opened in 1829 (NHLE 110265). The route as it went past the castle clearly involved substantial clearance of the northern edge of the castle. In the late 19th century it was recorded that finds associated with this clearance included a large amount of bone from a supposed 'kitchen midden' (Watkins 1897, 16).

The site is shown on the First Edition 1-inch Ordnance Survey mapping of 1831-3, and on the Tithe Map in 1847. Both of these maps are in fact consistent with the way the site is depicted in a more stylised way on the 1783 map (Figure 5). The area of the motte and associated high ground are shown with a boundary around the level area of the bailey, and a further division roughly along the line of the south-west corner of the bailey. Both show the tram road already in place. The Tithe map

Figure 5 Extract from the Tithe map of 1847, showing the castle at 288 (Reproduced by permission of Herefordshire Archives AR1/117)

also shows a trackway running around the southern side of the motte towards a small building that appears to have been built adjacent to the trackway. The tithe apportionment marks this area as waste or common land, so it is possible that this is a squatter's cottage.

In the early 1860s the earlier tramway route past the site was re-used as part of the route of the Hereford to Brecon Railway (Figure 6). This opened in stages from 1862, with the stage to Hay being opened in 1864 (NHLE 105981).

By the late 19th century there was some antiquarian interest in Clifford Castle, not least as the supposed birthplace of 'Fair Rosamund'. Accounts of the castle's history appear in Robinson's 1869 book, *A History of the Castles of Herefordshire and their Lords*, Watkin's *History of Herefordshire* (1898) and an account of Clifford by the vicar of Clifford, the Rev T. W. Walwyn Trumper appeared in the *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (*TWNFC)* in 1889. All of these include some discursions on Fair Rosamund, generally including some form of verse.

In the early 20th century the Whitney and Clifford estate was sold, and largely broken up. The site of Clifford Castle was purchased by Dr Oscar Trumper, a doctor from Birmingham, who built a house in the bailey of the castle which was under

Figure 6 Clifford Castle with the Hereford Hay and Brecon Railway running beneath it along the bank of the Wye June 1947 (AFL/61506 EAW007987 30-JUN-1947)

construction in 1925 (Trumper 1925). A short note in the *TWNFC* includes a description of the excavations that were undertaken at the time of the construction of the house, with further clearance undertaken on the motte in the years that followed (Watkins 1927). A series of glass plates surviving in the Herefordshire Archive show the castle at this time, including some of the excavations on the motte (HA CJ68/1).

The Trumpers remained at the castle until the mid-20th century, when the site was bought by Air Commodore Douglas Iron. He also undertook some excavation, principally of the large earthwork in the centre of the bailey. The castle has remained in private hands throughout the remainder of the 20th century, with Barbara Robinson residing in the house for much of the later 20th century.

PREVIOUS HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The documentary history of the castle has been researched by Paul Remfry (1994) and Bruce Coplestone Crow (2017) amongst others, although this has largely been limited to the early phases, up to the end of the 13th century (*see* preceding section).

The castle has a long but intermittent history of archaeological research. Some finds were reported as a result of railway building activities in the 19th century (*see* above). The later suggestion that these included wolf bones (noted for instance by Dalwood 2005, 3) seems to be unsubstantiated. The Woolhope Field Club visited Clifford in 1889, 1920 and 1928, and the descriptions of the site given on those occasions are of some value (Trumper 1889; *TWNFC* 1920, lxxx; Bannister 1927).

In 1925-8 Oscar Trumper undertook excavations on the motte and in the bailey but the various accounts are brief, ambiguous and largely unhelpful (*TWNFC* **25**, 1925, 151; **26**, 1927, lxiii; Watkins 1927, 178; Marshall 1938, 153). The site was visited and surveyed, with some photographs taken, by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England (RCHME) in the late 1920s, and published in 1934. The RCHME survey showed the extent of the buildings on the motte-top as uncovered by Trumper, and until recently their survey formed the most detailed published work on the castle. Excavation in 1950-3 of an irregular rectangular mound in the bailey that turned out, rather unexpectedly, to be the gatehouse, recovered finds dating from the 13th to the 17th centuries (Iron 1952; 1953).

A watching brief was carried out on the north-eastern castle defences in 1976 but is unpublished (Dalwood 2005, 3; HER 713). In the early 21st century a series of excavations and watching briefs were undertaken as a result of developments on the site: in 2007 excavation by Archenfield Archaeology around the modern house (Arnold 2008); excavation in 2014 by Border Archaeology around and beneath the modern house (Crooks 2014); in the following year a watching brief by Border Archaeology behind the garage (Crooks 2015). The current suite of works on the site have included geophysical survey in the bailey by TigerGeo and excavations by Herefordshire Archaeology in 2017 (Roseveare 2017; Baker and Hoverd 2018), as well as architectural analysis of the castle's surviving fabric (Baker 2018). These investigations are discussed further below.

The landscape surrounding the castle has had comparatively little archaeological attention. The first recorded excavation occurred in 1994, when salvage recording of trenches in a field at the northern end of the village was carried out (HER 21244), within an area that had been provisionally identified as part of the medieval borough (Dalwood 2005); no evidence of settlement or occupation was found, apart from the discovery of ridge-and-furrow and a sherd of medieval pottery. Commercial work on a larger scale occurred when the Brecon-Tirley gas pipeline passed through the southern part of Clifford parish. A desk-based assessment of a 2km corridor along the proposed route was carried out (Morton 2006) and a watching brief during the laying of the pipeline (Network Archaeology 2010, 99; HER 52100).

Clifford has been included in some wider landscape studies. It fell within the area mapped by RCHME for the 1993-4 Marches Uplands Mapping Project (Stoertz and Small 2004), a National Mapping Programme project that targeted part of the border region between England and Wales. This project mapped features (mostly cropmarks) in Clifford from aerial photographs; many of the same photographic sources were used for the mapping in the current project. A desk-based urban survey of Clifford was conducted for the Central Marches Historic Towns Survey (Dalwood 2005) between 1992 and 1996. This utilised documentary evidence for the history of Clifford, and mapped some of the medieval urban features of the village.

Figure 7 Clifford Castle; the bailey and gatehouse are in the centre with the motte to the right; north is towards the bottom of the image. The earthworks of orchard ridging can be seen within the bailey. In the top left corner is part of the field with lynchets and trackways (NRHE 104889). HEA SO 2445/9 18-Jan-2000

DESCRIPTION

The castle – earthworks

One problem of describing and interpreting the remains of Clifford Castle is that a potentially substantial but unknown portion of its north side has been removed by the 19th-century railway cutting (Figure 7 and *see* Figure 6). This has to be borne in mind during all considerations of the castle's morphology.

Apart from parts of the motte and most of the eastern bailey, much of the castle is currently covered by thick vegetation, which may be concealing some slight earthworks. The letters in the following description refer to Figures 8 and 9.

The motte

The motte at Clifford is very large and steep-sided (Figure 10 and *see* Figures 8 and 9). It is approximately 17.5m high to the south, approximately 60m in diameter at the base and 30m across at the top. The top now appears to be a rough quadrilateral but was presumably originally circular and has been modified by the addition of masonry buildings in the 13th century. The motte top is now very uneven, largely as the result of 20th-century excavations; a hollow around the edge of the

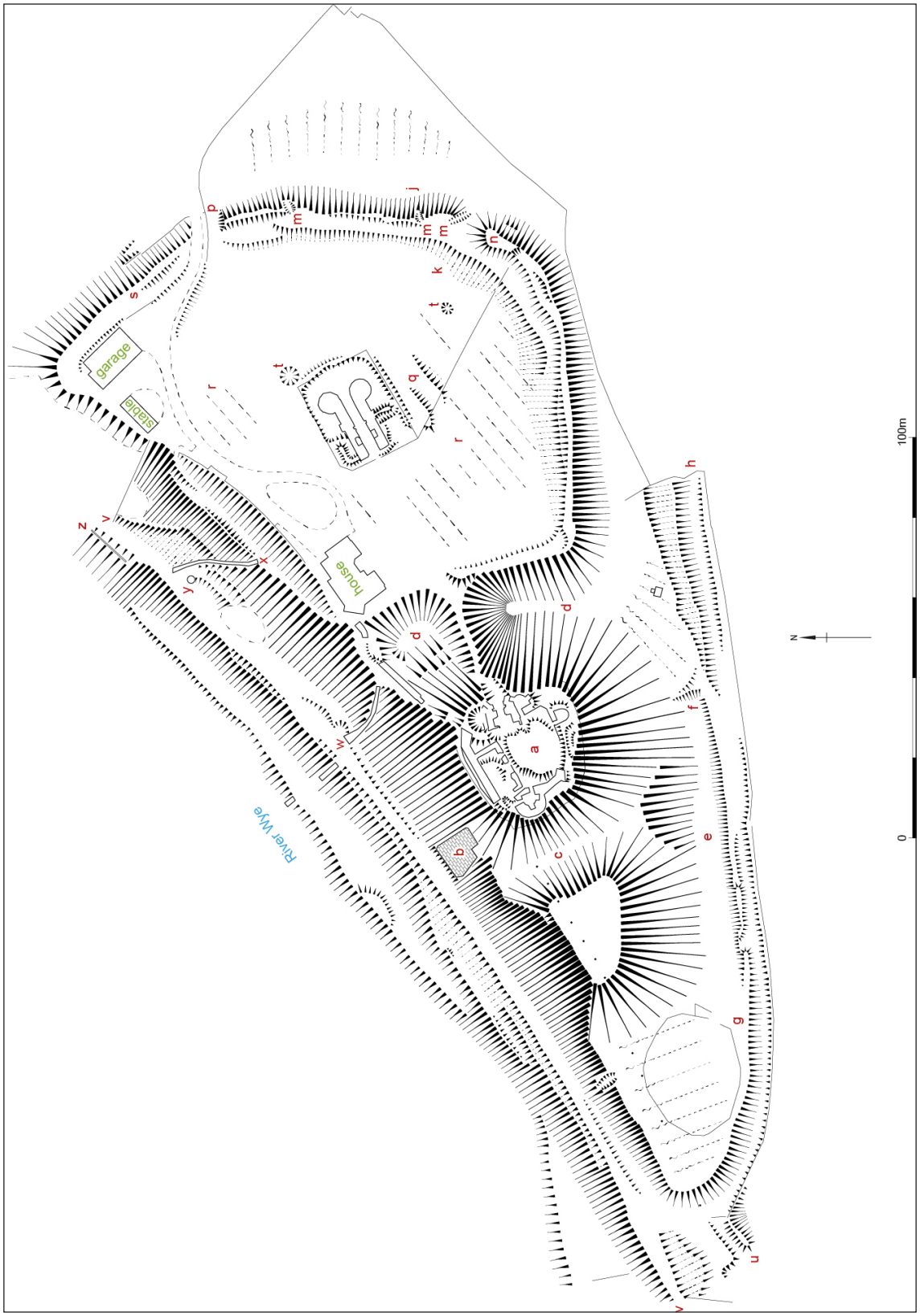

Figure 8 Analytical measuredsurvey of Clifford Castle, 2017; reduced from the orignal survey scale of 1:1000. For full-scale version see end of report.

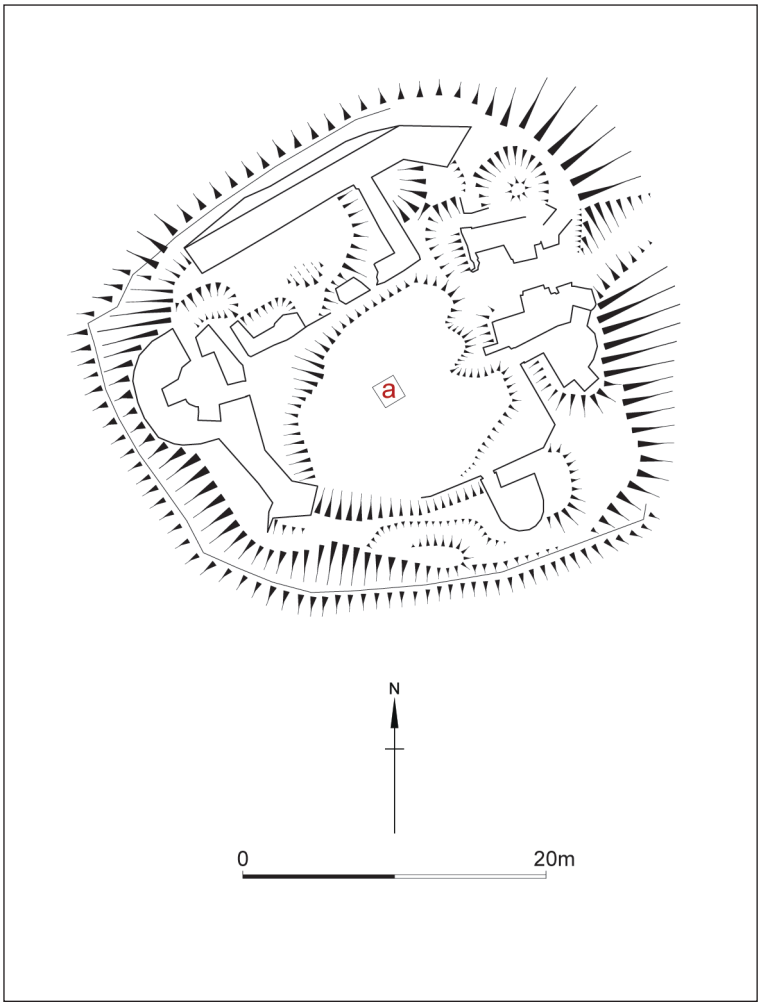

Figure 9 The motte top, survey drawing, 1:500

courtyard shows where the masonry buildings have been uncovered in a 'wall-chasing' exercise. Hollows and mounds among the towers and along the lines of the intervening curtain also attest to this activity. The buildings on the motte are briefly described below but have been subject to recent detailed analysis (Baker 2018).

A small excavation in the centre of the motte top in 2017 (**a**) revealed an earlier excavation trench and a considerable depth of stratigraphy with some cut features, showing that the upper motte structure consisted of re-deposited natural gravel affected by burning and containing post holes, possibly part of a late 11th-century timber tower or other structure that had been removed by the mid-13th century; over this were cobbled surfaces, possibly of 12th- or 13th-century date, on top of which was a pile of stacked stones, apparently collected for re-use but then abandoned in the 16th or 17th centuries (Baker and Hoverd 2018, 22-7, 32-3).

Although a portion of the motte's north flank has been lost to the railway cutting, very little of the motte top seems to have been lost; it is possible that the north-east corner has been truncated very slightly. The railway cutting below the motte has been revetted in stone (**b**). To the west the motte is divided from the rest of the ridge from which it is formed by a deep and steep-sided ditch (**c**), the bottom of which is now about 10m below the motte top. This ditch contains much tumbled material, of recent and perhaps also of ancient origin. To the east the motte is also divided from

Figure 10 The profile of the motte viewed from the south (DP220706)

the bailey by a substantial ditch (**d**, **d**) which is crossed by a length of wing wall (*see* below) and by a causeway leading to the gatehouse of the motte buildings. Whether this causeway is an original feature or a later construction is not clear – to the south it appears to be an integral part of the original design of the motte, ditch and bailey but on its north side it is more complex and appears to have been at least partly built up; on balance it is perhaps more likely that it is a later modification and the motte ditch was originally continuous and crossed by a bridge. To the north of the causeway the motte ditch is 3.0m deep externally, to the south it is as much as 4.6m deep externally but opens out into the natural slope. Under the south side of the motte is another length of ditch (**e**) terminating at a very sharp stony scarp (**f**) at its east end but continuing to the west along the foot of the natural ridge; this ditch was water-filled at the time of survey.

Earthworks to the west of the motte

To the west of the motte is a now-triangular raised platform. This has been termed a 'hornwork' but this is a misnomer – 'hornwork' is a term in post-medieval fortification with a very specific meaning. Instead this platform seems to be a surviving part of the natural ridge cut off by the motte ditch on one side and by scarping that has steepened its flanks to south and west. To the north it has been reduced, perhaps severely, by the railway cutting. Its top is level and very slightly, about 3.7m, lower than the top of the motte. Limited excavations in 2017 found

no significant features and revealed a natural glacial gravel deposit beneath a thin soil (Baker and Hoverd 2018, 30-1). The height of this platform shows that little of the motte is a built-up mound but that most of it was formed by cutting away the natural ridge.

To the west again the ridge continues, but at a much lower level, about 10m below the platform; at the extreme west end of the site it is cut by a natural stream channel (not surveyed) which issues from slight valleys to the south-west and south of the castle. The south side of the ridge is now formed by a sharp substantial scarp (**g**) up to 3m high above what is now a slightly sunken path, raising the probability that in the medieval period this part of the ridge was included within the castle as a subsidiary bailey. This gently sloping area is now occupied by a fenced enclosure for livestock, erected by a recent owner. The path continues to the east, diverging slightly from the castle earthworks, as a substantial hollow way (**h**), about 0.5m deep to the south but over 1.7m deep to the north.

The bailey

The main bailey of the castle lies to the east of the motte and separated from it by the motte ditch. It consists of a large mainly flat area bounded by substantial earthworks to south and east and by the railway cutting, which has taken away an unknown but possibly significant portion of its northern side (but *see* below). The earthworks consist of a very steep outward-facing scarp (**j**) up to 3.5m high and an interrupted interior scarp (**k**), mostly much spread, up to 2m high but generally rather less. Though there are considerable amounts of stone in this bank, apparently concentrated particularly in some zones, there is no indication of built masonry on the surface. The rampart, and particularly its outer face, is scarred in places by modern pathways (**m**, **m**, **m**).

At the south-eastern angle is a raised area (**n**), 1.4m high, suggestive of the position of an interval tower on a curtain wall; however, it has been suggested that this mound is the result of the dumping of soil from the excavation of the gatehouse in the 1950s (Remfry 1994, 32-3; *see* Discussion, below). The rampart has been cut away at the east end of the site, south of the modern entrance (**p**), to make an access point to the part of the property lying to the east of the ramparts. However, the original entrance was probably in approximately the same location.

There is no indication on the surface of an external ditch to the bailey rampart on the southern and eastern sides, where such a feature might be expected, though there is a slight indication of the ground dropping towards the bailey from the east – the ground level at the foot of the rampart is at least 1m lower than the level at the eastern corner of the property. Geophysical survey in this area might reveal the presence of a ditch.

Within the bailey and near its current centre is its most remarkable feature, a large masonry gatehouse. This is discussed further below. It is surrounded by slight

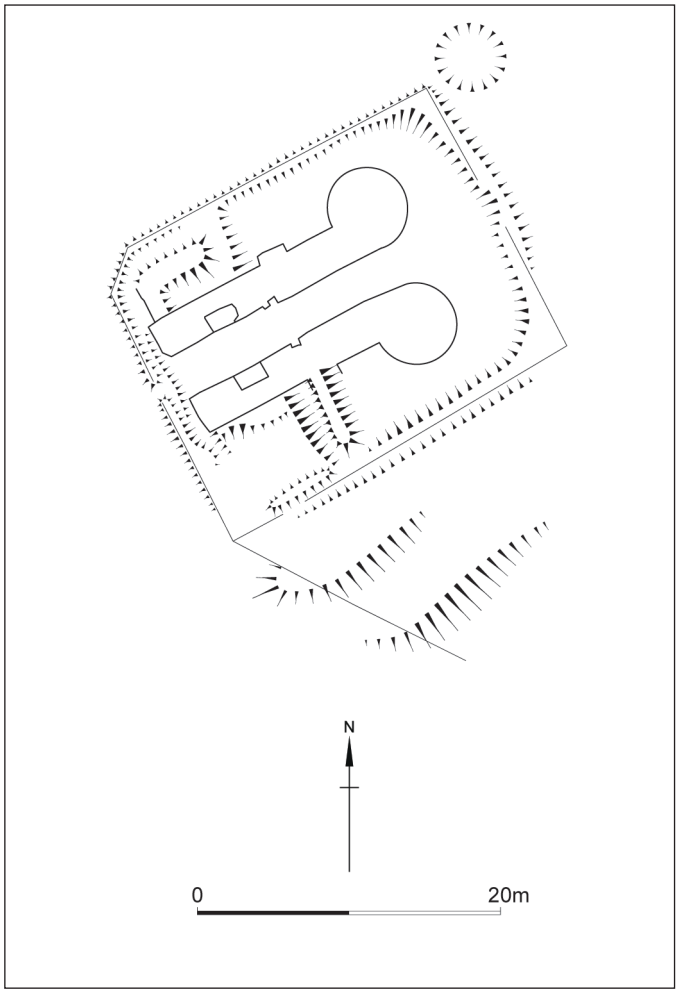

Figure 11 The gatehouse survey drawing, 1:500.

earthworks largely resulting from its excavation and subsequent landscaping in the 20th century (Iron 1952; 1953). Two spread scarps to its south (**q**) possibly represent the remains of spoilheaps from the excavations (notwithstanding the possibility, mentioned above, that some spoil was deposited on the rampart to the south-east). It is notable that the area around and within these scarps is identified by the geophysical survey as 'disturbed ground' (Roseveare 2017, 5, dwg 3c no8), possibly confirming the interpretation of these scarps as spoilheaps.

Over much of the rest of the interior of the bailey is faint ridging (**r**, **r**), almost certainly orchard ridging of post-medieval date. This was confirmed by the recent test pitting exercise which included a small trench inserted over one of the ridges which confirmed it was made of gravel (Baker and Hoverd 2018, 27). The ridging is currently only visible on the surface to the west, south and north of the gatehouse but geophysical survey indicates that it continues to the east (Roseveare 2017, 5, dwg 3c no11), as do early aerial photographs of the bailey area (*see* Figure 7). The area to the east of the gatehouse appears to have been rotavated in relevantly recent times, obscuring any slight surface traces of earlier activity.

The northern part of the bailey is occupied by modern buildings – house, stables and garage – and by a driveway. The eastern bailey rampart to the north of the entrance gate (**s**) has been much disturbed and is currently under dense vegetation.

There is a considerable drop of up to 10m from here to the hollow way immediately to the east which leads down (or did before the building of the railway) to the river. A watching brief on the digging of a service trench to the north-west of the garage revealed no archaeological features (Crooks 2015); this negative evidence is important, as it tends to suggest that the bailey's curtain wall on this side, if any existed, was further to the north and has been lost to the railway cutting.

Excavations under the present house in 2007 and 2014 did reveal deposits and structures of archaeological interest (Arnold 2008; Crooks 2014). These included stone structures and various cut features, some dated by medieval pottery. Perhaps the most significant was a stone wall, 0.6m thick, running approximately south-west to north-east, conforming to the general alignment of the bailey at this point (*see* Discussion below).

Other features within the bailey include two shallow circular hollows (**t**, **t**), possibly tree-throw holes. Geophysical survey revealed a further possible tree throw (Roseveare 2017, 5, dwg 3c, no12).

A length of curtain wall or wing wall survives on the lower part of the motte's north-eastern flank and crossing the motte ditch. Its outer face is stepped, in a rather similar fashion to the lower part of the north wall of the chamber on the motte; however, here the stepping rises to a considerable height of the wall. This construction feature may be a response to the location, the edge of a steep cliff, but it is unusual in British castle architecture, where battering is usually preferred to stepping, presumably for defensive reasons. This is the only surviving section of curtain at Clifford. It is possible there was a matching wing wall to the south but no trace of this is apparent. The similarity between the construction detail of the wing wall and that of the buildings on the motte suggests that the wall is of the same date and phase.

Other features

Beyond the western extremity of the castle is an earthen bank (**u**) partly constricting and diverting the current course of the stream. This appears to have been a dam, as noted by Remfry (1994, 27), now breached. At its current height, *c*1.8m, it would have held water back along the valley to the south-east forming a pond no more than about 100m long, if the modern contours reflect the historic landform. This is not therefore a defensive feature but could have been a fishpond or mill pond (*see* Discussion, below).

The railway (**v**-**v**) which runs all along the northern side of the castle, between it and the river, has modified the landscape and the castle earthworks to some degree. Late 18th- and early 19th-century engravings (*see* Figure 3) show the steep slopes below the castle descending uninterrupted to the river but there may be an element of artistic licence in these depictions. Clearly some of the bailey and a portion of the western platform and subsidiary western bailey have been lost but a perhaps surprisingly small portion of the motte has gone; this may reflect the railway engineers' care in trying to preserve this part of the castle with its masonry buildings. It is notable that they have revetted part of the cutting here with stone,

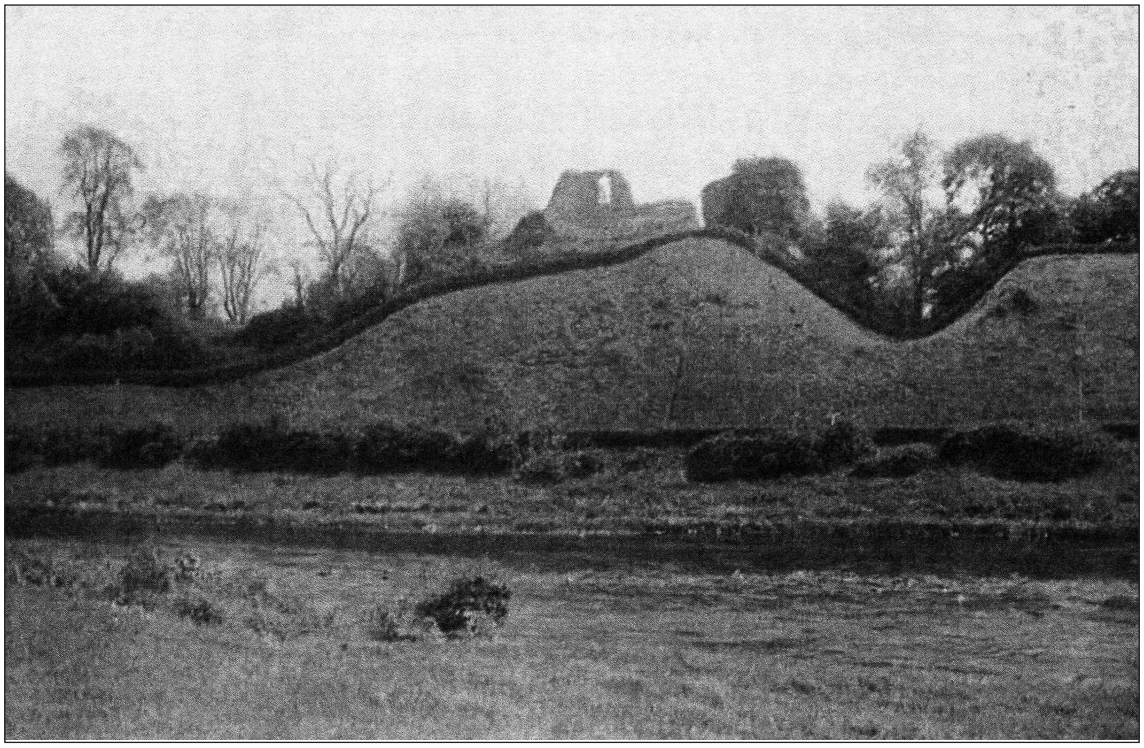

Figure 12 Alfred Watkins' view of the motte, published in the TWNFC in 1920. The hedge line along the top of the motte and into the ditches denotes the boundary of the land owned by the railway. Vertical lines just visible on the side of the motte denote the areas of stone revetting. Reproced by permission of the TWNFC.

as mentioned above (**b**). They have also buttressed the western end of the north wall on the top of the motte. A number of concrete fence posts marking the extent of former railway property survive (depicted on Figure 8).

A photograph of the castle, taken from across the river by Alfred Watkins in or before 1920, shows the side of the railway cutting. The edges of blocks of stone revetment can be seen faintly, including that at (**b**) with another to the west, below the platform, and a third to the east, of triangular elevation, under the eastern edge of the motte (*TWNFC* **23** 1920, pl 1, facing lxxx; Figure 12).

Two stairways have been constructed from just below the present house down the side of the railway cutting. One, quite recently constructed of wood in three sections (**w**), leads to a small wooden jetty (not surveyed) at the river's edge. The other, somewhat older and built of stone, descends from a narrow terrace (**x**) in the slope giving the impression of an elongated garden compartment. An earthen bank, 0.6m high, runs along part of this terrace (*see* Discussion below). Near the foot of this stair is a small well-constructed circular stone cairn (**y**). The latter stair was observed to be re-using what looked like stone roof tiles from the castle for some of the upper section of treads; these could be distinguished by holes towards one edge which would originally have been used to fix the stone slate to the roof batten. These are very similar to the stone slates recently excavated on the motte (Baker and Hoverd 2018).

The trackbed of the railway itself is clearly defined and further stone revetting (**z**) is visible towards the north-eastern end of the site, in this case supporting the embankment below the track. At the extreme north-east of the site the railway passes into a separate property (not surveyed) and a house beside the track here has the appearance of a railway building. At the extreme west of the site the railway passes over the stream valley on an embankment and the stream is culverted beneath it through a stone-arched tunnel.

In the large pasture field to the south and west of the castle, occupying the stream valley mentioned above, are a number of earthworks (HER 1449). These were not surveyed on the ground as part of this project but a cursory ground inspection and aerial survey revealed that they are former trackways, field boundaries and possibly water management features (*see* below).

Figure 13 The northwest tower and the west curtain wall on the top of the motte (DP220701)

The castle – masonry

The principal masonry surviving at the castle is the series of buildings on the top of the motte. This comprises a 'hall' block to the north, the northern wall of which survives to first-floor level, the north-west tower which survives to a similar height and which is attached to a section of the eastern curtain wall which survives to wall-top level (Figure 13). There were further towers projecting outwards from the curtain wall to the south-west, south, south-east, and two towers on the eastern side flanking the main entrance to the motte from the bailey. These were excavated in the 20th century, and survive to a height of around 1.5m. The south-western tower is still unexcavated.

These motte-top buildings have been subject to analysis by Nigel Baker as part of the recent programme of conservation (Baker 2018). This concluded that the main construction of the buildings took place in one phase, probably in the early 13th century. As part of this work Baker suggested that the so-called hall would probably have been too small to serve as the principal hall for the castle as a whole, and may have served as a high-status chamber block, providing private apartments.

Historic England's work did not seek to replicate Baker's work, but one or two observations about individual features within the motte complex were noted during the systematic survey of the site. One relates to a long slot observable in the east

Figure 14 The empty slot in the east wall of the so-called 'hall block' (DP220714).

wall of the hall block at the level of the first floor (Figure 14). This appears to run along the wall (north to south), rather than across it, except where a stone has fallen out of the eastern face providing access to the northern end of the slot. Baker (2018) has observed that the entrance to the hall was probably at the east end of the building, accessed via an external stair, as a single stone from the eastern jamb of the doorway can be identified surviving at first-floor level. It is therefore suggested that the slot might relate to the position of a timber beam which would have projected out beyond the southeast corner of the building in order to support the top of the stair, or perhaps a small landing area in front of the doorway. Such external stairs were frequently provided in castles and other high status residences in the medieval period. Although timber examples now survive rarely, they were probably typically self-supporting. A projecting beam such as this however, would have allowed the stair structure to be tied into the building more successfully than with a completely free-standing structure. Although survivals of such an arrangement are rare, the late 13th century stair at Stokesay Castle, Shropshire within the great hall, rather than external, may represent a comparable arrangement. This has two large beams projecting from the wall face, and braced to the wall below, supporting a small landing in front of the first-floor doorway.

The other observation relating to the motte-top buildings which has emerged during

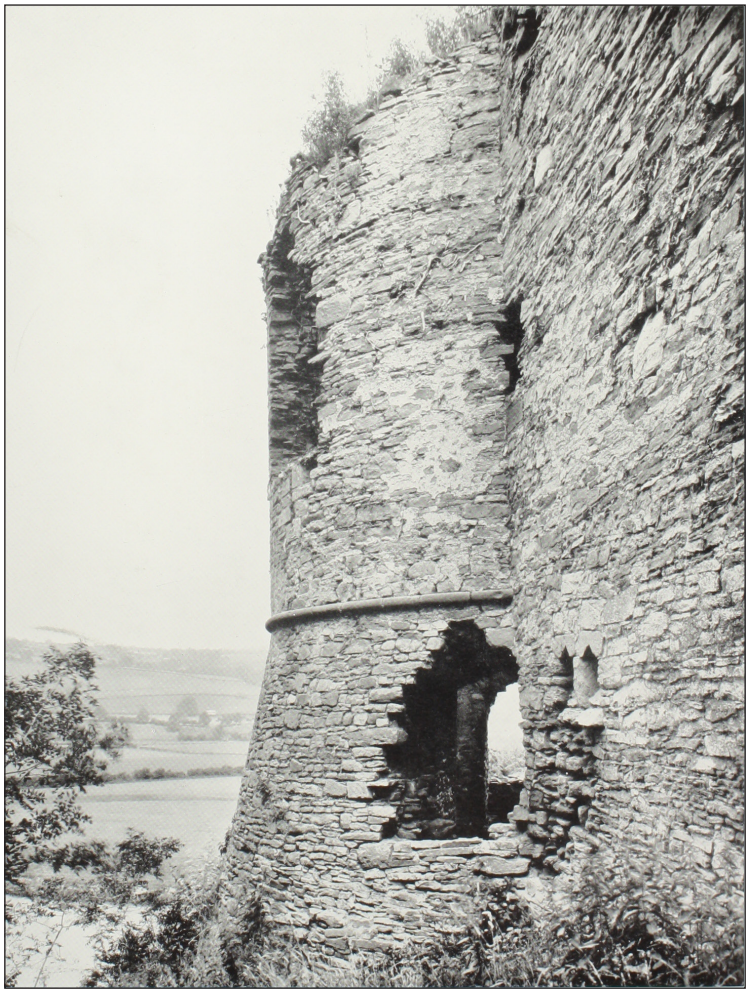

Figure 15 RCHME image of the northwest tower in 1929, showing much more extensive patches of render (CC72_00056)

the course of this study relates to the series of historic photographs of the site that were identified in the Historic England Archive (Figure 15). One of these shows the exterior of the western curtain wall on the top of the motte in the late 1920s. One notable feature of this photograph is the extensive patches of render that are visible on the outer wall surface. Traces of these render patches survive today (Figure 16) and were identified by Baker during his survey of the castle (2018, 9), although they are now much more limited than they appear in the early photograph. The extent of this render coverage, surviving until the early 20th century, suggests that the external walling of the motte may originally have been completely rendered, although the full extent is obviously not known. Whether this was applied immediately after the construction of the castle, or at a later date is also unknown, although it seems extremely unlikely that it would have been applied after the castle fell out of regular use. Such a practice is not unknown in a castle context, with White Castle being perhaps the most well-known Marcher example, the pale render giving the castle its name.

The other major structure which survives in the castle complex is the gatehouse in the outer bailey. This was excavated in the 1950s by Douglas Iron. Photographs of the surviving structure prior to its clearance show a large mound covered in trees (Figure 17). In the early 20th century this was suggested as the remains of

Figure 16 West curtain wall today showing traces of render (DP220701)

the chapel, perhaps because of the known 17th century reference to the chapel surviving at the castle (*see* Discussion of chapel below). What was revealed by the 1950s clearance however was the remains of an elaborate outer gatehouse, which, with its associated curtain wall must have been intended to bisect the bailey.

As surviving the gatehouse is represented by a pair of solid drum towers to the west, with a long gatehouse passage between, stretching back some 17m (*see* Figure 10 and Figure 18). A slight off set in the walling of the passageway where the curve of the towers meets the passageway may be related to the position of a pair of doors which would have opened outwards at the front of the passageway. Centrally placed along the passageway is the rebate for a portcullis and an associated offset in the walling to allow for a further pair of doors which would have been opened inwards, and again would have been able to lie flat along the passageway. Behind this there are recesses on either side of the passageway which may have provided the position of seats, or alternatively some form of storage. There is no sign of a guardroom or other associated structures, which normally would have been accessed from within the gatehouse passage. It is possible that there was a structure to one side of the gatehouse which served in this way, and that there may have been some form of window or other high-level opening to allow supervision of the gatehouse passage.

Figure 17 A 1920s image of the gatehouse prior to excavation (glass plate negative slightly damaged). Reproduced courtesy of Herefordshire Archives CJ68/1

Figure 18 The gatehouse from the northeast, showing the solid drum tower to the east and the long passageway beyond (DP220709)

Externally the gatehouse has the position of toothings for projecting sections of curtain wall running to the north and south. It is possible that behind one of these a guardhouse may have been provided, perhaps accessed from inside the bailey rather than directly from the gatehouse passage. Dating the outer gatehouse structure is problematic as there is little in the way of diagnostic features associated with it (*see* Discussion section).

The landscape

The principal aim of this part of the project was to contribute to improved understanding of human activity in the landscape before the castle, the castle's setting, and subsequent development of the surrounding landscape. This survey has used all accessible aerial photographs and lidar data in order to identify and analyse all possible visible archaeological features ranging in date from the prehistoric period to the 20th century for as full a picture of historic land use and development as possible. The survey has resulted in the creation of several new records within Historic England's National Record of the Historic Environment (NRHE) database, while many more existing records have been updated. The survey has also identified opportunities and avenues for further research (*see* below). A more detailed account of this work is available in Salkeld (2018).

The project area, 24km² in extent (Figure 19), encompassed most of the parish of Clifford excluding its northernmost and southernmost extremities. Also included were parts of the parishes of Cusop to the south-west, and Whitney, Willersley and Winforton to the north-east, as well as a small part of Clyro, located over the River Wye in Wales. Consequently, the survey area covered the main village by the castle; the church and medieval priory; and two more castle sites, one still surviving as an earthwork motte and bailey. The main part of the village of Clifford is located near the Castle towards the western side of the project area. The castle and village are situated on a ridge above the eastern bank of the River Wye. This ridge of higher ground also extends roughly east-west towards Lockster's Pool and down to Old Castleton on the other side of the project area, leaving a broad floodplain to the north of it. Further settlement is dispersed across the parish as houses, manors and farmsteads.

The most recent sources of aerial imagery indicate that the project area is mostly used as pasture. However, the northern and western edges of the area, and the region between Priory Wood in the central area and Castleton to the east, are primarily arable, although there also appears to have been some yearly interchange of land use, particularly in the central part of the area. These differences in land use will have affected the relative survival and visibility of archaeological features, and therefore the results of the survey. The presence of pasture greatly reduces the likelihood of any trace of features surviving below ground being seen on aerial photographs, while earthworks are less likely to survive in arable.

The results of the project are presented here in chronological order and organised under broad themes. Some exceptions in the chronological sequence have been made for the narrative ease of reflecting such themes, which sometimes cross

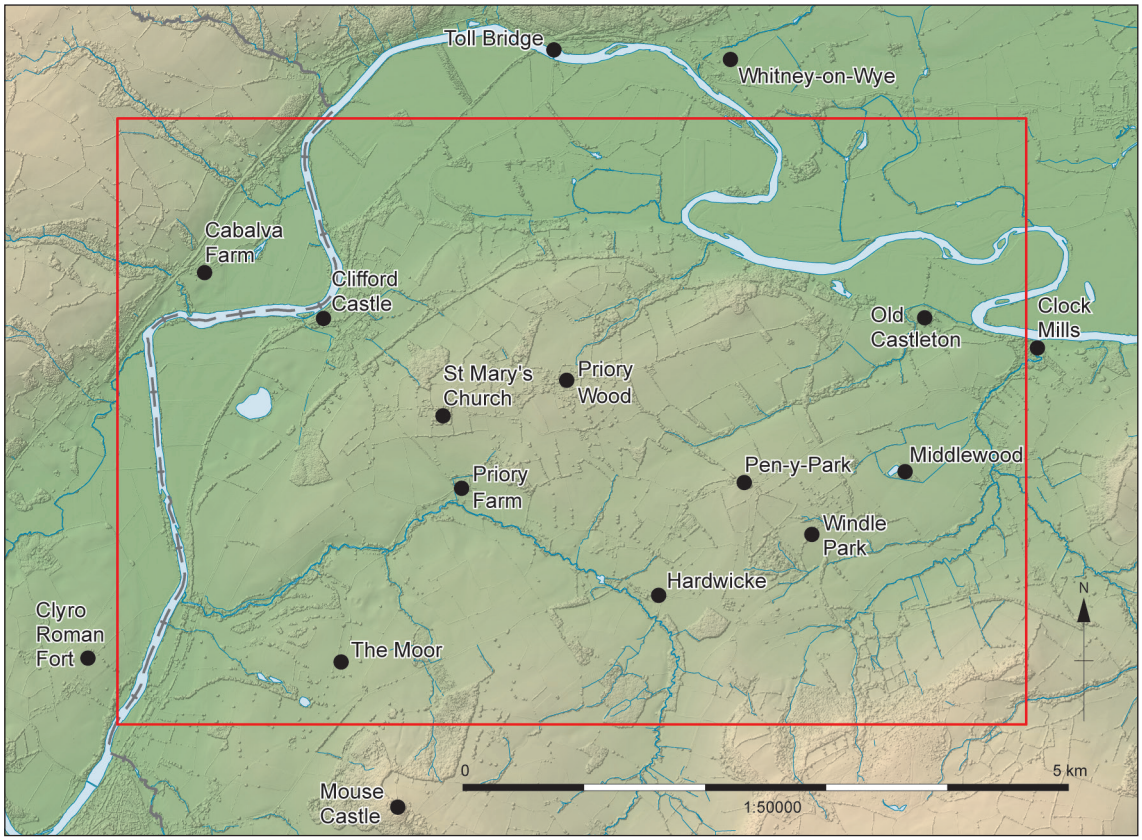

Figure 19 The area covered by the aerial survey project, showing places mentioned in the text. Contains digital surface model data derived from 2m photogrammetry ©Airbus Defence and Space Ltd; Bluesky International Ltd; Getmapping PLC. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2018

over multiple time periods. For instance, some potential prehistoric and/or medieval field systems (NRHE 1616668; 1616615) are discussed later, under the examination of the medieval and post-medieval private estate lands, where they appear to have been enclosed and preserved as a consequence.

Prehistoric

Few prehistoric sites or finds were known from the project area prior to this survey. A small flint flake and a broken scraper were discovered in a ploughed field upriver and to the south of Clifford (at *c*SO 236 444) in 1965-7 (Brown 1973, 115; NRHE 104947), while definite or possible sites lie in the parts of the parish that fell outside the project area. For example, a potential Neolithic long barrow (NRHE 104924) has been identified in Clifford parish on the edge of Newhouse Wood, just 100 metres outside the southern boundary of the project area. Nearby are two scheduled Bronze Age round barrows (NRHE 1354796 & 1332403). Just under a kilometre to the south-west, three large stones 'embedded in turf on the roadside verge' (NRHE 104920) have tentatively been identified as the remains of a possible cairn or chambered tomb.

Evidence for prehistoric activity from neighbouring parishes is also lacking in the NRHE, which is somewhat surprising given a comparatively dense area of stone

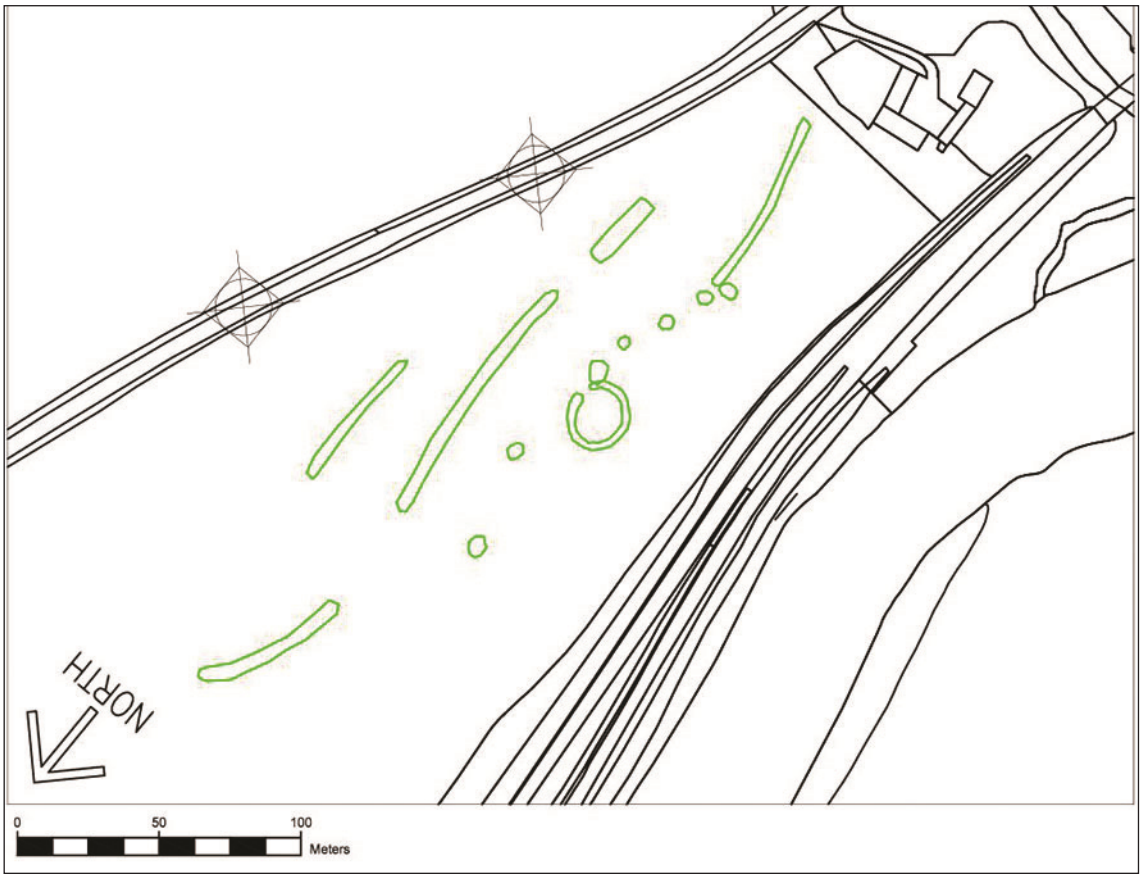

Figure 20 Mapping of cropmark features at Pontvaen.

tool findspots in Dorstone, mainly along the uplands extending south-east from Merbach Hill and overlooking the Golden Valley, and in particular where recent significant discoveries of Neolithic settlement and burial have been uncovered at Dorstone Hill (Ray 2015, 55-7). Less than 2km west of Clifford, over the Welsh border, is a Neolithic chambered cairn at Court Farm, Clyro (Coflein NPRN 306309).

Seven sites were newly identified as cropmarks during this project and are described below. Not all can be placed in the prehistoric period with any great confidence, while some have only been photographed on a single occasion. Although the cropmarks clearly indicate the presence of archaeological features, they are challenging to map and interpret when only a single oblique image is available. It can also be more difficult to confidently distinguish archaeological features from cropmarks of natural or agricultural origin. For example, while the presence of a ring ditch above Pontvaen is in little doubt, other possible features identified could be of non-archaeological origin.

The site near Pontvaen appeared on a single photograph taken in 1975 (Figure 20). A previously unrecorded ring ditch *c*23m in diameter (NRHE 1616798), it lies at SO 2354 4401 in a field between the old railway and the Hay-Clifford road, just 65m east of the river bank. The area inside the ring ditch has a pale appearance, which may suggest a former internal mound, further supporting the interpretation

Figure 21 Two ring ditches, probably barrows (HEA SO 2446/27 22-JUL-1996

of the feature as a round barrow of possible Bronze Age date. A curving line of pit-like features appears to skirt the outer edge of the ring ditch on its eastern side, although the quality of the cropmarks on the single photograph is not clear enough to be entirely confident about their interpretation.

In general, Bronze Age round barrows are not especially common in the landscape around the project area, although there are two possible barrows, first identified by the previous Marches Uplands project, visible as cropmark ring ditches in a field north of the present village of Clifford, seen on photographs taken in 1989 (Figure 21). The larger of the two (at SO 2487 4635; NRHE 1618936) is *c*42m in external diameter, while the smaller (at SO 2486 4632; NRHE 1618937) is *c*16m in diameter and features a possible entrance or causeway through the ditch on its northern side. Considering the large size of the first ring ditch, the feature could alternatively be a hengiform enclosure.

As well as this, a potential 'twinned barrow' (NRHE 104862) was reported from a field survey of the route of an oil pipeline from Brecon to Wolverhampton (Pye 1973, 13), located at SO 2851 4625 in the north-western limits of the project area, and situated on the floodplain near the bank of the Wye within the parish of Willersley and Winforton. It was described as upstanding at roughly 3 feet (1m) and measuring 45 feet by 24 feet (*c*14m by 7m). This feature has not apparently been seen again since it was first reported and it was not visible on sources that were consulted for this project, apart from a small circular mound on lidar, roughly 13m in diameter, which is in a different location at SO 2860 4637 (about 150m to the north-east), so seems unlikely to be the feature that Pye was referring to.

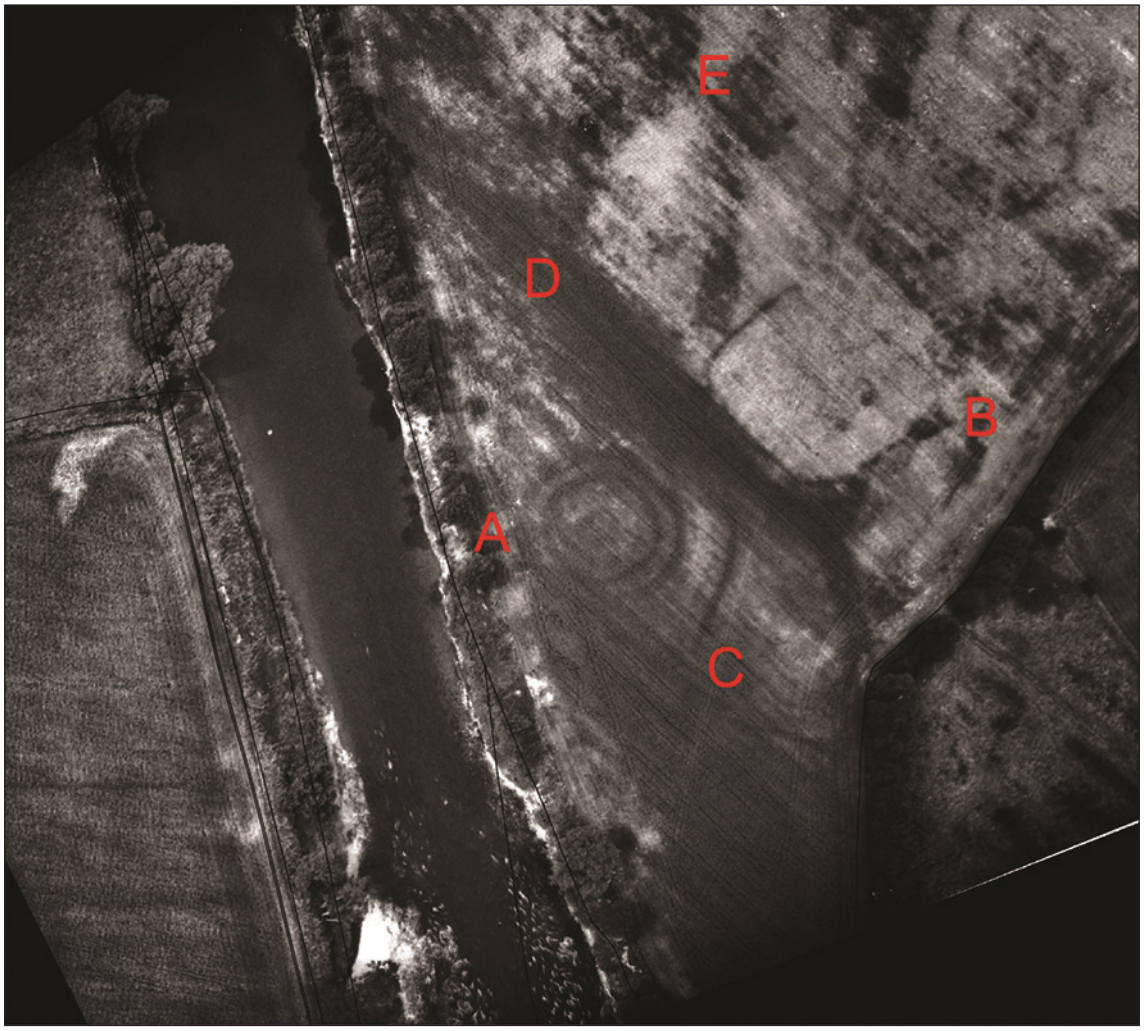

Figure 22 Cropmarks by the Wye, at the top of Clifford Common. HEA BTQ_021 02-JUL-1975

However, the possibility of a twinned barrow should not be discounted.

On the Welsh side of the River Wye, and upriver of Clifford, a previously unknown cropmark enclosure was identified on aerial photographs taken in 1974, with some elements also visible on lidar imagery. Located east of Bronydd and *c*260m west of the river bank (at SO 2296 4466), it appears to be a sub-rectangular enclosure measuring *c*70m by 58m. The northernmost corner of the enclosure may continue into the neighbouring pasture field as a possible ditch line visible in the grass. Cropmarks of isolated linear ditches, separate from the enclosure, are also visible in the arable field and may be associated with the enclosure. Lidar images of the same field reveal a curving earthwork boundary bank, roughly 260m long, which is differently orientated to the current arrangement of fields. Another, slightly shorter earthwork bank runs 165m parallel to the first bank, and they are both connected by the faint earthwork of a third perpendicular bank. These earthwork banks correspond to field boundaries depicted on the 1st Edition 1:10560 map of 1888, presumably an earlier post-medieval arrangement of fields that were changed soon after to the current alignment.

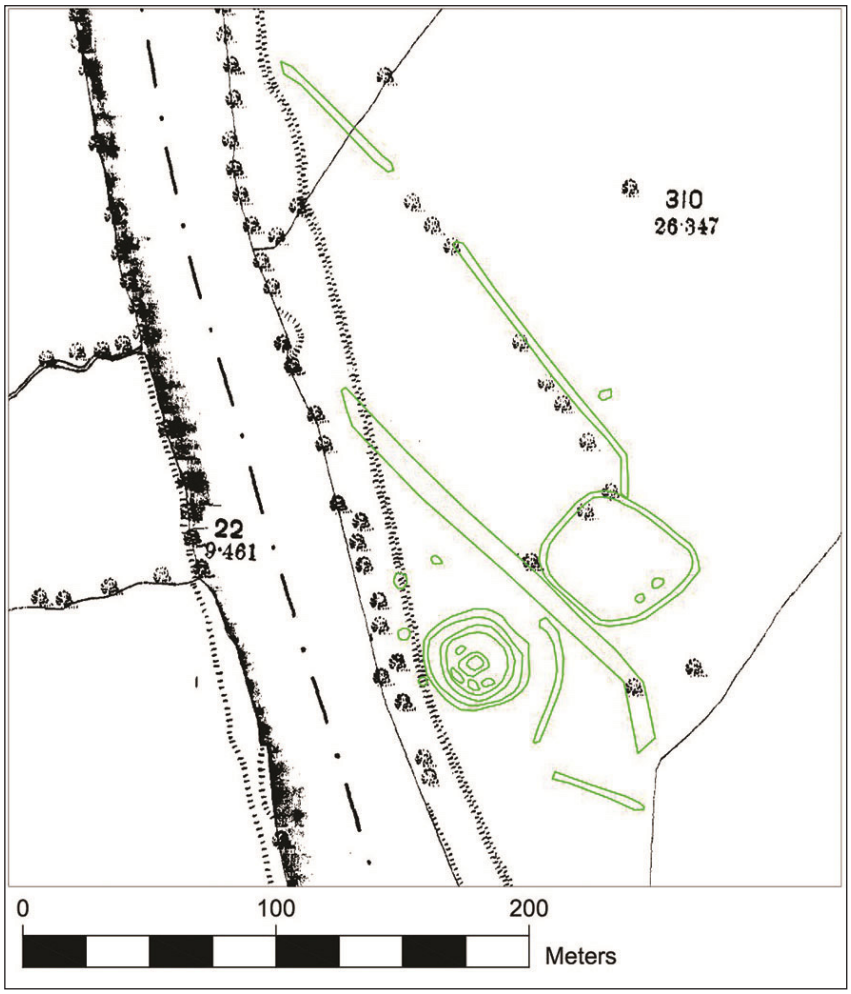

Figure 23 cropmarks along the River Wye, overlain on the 1st Edition 1:2500 OS map, showing that linear 'E' coincides with an old hedgeline. Base map © and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2018) Licence numbers 00394 and TP0024

When comparing the cropmark ditches and the earthworks that appear on lidar, it is apparent that the north-eastern edge of the sub-rectangular ditched enclosure and one of the separate linear ditches (both mapped from aerial photographs) also appear to follow the same line as the 260m-long curving earthwork bank mapped from lidar. Whereas the sub-rectangular enclosure on its own could have been characterised as a possible prehistoric or Romano-British enclosure whose continued presence influenced the siting of later land boundaries, its connection with a field boundary that lasted into the later 19th century may indicate that the enclosure is also much more recent.

A concentration of features were recorded along the eastern bank of the Wye and to the north of Clifford Common (Figures 22 and 23). These appear to relate to a series of enclosures of late prehistoric date. These were initially mapped during the Marches Uplands project (Stoertz and Small 2004, 17-8). Situated closest to the river is a double-ditched sub-circular enclosure (centred at SO 2440 4643; 'A' on Figure 22 , NRHE 1138357), the two concentric circuits measuring *c*40m and 30m in diameter respectively and a ditch width of approximately 2m. The interior seems to contain possible pits and ditch fragments surrounding the less-distinct cropmark of a small central oval ditched enclosure that is 7m in diameter internally. There are also some possible pit-like features outside the outer enclosure ditch. Although the

Figure 24 Only linear D is visible as a cropmark and the outline of linear E, marked by isolated trees, which also match up with trees marked on the OS 1st Edition 1:2500 sheet. (RAF 540/225 5184 22-JUN-1949)

south-western side of the outer enclosing ditches is obscured in the crop at the edge of the field, there are no visible entrances.

Two linear ditches ('C'; NRHE 1138358) are located directly south-east of 'A', and are arranged perpendicular to each other. The nearest of these ditches to 'A' passes approximately 10m around the outermost ring ditch, and it appears to curve slightly in a manner that suggests an association between the two (or at least that 'A' was already in existence and still an extant feature when 'C' was created). The second ditch, centred at SO 2442 4636, is *c*35m in length and appears to be separated at its western end by about 14m from the south-western end of the first linear ditch, although this is not clear. It is possible that the two ditches may have once connected to form a corner. The ditches at 'C' may also be connected in some way with a broad ditch or hollow way 'D' (NRHE 1616724), which is *c*6m wide, and extends 190m north-north-west towards the river bank. This feature appears to connect with the corner of a field boundary but is absent from historic OS maps.

Just 25m north-east of 'A', on the opposite side of feature 'D', is a single-ditched sub-rectangular enclosure 'B' (NRHE 1138360), which measures *c*50m by 45m. The north-east-facing side is defined by a markedly less distinct cropmark than the

other three sides. There are two large pit-like features in the interior, towards the south-eastern side, while the enclosure's south-western side appears to run along the north-east-facing side of 'D', which may suggest the former was laid out to respect the position of the latter.

A narrow linear ditch 'E' (NRHE 1616710) connects with the northern corner of 'B', and heads north-west, following a line more or less parallel with 'D'. This feature is also indicated by a broken line of trees on RAF photographs from 1949, although like 'D', this line is not marked on OS maps (Figure 24). However, the presence of trees suggests its use as a boundary into the post-medieval period, which makes the connection with enclosure 'B' intriguing. The form and size of enclosure 'B' might suggest a later prehistoric, perhaps Iron Age, or Early Roman date (*see* below), which would mean that linear 'E' may have remained in use as a boundary for some considerable time. The fact that it is parallel with 'D' may be coincidental, but again there is a clear relationship between 'D' and enclosure 'B' suggesting a degree of contemporaneity.

The width of 'D' may indicate that this feature was either a straightened river channel, or perhaps a boundary or track that became hollowed over long-term use. Its absence on OS maps may indicate that it had fallen out of use as a boundary before *c*1887. This area was also the approximate location of a ferry on the Wye (*see* below), and perhaps this was a hollow way approaching the river bank.

On the basis of its form, 'A' seems likely to be much earlier in date than enclosure 'B'. Its relatively large size, the apparent absence of entrances, and the concentric arrangement of ditches around a central oval enclosure indicates that the site may have been funerary – such as an elaborate or multi-phase Bronze Age barrow, or a ritual or ceremonial site such as a henge-type enclosure. The linear ditches 'C' resemble the outermost ring ditches of 'A' in size (approximately 2.5m in width) and on their appearance in the crop, and they do not appear to relate to current field boundaries in the same way as 'D' or 'E', but seem to partly follow the outline of enclosure 'A'.

Enclosure 'B' is similar in size and shape to the sub-rectangular enclosure near Bronydd, mentioned earlier, although enclosure 'B' is slightly smaller. Once again, this site is associated with a boundary ('E') that may have been a post-medieval or medieval field boundary, although this does not necessarily mean that either linear ditch 'E' or enclosure 'B' cannot be older than this. The enclosure, being very close to the cropmarks of a Roman fort (*see* below), could alternatively be an enclosed Romano-British farmstead. Similar examples are known elsewhere in Herefordshire, such as Leen Farm in Pembridge, where multiple cropmarks of sub-square and sub-rectangular enclosures were dated by excavation to the 1st-2nd century AD (HER 15214). However, when dating by morphology alone, it is important to be aware of all the possibilities. In the case of enclosures such as those being discussed here, a case in point is the excavation of a rectangular earthwork enclosure of approximately 35m by 25m on Garway Hill Common (HER 6251). Previously assumed to be of Romano-British or post-medieval date, its lifespan was revealed to be isolated to the Iron Age with no later use (Ray 2015, 174, 409).

Roman frontier

Clyro

On the Welsh side of the Wye are the earthworks of a substantial Roman fort at Boatside Farm, Clyro. Positioned on a small hill facing north-east and overlooking the river, it is sub-rectangular in shape with the outermost earthworks enclosing *c*415m by 275m. Excavations undertaken along the south-eastern defences in 1964 concluded from the pottery evidence that the fort was probably pre-Flavian in date (AD 43 to 69), with the rampart apparently constructed over two phases. No internal buildings or structures were identified, prompting suggestions that the fort was only in use for a short period (Jarett 1964; Jarett and Nash-Williams 1969, 77-80). However, the later discovery of a stone from a donkey mill has altered interpretations towards the possibility of a longer period of occupation (Brewer 2010, 238-9). Archaeological evaluation around Boatside cottage in advance of development (Border Archaeology 1999) yielded a charcoal-filled ditch cut into the bedrock outside the south-west rampart, which contained several Roman Severn Valley ware sherds.

The main detail added by this survey came from the lidar data – the presence of a second embanked sub-rectangular enclosure, measuring *c*145m by 185m, contained inside the known fort. This inner enclosure is not placed concentrically within the main fort but is off-centre and follows a slightly different orientation – the outer fort is broadly oriented north-east to south-west, while the inner one is more east-north-east to west-north-west. This inner enclosure appears not to have been noted previously, although its southern edge coincides with the field boundary that was originally identified as part of the south-western rampart of the main fort in the 18th and earlier 19th centuries. It is possible that this inner enclosure represents an earlier fort, subsequently replaced by the larger one.

Away from the north-eastern limits of the fort, cropmarks representing two lengths of ditch meeting at a near-right angle were also identified *c*320m to the north-east. The two narrow (*c*1.8m wide) ditches are separated by a 7m break (SO 2310 4390), and were mapped from faint cropmarks. Their combined total length is about 160m. If it is the fragment of a complete enclosure, this would be the north-eastern corner of a rectilinear enclosure orientated roughly east-west.

Clifford

At Clifford, another large fort was confirmed 3.5km north- north-west of Clyro Fort (NRHE 104892; Figures 25 and 26). The fort is a regular, almost square enclosure with rounded corners, and appears to comprise three concentric enclosing ditches, the inner pair very closely spaced, with a gap of 20 metres to the outer ditch. The innermost of the three ditches encloses an area measuring approximately 260m by 250m, while the outermost ditch encloses *c*320m by 275m. Much of the southern side is not visible as the now-disused Hereford, Hay and Brecon railway passes over it in a north-east to south- westerly direction. However, the rest of the fort's outline has appeared – in fragments of varying length – across five modern fields. It appears to have been constructed on a natural terrace, elevated slightly above the

Figure 25 Aerial photography of the cropmarks of Clifford Roman Fort (north is at the bottom left). The curving corner of the outer ditch marking the north-eastern side of the fort is visible in the centre of the photograph, close to the road's edge. The spiral cropmark close to centre bottom of the image is an agricultural mark, probably caused by a vehicle. (NRHE 1138355). CUCAP 7860 10 22-JUN-1972

floodplain. Although the river now passes by the fort's western ramparts, it has also been suggested that its eastern side was 'formerly more tightly clasped by the river than now, for the ancient course of the Wye approached to within 3,300ft (c.1km) of the east side of the fort' (St Joseph 1972, 238; *see* also below).

Because of its proximity to Clyro, some writers (St Joseph 1972, 239; Brewer and Davies 2010, 237-8) have suggested that this fort was possibly of earlier date, and was succeeded, after a short occupation, by the fort at Clyro. This theory is on the basis of Clyro's positioning being better sited in the landscape upon a more commanding location upriver. Apart from sherds of ploughed-up buffware that have been reportedly found on the surface, the site at Clifford remains undated.

A possible 40m long fourth outer ditch along the eastern side was also visible, approximately 30m away from the outermost ditch rampart. This feature also appears amongst traces of ditched field boundaries and cropmarks of the horse

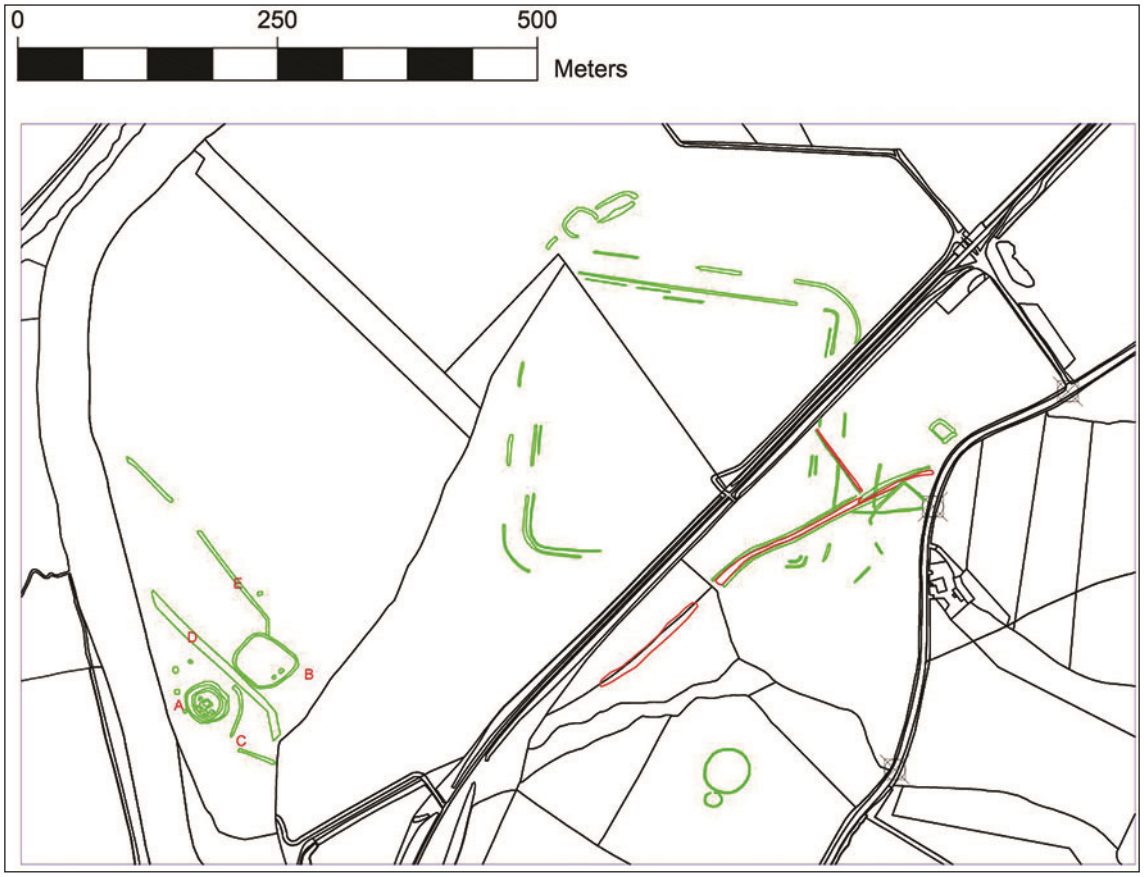

Figure 26 Mapped cropmarks of the two inner ditches of the south-western corner of the fort are visible near centre right. In the top right, fainter cropmarks of parallel ditches show the eastern side of the fort which are partly covered by the more prominent negative cropmark of the 19th century horse tramway. (NRHE 1616657). CUCAPRC8M 8302 217 04-JUL-1969

tramway, however, so its seemingly parallel alignment with the fort's layout may be coincidental. Another additional 38m long ditch, 4.5m inside the innermost ditch circuit, has also been identified along the northern side of the fort. Another cropmark feature, 270m north of the fort and lying outside the present project's study area, was mapped for the Marches Uplands Project (Stoertz and Small 2004, 43). This was the single cropmark of a long, straight 220m long east–west ditch with possible curving corner at its western end. This was suggested to represent either a medieval field boundary or a possible Roman camp, similar to the cropmarks around Clyro fort.

Other Roman features

Two other possible Roman forts within Clifford parish have been claimed. The first (HER 11381) was noted as a cropmark at SO 2490 4790 (Frere *et al* 1992, 283), although unfortunately no source information for the relevant photograph(s) was provided. The site was described as comprising 'a pair of straight ditches with angles turning south at the western end', extending in total for *c*210 metres and suggested to represent 'a very large fort'. Cropmarks at this location were not visible on any of the photographic sources consulted for this project, so the site could not be confirmed.

Identification of the second is based on the shape of a road line and earthwork first noted by Ruth Richardson of the Woolhope Club to the east of Clock Mills at SO 2945, which has been suggested to preserve the shape of a fort (Brewer and Davies 2010, 238). The place-name 'Castlefield' was suggested to hint at the presence of a Roman fortification, although this name could equally be associated with the motte and bailey at Castleton, less than a kilometre to the north-west (*see* HER 10637). The grid reference is imprecise and the road line in question could not be identified here from the description given. No discernible earthworks were seen on the ground and nothing was seen on aerial photographs or lidar around here during this survey. However, there is another unusual right-angled road bend very close to this area that passes directly south of the edge of Old Castleton's rampart (SO 2842 4556; see below), although once again there are no earthworks or evidence seen here to indicate the presence of a rectangular feature for the road to divert around. However, a possible explanation for the sharp turn at Castleton may be that the route of the road was altered in the post-medieval period to go around the farm and head southwards to the Hay-Clock Mill road (the B4352). A slight hollow way 100m long and running from the modern right-angled corner can be seen on lidar and aerial photographs (at SO 2852 4555; NRHE 1618984), suggesting an earlier, straighter route that ran past Castleton and followed the river to Clock Mill.

Roman roads

Despite the presence of the forts at Clifford and Clyro, no definite evidence has been found for Roman roads passing through the area. The positioning of the two forts may mean that they were sited to take advantage of and defend a crossing of the river, something first suggested in the 19th century by Trumper (1889, 366), although referring then only to Clyro: 'it does not seem improbable that the Romans may have had a road from Clyro Hill via Clifford to Abergavenny (Gobannium) which would be shorter than going through Hay and less difficult and the ford, being an important one, must clearly have been well defended'. Two possible Roman roads skirting the parish's edge have been suggested (NRHE 1325959; NRHE 868007). No trace of any Roman road was seen on aerial photographs or lidar at either location.

Early Medieval

Within the village, two fragments of a carved cross shaft are embedded in the wall of a barn at Lower Court Farm, made of the same Raglan Mudstone Old Red Sandstone as the surrounding local geology. These have been suggested to belong to the 10th or early 11th century (Bryant 2012, 284; RCHME 1931, 41; NRHE 1570190). There is no other evidence for early medieval activity around Clifford.

Medieval Period

There has been much discussion about the location of the Domesday borough of Clifford. The suggestion offered by the Central Marches Historic Towns Survey (Dalwood 2005), that it was immediately to the north-east of the castle and under the modern village, has been widely accepted and until further evidence comes to

Figure 27 Oblique photograph of Castleton motte and bailey, in the centre of the photo, with Lower Castleton Farm to the left. Curving medieval ridge-and-furrow overlain with trackways is visible top right, and is different from the straight, regular post-medieval orchard ridging at top. .At bottom left the start of the hollow way (NRHE 1618984) that may have once continued on to Clock Mill is visible. HEA MIL 196292/40 09-Jan-1999

light offers the most plausible solution (*see* below, Discussion). This site has also been linked with the earthworks in an elevated field directly south of Clifford Castle (NRHE 104889; *see* Figure 3). Lynchets and trackways leading across the slope run parallel with a small stream at the base. The field is partly divided by a prominent north-south 80m long bank, which appears to have been a 19th century field boundary (1st edition 1:10560 map, 1887) although the large bank may be older than this, bordering orchard ridging. Whilst these earthworks indicate probable medieval land use to the south of the castle, there is no evidence of settlement here. No direct evidence for the borough was found during this survey, and medieval ridge-and-furrow earthworks generally do not appear in the fields immediately surrounding the modern village. Before this project, no medieval ridge-and-furrow had been mapped in Clifford parish. This apparent lack of evidence echoes the results of the Central Marches Urban Survey (Dalwood 2005), apart from the buried ridge-and-furrow earthworks from the 1994 excavation to the north of the village (SO 2473 4587; HER 21244).

However, ridge-and- furrow does appear further south-west, in fields between Priory Farm and the church; these were mapped from faint earthworks visible on lidar images (NRHE 1617188). Some writers (Arnold 2008, 5; Dalwood 2005, 3)

have also suggested the possibility of an older church on the same site attached to a pre-Conquest Welsh settlement.

Old Castleton

Old Castleton (NRHE 104842; SO 283 456) is a small motte and bailey earthwork castle at the eastern end of the parish, situated downriver and just under 4km due east of Clifford Castle (Figure 27). Unlike Clifford, Castleton sits on relatively low ground and is only just elevated above the immediate floodplain. It is defined by a circular motte with a semi-circular bailey consisting of an inner bank and outer ditch adjoining the southern side of the motte (Figure 28). A break in the bailey earthworks along the southernmost edge may not be an original entranceway – it could have been caused by erosion arising from the fact that it backs here onto the modern road that runs between Old Castleton and two 17th century farmsteads, Upper and Lower Castleton Farm.

To the east is a scarp that curves roughly east to west, bordering the current road, to meet the bailey's southern bank. This is likely to be a natural slope down to the floodplain that has been artificially emphasised into a scarp along the southern edge. To the south-east of the motte is a raised plateau, roughly rectangular, that has also probably been artificially flattened at the top and shaped. Also adjoining the western bank of the bailey is a small ditched drainage or field system, which is partly enclosed within two curving banks (recorded separately as NRHE 1062794), and may have been contemporary with the castle's construction.

Masonry and potential buried stone foundations around the motte have been reported (HER 1015; Stirling-Brown 1988, 41; Halliwell 1991, 26). On the lidar, earthworks of clearly defined, unenclosed S-shaped ridge-and-furrow bordered by curving headland banks (NRHE 1616593) were mapped for this project extending approximately 350m northwards on the floodplain directly north-east of the motte (Figures 29 and 30). To the west of this are markedly different ridging earthworks of orchard plantation that are more sharply defined and regular, and straight. To the north of Rabbit Bury Wood a second, smaller region of open-field ridge-and-furrow, consisting of two parcels of differently-aligned ridges, can be seen abutting the orchard ridges to the east. It extends roughly 180m northwards to the riverbank and clearly once extended further. The post-medieval orchard ridges are also defined on the 1st edition 1:2500 OS map, which indicates their used lasted into the 19th century. They appear to respect the headland edges of the surrounding ridge-and-furrow.

This area of unenclosed open-field medieval ridge- and-furrow at Castleton is unusual within the project area. Possible curving ridges also appear 820m to the south-east, but these are again within enclosed strip fields to the north of Middlewood (NRHE 1616863).Much fainter ridge-and-furrow was also mapped across a field to the south-west of Castleton (NRHE 1618864) from an aerial photograph, which is bordered by a possible long headland bank (NRHE 1616769) that extends roughly 460m south-west. Its terminal curve appears to align with another headland bank in the adjacent field and supports a possible contemporary association.

Figure 28 Castleton motte and bailey; showing mapped earthworks overlain on a modern aerial photograph. The square earthwork at the north-western base of the motte, centre top, is highlighted by shadow © APGB SO2845 12-Sept-2009

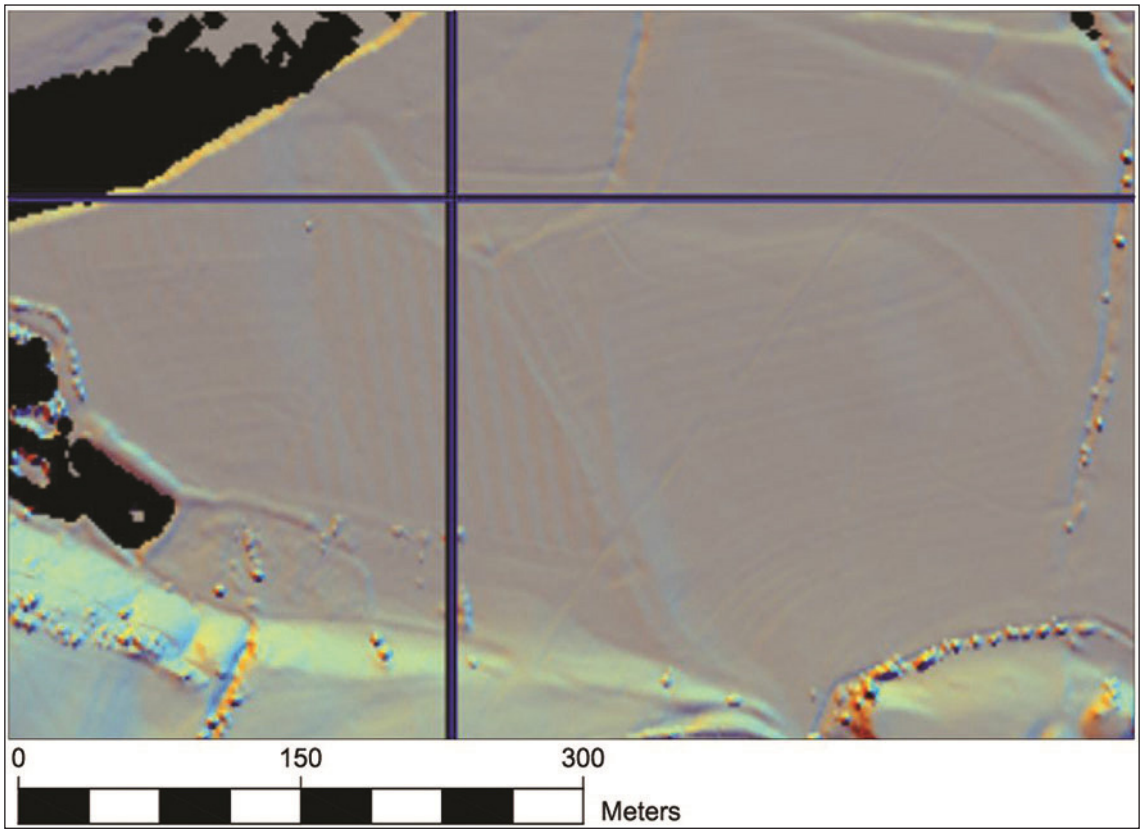

Figure 29 A lidar image of two parcels of probably medieval ridge-and-furrow to the north-east of Old Castleton (bottom right), separated by post-medieval orchard ridging in the middle. © LIDAR DTM Environment Agency 2006

Previous researchers also claimed to have identified potential earthworks of a deserted 'defended village site' to the south of the castle earthworks, although no other description of the features has been provided (*see* HER 15705; Stirling-Brown 1988, 41). Despite the presence of ridge-and-furrow, evidence for settlement contemporary with these earthworks was not apparent from aerial photographs or lidar. The ephemeral nature of the ridge-and-furrow to the south-west of Castleton, which appeared faintly on oblique photographs from 1999 and were virtually indiscernible on lidar images gathered a few years later in 2006, may highlight the fact that slight earthworks in this area may already have been lost to modern ploughing. Within Old Castleton, a small square earthwork at the western edge of the base of the motte (SO 2834 4574) could represent a building, but this may be a later addition built into the side of the motte and not related to any medieval occupation of the site. Multiple braided trackways and hollow ways (NRHE 1616958) appear to the south of Lower Castleton Farm on lidar, which are also probably later post-medieval routes associated with the 16th -17th-century farmstead, and most of them are parallel to a defined hollow way following the fence line to the road.

It has been suggested that Old Castleton's strategic position was once closer to the river, which has since changed course (Phillips 2008, 187-8). The name Castleton (Coplestone-Crow 1989, 54) is not mentioned in Domesday. This has led to

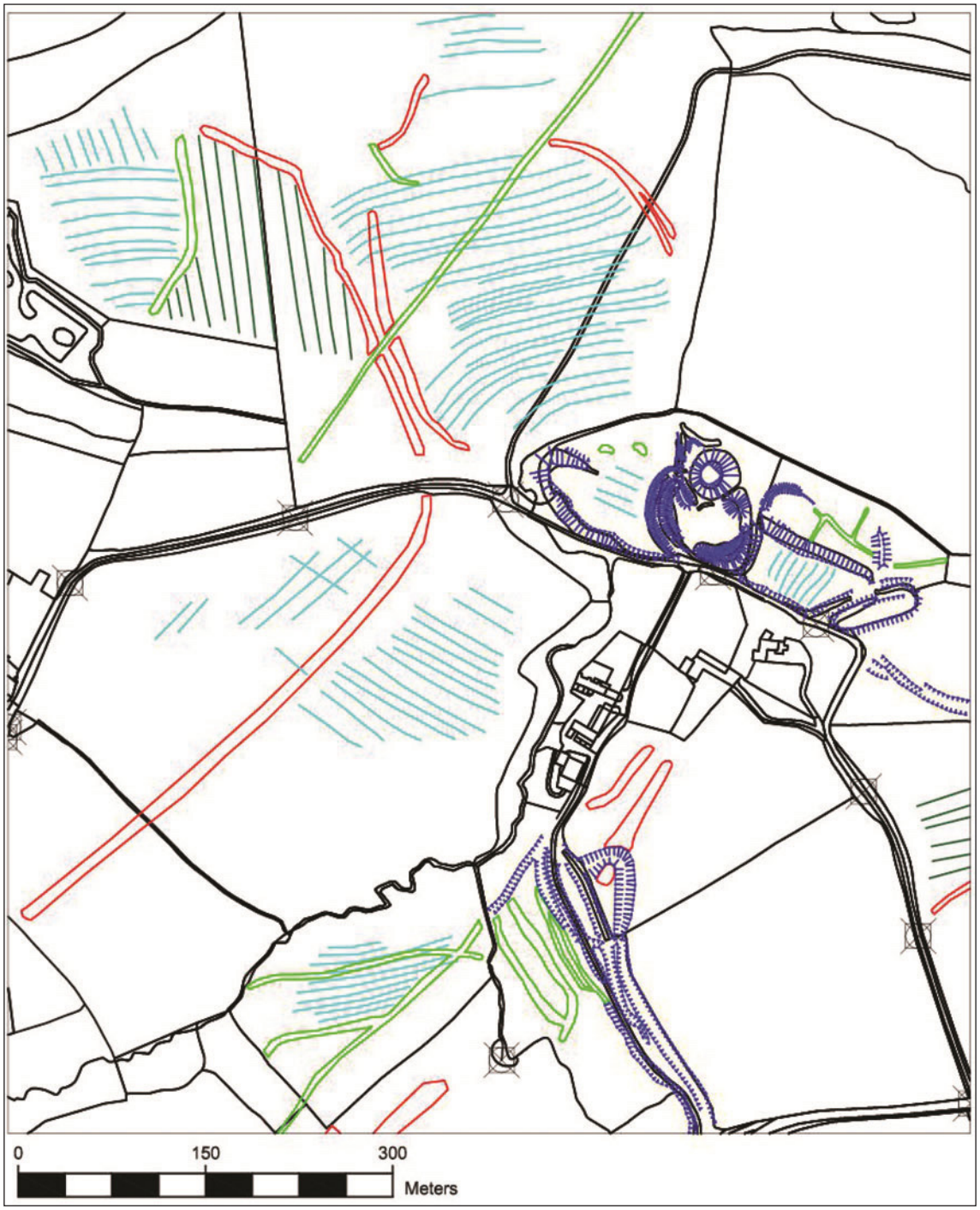

Figure 30 Castleton earthworks showing ridge-and-furrow, mostly mapped from lidar sources to the north of Castleton, but from photographic sources to the south of it.

suggestions that this site was the original Clifford Castle recorded in Domesday, and precursor to the later fortification that was moved upriver (Stirling-Brown 1988, 41; Phillips 2008, 188). However, the construction of Castleton has been noted as very different to Clifford, which is more in keeping with other Marcher fortifications attributed with FitzOsbern, from their characteristic tendency to utilise natural high ground (Remfry 1994, 25); so this absence of mention in Domesday seems more likely to indicate that Castleton's construction came sometime after 1086 (Marshall

1938, 153-4). Two pieces of pottery were found during a survey of the site at the base of the motte. This has been suggested to offer a date for the construction of the motte before 1140-80 (Phillips 2008, 188).

Priory Farm and Hardwicke

Most of the parish is a landscape of small, dispersed farmsteads. A road beside the church of St. Mary leads south to Priory Farm, which is the site of a medieval Cluniac priory founded around 1129-30 (Bullough 2008, 28) on the northern side of the Hardwick Brook. The site now consists of a small complex of farm buildings arranged along the eastern side of the road from St Mary's Church, as it crosses the Hardwicke Brook. 150m north-east of the main farmstead is a an area of enclosed woodland, and roughly 500m further north is a series of houses arranged within a triangular area still known as 'Priory Wood'. This may also have once related to the estate attached to the medieval Priory, although the exact extent of this estate land is not clear.

The current farm buildings, while incorporating elements of 17th and 18th century additions, also retain some of the 14th century ecclesiastical buildings (RCHME 1931, 40; Whitehead and Patton 2001, 366). On lidar images of the site, some faint earthwork platforms and a linear bank directly east of the current standing buildings may represent the remains of buildings or walls of the original medieval site, which are overlain with later regular earthworks of post-medieval orchard ridging (Figure 31).

Other features associated with the medieval Priory and to the south-east of the main farm buildings are the earthwork hollows of fish ponds, which are well-preserved and appear clearly on lidar and aerial photographs (Figure 32 and *see* Figure 31). A smaller pond roughly 45m by 25m, and a larger L- shaped pond (which may have originally been two ponds arranged perpendicularly, as it appears on plans from OS maps) are connected by narrow channels that funnel at both ends into the north side of the Hardwicke Brook. These are headed on their northern side by a bank.

After the dissolution, the Priory lost its ecclesiastical significance and its land was sold off. By the 19th century it was a private estate of just 40 acres (Watkins 1897, 27). A new house, also known as 'The Priory', was built at approximately SO 2551 4466 overlooking the earlier buildings to the south-west of it. As well as the main buildings, a square walled kitchen garden with crossing axial walkways is still visible on RAF verticals from 1946 (*see* Figure 32), but now survives as a ditched outline on the lidar (SO 2553 4478; NRHE 1616834) within the area of woodland to the north-east of the farm buildings. The kitchen garden is likely to be associated with the 19th -century house.

A 37m-wide hollow appearing on lidar at SO 2559 4461 (NRHE 1616926), 47m to the east of the site of the house, may be the site of a quarry for construction materials. It is marked as an 'old quarry' on the 1:10560 map of 1887.

A sinuous woodbank (NRHE 1617184) which enclosed a small area of woodland on the 1st Edition 1887 1:10560 OS map is visible as an earthwork 45m to the

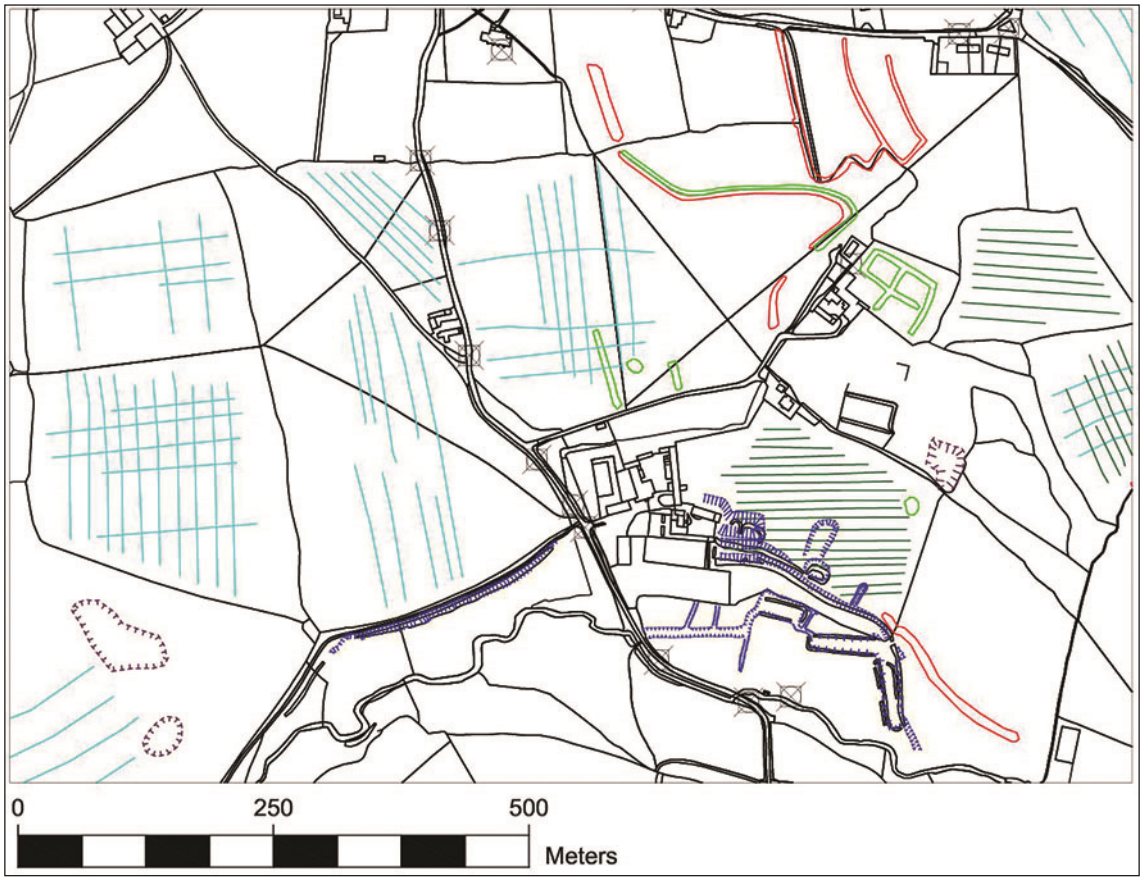

Figure 31 Priory Farm, showing earthworks of the Priory's fishponds and the later kitchen garden, ridge-and-furrow to the west and the lynchet above the Hardwicke Brook. St. Mary's Church is near centre top, and possible strip fields edging enclosed wood are top right.

north-west of the kitchen garden. The woodland survived into the 20th century (RAF photographs) but has since been partly cleared, leaving the woodbank as an earthwork bank and ditch visible on lidar images. The woodbank starts to the south of the kitchen garden and terminates to the south of St. Mary's cemetery, so was perhaps part of the 19th century Priory House's ornamental landscape as a scenic route to St Mary's Church. Previous surveyors of the site (Whitehead and Patton 2010, 366) describe records of an avenue of beech trees known as the 'Monk's Walk', indicating another scenic aspect of the landscape around the Priory.

Modern field boundaries in this area may also preserve the outline of earlier, medieval land division and cultivation. 85m north of the kitchen garden is an irregular field boundary that borders the northern limit of the enclosed woodland surrounding the kitchen garden and 19th century house. Additional earthworks, visible on lidar, suggest that the irregular, zigzag outline of the field boundary may preserve the southern edge of possible strip fields (NRHE 1616893), which appears to cut into the northern edge of the woodland boundary. It is possible that the woodland could also have originated from the Priory's earlier medieval landscape rather than a later private, post-medieval plantation established around the kitchen garden and 19th century structure.

Figure 32 RAF 1946 vertical aerial photograph showing Priory Farm in the centre, with faint parchmarks in pasture representing the fishponds. St. Mary's church is top left. RAF 106G/UK/1652 54,11-July-1946

There are further indications that medieval land use may have been concentrated in this area. Faint overlapping ridge-and-furrow earthworks can be seen and appear on lidar across several fields to the west of Priory farm and south of St. Mary's church, for example (NRHE 1617188; *see* Figure 31). Also upstream of Priory Farm, the field edges bordering the Hardwicke Brook are defined by a prominent 200m long earthwork lynchet (NRHE 1617189), which was perhaps formed from long-term, continuous cultivation evidenced by the ridge-and-furrow above to the north of it. In recent times the feature has been re-used as a raised trackway above the stream (where it is also marked as a footpath on modern OS maps) and the

shape of the earthwork has also probably influenced the line of the current field boundary that follows it.

Field boundaries have also been noted as preserving the shape of a former medieval open-field system around the site of the Priory (Morton 2006, 64), such as the example 1.5km downstream to the south-east, located between Hardwicke's Holy Trinity Church and the vicarage at SO 2677 4391 (NRHE 1619088). Again, modern boundaries of two fields may preserve the shape of narrow strip fields that are arranged perpendicular to each other (one aligned north-east and the other north-west, measuring 120m and 170m in length respectively). Their probable medieval origin is supported by their enclosing faint earthworks of ridge-and-furrow. Roughly 500m north of this site and1.3km east of Priory Farm are five boundary stones which are marked on the 1st Edition 1:2500 OS map. These were noted by the Woolhope Club's Field Name Survey as corresponding to marks on tithe maps indicating field divisions from a former open-field plan (rather than field divisions that were planted with a hedge line) (*see* HER 38469).

Upstream of Priory Farm is Hardwicke Mill (400m to the SE), and roughly 600m east of that is Hardwicke Court. Hardwick Court is listed as a 19th century farmhouse (NHLE 1099504), although a small settlement at Hardwicke appears to have existed before that date. Attached to the main building of Hardwicke Court is a slight depression on the lidar, which may have been a small rounded courtyard. This is also abutted to the south by a 3-sided small square banked enclosure, which may have been an adjoining paddock (NRHE 1617273).

Hardwicke appears on maps from the 16th (Saxton) and 17th (John Blaeu) centuries, and is also shown on Isaac Taylor and Emanuel Bowen's 18th -century maps as two distinct settlements named 'Upper Hardwick' and 'Lower Hardwick'. Later on in the mid-19th century the parish of Clifford was split, creating Hardwicke parish in 1853. The new Church of the Holy Trinity, built in 1849, served this area, although it remained a part of the larger civil parish of Clifford (Bullough 2008, 40).

Lidar images also show previously unrecognised earthworks in the area between Hardwicke Green and Priory Farm, and mostly located on the northern side of the Hardwicke Brook. These mainly seem to relate to medieval and post-medieval activity (NRHE 1616878; Figure 33). There are numerous embanked field boundaries and ditched trackways directly north of Hardwicke Court that survive as earthworks, and probably ceased to be used as boundaries as a result of the post-medieval enlargement of fields. Many of these earthworks are quite faint. Some follow the outline of early boundaries from the 1st (1887) and 2nd (1903) edition OS 1:2500 maps and indicate their use continuing into the 20th century (NRHE 1616878), although others do not and may relate to older boundaries. A ditched trackway following a boundary bank corresponds to part of a path visible on the OS 1-inch Original Series map from 1832, which shows it connecting Green Lane with Hardwicke Court. From the 1st edition map it is also possible to see that a small depression at SO 2644 4434, enclosed by a small bank, was previously a pond. Overlapping ridges are also visible, probably from post-medieval orchards (NRHE

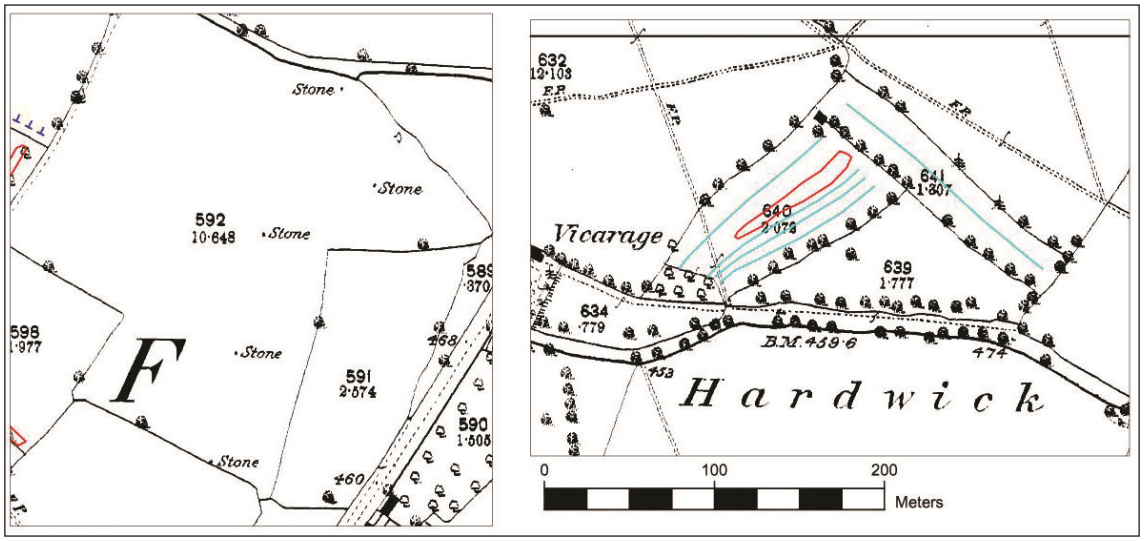

Figure 33 Hardwicke fields, showing possible remnants of medieval land division. Left: boundary stones on the 1st Edition 1887 1:2500 OS map that may have marked parcels of land in open fields. Right: possible strip fields, preserved in modern field boundaries, with possible internal ridge-and-furrow earthworks. Base map © and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2018) Licence numbers 00394 and TP0024

1617202).

From Hardwicke Mill the remains of a winding hollow way lead 400m west along the Hardwicke Brook to Hardwicke Court (NRHE 1619388; Figure 34); this pathway also appears on the 1st Edition OS 1:2500 map from 1887 and was clearly still in use as a worn-down footpath on RAF photographs from 1946. However, recent photographs show it as a field boundary along the east half from Hardwicke Court, and the western half closest to Hardwicke Mill appears to be a disused path across an arable field. Attached to the northern side of this hollow way the earthworks of small possible building platforms (NRHE 1619391) are visible on the lidar which do not appear on any OS maps, indicating that the trackway and adjoining possible buildings are older. The features include an embanked corner, suggestive of a possible rectangular structure, which adjoins a more prominent raised oblong platform (SO 2591 4425), roughly 75m by 23m and aligned roughly north-south on its longest axis, with rounded ends.

A church was documented at Middlewood from 1657 (and perhaps dated as early as the 13th century), but was reportedly pulled down by its landowner in the 19th century – although a date for this event is never specified and a church site does not appear on earliest OS maps from 1887 (Bullough 2008, 38-39; Watkins 1897, 12; Robinson 1872, 67; NRHE 104913). In Hardwicke, Isaac Taylor's 18th -century map marks the site of a ruined chapel (*see* NRHE 104917), and the existence of a chapel here is supported by later tithe maps that record a former orchard field to the north-west of Hardwicke Court as 'Chapel Field'.

In 'Chapel Field', a large earthwork mound is visible on the lidar (HER 1411 and NRHE 1617208; SO 2615 4420; Figure 35), and it was also noted on a site visit

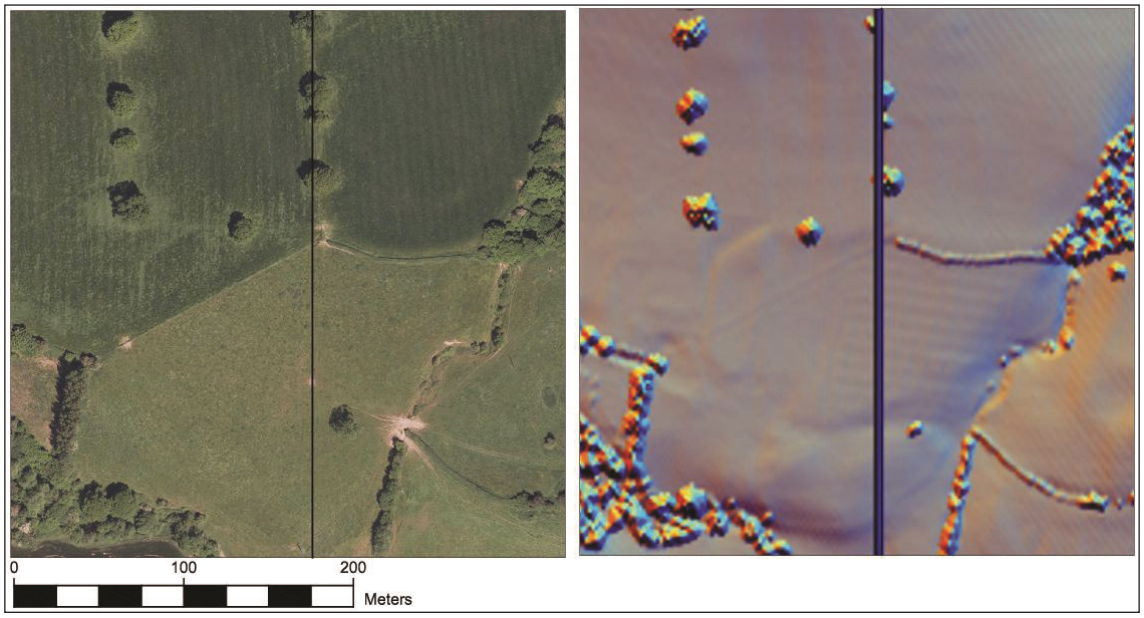

Figure 34 Hollow way between Hardwicke Mill and Hardwicke Court, showing Left on modern aerial photograph and right on Lidar. Possible adjoining building platforms, some of which are faintly visible as a negative cropmark in the left side of the photograph. © LIDAR DSM Environment Agency 2006.

(Skelton 2014, 52-4). The earthwork is also recorded in a desk-based survey, again as the possible site of the chapel (Morton 2006, Site 3796). The mound is sub-circular, roughly 70m in diameter, and slightly dished at the top and hollowed on its eastern side. Orchard ridging in this field also stops at the base of this mound, and the feature can be seen as having some height on RAF photographs taken in 1946. The 1st edition 1:2500 map 1887 marks the whole field as orchard plantation, whereas the 2nd edition (published 1904) leaves the central area blank – indicating an area roughly corresponding to the location of the mound as having no orchard plantation – which could mean that the feature post-dates the 1st edition map.

River Wye, Whitney Castle and Whitney Old Court

It is not clear how much the Wye has changed since glacial times. Older maps (such as Saxton, John Blaeu, and Emanuel Bowen) show a different course to the current position of the Wye and may give an approximate indication of the river's earlier form, although it is also possible that later cartographers copied the details of previous maps down the line – the river as marked on Blaeu's and Emanuel

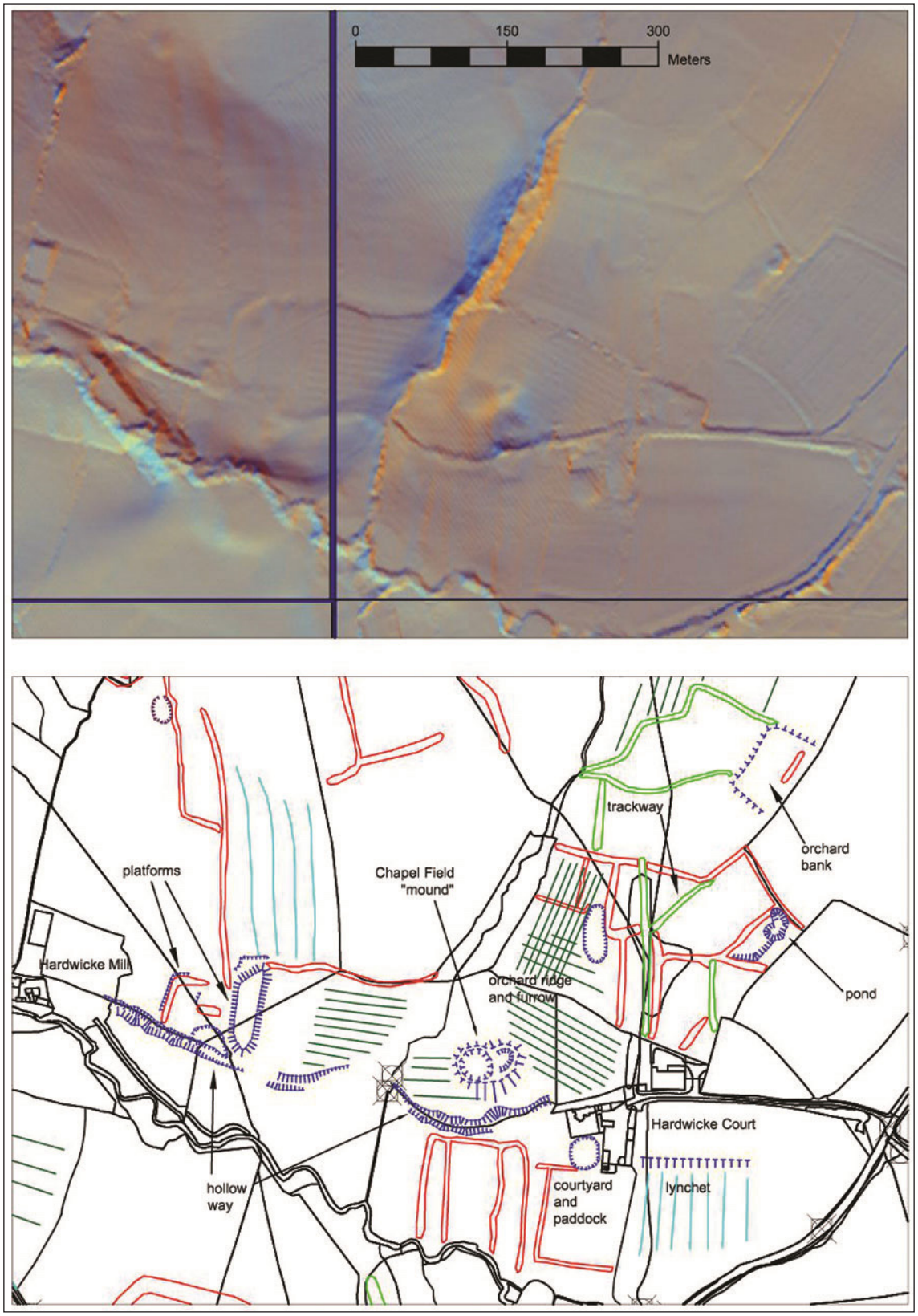

Figure 35 Earthworks at Hardwicke. Upper image © LIDAR DTM Environment Agency 2006.

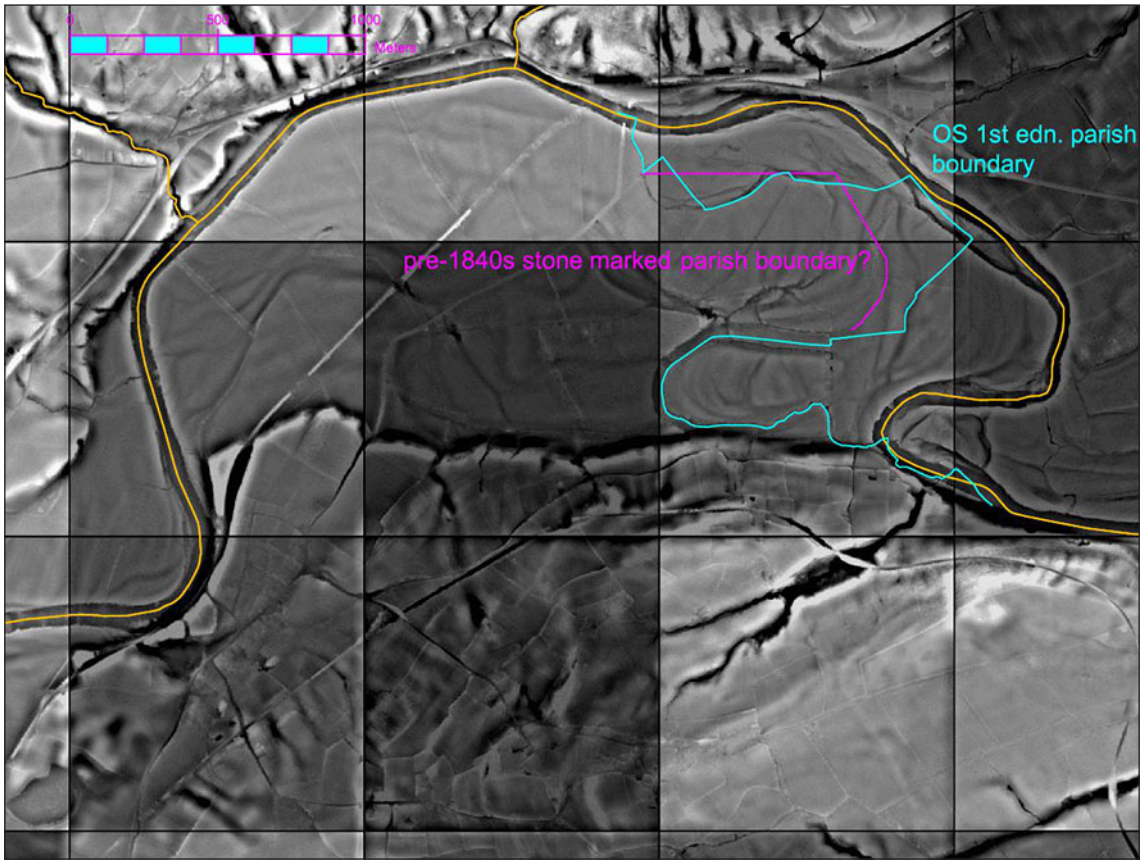

Figure 36 Local Relief Model lidar visualisation shows the floodplain and former palaeochannels of the River Wye. The clearly defined dark east-west band follows the edge of the ridge of higher ground upon which Clifford village is situated, and is probably a palaeochannel. The modern parish boundary (orange) follows the current course of the River Wye. The parish boundary between Whitney and Clifford on the 1st edition 1:2500 OS map of 1887 can be seen (in blue) skirting around Sheepcote Farm (following another probable palaeochannel and a small stream) to re-join the river at Locksters Pool. On the same map individual boundary stones are shown (pink line), probably representing an earlier boundary. These boundaries probably reflect changes in the Wye's course. © LIDAR DTM Environment Agency 2006.

Bowen's 18th-century maps very closely resembles the depiction on Saxton's 16th -century map.

The various palaeochannels of the river that can be traced on lidar images across the floodplain (Figure 36) attest to the changing face of the river. J K St Joseph, on writing about the placement of Clifford Roman Fort (above), mentioned the sharp meander near Sheepcote Farm (1972, 238). This is probably referring to a C-shaped curve of marshy ground, now followed by small streams, approximately 265m south-east of Sheepcote Farm (*c*SO 2599 4654), which until the end of the 19th century also marked a section of the parish boundary between Clifford and Whitney.

Whereas the current course of the Wye is now stabilised through careful management, it was once more difficult to cross and had the potential to wash away

structures on the floodplain. Damage occurred particularly along the stretch around Whitney, where the ground would have flooded easily. Until the 18th century, another stone-built castle was located approximately 3km from Clifford Castle at Whitney (NRHE 104855), but little is known of Whitney Castle as it was destroyed in 1401 by Owen Glendwr (Whitehead & Patton 2001, 411). Although a tower was said to have stood into the 17th century, the last remnants of Whitney Castle were supposedly swept away in 1730, when a catastrophic flood changed the course of the river; 19th-century accounts claim that masonry could still be found at the site when the river was low (Robinson 1869, 135-6). The aftermath of this great flood also reportedly left Whitney's Church on the wrong side of the river, and it had to be re-built (RCHME 1934, 203; Bullough 2008, 36).

The approximate site of the ruined Whitney Castle was marked on the 1st edition OS map, but no visible traces of the castle remain within the landscape (Figure 37). The site was originally in the possession of the Whitney family who would eventually become the owners of the Clifford Castle estate. Whitney Old Court was first recorded in 1664 (Whitehead and Patton 2001, 411-2; HER 51998), but the Whitneys have been thought to have made their main residence in Whitney parish in the sixteenth century (Robinson 1872, 302).

The easternmost edge of the foundation buildings for the post-medieval manor of Whitney Old Court were mapped for the first time from faint parchmarks visible on Google Earth images from 2013 (NRHE 1616759). The manor appears on the 1st and 2nd edition 1:2500 maps, and buildings can be seen on RAF wartime vertical aerial photographs (Figure 38), but it was demolished shortly after this. On the 1st and 2nd Edition 1:2500 OS map, one large building is marked at approximately SO 2745 4662, but noticeably the same location on the RAF vertical shows two smaller buildings roughly 12m apart. This may be attributed to the centre of the large house being destroyed – leaving the northern and southern wings standing separate – when the site suffered a fire in 1897. Following this disaster, the manor was perhaps never properly repaired, as it was sold soon after. Its new owner instead built a new 'Whitney Court' on a completely different site, just a year later (Whitehead and Patton 2001, 411-2).

Unfortunately, little else of the manor is visible from aerial photo evidence apart from the glimpse of parchmarks showing one edge of the Manor. Most of the area is enclosed within a wood that covered the ornamental park and walkway. If any earthworks of the house and any landscape features do survive, it is not possible to see them from lidar or aerial photographic images.

The driveway, approaching from the north-east, still survives as a modern road and can be seen on the lidar as a narrow bank that truncates a large field with earthworks of overlapping orchard ridging divided by two parallel embanked boundaries (NRHE 1617517). The driveway was probably therefore a later addition, and 18th-century estate plans of the estate label this large field as 'Great

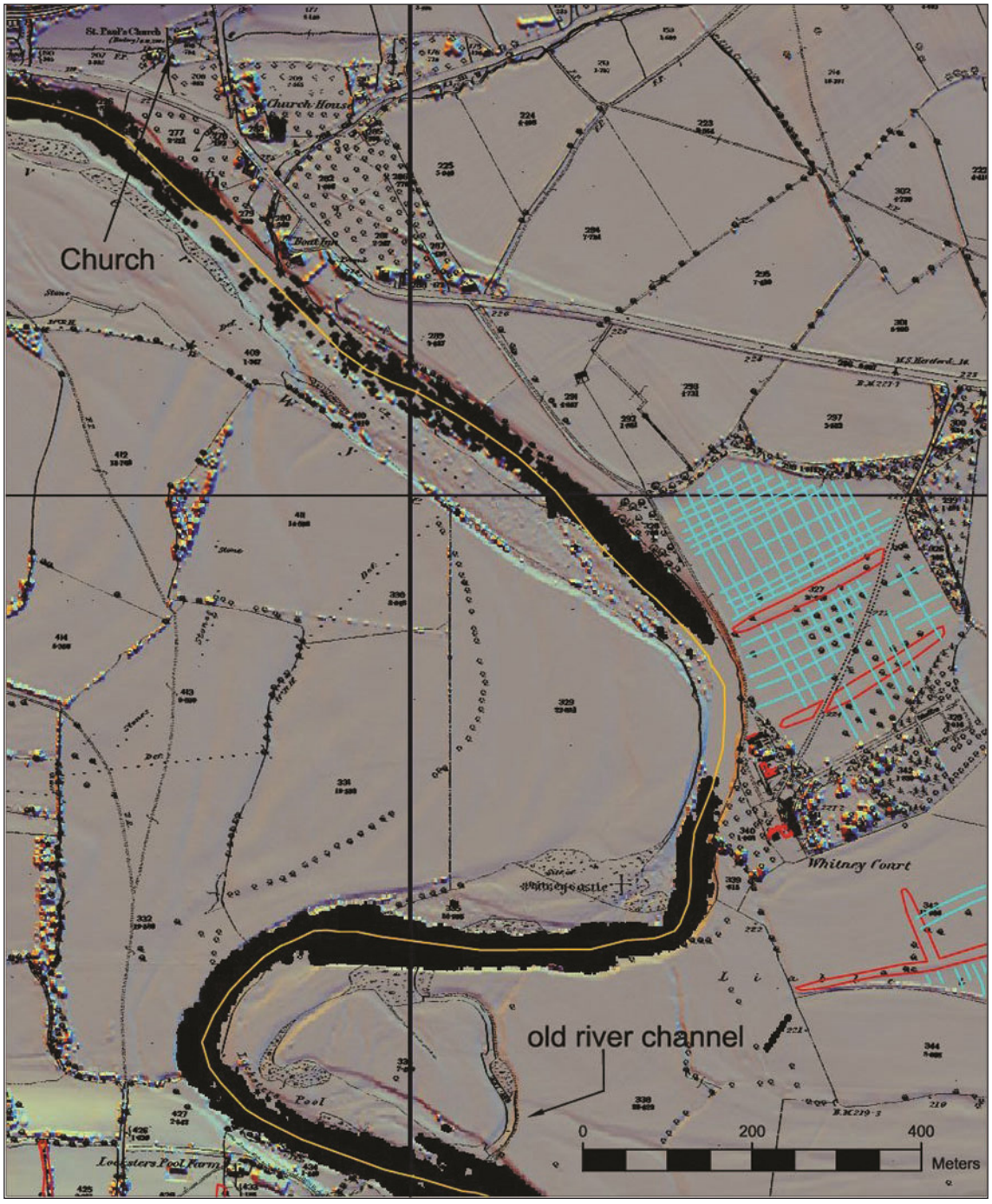

Figure 37 Lidar imagery of the approximate location of Whitney Castle before it was washed away by flooding in 1730, overlain with the 1st Edition OS mapping 1:2500. The castle location is inside the river loop on the Welsh side. Whitney Court, before being cut into by the current river course, once extended to the west. Lidar data © Lidar DTM Environment Agency 2006

Figure 38 Whitney Old Court; shown in an aerial photograph of 1946. Some of the buildings can still be seen. The original driveway approach to the Manor ran along the western edge of the field, close to the river; however, the break in the treeline at the river's edge shows the changes in the Wye, which probably influenced the creation of the new driveway. RAF 106G/UK/1652 3407 Jul-1946

Orchard', with no driveway cutting across it; instead they show a road that runs along the field's western edge beside the river, creating a north to south approach to the houses. This original approach to the manor may have been placed with the new driveway because of encroachment of the river from the 18th or 19th century. The instability of the river bank as described above also explains the odd alignment of Whitney Old Court in relation to the river's direction, as the north-western edge of the land is cut short at the riverbank and has clearly been affected by erosion.

Fords and Ferries

Despite the river's unpredictability, crossing the Wye would have been important for movement and travel. The locations of fords and ferries would have likewise been important focal points, especially when the river transport was the fastest method of travel. Noticeably, all three of the castles within the project area were adjacent to the

river at the time of their construction, and the same can be said for the two Roman forts – reflecting a long-term strategic use of the river for protection and control of a riverine access route. At least three main documented crossing points were used along this stretch of the Wye: at Clifford, Whitney and at Clock Mill near Castleton (the last of which lies outside the project area), and it is possible that alternative crossings were also operated at both Clifford and Whitney that may have been used in conjunction or changing location over time.

Fords at Clifford

There is little doubt that at least one ford existed at Clifford, as the place-name suggests. The name first appears in Domesday and while it is difficult to know for sure if the name pre-dates the Conquest, it is likely that the original importance of Clifford as a fording place pre-dated the castle and borough foundation, and was a factor in influencing the castle's location (*see* Figure 2). A list of the extent of Clifford Castle estates and lands dating from 1299, including Middlewood and Brodemere (Broadmere), also included reference to 'a ferry over the Wye' (Watkins 1897, 14).

Two fords have been documented along the river at Clifford: one being below the island at the foot of the castle, and another at the bottom of Clifford Common. The former is referenced in documentary sources (Trumper 1889, 369; HER 19265), whereas the latter is also marked on the early historic maps from the 18th (Isaac Taylor and Emanuel Bowen) and early 19th centuries (John Cary and Original Series 1-inch OS map). Archaeological traces of any ferry beneath the Castle may have been lost during construction of the railway.

The ferry site depicted on later maps is downriver and to the north of Clifford Castle and village at approximately SO 2429 4679. The place-name *Cabalva*, which is given to a farmstead and houses on the Welsh side of the river to the west of this, is also Welsh for 'ferry' (Matthews 1905, 369; Trumper 1889, 369). This site also lies very close to the Rhydspence Inn, which was a noted popular stopping point for drovers; crossing points would have been particularly important for the movement of their livestock from Wales to London (Bullough 2008, 35-6; Feathstone 2003).

The ferry at the top of Clifford Common appears to have been located near the cluster of possible prehistoric/post-medieval cropmarks, described above. The broad, 6m wide straight linear ditch cropmark (*see* Figure 22: 'D'; NRHE 1616724) that lay astride two prehistoric cropmark enclosures could have been a hollow way that functioned as an access route to a fording place.

Whitney Ferry/Ferries and Whitney Toll Bridge

One of the earliest records of a ferry at Whitney is from 1402, when Owain Glendwr, having defeated Sir Robert Whitney, crossed the Wye after destroying Whitney Castle to continue on his path to sack Clifford and Hay; it is then referred to later in 1684 (Ellison 1935, 119-20). Following the great flood of 1730 in which the ruins of Whitney Castle and the old church were washed away by the river, plans were begun for the construction of a bridge that would serve as a safer crossing than a seasonally perilous ferry. From 1774 there were four successive

attempts to build a bridge at Whitney, as three times it collapsed under flooding (Eisel 2010, 194, 197).

The toll bridge was constructed a short distance upstream from the ferry's crossing point at roughly SO 2588 4738, and the current B4350 road clearly diverts from its original path to the ferry, veering abruptly north to cross the current toll bridge (Eisel 2010) . The location of the original ferry site was situated at the end of a line of field boundaries following directly from the road, and leading straight to the river bank (SO 2607 4735; NRHE 1619358). A slight hollowed track visible on lidar images along this boundary may be the remains of a footpath leading to the ferry.

However, another river crossing site may have existed closer to the centre of Whitney. This is suggested on the basis of some 19th-century maps (mostly pre-dating the tramway) that show a road running north-eastwards from Clifford to Whitney, ending at the River Wye opposite a crossroads which leads to Eardisley, Winforton and Rhydspence respectively. If a crossing by ford or ferry existed here, that would place its location at roughly SO 2672 4730, close to the Boat Inn (SO 2685 4729), and south of the church; it would also be closer to the site of Whitney Castle than the 18th-century ferry. This road is shown as an isolated route on John Cary's 1801 map and closely resembles the route marked on both Isaac Taylor's and Emanuel Bowen's 18th -century maps (the latter of which also marks this point as a ferry). On Crutchley's 1855 railway and telegraphic map it is also possible to see that both are marked, supporting the idea that two routes once existed.

Unfortunately these sources are not detailed or accurate enough for reliable location, the hollow way on lidar is not immediately obvious and low-lying ground here is mostly obscured by palaeochannels, so the routeway's location can only be conjectured. Possibly part of this route went past Sheepcote Farm, where a footpath and branching trackway heading eastwards from the farm still survives and on lidar a 590m long hollow way extending east to west from the farm to approximately SO 2653 4687. If another ferry did exist further downstream at Whitney, this may have once been associated with Whitney's medieval castle but could have later fallen out of use, causing the ferry to shift location to the other side of the Common.

The absence of these fording places along the commons at both Clifford and Whitney on any OS 6-inch maps implies that, if not already in decline before the mid-19th century, they probably fell out of use after the establishment of a bridge at Whitney. The fourth and final bridge's construction was reported in the *Herefordshire Journal* in 1803, threatening a fine of 20s for anyone attempting to ford or ferry across the river within one mile of the bridge (Eisel 2010, 194). The only ferry site marked on the 1st edition 1:2500 OS map from 1887 is at Clock Mills (SO 2906 4553), over 3.5 km to the south-east of the bridge.

The Moor

The Moor (NRHE 1062850; SO 2424 4323) is a post-medieval estate located in the south-western corner of Clifford parish. Like Whitney Old Court, this manor was not visited by RCHME in the 1930s before the site's demolition, so a detailed survey of the site was never conducted.

Figure 39 The Moor in 1946. RAF 106G/UK/1652 4412 Jul-1946

Although an exact historical date of The Moor's origin cannot be found, Robinson, mentions that it was in possession of the Penoyre family 'for at least three centuries' (1872, 67), and according to Watkins (1897, 23), the Moor was the seat of their family since Charles I's time. Records from the Civil War state that Thomas Penoyre's home was plundered by parliamentary troops in 1648. This may mean that there was at least one preceding phase, before the early 19th century Manor was constructed: sometime in the later 1820s it was rebuilt in 'spiky gothic style with a multitude of high chimneys' (Whitehead and Patton 2001, 361), which matches Robinson's claim that the mansion, built around 50 years before the time of his writing, replaced another, smaller mansion 'of less beauty'.

The post-medieval buildings of the manor are visible as extant structures on RAF photographs taken in 1946, shortly before they were demolished in 1952 (Whitehead and Patton 2001, 361; Figure 39), but for this project it was possible to map the buildings from aerial photographs taken in 1996 during a drought, when the buildings' foundations showed up clearly as parchmarks(Figure 40). These mostly correspond to the outline of buildings shown on the 1887 1st Edition 1:2500 OS map and additionally show internal features and possible room divisions. Other features included trackways that followed the edge of the kitchen garden and passed around a central square fountain, which may have been fed by the large circular

Figure 40 Aerial photograph of the site of The Moor, showing up as parchmarks in grass in 1996. HEA CPT 16875/256 22-Jul-1996

pond which lay to the south. The parched trackway is also followed on one side by a curving wall (also apparent on the vertical photographs) bordering the north-eastern side of the houses.

Although none of the main manor buildings of the Moor are currently standing, the tower, lodges, fishponds, kitchen garden walls and winding driveway still survive. The driveway connected the eastern and western end of the estate with Upper Moor Lodge and Lower Moor Lodge positioned at either end. Three oval fishponds connected by narrow meandering channels can be seen extending east to west from the south of the manor to follow the western driveway. These fish ponds are very different from the angular channels and pools at the Priory, and rather than utilising a small stream, the largest pond directly south of the main complex of manor buildings has been marked on modern OS maps as the source of an issuing spring, which may have been enlarged. Two other smaller ponds were perhaps artificially constructed as the stream flows westwards to the Wye. These ponds probably simultaneously served as a food source and as an ornamental feature, and the driveway passes by the southern side of the first two ponds before curving between the uppermost pond and houses.

Lidar images also provide a new insight into traces of the Moor's earlier landscape. The earthworks of rectangular coaxial fields (NRHE 1616615) covering the western half of the estate can be seen between the manor and the north-south road between Hay and Clifford, and south of Summerhill golf course. These earthworks appear

to lie underneath the current arrangement of field boundaries, which were in place on the 1887 1st edition 1:2500 OS map alongside the Moor's manor and landscape features.

RAF photographs show that the area around the earthwork field system, and the overlying 19th century field system, are both cut through by the western half of the winding tree-lined driveway. This same area is also dotted with isolated trees within those enclosed fields (*see* Figure 39). These trees may have been part of a wooded park planted for the estate's landscape, but Whitehead and Patton (2001, 361) assert that tree cover was never extensive. The earthworks were probably preserved during the time they were enclosed within the private parkland and may represent the preceding earlier post-medieval or possibly medieval landscape.

At the eastern edge of the Moor estate, a wide, rutted hollow way, clearly visible on lidar images, extends south-westwards from Upper Moor lodge for nearly half a kilometre to the edge of Nant-y-Glas-Dwr farm at the edge of Hay-on-Wye (NRHE 1616613). This feature was first identified on photographs taken in 1999 (CR. 09/01/1999. 99-MB-0066) and interpreted as the remains of a stretch of the road from Hay to Bredwardine, which was diverted during the establishment of the Moor's parkland to create the current route of the B4348 (*see* HER 30484). This original route appears on the 1-inch Original Series OS map, from 1831-3, passing over the slope above Nant-y-glas-dwr and descending into Hay. The park's extension and road diversion then probably took place between that time and the later publication of the 1st edition 1:2500 sheets in 1887.

As well as this hollow way, additional faint banked earthworks of parallel field boundaries (NRHE 1617239), roughly 65m apart and extending 280m across land to the east of the Moor's mansion, appear to coincide at their southern end with the hollow way earthwork. Their northern terminations also match up with the edges of a long, narrow modern field that extends roughly 350m northwards. It is possible that this could be the broad 'strip verge' road for drovers that connected to the old Hay-Bredwardine Road.

The deer park

Many medieval parks existed within this region. These private lands were typically enclosed by a palisaded park pale. Part of the park boundary at Snodhill, another castle to the south-east of Clifford, was recently recorded (Bowden *et al* 2017, 45-53). A park pale could not be confidently determined for the deer park in Clifford, but lidar and place-name evidence shows some of the area that the park probably covered in the medieval period.

Most evidence for the park's existence, as described below, suggests that it lay to the east of the castle and may not have been directly attached to the castle or the medieval village and borough. This may also have been the case at Snodhill (Bowden *et al* 2017, 66-7). A park is first referred to at Clifford in documentary sources in the mid-14th century, but the origin of the park's foundation is not known. It may have been outside the estate that was managed by the Cluniac Priory in the 12th century, and it also probably did not intrude upon settlements that were

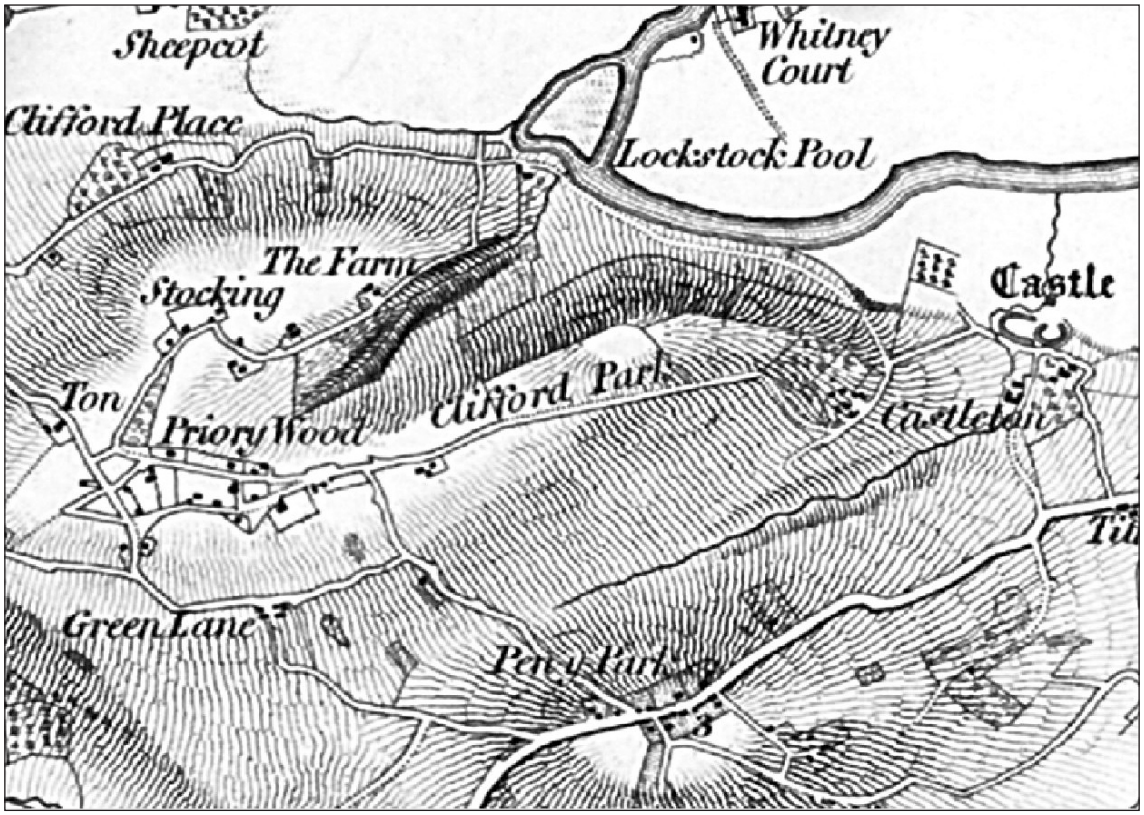

Figure 41 Extract of 1831-2 OS 6-inch map showing 'Clifford Park'.

already established at the time of Domesday – namely around Hardwicke village or Middlewood, another private manor that was sub-tenanted to Clifford.

Clifford Park is later mentioned in a quitclaim in which the castle and park of Clifford and the manor and park of Whitney were passed to Sir Robert Whitney in 1617-18, and again when its trees were sold in 1686 (Watkins 1897, 16), but the park's whereabouts are not described. Its only appearance on any maps is on the OS Original Series six-inch from 1831-3, marking a road leading from Priory Wood to Lower Castleton Farm as 'Clifford Park' (Figure 41). It appears to divert around Lower Castleton, but if this was an older route than the 17th century farmstead it may have once run straighter to Castleton motte. It is not apparent if this route was once the park boundary or a private path within the park grounds, and this road now ends a short distance north-west of Castleton Barn, its line continuing only as field boundaries. The detail on the later 1st edition 1:2500 OS map, however, shows a part of this road as lined with trees.

In 1889 the Rev Walwyn Trumper presented his thoughts on the possible boundaries to the park:

'The Castle Park or hunting ground included, doubtless, the tract of land now called 'The Parks', and extended down the bank of the Wye (which then ran with a much straighter course), towards Merbach Hill, as far as Castleton Nab, or Nap; this spot is marked by some oak trees curiously grouped together, and here formerly there must have been some building or small fortified structure. A little further down, at

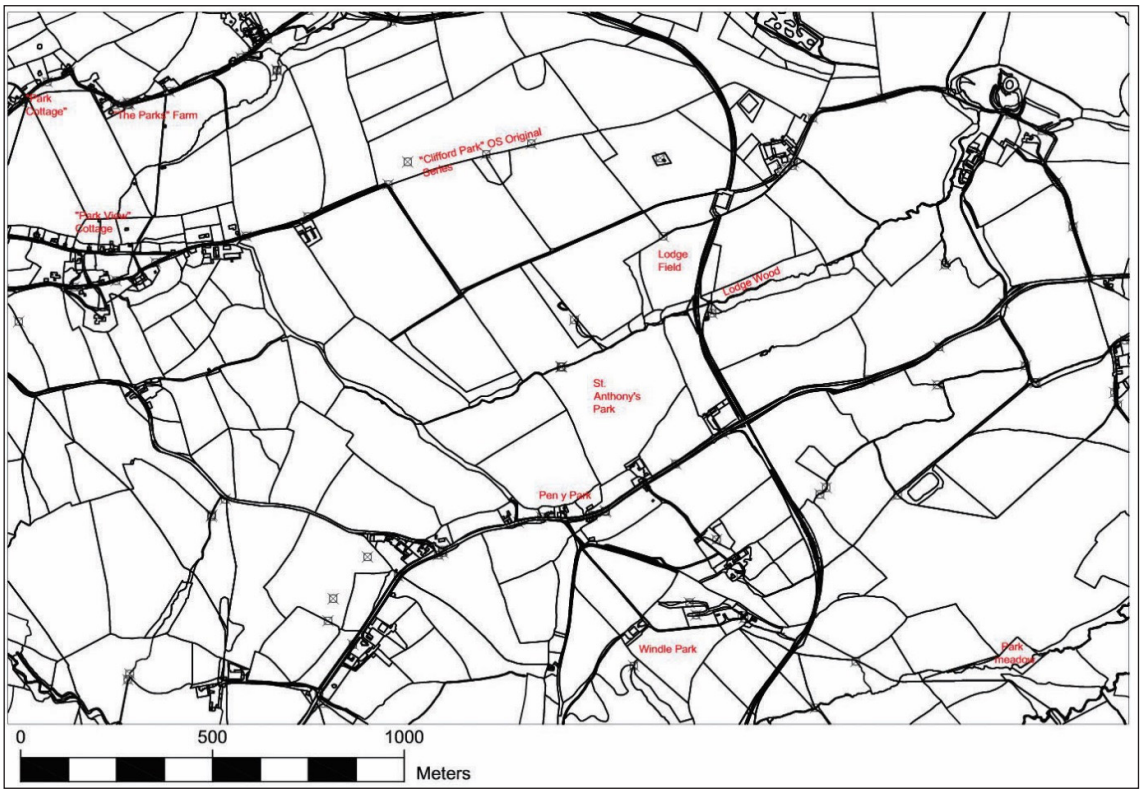

Figure 42 Map showing park place names, providing an approximate guide to the location of the park at Clifford

Lower Castleton, is the site of either an old castle or fortress... there is no reason to imagine why this place might not have been attached to Clifford Castle, especially as it was either adjoining to, or perhaps in, its park' (1889, 369).

The fact that Trumper could only conjecture as to its boundaries suggests that by the later 19th century most physical traces of it were gone and probably lost from local memory. 'Castleton Nab' is not marked on any maps but it may have been the hill located to the north-west of Castleton (SO 2712 4575). Its northern face is covered by Castleton Covert and the former railway curves around its northern and eastern side. On earlier maps, such as Thomas Budgen's 1814 map and the OS 1st edition, there is an area of trees at its summit, which are now enclosed, although nothing is visible on the lidar beneath the tree cover. 'The Parks' probably referred to Poolpardon, just over a kilometre due west of the hill, as this site has a farm of that same name.

Some other place-names also allude to the lost park landscape (Figure 42), and this is a common feature of ancient parkland being incorporated into local place-names (Rackham 1986, 126-8). To the north of Priory Wood there are two houses – 'Park Cottage' (SO 2577 4569) along Lockster's Lane and 'Park View Cottage' (SO 2595 4530) to the south on Priory Wood Road – which could indicate that its limits came close to Priory Wood. On tithe maps it has already been noted that some fields have 'park' in their names (Whitehead & Patton 2001, 106). 'Lodge Field' and 'Lodge

Wood' lie along the strip of trees following the Cwmreel stream south of Upper Castleton, and now intersected by the Golden Valley Railway. 'St. Anthony's Park' is another field on tithe maps shown to the north of 'Pen-y-Park' (Welsh for 'head of the park'). Further south is an area called Windle (formerly Windhill) Park. Morton places the limits of the deer park along the course of the West Brook and stopping at the strip fields near Hardwicke (NRHE 1619088): 'the historic extent of the park comprises the boundary of narrow medieval enclosed strip field to the west, and the course of the West Brooke to the east. Land within the park has been subject to enclosure within the post-medieval period, and the park itself bisected by the line of the branch railway line' (2006a, 64).

Although the park pale itself could not be traced, it seems safe to assume from this evidence that part of the parkland extended from Castleton Covert and south as far as at least Pen-y-Park (*see* Figure 42). There are no roads at all in this area, ridge-and-furrow earthworks are absent, and most of the fields are defined by large angular boundaries that were probably formed during the Enclosure era, and look very different from the smaller field boundaries to the west around Hardwicke and Priory Wood.

Within this area, a possible small, newly recorded prehistoric field system survives as cropmarks on the south-eastern side of the hill above Castleton, located within the assumed area of the medieval deer park (NRHE 1616668; Figure 43). It consists of adjoined rectangular ditched enclosures with internal subdivisions, extending approximately 95m north–south edge and *c*130m east–west and spanning two modern fields along a different alignment to current boundaries. Potential east-facing entrances or causeways are also visible, but these breaks may alternatively represent damage caused by the presence of a faint hollow way (NRHE 1616771) that appears to pass through these gaps. The hollow way appears as a meandering ditch on lidar images, which could be a trackway leading about half a kilometre down the slope towards Castleton in the east. This trackway also appears to ignore the enclosing boundaries around Upper Castleton farm, but is clearly cut through by the course of the railway and by earthworks of the farm's post-medieval orchard ridging (NRHE 1617534). This would indicate that this hollow predates the railway and the orchards, but probably post-dates the cropmark field system, and perhaps the hollow way connected with part of a park-era route that connected the western end of the road with Castleton motte. The cropmark field system could be interpreted as an indirect indicator for lost parkland, as its preservation may be attributed to possible long-term incorporation in land that was not, until later post-medieval times, agriculturally managed.

Approximately 100m to the west of this is the cropmark of another ditch (NRHE 1617225) with a distinct corner at approximately SO 2709 4563. It is aligned roughly north-south for 80m before turning east-south-east to west-north-west for approximately 140m towards Upper Castleton Farm. This cropmark may be part of the field system to the east, but it appears very straight and regular in comparison to the rectangular enclosures on the photographs, which may suggest that it is a different feature. The southern end of the ditch meets the edge of a modern field

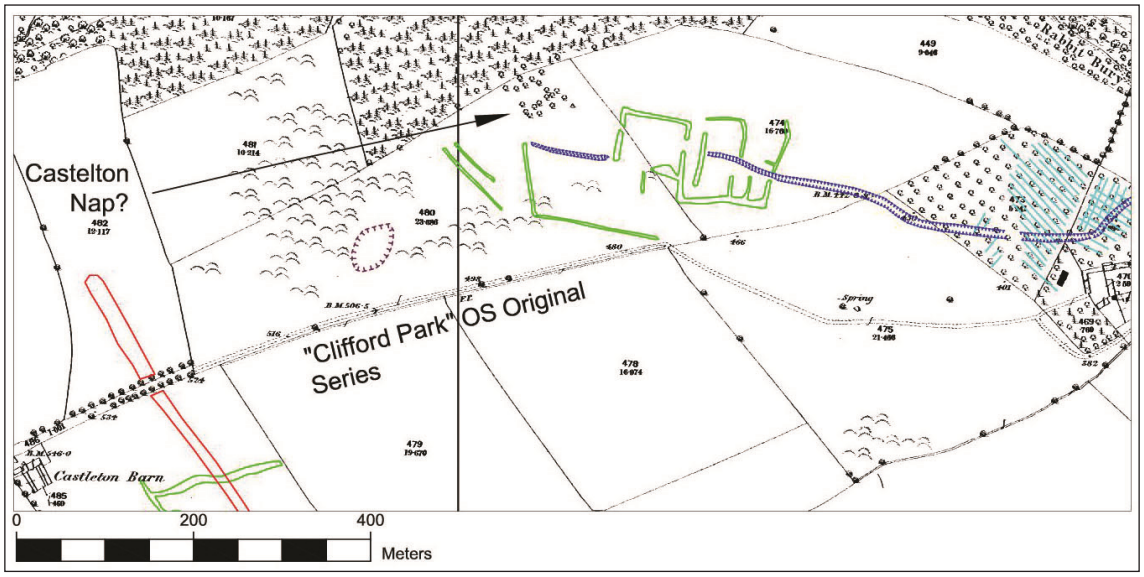

Figure 43 A small possible prehistoric or later ditched field system within the area of the park, with the hollow way passing through its easternmost edge (earthworks defined by hachures), leading to Lower Castleton Farm; a possible 90m-long continuation of the track is visible as a faint earthwork on lidar to the north-west . Mapping on part of the OS 1st Edition 1:2500 sheet.

boundary and it also roughly lines up with the start of a track descending into Upper Castleton Farm, marked on the 1st Edition 1:2500 OS map. The hollow way also appears to run parallel to this trackway and feature, which could indicate that they are contemporary or associated.

Although the park pale could not be confidently identified elsewhere, a long bank shows on lidar from the base of Windle Park and follows the northern branch of the West Brook approximately 420m eastwards (NRHE 1616903). It then continues as a hollow way to the south-west towards Newton, and may join with the field boundaries that also appear as earthworks on lidar above the village. The bank could be a small section of park pale, and the field name of 'Park Meadow' from tithe maps may at least indicate this is in the right area for the park's boundaries; this area is also within the area of parkland as suggested by Morton (2006, Map 21). The bank appears to cross the West Brook and curve north-west before it is lost under the bank of the Golden Valley Railway, but perhaps continued north-west following a natural drain up through Windle Park and Pen y Park and then in the same direction towards the edge of Priory Wood.

Other post-medieval land use

As well as ridge-and-furrow, as has already been noted the remains of former orchards appeared in the project area, and were mostly recorded from lidar images. These earthworks appear somewhat similar to ridge-and-furrow, so is sometimes difficult to distinguish one from the other. Orchards were common

within Herefordshire and the county had become known for cider production by the start of the 18th century (Jackson 1958, 29). For this reason, historic maps and early 20th -century photographs were useful here for verifying faint cultivation earthworks appearing on lidar. 1st and 2nd edition OS maps would often mark fields as plantation, and disused orchards with dispersed, upstanding trees can be seen on some wartime RAF verticals. Many of these trees must have been cleared shortly after the photographs were taken so perhaps represented a final phase of use for historic orchards until the mid-20th century. An example of this is the large area of orchard ridging located to the south of Priory Farm on the southern side of the Hardwicke Brook (NRHE 1617301). The trees were mostly upstanding in regular rows on the 1946 verticals of Priory farm (*see* Figure 32), and corresponded with orchard rows marked on 1st edition OS maps as well. This site is now a large pasture field with cattle grids at either end of the track that runs through it.

Tramway and Railway

The new demand for the movement of coal for fuel at the start of the 19th century proved challenging for the transportation route along the Wye. Originally the coal, sourced from the Forest of Dean, was piled onto barges pulled by horses, but this method was expensive, labour-intensive and frequently had to answer to the Wye's unreliability as a usable route (Jackson 1958, 37-8). Plans for a horse-drawn tramway between Brecon, Hay and Eardisley were first drawn up in 1810, with the section between Hay and Eardisley opening for operation in 1818. The route was built between the main Hay-Clifford road and the river, and passed along a terrace created beneath the motte of Clifford Castle, before the route turned abruptly north-eastwards at the edge of Clifford Common towards Whitney where it re-joined the road and crossed the Whitney Toll Bridge (Figure 44). Originally, the intention was to cross the river on a separate bridge that was to be constructed upstream of the Toll Bridge, but the Hay Railway company lost the legal dispute with the toll bridge's owners, and were forced to agree to lay their tracks over the same bridge and pay its owners a set toll of £100 a year (Ellison 1937b, 34-5).

This railway was later bought by the Hereford, Hay and Brecon Railway in 1860, which was fully opened by 1864. The new railway re-cut a straighter route, cutting off the abrupt corner of the old tramway at the edge of the common and then crossing it to run slightly north of the tram route up to the river. A new bridge was built to carry the tracks across the Wye, despite a second legal battle being fought by the toll bridge owners, although the railway company was once again obliged to compensate the toll owners £345 per year for the privilege (Ellison 1935, 123). The railway passed to Midland Railway in 1874 (Greene 2003).

A small section of the first tramway's original route appears as a cropmark that runs 240m north-east – south-west and passes through the south-eastern corner of cropmark ditches of the Roman fort (NRHE104892) near Clifford (SO 2494 4658), appearing as a negative cropmark denoting a probable metalled surface lined with ditches. At the other end the line of the tramway is continued by a now-disused field boundary, and a short stretch of this is visible as a slight bank on lidar images. At the edge of the current road is a small possible rectangular ditched enclosure

Figure 44 Clifford Castle and village with the Golden Valley railway line at top left and the Hereford, Hay and Brecon Railway on the right. May 1932 (AFL/60803 EAW038176)

(SO 2509 4667) cropmark measuring 22m by 16m, which may have once been a structure that was part of the tramway as well, although its alignment alongside the modern road could indicate that it is a more recent feature.

The second railway running through Clifford, The Golden Valley Railway, has been described as 'more of a product of enthusiasm than good judgement' (Steele 2009). The section between Dorstone and Hay opened in 1889. It closed soon after in 1898 but was re-opened at the start of the 20th century after it was bought by the Great Western Railway. It was finally shut down after the Second World War (Steele 2009). The construction of the railways altered many of the surrounding field boundaries and many of the earthworks around the stretch of railway are the traces of the original orientation of fields that were altered following the railway's construction. Three new railway stations were also constructed in this area: they were located at Clifford (on the site of Mossey Park Farm; NRHE 502797), Pen-y-Park (known then as Green Siding; NRHE 502815), and at Westbrook (NRHE 502873). Again, the earthworks of these stations can be seen on lidar images at Pen-y-Park and Clifford especially. At Clifford station the railway also truncates narrow field boundaries of possible post-medieval strip fields (NRHE 1616907), which can still be seen as faint earthworks.

DISCUSSION

The pre-castle landscape

Very little is known of the immediate vicinity of the castle in prehistory and the Roman period though, as described above, there is plentiful evidence in the wider landscape of habitation from the Neolithic period to the Iron Age and Roman military activity. The prominent ridge alongside the river is likely to have attracted early communities; however, the only evidence to support this suggestion is a single piece of worked flint found in the 2017 excavations (Baker and Hoverd 2018, 31). The Roman brooch found by O Trumper 'when the house drain was being dug on the west side of the courtyard' (1925, 151) may be a curated item that was brought to the site in the medieval period.

According to Domesday the castle was built upon 'waste' (Thorn and Thorn 1983, 183). This has sometimes been interpreted to mean that the land had been 'laid waste' due to some strife (e.g. Marshall 1938, 155-6; Arnold 2008, 5) but it more probably means only that this was common grazing land not under arable cultivation, or possibly that the area could not be assessed for tax administration for some reason (*see* White 1985, 33, for the latter suggestion but for an alternative view *see* Amt 1991). This steep-sided ridge, and indeed much of the land along the river margin at Clifford, would have been unsuitable for cultivation but valuable as rough grazing or woodland.

The motte

The motte is a prominent feature but much of its apparent bulk is formed of the natural glacial ridge out of which it has been carved. The platform to the west is only about 3.7m lower than the motte top and this is demonstrably formed of natural gravel (Baker and Hoverd 2018, 30-1). Therefore only the top 3m or 4m of the motte is built up, with most effort having been expended on cutting its massive ditches through the ridge to east and west. This is similar to the situation at Wigmore, where the massive motte is carved out of a natural ridge, rather than being substantially built up (Brown 2002, 9).

If this and not the motte-and-bailey at Old Castleton is the 'Clifford Castle' that William fitz Osbern built before 1071 it must have had buildings earlier than those seen today. These may have been, partly at least, of masonry but are likely to have been largely timber-built. The motte here could have supported a very large timber tower and the excavation of 2017 seems to have confirmed that this is the case. Two large post holes with packing stones, and a possible third, were found in the base of the small trench, cut into the original material of the motte top; finds from the fills of these post holes indicate that the posts were erected in the late 11th century but had been removed by the mid-13th century or earlier (Baker and Hoverd 2018, 25-7, 32-3). This is an important addition to the remarkably slim body of evidence for motte-top timber buildings (Wyeth 2018). As at Snodhill (Bowden *et al* 2017, 64) it is possible to imagine a structure such as the medieval belfry at Pembridge as one possible model for the tower on the motte at Clifford. However, it could have

taken an even more substantial form; Wyeth has pointed out that some timber buildings on mottes could have been 'massive, broad, donjon-style' towers (2018, 147). Wyeth also provides a range of possible heights for medieval timber towers, up to at least 15m, and showing that individual timbers up to 15m long were widely obtainable in the 11th and 12th centuries (ibid, 140, 147).

The initial timber tower may have been replaced by a stone rectangular keep but the only clear evidence for this is a passing reference to the 1920s excavations of Clifford motte, which 'was at least partly fortified in stone in the latter part of the 12th century, as in recent excavations made by the late Dr Oscar Trumper the foundations of a small rectangular keep were uncovered in the centre of the mound' (Marshall 1938, 153). Watkins mentions 'the foundation of a wall of rounded river stones ... laid with mortar' (1927, 178), near the centre of the motte top, which might be a reference to the same structure; he and Marshall had visited the excavations together. If such a tower existed it was presumably demolished before the early 13th-century building works.

The platform to the west of the motte, often referred to erroneously as a 'hornwork', presents a considerable conundrum. Remfry has suggested that the digging of the ditch to separate this from the motte is a secondary work and that the original castle was an elongated complex occupying the whole ridge top, reminiscent of Chepstow, for instance (1994, 27-8). This is a plausible idea but the fact that the post holes of the putative early tower identified in the recent excavations sits in the centre of the motte, as currently defined, would seem to suggest that the ditch had been dug, and the motte achieved its current form, by the late 12th century. In any case the platform has no clear purpose if it was not utilised as a defensive work, and there is nothing to indicate that it was, either in terms of surface or excavated evidence. It actually represents a defensive liability, limiting the view from the motte top in this direction and therefore creating dead ground for an attacker. (On the other hand its flat top would be a potential killing ground if any attacker was foolish enough to occupy it.) Calculation of the extent and position of any such dead ground depends upon consideration of the height of the wall walk and any other elevated observation points on the motte buildings. The wall walk of the western curtain wall, for instance, is about 7.5m above the current internal ground level; this mitigates the 'dead ground problem' but does not altogether do away with it – part of the putative western bailey will have been invisible even from this elevation. Other possible uses for this platform include the possibility that it was a sort of 'prospect mount' associated with any aesthetic aspects of the castle; its proximity to the motte makes this explanation rather difficult to maintain. Beyond this one comes against the possibility that this part of the ridge was simply too difficult to remove and that cutting a ditch through it to distinguish it from the motte was 'sufficient'.

Whilst the defensive utility of the 'hornwork' may be questioned, examples at other castles do survive, including Caerphilly and White Castle. The latter example is interesting in comparison to Clifford, as there are connections between Hubert de Burgh, building at White Castle, and the Cliffords. As at Clifford, the motte and associated hornwork at White Castle appear to have been formed by cutting into the natural ridge on which the castle is sited, and also that the ditch between the motte

and the hornwork is not as deep as that encircling the rest of the motte (Knight 2000). However, the hornwork at White Castle appears to have been drawn much more closely into the main defences of the castle, acting initially as a barbican, and later continuing to have a defensive role (ibid, 46). It may be that further defence of the similar feature at Clifford was intended but never realised.

The buildings on the motte and related castles

Recent analysis (Baker 2018) has confirmed that the motte-top buildings were constructed in one phase. This is mostly likely to have taken place in the early 13th century, when the castle represented the principal holding of the Clifford family and they were playing a prominent role in regional politics and in the on-going conflict with the Welsh. This would have been under the aegis of either Walter Clifford II or Walter Clifford III. Hillaby (1985, 246) has identified that Walter Clifford III was borrowing significant amounts of money in the 1230s, which may have related to substantial expenditure at one of his castle sites, although it is impossible to confirm this.

The buildings on the motte at Clifford resemble White Castle, re-built by Hubert de Burgh before 1232, though Clifford is smaller. The similarity in form but difference in size, Hillaby suggests (1985, 246-7), reflect the relationship between Hubert de Burgh and his follower, Walter Clifford III. As noted above, there is some evidence that the buildings at Clifford were rendered externally, another similarity to White Castle.

Remfry (1994) has suggested that a similarity in the plan of Conches Castle (Conches-en-Ouche, Eure) links it to Clifford through the Tosny family and proposed a re-dating of Clifford's masonry on that basis. However, Conches and Clifford are not very similar (the similarity is not 'glaring' anyway (*pace* Remfry 1994, 28)) and the surviving towers at Conches were probably not built by the Tosnys. It is possible that any superficial similarity between the two castles is because the surviving masonry at Conches was also probably erected in the early 13th century, reflecting the prevailing trends in castle design of the time, though its precise construction date is apparently unknown.

Other castles of the Clifford family include Bronllys and Llandovery locally, and Skipton in Yorkshire (Cathcart King 1988, 108-9). The outer walls at Skipton were apparently built by Robert Lord Clifford (a descendant of Roger Clifford (1214-1231), younger son of Walter Clifford II and brother of Walter Clifford III) in 1310-14. The inner bailey, incorporating some earlier (probably late 12th century) work (NRHE 46508), is largely of early 13th-century date and was built by William de Forz, Clifford's predecessor (Spence 2002, 21-46, 53-5). The plan of Skipton's Conduit Court looks superficially similar to the arrangement of buildings on Clifford motte, but this must reflect its contemporaneity, rather than any family connection. Other Clifford family castles in the north, such as Brough, Brougham and Pendragon, do not resemble Clifford (or each other, particularly) at all.

According to Clifford (1987, 12-13), Bronllys was granted to Richard fitz Pons by Bernard de Neufmarche in about 1090 and was held by the Cliffords for two

centuries. By 1115 Richard fitz Pons had extended his control to Lllandovery, which the Cliffords also held for a long time.

The bailey

The gatehouse

The position of the gatehouse – isolated in the centre of the bailey rather than at an entrance through an obvious defensive line – suggests that it is the representative of an unfinished project. Stubs for keying-in a curtain wall on either side show that the gatehouse was intended to be integrated in a scheme either to sub-divide the bailey or to reduce its size. Anomalies found by geophysical survey suggest that some work was done towards the creation of the new curtain wall on the north side of the gatehouse and, far less convincingly, to the south (Roseveare 2017, 4, 6, dwg 3f no20, dwg 3g nos21 and 22). The report calls these 'robbed' remains of the curtain wall but they might as easily be a foundation trench for a curtain wall that was never built.

Much of the plan form of the gatehouse can be discerned, and notable features include the solid drum towers to the front (east), the length of the passageway and the lack of any direct access from the passageway to a guard house or chamber. The extent of the passageway behind the line of the curtain wall (whether realised or intended), would indicate that the gatehouse structure would have projected some distance into the bailey behind, and it may have been intended (or built) with rooms to either side, accessed directly from the bailey rather than via the passageway. This obviously had limitations in terms of access.

As noted in the description of the gatehouse, there is little in the way of diagnostic information to help date the structure. Various dates have been ascribed , with Goodall (2011) suggesting it could be as late as the 14th century. It is not clear what evidence Goodall based his suggested 14th century date on. It does have similarities in overall plan form with the outer gatehouse at Brampton Bryan Castle, although here the outer towers provided rooms. The gatehouse there has been dated, on the basis of ball-flower decoration characteristic of the early to mid-14th century (RCHME 1934, 20). The known history of the site however (*see* History section above) makes it unlikely (although not impossible) that there was significant investment in the castle after the end of the 13th century. The form of the gatehouse also appears to have some parallels in the 13th century, and its overall form is not dissimilar to the paired towers of the motte-top gatehouse, albeit with solid drum towers rather than towers with rooms within them. On this basis, and the likely lack of significant investment in the site in the 14th century, it is suggested that it is likely to be of the 13th century, although at present it is not possible to identify with certainty whether it is contemporary with the motte-top buildings or not.

Chapel

It has been stated that human skeletons have been recovered from within the bailey (Dalwood 2005, 3: HER 713) but no evidence for the statement has been found.

There has been an assumption that the chapel was in the bailey (e.g. Dalwood 2005, 4) but the documentary reference suggests otherwise (*see* above, History). The best evidence for the position of the chapel comes from the 17th century description of it from Silas Taylor who describes the chapel as 'by' the castle. Whilst the precise meaning of this phrase could be debated, it perhaps implies that it is more likely to have sat outside the bailey than in it. Its position might also be considered in relation to the putative settlement at Clifford (as recorded in Domesday). Although the parish church was presumably the main focus for worship by all of the dispersed settlement in the area, a chapel at the castle would arguably have been able to serve the needs of those living in the immediate vicinity of the castle, and thus may have been located in a position convenient for their settlement.

The northern part of the bailey and its defences

As mentioned above, excavations in 2007 and 2014 revealed finds under the modern house which deserve some comment. The trenches dug in 2007 on the north-west and north-east sides of the house (Arnold 2008) encountered an expansive spread of rubble under the topsoil. Under this to the north of the house was a laid stone structure of uncertain purpose, apparently medieval, but which was not investigated in detail. To the west of the house was a stone wall orientated north-east to south-west, 0.6m thick and surviving four courses high. 'Fire pits' and a rubbish pit are also mentioned in the report but only one of these, fire pit 20, is located on plan; what precisely is meant by 'fire pit' is not explained. Pottery of all medieval centuries from the 12th onwards was found, a similar date range to the artefacts from Iron's excavations. This runs counter to the generally accepted story of relatively early complete abandonment of the castle (e.g. Baker and Hoverd 2018, 33), as indeed has also been suggested by the documentary evidence which makes it clear that the castle was undergoing repairs in the late 14th century, and probably occupied until at least the early 15th century, although it may be true that use of the castle declined after the 13th century. The 2014 excavations within the centre of the house and around its south-western corner (Crooks 2014) found 11th-12th-century pottery in the lowest levels and five pits sealed by layers dated to the 12th or 13th centuries. There was also a possible stone structure under the centre of the house but it was too badly damaged to interpret positively. Both reports relate the structures found to what they call the 'projected' line of the curtain wall – the wall found in 2007 is almost parallel to it and might be the front of a building range against the curtain – but it is not clear what the curtain is 'projected' from; it would be more accurate to call it an 'assumed' line of the curtain wall. As the watching brief by the garage seems to show, the curtain wall (if any) on this side of the bailey has probably been largely destroyed by the railway cutting.

However, there is one intriguing possibility about the defences on this side of the bailey – the garden terrace (**x**) and its short length of bank. This length of bank is presumably what Remfry refers to when he writes of 'what appears to be a curtain wall some 5 to 6 feet thick' occupying a ledge on this slope (1994, 32); this suggestion would require the curtain wall here to be forward of the alignment of the surviving wing wall (as Remfry himself acknowledges (ibid)) as well as being

considerably down the slope, the terrace being 6m below the current level of the bailey. We are not aware of any instance of a bailey curtain wall being constructed so far down a steep slope, and indeed a wall in this position would afford little assistance in the defence of the castle. Instead, it is possible that the terrace and bank might represent part of an original external ditch. If this is the case the rampart or wall must have followed a line with a shallow re-entrant angle but this is not impossible. There is considerable uncertainty around this feature however, as it is not clear how much of the bank was altered as part of the construction of the adjacent railway line, and subsequent landscaping associated with the construction of the house.

Southern and eastern defences and the location of the original entrance

Despite the stone within the rampart of the southern and eastern sides of the bailey there is currently no *in situ* visible remains of a masonry curtain wall, though the outer face of this rampart is extraordinarily steep, possibly as a result of work by Oscar Trumper in the 1920s who said he had 'fairly well defined the outside walls of the bailey' (1925, 151). Nor is there any convincing visible evidence for the presence of the corner and interval towers that might be expected. Even the mound at the south-eastern angle turn (**n**) has been otherwise explained as possibly the spoil from the excavation of the gatehouse (Remfry 1994, 32-3). However, T Trumper (1889, 368) states that on either side of the entrance 'at some little distance from the gate, there seem to have been two towers, one at the river and the other at the ravine corner, guarding the entrance.' Unfortunately he gives no indication of the nature of the evidence that suggested the existence of these towers, though it must have been something visible on the surface. The supposition of a tower at the northernmost corner, overlooking the river, is understandable and there may have been more earthworks or stone visible there in the late 19th century than there is today. By the 'ravine' T Trumper meant the slight valley to the south and west of the castle; the 'ravine corner' must be our point (**n**), so this indicates that there was already a mound here before the gatehouse excavations. Additional strength is given to this by Oscar Trumper's claim to have located a mural tower on the south side of the bailey (1925, 151), if this can be relied upon.

The current entrance to the castle is modern and the rampart has clearly been cut back on the southern side of the entrance (**p**). However, it is extremely likely that the medieval entrance to the castle was in this location because there is no other plausible candidate. Some slight possible corroboration is supplied by the geophysical survey, which revealed a circular anomaly 3.5m across with a linear anomaly extending from it in a southerly direction, just behind the current entrance (Roseveare 2017, 5, 6, dwg 3e, nos18 and 19). This suggests possibly a small tower with an attached length of curtain wall but the report's author was properly circumspect about interpreting these features; in any case they do not align with the earthworks.

Clifford and neighbouring castles

Clifford, with Wigmore and Ewias Harold, is one of the pre-eminent castles of this part of the March, established at an early date after the Conquest. To this can be added Hay and perhaps Snodhill. But there are many other smaller castles in this area too, none of which are dated.

The motte-and-bailey at Old Castleton is the closest neighbouring castle to Clifford. It was probably built by and belonged to one of the named Domesday sub-tenants (*see* above, History), though an alternative hypothesis is that this is the early Clifford Castle, with the site only later moving to its current location. However, there is no evidence of such a relative chronology to the two sites, and the form at Castleton is not particularly diagnostic of the late 11th century. Moreover the scale of this site seems limited for a castle built by William Fitz Osbern, the pre-eminent landowner in Herefordshire at the time. For the purposes of this report therefore, it has been assumed that Clifford Castle, as mentioned in Domesday, has always occupied its current location.

The strategic and tactical roles of castles, even in areas of continued strife such as the Marches, are disputed and open to debate. For some historians castles are sited to control routes (e.g. Higham and Barker 1992, 201; Prior 2006), for others they are to control territory (e.g. Creighton 2002, 40), for others again their military attributes are subordinate to other considerations. The ability of castles to 'control' is strictly limited to an area within bowshot of their walls; it is only a mobile garrison located within a castle that can extend this control into the adjacent areas. The control of routes is further complicated by the fact that before canals, railways and tarmacadam roads, routes were flexible; it has been argued that castles sited where the Welsh valleys opened into the English plain were ineffective in checking raiders, who went over the intervening high ground – only when the raiders returned laden with booty could castle garrisons intercept them (Pounds 1990, 55; Walters 1968, 59-60).

The strategic rationales put forward for the positioning of these castles in most cases are not especially convincing. The idea of a 'controlling hand' of the king or one of his senior lieutenants in placing castles has been convincingly questioned (e.g. Pounds 1990, 55, 162; Walters 1968). The sheer number of these castles and their variety in size, form and topographical location suggests that many are the individual constructions of petty lords on their own restricted estates, rather than part of any overall strategic plan. In England generally, castles were built where the greater part of the population dwelt (Walters 1968, 39-54). In the Welsh Marches and along the Scottish border there is a greater density of castles and they frequently occupy valley locations, not to control routes and river crossings but because that is where the labour force and the other requirements of castle building and maintenance were found (Pounds 1990, 56-7, 163; Walters 1968, 66-8).

Nevertheless, there may be elements of strategic planning at a fairly modest level. It is notable that the three castles in the region that were held by the Clifford family for a considerable length of time – Clifford, Glasbury and Bronllys – are all situated on the Wye or a tributary, the Llynfi. Glasbury and Bronllys are only 3.5

miles apart, while the 6 miles separating Glasbury from Clifford are interrupted by Hay, a major castle which seems never to have been held by the Cliffords. This similarity of location might imply a unity of purpose between these castles, though Pounds' argument, mentioned above, that valley location is more to do with density of population than 'control' of routeways still holds good. It is also notable that these castles were involved in power struggles between the English king and his barons as much as between the English and the Welsh (Hillaby 1985, 249-50). A feature required by any castle to give it a truly strategic role would be a large bailey to house a substantial mobile force – the only way in which it could exert 'control', either over routes or territory. Clifford has a large bailey, as do some other Marcher castles – Wigmore, White Castle, Richard's Castle, Longtown and possibly Snodhill, for instance. These may be the strategic fortresses which can be isolated from the plethora of small motte-and-bailey castles, which are the *ad hoc* creations of lesser lords.

Only one small earthwork castle close to Clifford challenges this conclusion and that is Mouse Castle (NRHE 104934; *see* Figure 19), set on the highest point of a spur at just over 255m OD with extensive views to west and north; it stands out from the largely riverine distribution of all the other castles in the area and its role as an observation post seems clear. However, like all the other small earthwork castles in the region, Mouse Castle is undated. In his military analysis of the Norman castles of Monmouthshire, Prior has attributed dates to several of the earthwork castles of this region (2006, 122, 148) but without presenting any evidence in support. He places Mouse Castle in the period 1066-1093; one can see why an early date might be assigned to this very unusual castle but there is no evidence to substantiate it. Prior also places The Bage in this early period but Mynydd-Brith, Urishay, Nant y Bar, Chanstone and Bacton Court, amongst others, in the period 1094-1134, without explanation; there seems to be no reason to accept any of these unsupported assertions.

Its site is not now clearly intervisible with Clifford Castle so its ability to communicate what it saw appears to be compromised; however, a tower only a few metres high at Mouse Castle would have been intervisible with the tower on the motte at Clifford. It also had clear views to Cusop Castle and Hay Castle, for instance. Mouse Castle is just over 3km from Clifford but much closer to Cusop and Hay. There is no line of sight between Mouse Castle and Old Castleton or any of the castles to the east and south-east.

The castle landscape

The mill

There is evidence for a mill at Clifford at Domesday (Bannister 1931, 148; Thorn and Thorn 1983, 183). It has often been assumed that this was on the Wye itself and possibly situated on the island opposite the castle (e.g. Trumper 1889, 369; perhaps the origin of the entry for a mill on the island in the HER). However, a mill in such a position would have been extremely vulnerable to flooding and the water supply would have been difficult to control. It is perhaps more likely that the

mill would have utilised a tributary stream, such as the one that flows into the river immediately west of the castle. The dam here (**u**) would have held back a sufficient body of water to run a mill, though hardly the 'mere' that Remfry envisages (1994, 27). The presence of a mill in this position would provide a practical explanation for the construction of the dam and the associated body of water, as its size means that it would have had a limited defensive or aesthetic impact. The disruption to the area caused by the construction of the railway line, which runs on an embankment where the tributary meets the river, may have removed any traces of the structures associated with the mill.

The borough

An entrance at the eastern end of the castle bailey would presumably have led straight into the borough (Dalwood 2005). There is little documentary evidence for the existence of this borough after Domesday except for the mention of burgesses in 1299 (*see* above, History), though there is a record that the town was attacked by the men of Hay in 1368 when 200 houses were burnt (Dalwood 2005, 2). The latter statement must be an exaggeration – the borough can have been no more than 200m long from south-west to north-east, as demonstrated by the discovery of ridge-and-furrow with no sign of urban development at SO 2473 4587 in 1994 (ibid, 3; HER 21244) . Because of the 1368 raid or for other causes the town seems to have declined rapidly to village status (Dalwood 2005, 2).

The deer park

Documentary and place-name evidence confirm that Clifford Castle had a deer park, as might be expected. However, thorough searches of available archaeological sources has failed to confirm the location of its pale, although some areas which possibly fell within the park have been identified (*see* Figure 42). This question must await further research.

METHODOLOGY

Archaeological and architectural survey and investigation

Archaeological survey of the castle was undertaken using a Trimble S7 TST to create a traverse of 12 stations around the perimeter of the site with a link traverse of 5 stations across the centre. Three of these stations were fixed to the National Grid using a Trimble R8 survey grade GNSS receiver. Some modern and archaeological detail in the open area of the eastern bailey was recorded with a GNSS receiver or with the TST. On other parts of the site some hard detail was also recorded with the TST but all archaeological detail was supplied by tape-and-offset or by plane table into the control framework at the elected scales of 1:1000 and 1:500.

The overall site plan was surveyed at 1:1000 but the motte top and the gatehouse, where much small detail is visible, were surveyed at the larger 1:500 scale and are presented here as separate drawings.

Masonry elements of the castle were included in the survey but architectural investigation comprised principally a systematic visual inspection of the fabric. The castle buildings had been subject to architectural analysis by Herefordshire Archaeology (Baker 2018) during consolidation works in 2017 (*see* above), so further detailed survey was not deemed necessary.

Aerial survey

The survey was undertaken according to Aerial Investigation and Mapping (AI&M) standards, formerly known as National Mapping Programme (NMP: Winton 2010). All available vertical and oblique photographs held by the Historic England Archive (HEA) were examined, comprising in total 159 aerial photographs (71 verticals and 88 obliques). 32 of the photographs held by the HEA were copies of photographs belonging to the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs (CUCAP). The CUCAP database (https://www.cambridgeairphotos.com/) lists some 170 photographs from the study area, but as their archive is currently closed, direct access to the photographs was not possible. Consequently the remaining majority of the photographs not already held in the HEA could not be examined.

Online photographic sources included Google Earth and Bing, in addition to rectified and georeferenced vertical coverage supplied to Historic England by Aerial Photography for Great Britain (APGB), provided through the Pan Government Agreement (PGA) by Next Perspectives, were also consulted. Although these sources provided a more recent overview of the landscape and of the condition of upstanding monuments, the CUCAP photographs in particular were invaluable in terms of cropmarks – in fact, very few cropmarks could be seen on Google Earth within the survey area, and hardly any were visible on APGB or Bing. Nonetheless, two sites were mapped exclusively from Google Earth images.

In order to map archaeological detail, photographs were rectified using AERIAL 5.35 (University of Bradford and John Haigh) software, with mapping control

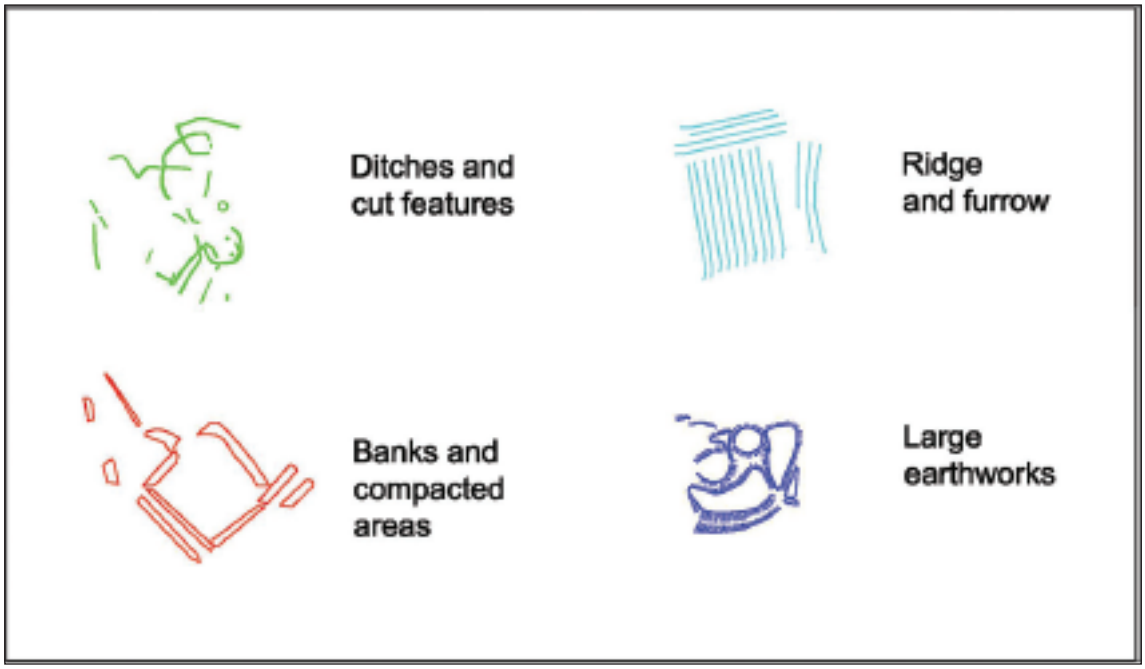

Figure 45 Mapping conventions used for recorded features mapped from lidar and aerial photographs

provided by Ordnance Survey 1:2500 Mastermap vector data, and vertical height data (contours) supplied by APGB, aiming for an average accuracy of ±2m for all chosen control points. These rectified images were then inserted into a map drawing of the project area using AutoCAD Map 3D 2015. Lidar tiles were also input the same way to allow visible archaeological features to be mapped. Features were mapped according to the standard conventions for Aerial Investigation & Mapping (Figure 44).

The Environment Agency's open source 2m resolution airborne laser scanning (lidar) data for the project area was also studied. The data itself was downloaded direct from the Survey Open Data website (https://environment.data.gov.uk/ds/survey/#/survey), and was analysed in multiple visualisations with the Relief Visualisation Toolbox (RVT, provided by the Institute of Sciences and Arts, ZRCSAZU, Slovenia). This is the first time that lidar has been used for a mapping survey in this area, and the 16-directional hill-shade viewshed was particularly useful for the identification of previously unrecorded earthworks. Simulating differently-coloured light sources from 16 different surrounding locations, it effectively throws light and shade from all angles, enhancing the visibility of earthworks that may otherwise be difficult to see if lit from only one direction. The software also allowed the creation of a mosaic of digital terrain models (DTM) rather than using the raw digital surface models (DSM). The DTM is a generated surface model of the ground surface without large features (such as buildings or vegetation), so was invaluable for the capture of earthworks (mostly quarry pits in this survey area) in areas beyond the visible reach of aerial photographs due to tree cover. However, this model is a calculated estimation based on relative height of surrounding points, and as a result of this the process can also remove

archaeological detail on the ground or 'smooth out' and alter the appearance of earthworks. In these cases the DSM proved more effective for reliably mapping features on the ground (Crutchley & Crow 2010, 11).

Historic editions of Ordnance Survey maps enabled comparison of landscape change from the later 19th century to the present, as well as aiding the interpretation of some features seen on aerial photographs and lidar. However, complete coverage of the 1:2500 maps, principally along the westernmost edge of the project area and map sheets covering the area around the village of Clifford, Priory Wood and Priory Farm (SO2445, 2545, 2444, 2544), were not available; in these areas only 1:10560 OS maps were examined. Some other, earlier historic maps were sourced via the Herefordshire History website (https://www.herefordshirehistory.org.uk/archive/herefordshire-historic-maps), the British Library Online Gallery (http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/) and the University of Bern's online archive (http://www.unibe.ch/university/services/university_library/research/special_collections/map_collections/index_eng.html).

Site records already held in the NRHE, along with those in Herefordshire County Council's Historic Environment Record (HER) (https://htt.herefordshire.gov.uk/), provided a picture of existing knowledge of the archaeology of the project area, drawn from previous fieldwork and research. These were complemented by records in the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales' (RCAHMW) online database Coflein (http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en) for sites in the part of the project area that lay partly or wholly over the border. The Herefordshire Archive and Record Centre (HARC) was visited in June 2018 to examine material relating to Clifford Castle and environs, such as tithe maps, estate plans, and historic photographs.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The Castle

1. It would be extremely useful to have geophysical survey transects to look for an external ditch east and south of the bailey rampart.

2. Some of the distinctive features of the motte-top buildings (for example the cusped base to the arrow loops noted in Baker 2017) might benefit from a more thorough examination of contextual information from comparable examples in the Welsh Marches.

The wider landscape

Features relating to the castle:

1. Ground survey might benefit the search for the medieval park, principally any earthwork for the park pale or possible survival of veteran trees. More detailed documentary research might also likely aid in establishing the park's limits; it may also be indirectly inferred from accurately defining the original bounds of the 400-acre estate around the Priory before the lands were sold off, etc.

2. Geophysical survey of some of the surviving sections of open ground to the north and within the current settlement of Clifford might help identify any traces of the putative medieval village in this area

3. Analytical earthwork survey, perhaps followed by targeted geophysical survey, would be a first step in improving understanding of the motte and bailey at Old Castleton.

4. The set of documents relating to Clifford in the Bangor University Archive were not consulted as part of this project, it is possible they would provide more information that would allow the position of the park, and other features, to be traced.

Other features:

1. Targeted aerial survey would allow for a more information to be gathered about cropmarks, many of which have been so far photographed only once, often several decades ago. Re-visiting these would allow for a better idea of the current condition of these sites.

2. The concentration of cropmarks to the north of Clifford Common would be an interesting area of focus, and the concentric enclosure in particular may be at risk because of its immediate proximity to the riverbank. These photographs were challenging to rectify with the limited reliable control points that were visible on the small selection of CUCAP photographs, some of which were taken close-up and at a strong oblique angle, and as a result had a higher range of error. Geophysical survey would also be useful here. It would be interesting to ascertain the relationship between the enclosure and the other cropmark features, their ages, and if more yet-unidentified archaeological features lie in the close vicinity.

3. The Roman fort at Clifford, although first identified around 40 years ago, has had no further evaluation done to evaluate its preservation; geophysics would again be useful. One corner of the fort has already probably been destroyed by the 19th century tramway but excavation of another side of the fort may also provide a date for the site's use and possibly establish its relationship to Clyro fort.

4. Earthworks around Hardwicke may also warrant re-examination, as some possible earthworks were difficult to discern with the 2m resolution lidar. The future possibility of lidar coverage at 1m or higher resolutions could reveal more. Alternatively, field survey of earthworks would probably provide detail of any finer features and might give better insight of phasing. The mound in 'Chapel Field' calls for further investigation on the ground (such as test pitting or geophysical survey). The other earthwork platforms (NRHE 1619391) along the hollow way 200m to the west of the mound have not been noted before and there is a possibility that these could also be associated with the chapel at Hardwicke, or otherwise with previous settlement of either post-medieval or medieval date. These would be worth revisiting.

5. The post-medieval manors have also not been examined on the ground before. There was no record made for Whitney Old Court before this project, and the glimpse of parchmarks from Google Earth indicate a partial survival of the footings and the possibility of more to see on the ground within the wooded parkland. The Moor was also not surveyed or visited by RCHME in the 1930s before the house's demolition, unlike many older post-medieval farmsteads within the parish. Robinson's brief mention of an earlier mansion at the site may be interesting to investigate through geophysical survey.

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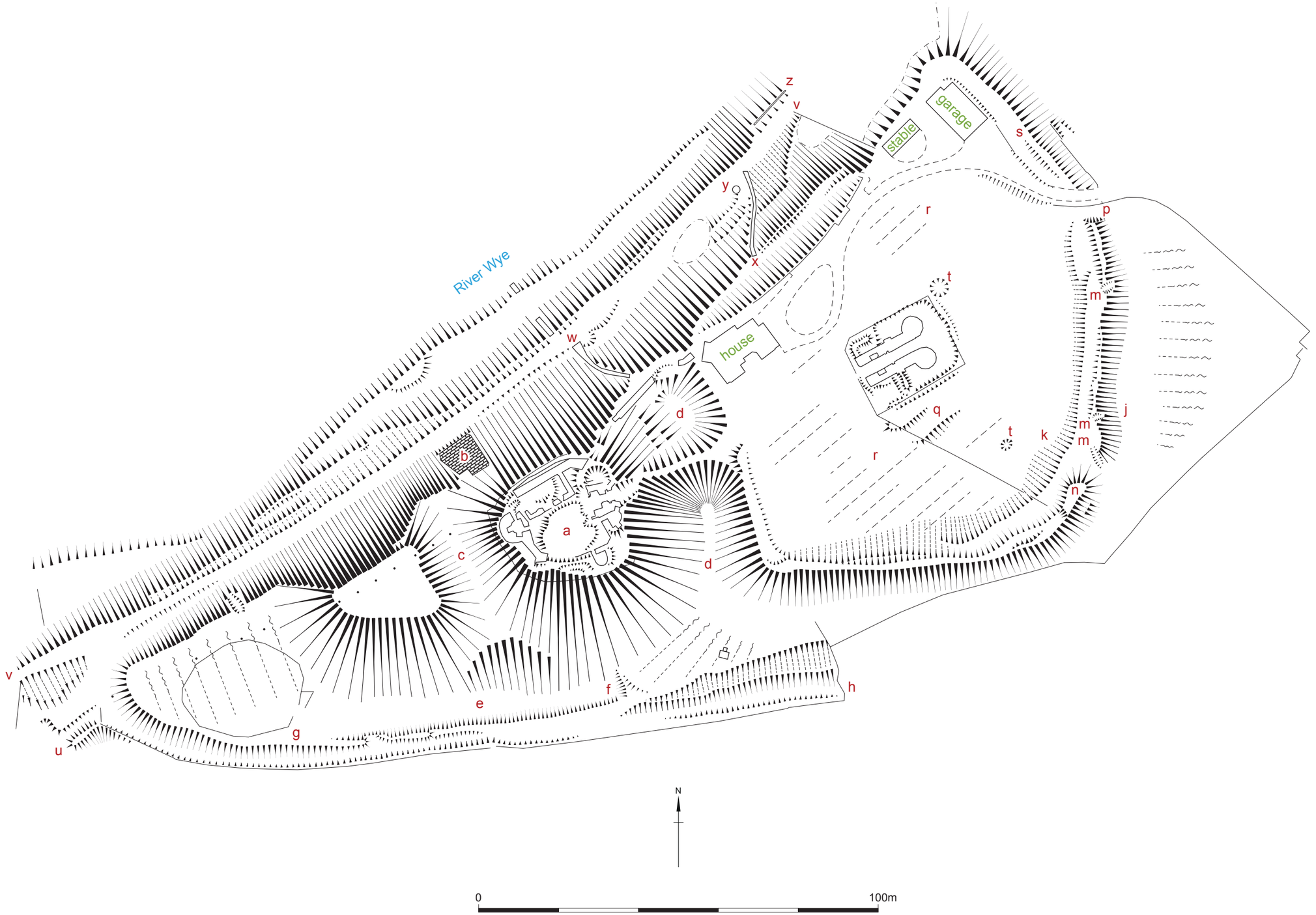

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