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# Pevensey Castle, Pevensey, East Sussex: architectural, archaeological and aerial investigation

Mark Bowden, Allan Brodie and Fiona Small

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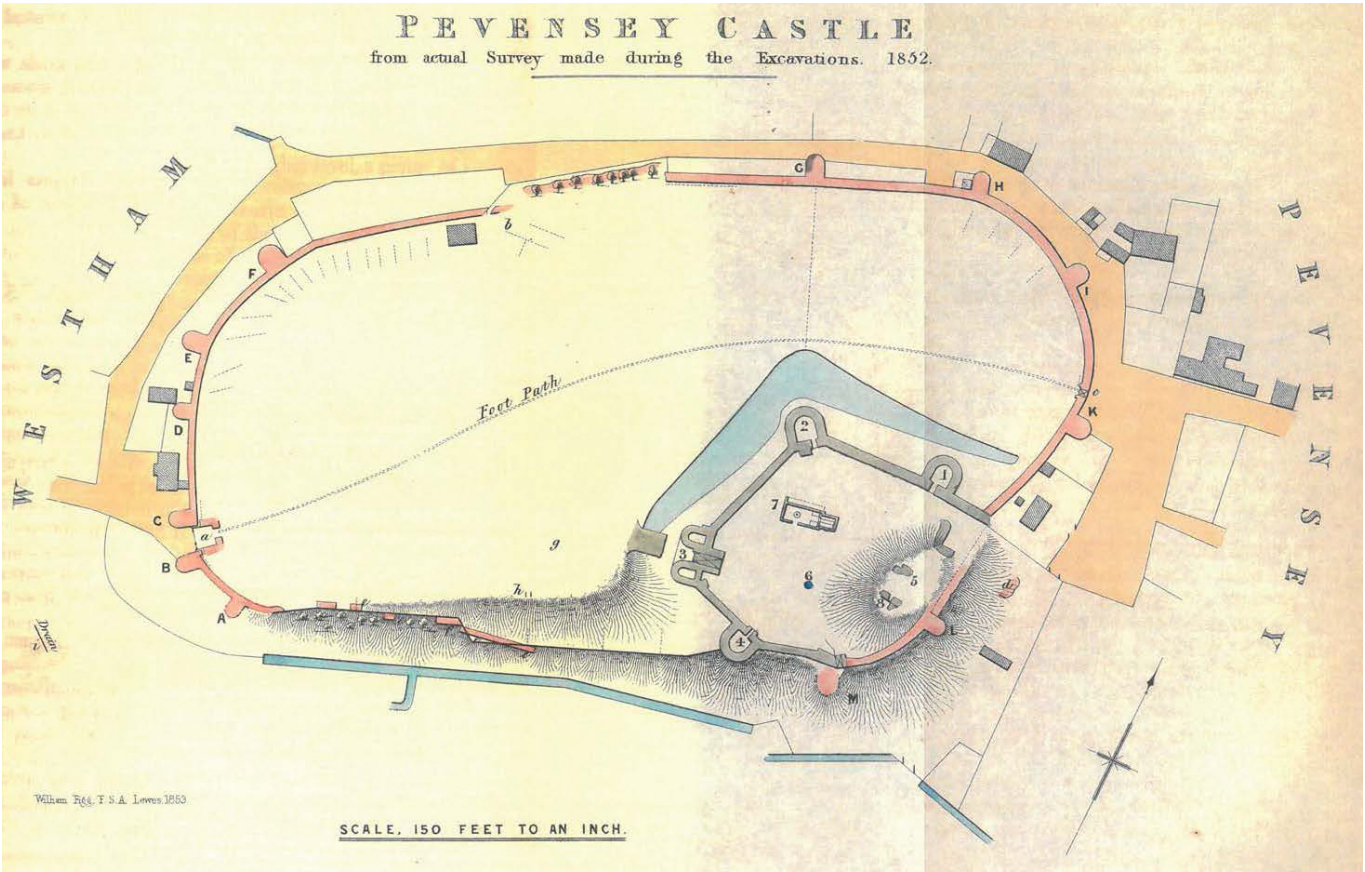


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# PEVENSEY CASTLE
# PEVENSEY
# EAST SUSSEX

## Architectural, Archaeological and Aerial Investigation

Mark Bowden, Allan Brodie and Fiona Small

NGR: TQ 644 047



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SUMMARY
Three strands of research were requested by the English Heritage Trust to inform the production of a new guidebook for Pevensey Castle: interpretation of the enigmatic keep; archaeological survey of earthworks in the outer ward; and aerial survey of the immediate environs of the castle with particular reference to activity during the Second World War. The resulting research project suggested a possible origin for the keep and explanation of its unique architectural form. It also resulted in a detailed record of earthworks in the outer ward and put forward the tentative suggestion that there may have been a barbican in front of the gatehouse of the inner ward. All available aerial photographs were studied, leading to a comprehensive picture of activity at the castle in the 1930s and military activity during the Second World War.

CONTRIBUTORS
Architectural investigation was undertaken by Allan Brodie and aerial mapping and investigation by Fiona Small. Archaeological survey and investigation was undertaken by Mark Bowden, Olaf Bayer and Krystina Truscoe. The aerial photograph loan was managed and delivered by Luke Griffin at the Historic England Archive. Recent aerial photographs are by Damian Grady. Brian Kerr made useful comments on the report and Tony Wilmott provided information about Richborough.

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ARCHIVE LOCATION
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DATE OF RESEARCH
Architectural investigation was undertaken in September 2018, Archaeological survey and investigation in October 2018; Aerial mapping and investigation was undertaken during the same time period and interim reports were submitted in November 2018. Some further background research was undertaken in December 2018 and January 2019.

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Front cover image: 1852 survey of Pevensey Castle by William Figg FSA (Lower 1853). This offers the best available plan depiction of the clay mound that formerly covered the lower parts of the keep. It also shows the location of Lower and Roach Smith's trench at '*g*', which falls near the centre of our postulated barbican. Figg's lettering of the Roman bastions runs counter to the modern numbering scheme, so bastion 3 is his 'G', bastion 4 is his 'F' and bastion 10 is his 'M'.

# CONTENTS

# INTRODUCTION

Pevensey Castle is a Saxon Shore Fort of the late 3rd century AD. It was the landing place of William the Conqueror in September 1066 and subsequently became a royal castle. It was apparently re-fortified in the 16th century and played a significant role in home defence schemes during the Second World War. It now lies some distance inland but until the 16th or 17th centuries was on the coast. Indeed, when the Roman Fort was originally constructed it was on the eastern tip of a peninsula or an island, probably with open water on three sides. Until the early post-medieval period the land to the east and north of Pevensey – Pevensey Levels – was tidal marsh.

Pevensey Castle (NGR: TQ 644 047) lies between 3m and 10m OD in Pevensey Parish, Wealden District, East Sussex (Fig 1). The castle and village centre lie on a narrow peninsula of the Tunbridge Wells Sand Formation – sandstones, siltstones and mudstones – thrusting eastwards into the Pevensey Levels where these deposits are overlain by alluvium. The castle is in the guardianship of English Heritage (EH) and is a Scheduled Monument (1013379); it is recorded in the National Record of the Historic Environment as number 411896 (TQ 60 SW 16).

Three tasks were commissioned from the then Historic Places Investigation Team of Historic England by the English Heritage Trust in the summer of 2018, in advance of the production of a new guidebook to Pevensey Castle. These were:

re-interpretation of the unique 'keep' structure;
observation, survey and investigation of earthworks in the outer bailey;
mapping and interpretation of features visible on aerial photography, with particular reference to activity during the Second World War.

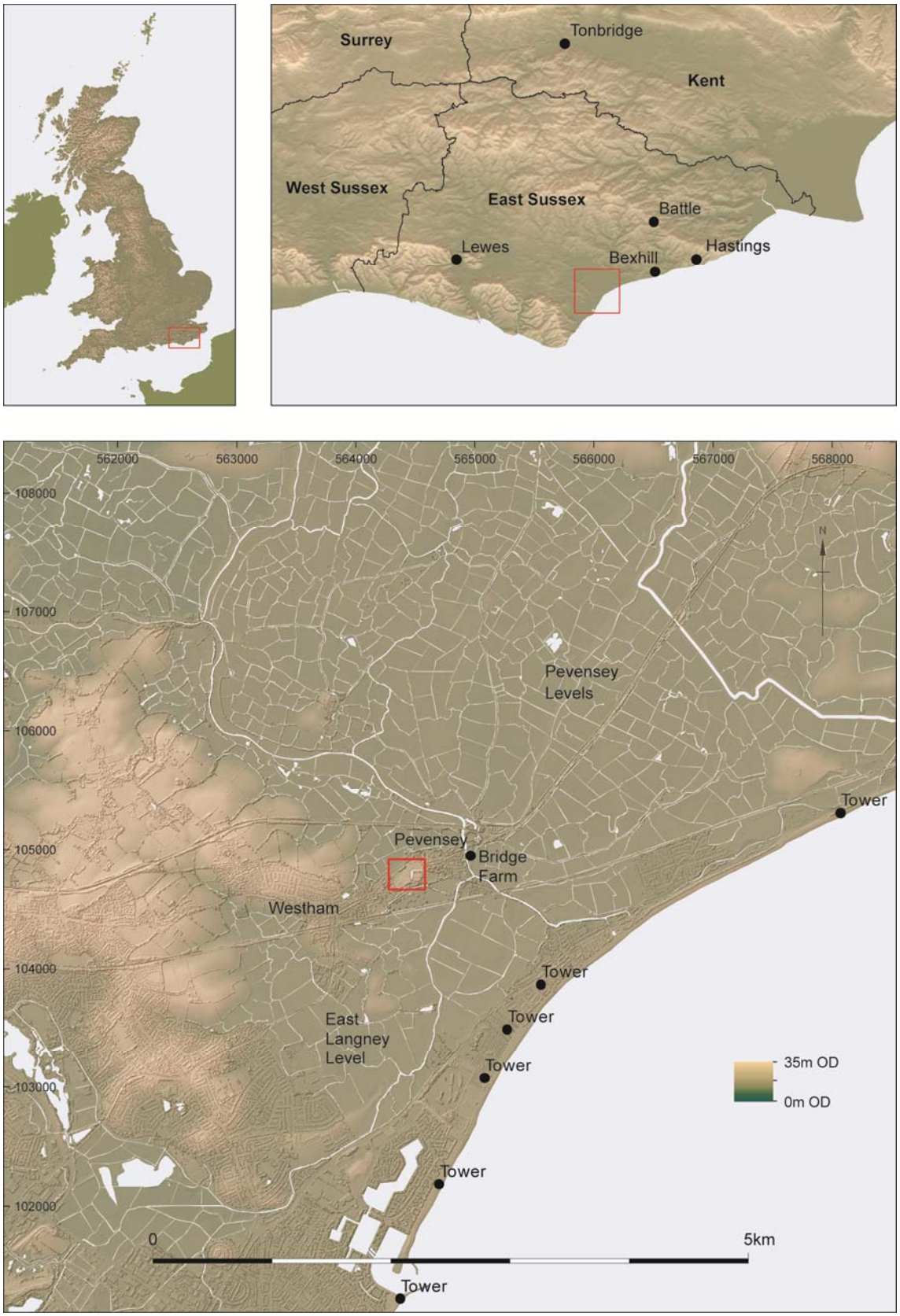
After an initial site visit on 31st May 2018, a Project Design (Bowden and Winton 2018) was agreed and fieldwork and research was undertaken in the autumn. In practice it was found necessary to exceed the limits of the brief in certain respects; for instance, it was not possible to understand the keep without reference to the longer history of the site and the other buildings of the inner ward of the medieval castle, and the area of survey in the outer bailey demarcated in the Project Design was slightly extended in order to help understand the erosional processes that had occurred along the southern flank of the site. The three strands of work naturally informed each other during the course of the project but they are reported here in the order given above; this arrangement moves from the specific to the more general and also has the advantage of treating the different elements in approximately chronological order.

## Previous archaeological work at Pevensey Castle

During the mid-19th century the first recorded archaeological investigations at Pevensey Castle took place (Lower 1853), with a more concerted programme taking place at the beginning of the 20th century (Salzmann 1908; 1909). In 1925 the castle was given to the nation by the Duke of Devonshire, and the Office of Works

(later Ministry of Works – MoW) carried out a programme of clearance through the 1930s, which included completely removing the mound of clay that sealed the lower part of the keep. The results of some of the early archaeological work were brought together by Malcolm Lyne (2009) and further excavations were conducted in the 1990s (Fulford and Rippon 2011). Further details of these episodes are described and discussed below.

*Fig 1: (following page) Location map. Contains digital surface model data derived from 90m SRTM topography data courtesy of CGIAR http://srtm.csi.cgiar.org; and 2m photogrammetry ©Bluesky International Ltd; Getmapping PLC. Rivers data derived from OS data © Crown Copyright and database right 2019. All rights reserved*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## THE KEEP AND THE MEDIEVAL CASTLE

The first subject to be considered in order to understand Norman activity at Pevensey is the state of the Roman Saxon Shore Fort as it stood in 1066. The collapse of the south wall of the Roman fortifications appears to have been occurring before 1066, necessitating the creation then of an earthwork and palisade across the eastern section of the Roman fortification, probably extending south-westwards from the north-eastern corner of the Roman fort to approximately where the postern gate is now located.

The keep has been, and unfortunately remains, an enigma. It is both a small and possibly early structure, yet has monumental, rounded bastions, a much later form. However, these are unlike anything else found in England, especially when forming part of what appears to be small Romanesque keep. One question that must be considered is whether it is a structure of broadly a single date or a simpler structure to which the huge bastions have been added. Another is whether there is any date at which such extraordinary features might appear to be commonplace. It is unclear whether the bastions are additions but it is hard to find anything paralleling them in the 11th or 12th centuries in Britain. Their inspiration may be a hybrid of features that may have existed in northern France, while they also echo the monumental towers, and particularly the west gate, of Pevensey's Roman fortification.

The first steps to the creation of the existing mediaeval castle appear to have been modest. The collapse of a section of the Roman south wall necessitated the construction of the postern gate and probably a noteworthy repair to the south end of the palisade. This probably occurred in the 1190s, but the construction of the castle seems to have begun in earnest probably soon after 1246 and was presumably completed by 1264-5, when the castle was besieged unsuccessfully. This phase of construction does not appear to belong to a single campaign, the south wall differing slightly in character from the east and north walls, while there appears to be a clear joint between the main gatehouse and the south wall at least. This piecemeal, though probably rapid, construction programme can be used to lend weight to the suggestion in the archaeological report (below) that there was an earthwork and palisade precursor to the current castle occupying approximately the same footprint.

The story of the decline of Pevensey Castle from the 14th century onwards is also briefly charted in this report.

### Adapting the Roman Fort

The now-accepted origins of Pevensey Castle are that the Saxon Shore Fort was built in the late third century, in AD 293 or soon after, and was known as Anderitum (Fulford and Tyers 1995, 1011-12; Pearson 2002, 34, 59-60; Fig 2). It was first mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 491 when it is stated that 'Aelle and Cissa besieged Andredesceaster, and slew all the inhabitants; there was not even one Briton left there' (Garmonsway 1986, 14-15). This event is now thought to have taken place twenty years earlier (Morris 1973, 40; Lyne 2009, 1,

41). There may have, perhaps inevitably, been a hiatus in the occupation of the site following this event, but a community had become re-established within the walls by the middle of the 7th century (Lyne 2009, 41). There is considerable evidence for Middle and Late Saxon occupation, including imported pottery, glass and other items (ibid, 1, 41). In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Pevensey does not feature between the 5th century and the reign of Edward the Confessor, when there are a number of mentions of its haven or anchorage (Garmonsway 1986, 168-9, 177-8). The reason for the re-emergence of Pevensey in the Chronicle may be Edward's greater focus on relations with Normandy than towards more northern European territories. The culmination in its pages is of course William the Conqueror's arrival there on 28th September 1066. Orderic Vitalis wrote that after waiting for suitable weather to cross the channel 'meeting with no resistance, and landing safely on the coast of England, [the Normans] took possession of Pevensey and Hastings, the defence of which was entrusted to a chosen body of soldiers, to cover a retreat and guard the fleet' (Ordericus Vitalis 1853, 481). William of Jumièges wrote in *c*1070 that: 'He [William the Conqueror] landed at Pevensey, where he built a castle with a very strong rampart' while William of Poitiers, writing at a similar or slightly later date, recorded that: 'He seized and fortified first Pevensey and then Hastings, intending that these should serve as a stronghold for themselves and a refuge for their ships' (Renn 1973, 27).

*Fig 2: The extent of the Roman fortification from the north-west (NMR 26764/35 28-Jul-2010)*

This report is not intended to discuss the Roman fortification but in order to understand the story of the medieval development of Pevensey Castle its general position and form have to be considered. When constructed, the Saxon Shore Fort was located at the tip of a peninsula, its eastern end overlooking the access to a

sheltered bay and marshland (Hill 1981, 15; Pearson 2002, 118; Lyne 2009, 6-7; Fulford and Rippon, 2011, 2). Its oval shape probably reflected the contours of the ground on which it was constructed, as other contemporary Roman fortifications were predominantly rectilinear in form, where topography was not a factor. The open sea lay along the south side of the site and today the fortification's cliff top setting is still obvious, though deposition and reclamation has led to the sea now lying 1.6km to the south-east of the site. There is documentary evidence to suggest that this process was under way by the 12th century, when some documents suggest more land was becoming usable and the availability of water for a mill was more difficult (Salzmann 1910, 38).

*Fig 3: The site of the missing section of Roman wall on the south side of the fortification is now occupied by trees to the west (left) of the medieval castle (NMR 27303/024 29-Sep-2011)*

The converse of deposition is erosion and there is evidence of erosion along the south side of the Roman fortification (Fig 3). In fact, the absence of large sections of Roman wall, even in their collapsed form, points to the action of the sea, first in undermining the wall, leading to its collapse, and then to much of its remains being washed away. The more common, though often unspoken, assumption is that this may have occurred somewhere between 1066 and the 16th-century abandonment of the castle. In the 1318 report on the state of the fabric of the castle, the breach was said to be 20 perches in length, just over 100m and therefore approximately half as long as the current gap in the wall (Salzmann 1906, 18; Fig 4). Lyne did consider an early date for the collapse in passing, but did not provide evidence for this idea (2009, 44). A display in the current Pevensey Castle exhibition suggests that the levels between Pevensey Castle and the current line of the sea had been created by the end of the Middle Ages, and recent published archaeological studies

have suggested similar scenarios. Therefore, any significant action by the sea must have occurred before that date (Lyne 2009, 6-7; Fulford and Rippon 2011, 1-2).

*Fig 4: Fragments of the Roman wall on the south side of the fortification have survived, though at slightly perilous angles (Investigator Photograph)*

There may be documentary evidence to support an early date for the initial breaching of the south wall. Guy of Amiens, writing in 1068 or thereabouts, hints that existing fortifications had recently been destroyed. 'Guarding the shore and fearing to lose your ships, you protect them by walls, and pitch a camp there. You rebuild the castles that were lately destroyed, and place custodians in them to guard them' (Lyne 2009, 42; Benoit de St Maur, writing half a century later, says that the Duke caused some of his knights to garrison Pevensey for two years). There is documentary evidence to suggest that there was little to impede William's progress on landing; Orderic Vitalis (see above) suggests that the Normans met no resistance and the Bayeux Tapestry, created a few years after 1066, depicts an uneventful disembarkation at Pevensey. Had there been a heroic landing, this would have surely featured prominently in the embroidery. And with such a large fleet at his disposal, William would have needed a large, calm and defensible anchorage, suggesting that Pevensey was a good choice. It is unclear whether Guy of Amiens may be referring to the neglected, recently fallen walls of Pevensey and other fortifications poorly maintained by the Anglo-Saxons. However, an ancient castle with one wall falling into the sea, and therefore left undefended, with an adjacent large anchorage, would have been an ideal place for William to land his invasion force.

There may also be physical evidence to suggest that some of the south wall of the Roman fortification had disappeared by 1066. The sea must have still been relatively close to the castle around 1200, the approximate date when the postern gate was constructed to replace a section of Roman wall and a bastion that collapsed. Interestingly, this ancient fabric still survives on the top of the slope and

has not been washed away (Fig 5), whereas other sections of the south wall of the Roman fortification have more comprehensively disappeared. This may suggest that their disappearance occurred somewhat earlier.

*Fig 5: The ruins of Roman bastion 10 survive near to the top of the slope just to the south of the medieval postern gate (Investigator Photograph)*

Further confirmation of this may be in the form of the purported first action of the Norman invaders. An earthwork exists to the south of bastion 3 of the Roman fortification and previous authors have suggested that this defence was hastily constructed to cut off the eastern part of the Roman fort. Bastion 3 is the only one that now has an upper storey above the height of the Roman perimeter wall, an addition that appears to belong to the 11th century (Shapland 2017, 6, figs 9-10; Fig 6). The earthwork was suggested to have continued across the later mediaeval castle site and intersected with the line of the Roman fortifications, just to the west of bastion 10, the one that appears to have collapsed *c*1200. However, re-evaluation of earlier archaeological excavation suggests that this earthwork dates from the mid-13th century and is contemporary with the construction of the castle, rather than predating it. There was, however, another slighter ditch extending southwards from the north-east wall of the Roman fortification and dating between the mid-Saxon period and 1100 (Lyne 2009, 57-8). This apparently hurried earthwork may be the first Norman fortification, securing the east part of the Roman fort. This is the most intact continuous stretch of walling on the side strategically overlooking the haven.

A question to ponder is why the Normans would build such an earthwork if they had an entire intact Roman Fort at their disposal. This may be used to support the assertion that the south, seaward side of the fortification was already succumbing to the action of the sea. Therefore, to make the site a safe base for the initial Norman invasion force, it was necessary to create a new, secure smaller enclosed area, hence the creation of the ditch and presumably a rudimentary palisade at least. In

addition, a smaller fortification would prove easier to defend, if Norman forces had to fall back. Similar 'cornering off' by the Normans took place at the Tower of London, where the initial defences and the White Tower were built close to the Roman city wall and the Thames, while at Portchester a new Norman fortification was created in the corner of the Saxon Shore Fort (Wheatley 2004, 49, 127). Apparently, during his continental campaigns prior to invading England, William the Conqueror had proven to be a master 'in the art of improvising fortifications' (Stenton 1971, 584).

*Fig 6: Bastion 3 of the Roman fortification is at the northern end of what was once thought to have been the line of the Norman palisade. It is possible that its raised storey may have housed a light to aid navigation (Investigator Photograph)*

Another question to consider is how long this arrangement remained in use. The initial ditch seems to have been modest and hurried, and is unlikely to have remained in use until the mediaeval castle was constructed in the mid-13th century. Documentary evidence, which will be discussed later, reveals that Pevensey Castle was an active military and political site during the 200 years after 1066, implying

that there was a significant defensive structure there. Apart from the keep, there is no evidence of any other structures or earthworks of this period, as the recent survey has demonstrated. Therefore, it seems plausible that the missing fortification may have followed broadly the line of the existing mediaeval castle wall and surrounding moat. This would explain why there is no evidence for this intermediate phase. If such as phase existed, it would have made an appropriate setting for the monumental keep and if it followed broadly the lines of the mediaeval castle, this might explain why the mid-13th century structure was built in stages, albeit probably in rapid succession. In other words, parts of the Norman intermediate fortification were being replaced in stages during the mid-13th century, so that the castle could remain operational if required.

*Fig 7: Straight joint between the west side of the postern gate and the south wall of the medieval castle to the right (Investigator Photograph)*

It may have been the collapse of bastion 10 and the consequent construction of the postern gate that precipitated the creation of the current stone castle in the south-east corner of the Roman fortification. There is inevitably a clear joint between the postern gate and the Roman wall, but equally there is an obvious joint between the gate and the adjacent south wall of mediaeval castle (Fig 7). Therefore, the postern gate probably predates the existence of the mediaeval castle, in its current stone form, and it is possible that the postern was created to close off once again the earthwork and timber fortification established by the Normans a century and a half

earlier. The western side of the postern gate has a long wall extending northwards; we might question whether this slightly odd arrangement is the result of it having been constructed to be incorporated into the earthwork and palisade.

At the beginning of the 13th century, there is documentary evidence for the levying of a payment called heckage. Heckage was a commutation of palisade maintenance, a duty that had its origins when sites were of timber construction (Barker & Higham 1992, 129). Salzmann described a claim brought in 1203 by Hugh de Dives against Henry de Dives as tenant of Brampton, in Northants, of the fee of Mortain, 'for ward of the Castle of Pevensey and for the service of enclosing or making a certain stockade (*heisarn)* upon the vallum of the Castle of Pevensey' (1906, 4). He also found an earlier reference to this stockade in 1188, when the Pipe Roll recorded a payment of 118s 4d for the repairs of the palisades of the Royal Castle of Pevensey (ibid). In 1254 the Lord of Pevensey, Peter of Savoy, commuted heckage services to cash payments, perhaps suggesting that the palisade had gone, to be replaced by new fortifications (Fulford and Rippon 2011, 2).

## The enigma of the keep

The most impressive, and the most enduring, action of the Normans was the creation of the stone keep (Fig 8). It was constructed against the south-east wall of the Roman fortification, probably in the decades immediately after 1066. There is no obvious dating evidence in the surviving fabric and the dates suggested for the keep have ranged from the late 11th or early 12th century to the end of the 12th century (Peers 1933, 7; Fulford and Rippon 2011, 126, 128). Work was certainly going on between 1100 and 1123 (Renn 1960, 4) and there is reference to a *turris de Penvesel* in 1130 (Peers 1953, 19; Salzmann 1906, 2). Derek Renn said that he had found a piece of pottery from an early floor that was likely to predate the 1120s (1960, 4). It is unlikely that this impressive stone structure would have been constructed inside the initial, hastily created earthwork of 1066 and the suggestion of an intermediate earthwork stage following broadly the shape of the existing mediaeval castle would have been a more fitting context for the monumental new keep.

The form of the Norman keep has puzzled many historians, its monumental scale being in marked contrast to the small area that it encloses, approximately providing an internal space of 17m by 9m per floor. Attached to the north-west face is a huge bastion, while there are two slightly smaller, though still monumental, bastions facing westwards. On the east side there were apparently two further eastward projecting bastions that may have collapsed in the 14th century. The two west-facing bastions are not parallel to each other or the keep and observing this, Derek Renn noted that: 'Inability to construct a true right angle is typical of the eleventh century, and can be seen in otherwise excellent masonry at Chepstow, Colchester, the White Tower, Pevensey, and Westminster Hall' (1960, 22).

*Fig 8: This general view of the keep from the north-west shows the monumental bastions projecting to the west (Investigator Photograph)*

The ruinous condition of the structure, a lack of access to the east wall, interventions by the Ministry of Works from the 1920s onwards, and the creation of gun positions on top of the keep during the Second World War, have all served to obscure the internal arrangements of the structure. However, on top of the northern of the two westward facing bastions, effectively at first floor level, there are the remnants of a narrow passage in the form of a line of straight wall, leading to the rounded end of the bastion, which was presumably the location for arrowslits. Inside the ground floor of the keep, there are patches in the west wall, including a vaguely triangular impression approximately 2m wide at ground level (Fig 9). These are perhaps more suggestive than real and may simply be corresponding with the location of the bastions in the west wall, tempting as it might be to suggest that the triangular shape is the palimpsest of a fireplace.

*Fig 9: This panorama of multiple photographs shows the patching and perhaps a triangular shape in the west wall of the interior of the keep (Investigator Photograph)*

There are no openings in the surviving fabric on the ground floor of the keep, not even arrow slits, and as will be discussed later, access was apparently at first floor level via a 'bridge'. Interestingly, early French fortified towers were usually entered from about 6m above ground level, creating a sort of basement at ground floor level and this arrangement required either a retractable ladder or a timber bridge (Thompson 1991, 39). This was also a common arrangement in keeps in England until the forebuilding was developed (ibid, 67-8). A number of castles depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry have bridges up to the entrances of keeps and some incorporate a form of gateway on the structures (Dol, Dinan and Bayeux).

By the 18th century, the ground floor of the keep was covered by a mound of earth or clay, hence its ashlar not being robbed. This arrangement is thought to date from the late 16th century, when two guns were apparently being deployed at Pevensey (Goodall 1999, 27). There is a small earthwork battery suitable for two guns on the south side of the outer bailey (see below), so one might question whether the creation of a mound over the keep was necessary at this time and whether the lack of access to the ground floor of the keep and the absence of any openings can be explained by the presence of the mound from an early date. The presence of high quality ashlar on the ground floor suggests that the earthwork cannot be an original feature, but would not necessarily prove that it was not an early feature. Interestingly, in the early 11th century at Doué-la-Fontaine (Maine-et-Loire), a motte was added around the base of a previously free-standing stone great tower, but the tower was soon demolished down to the level of the motte (Allen Brown 1989, 33). Richards Castle in Herefordshire had the lower parts of a buried octagonal tower around which the motte was banked up (Thompson 1991, 51). A stone foundation was found in the motte at Carleon (Renn 1973, 32) and a mound was added to the lower storey of the stone tower at Farnham in Hampshire (Thompson 1967, 102-3; 1991, 55-70). Covering the ground floor would be a strange, though not unknown arrangement for a stone keep, but was certainly used in the construction of timber keeps (Hislop 2016, 31). For instance, the motte at Penwortham was thrown up over a circular wooden building (Renn 1973, 32) and the motte was created around a timber tower at South Mimms in Middlesex (Higham 1989, 59; Wyeth 2018, 135). The hastily constructed castle at Hastings, as depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry, is likely to be a timber tower around which earth was banked (Higham 1989, 54). The site of this castle is unknown and may not necessarily have been on the site of the mediaeval castle (Barker and Barton 1977, 83). Against an early date for the mound at Pevensey is its irregular form, as depicted in 18th-century views. If the earthwork was of an early date, it would be expected to be more circular and regular. Archaeological evidence also supports the later, probably 16th or 17th century, date for the mound (see archaeological report and Discussion below).

Malcolm Lyne suggests that some fabric at bastion 11, where the keep was constructed against the Roman walling, may be of Late Saxon date and not later than the late 11th century (Lyne 2009, 47). Its coursed rubble character is in marked contrast to the monumental ashlar of the keep, which has survived as a result of the embankment of the structure that prevented the robbing of stone in subsequent centuries. The contrast in the character of the stonework in this area is apparently clear, and while there is likely to be some difference in date between the

rubble and the ashlar work, this may not necessarily be decades, instead perhaps being more indicative of using native craftsmen for a functional repair and more sophisticated Norman masons to build the keep. Unfortunately, at the time of visiting in autumn 2018, this part of the building was covered in foliage and inaccessible, making any confirmation of relative or absolute dating impossible.

As noted above, the keep encloses a relatively small area, a footprint appropriate perhaps for a large hall on one of the floors. Therefore, to be of practical use, perhaps it was three or four stories high, and could also have served as a day mark to aid navigation into the adjacent anchorage (Fig 10). This begs the question of whether Pevensey might also at some date have had a lighthouse or at least a light in a building to aid navigation at night. Could a tall keep have served this function or might this have been accommodated in the upper story of one of the Roman bastions around the perimeter? Bastion 3 is now taller than the others, and this addition seems to be more plausibly 11th-century than 3rd-century. However, it is on the inland side of the Roman fort and therefore perhaps unlikely to be for navigation purposes.

The monumental form of the keep, its huge bastions and its contrasting relatively small size, has sent authors across the Norman Empire and north France in search of parallels. Langeais (Indre-et-Loire) has a small rectangular donjon reputedly dating from *c*1000 and Loches in the same *département* has a keep with curved buttresses and dates from the early 11th century (Hislop 2016, 89-91). At Houdan (Ile-de-France) the keep of *c*1120 has large curved buttresses at its four corners (Platt 1982, 21). The keep of Pevensey might be echoing some continental forms that we are unfamiliar with. If the keep belongs to a single phase of work, it is unlike anything built anywhere else in Britain and if the bastions are added, this too would be difficult to parallel.

However, perhaps the main inspiration lies much closer to home (Renn 1971, 62; 2015, 209). The keep must surely be echoing its surrounding Roman fortification, particularly paying homage to the monumentality of the Roman west gate. There has been a suggestion that the monumental bastions were an addition to the original structure at the site of pilaster buttresses, an assertion which could not be confirmed using the visible fabric (Renn 1971, 61; see also Fulford and Rippon 2011, 126, 143). Curved bastions are a feature more evocative of the 13th century than the 11th or 12th centuries, but nowhere are these features treated so oddly and even perhaps ineptly. However, if there was originally a simpler, tall keep with pilaster buttresses from the late 11th century, the size of the bastions might be an excessive response to guaranteeing the stability of the early structure. But if this is so, it is unclear when this would have happened.

The keep could perhaps be as much a statement as a building, sending a strong message to the conquered Anglo-Saxons of Norman dominance and their continuing presence. Might there be a symbolic dimension to the structure, its monumentality deliberately marking this as the place where the Normans first set foot in England in 1066? The Romans marked their conquest of England at Richborough with a monumental arch, though the Normans could not have known about that structure because it was razed during the Roman period and not re-

interpreted till the 20th century (Strong 1968). Nevertheless, can Pevensey keep's awkward reflection of Roman forms be used to suggest an early date, its irregular, rather over blown form being a far cry from the substantial, sophisticated and more symmetrical castle building projects being constructed during the 12th and 13th centuries? The Normans, and William the Conqueror in particular, seemed to be conscious of the Romans' legacy and chroniclers regularly paralleled the ancient empire with the growing Norman one (Davison 1967, (1) 40-1; Wheatley 2004, 54-5, 130-2).

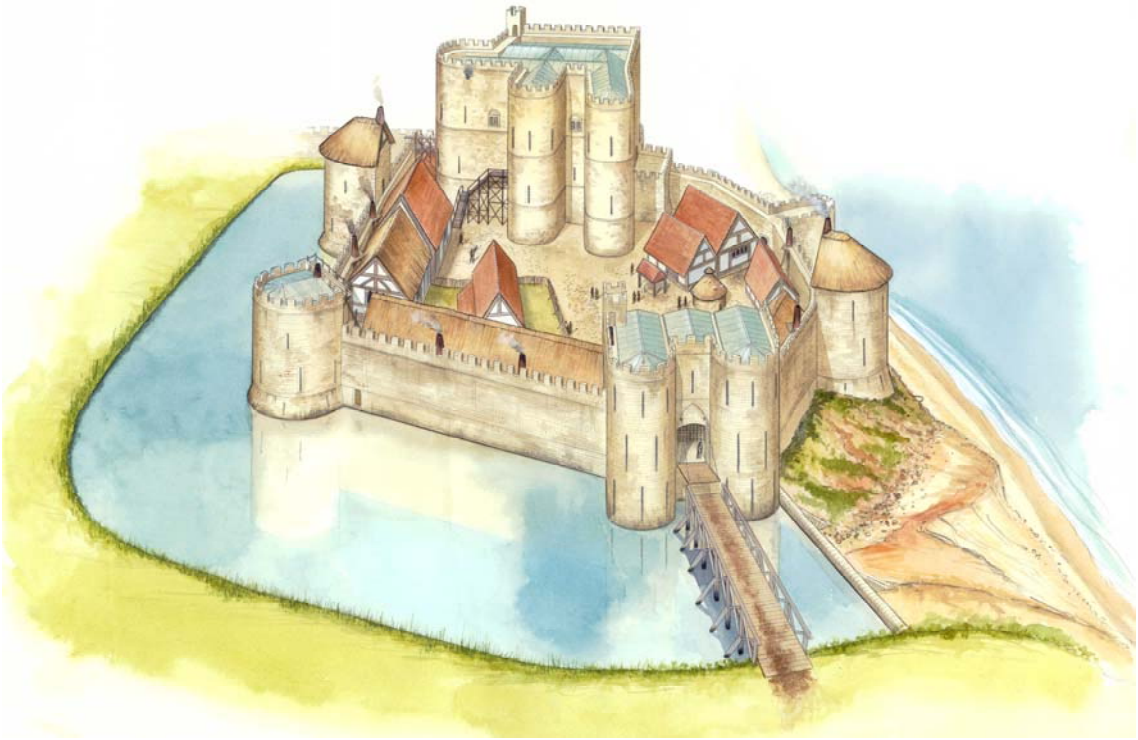


*Fig 10: This reconstruction by Philip Winton suggests how tall the keep might have been and therefore helpful for navigation (HE Archive ic078_002.tif)*

If the keep was meant as a statement, who could be making the statement and when? After the battle of Hastings, Pevensey was held by William the Conqueror and later his half-brother, Robert, Count of Mortain (*d.* 1095), who had obtained it by 1082 at the latest (Renn 1971, 61; Creighton 2005, 43). William's first voyage back to Normandy in March 1067 was from Pevensey, presumably because the fleet had overwintered there, though subsequent cross-Channel voyages seem to have been to and from elsewhere on the south coast. At Pevensey, William paid off a number of Norman knights for their support in England before they too embarked for home and he took with him a number of leading English figures as hostages or prizes and perhaps to decapitate any potential English rebellion (Freeman1871, 77-80; Allen Brown 1969, 187-8; Morris 2012, 202-3).

Robert, Count of Mortain was present at William I's deathbed at Rouen in 1087, when he is reported to have led those who asked the king to release Odo, Earl of Kent and Bishop of Bayeux (and Count Robert's brother), from perpetual imprisonment. In 1088 Robert joined the baronial rebellion against William Rufus and held the castle at Pevensey against the king. His brother Odo took refuge there

after the capture of Tonbridge, and when the garrison surrendered after a six-week siege, Odo was forced into exile, though his brother Robert was soon pardoned and Pevensey remained among his family's possessions (Thompson 1997, 211; ODNB). Rebellion seems to have run in the Mortain dynasty as Robert's son and successor, Count William of Mortain, rose against Henry I unsuccessfully and in 1101 Pevensey Castle was granted to Richer de Aquila (of Laigle) (Lyne 2009, 43). Richer's father, Engenulf, was one of the few recorded 'Companions of William' and the only named Norman killed at the Battle of Hastings (Ordericus Vitalis 1853, 486; Lawson 2003, 234-5 and 237).

King Stephen seems to have granted the castle to Gilbert fitz Gilbert (*c* 1100- *d*. 1148), perhaps when he was created Earl of Pembroke in 1138 (Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_de_Clare,_1st_Earl_of_Pembroke [accessed 3 April 2019]). In 1147 Gilbert rebelled when Stephen refused to give him the castles surrendered by his nephew Gilbert, second Earl of Hertford. Pevensey was besieged again and fell, but the Earl appears to have made his peace with Stephen before his death in the following year. However, Pevensey Castle was bestowed by Stephen first upon his eldest son, Eustace, and on his death upon his second son, William, who by his marriage had already become Earl of Warenne and Lord of Lewes Rape (Salzmann 1906, 3; Thompson 1997, 213). Early in 1157, on the grounds that he wished to prevent a conflict between Prince William and his great rival Hugh Bigod, Henry II demanded that William return his castles at Norwich and Pevensey to the Crown (Thompson 1997, 213). By the mid-1160s, the Laigle family appear to have regained their Sussex holdings, including presumably Pevensey Castle. As will be discussed later, it remained in their hands, with some interruptions, for around 80 years, when it was again held directly by the Crown (Thompson 2004; Salzmann 1906, 3).

Therefore, for most of the first century of Norman occupation, control of Pevensey was changing hands at regular intervals and for most of the time it was in the hands of feudal lords or lesser royals, rather than the monarch himself. The question being raised, though not answered, is: could the keep at Pevensey be an early structure, possibly one even built during the life of William the Conqueror? Did Pevensey enjoy some form of special symbolic significance as the landing place of William the Conqueror? And therefore, is the keep some monumental celebration of Norman, and particularly William the Conqueror's, mastery over England? If so, surely, it is most likely to have been built by the victor himself. Against this assertion is the apparent sophistication of its planning, curved bastions being a standard feature later in the 12th and 13th century, though nowhere is the form handled so heavily, or even clumsily as at Pevensey. The alternative explanation is that an early, simpler keep of the late 11th or early 12th century was excessively bolstered and buttressed at a later date.

## Creating the medieval castle

After Henry II confiscated Pevensey from Stephen's younger son in 1157 there is a partial record of royal expenditure on the castle. Sums of £3 3s 8d, £5 10s 5d and £4 10s 8d were spent on 'works' in the years to Michaelmas 1161, 1167 and 1178,

respectively (Renn 1971, 63; Thompson 1997, 213). In addition, the gaol cost a mark in 1178-79 and there were repairs to the *domorum turris* of 70s during the following year (Renn 1971, 63). Repairs to the houses and palisades, respectively, cost £5 in 1182-83 and £5 18s 4d in 1187-88. These small, occasional expenses suggest the maintenance of fairly modest structures and contrast with the larger payments occurring during the middle years of Richard I's reign. In 1193 £25 15s 3d was spent, while during the following year the constable of Pevensey received £31 1s 3d to compensate him for what he had spent above what he had received for works carried out (Renn 1971, 63). Therefore, in a short space of time almost £57 was spent, the Constable having had to spend considerably more than was forecast. Could this be a response to a sudden event? As was discussed earlier, bastion 10 of the Roman fortification has collapsed but, unlike other sections of the south wall, it was not washed away, suggesting that this probably occurred when the sea was already in retreat (Fig 11). Might the expenditure of £57 be a response to this event, creating what is now the postern gate to plug the gap suddenly left in the fortifications?

*Fig 11: In this 1948 Aerofilms photograph the fallen Roman bastion and the replaced postern gate can be seen at the bottom of the image, to the east (right) of the 13th-century tower in the south wall EAW014356 ©Historic England Archive*

This sum suggests something beyond routine maintenance, but does not suggest a major building programme. The Pipe Rolls between 1192 and 1197 record that about £80 was spent on Pevensey Castle. This accounted for only about 3-4% of the

overall national expenditure during those years, and to get an impression of what could be constructed for that money, around £6,000 was spent on Dover Castle during the 1180s, the period when the Great Tower and inner bailey was constructed (Phillpotts 2008).

The sudden £57 aside, the annual summaries suggest only repairs to existing structures, with the tower being mentioned specifically (Renn 1971, 63). Elias the Engineer is recorded at Pevensey in 1195 and his documented career working for the Crown lasted from 1187 until 1203, and included a variety of castles, hunting lodges and work at Westminster (Colvin 1963, I, 60; Harvey 1987, 91). An Elias the Carpenter is mentioned at Pevensey in 1196 (Renn 1971, 64). This could be the same man, his changed title suggesting his interest at this stage being in the wooden palisade. Whatever was going on at Pevensey at this date was not the construction of the mediaeval castle in its present form.

*Fig 12: The current chapel footings, in the centre of the image, probably date from the early 14th century, when documents refer to the construction of a new timber-framed chapel (NMR 27303/023 29-Sep-2011)*

During the later years of John's reign, Gilbert of Laigle sided against the King, who seized Pevensey Castle early in 1216, or possibly in the previous year, and put it into a state of defence (Salzmann 1906, 5). When the future Louis VIII of France landed in Kent in May 1216, John retired through Sussex and dismantled the castle at Pevensey as he did so. Afterwards, Gilbert of Laigle recovered the castle and apparently held it until his death, which occurred before 1232. Thereafter, the castle escheated to the King, who bestowed it in 1233 upon Peter de Rivallis. During the next year Henry III compelled Peter de Rivallis to surrender the castle to the Earl of Hereford, and, after putting Robert le Sauvage in charge of it, it was transferred to

Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who surrendered it in 1240. Six years later, in 1246, the King conferred it upon his wife's uncle, Peter of Savoy, in whose hands it was at the time of the battle of Lewes in May 1264. He was granted permission by Richard de Wyche, Bishop of Chichester between 1245 and 1253, to move the chapel built near the keep of Pevensey to another suitable site, perhaps to allow new construction work to proceed (Peers 1933, 6; Fig 12) Immediately after the victory of the baronial troops at Lewes on 15 May 1264, the garrison of Pevensey was commanded not to leave the castle without further orders (Salzmann 1906, 5). Despite being besieged, the castle held out and the siege was lifted in July 1265 (Salzmann 1906, 6; Chapman 2007, 107; Sussex EUS 2008, 16).

The firm resistance of the castle in 1264-5 implies that this was no longer the now rather elderly fortification with a palisade, but the much more substantial mediaeval castle that we see today. When Peter of Savoy died in 1268, he left most of his possessions in England to his niece, Queen Eleanor of Provence and in the 1270s there are the earliest references to the moat, which had been completed in the early 1250s (Colvin 1963, II, 778; Salzmann 1906, 8; Lyne 2009, 43). During the 1270s, 1280s and 1290s, there are regular references to repairs to existing structures, rather than new ones (Salzmann 1906, 7-13). This phase of work will be described below, but the documents all point to a *terminus ante quem* of 1264 for the creation of the mediaeval castle.

While there is no documentation directly linked to its construction, Peter of Savoy is most often attributed with its creation, presumably immediately after he obtained the site in 1246. He was active in building fortifications in his native Savoy, including the Château at Yverdon in 1261 (Taylor 1985, 23). In June 1250 the sheriff of Sussex was ordered to force those who owed service at Pevensey Castle to perform it. In 1254 royal agents were used to secure contributions to the castle's upkeep. This was originally the service of heckage, repairing of the wooden palisade of the castle, but by the mid-13th century, it had been replaced by a money-payment, presumably confirming that the move to the present form of castle was underway (Thompson 1997, 216). However, if King John effectively made the castle indefensible in 1216, it is likely that a site that appears to have been sought after would have been put back into military use as soon as possible.

There appear to be three, or perhaps four, distinct stages to the construction of the medieval castle, though superficially there appears to be considerable homogeneity in the fabric. To create the mediaeval castle required the construction of a circuit of walls running from the late 12th-century postern gate clockwise to the east wall of the Roman fortification. There is a clear joint between the south wall and the postern gate and another between the south wall and the main gatehouse (Fig 13). There is no similarly well-defined joint between the north side of the gatehouse and the west wall, though in places there appear to be quoins, suggesting that the west wall predates the gatehouse. However, there is a further complication; on the north side of the gatehouse at moat level there is a section of fabric that projects out from the surface of the north wall (Fig 14). This fabric is incorporated into the gatehouse, but is of a slightly cruder quality, as if it was a fragment of an earlier structure or an indication of a change of design, the latter perhaps being more plausible due to the neatness of its integration into the building.

*Fig 13: There is a clear joint between the main gatehouse on the right and the rubble of the south wall of the medieval castle on the left (Investigator Photograph)*

*Fig 14: The fragment on the north side of the gatehouse looks confusingly both earlier, yet well integrated into, the fabric of the structure (Investigator Photograph)*

Chapman proposed that the lower story of the gatehouse was earlier than the curtain wall, suggesting that it probably dated to the last decade of the 12th century

(Chapman 2007, 103; Fulford and Rippon 2011, 3). However, as was discussed earlier, the work of the 1190s seems to have focused on the postern gate. The west and north walls of the mediaeval castle appear to be a single building campaign with consistent detailing. While the stretch of wall along the south side of the castle appears to be similar to the west and north walls, the quality of its stonework appears to be slightly inferior and the arrangement for accessing the upper story of the south tower does not appear to have been the same as in the north and east towers, where there was a small vice beside the body of the tower (Figs 15 and 16).

Therefore, there is clear evidence of distinct campaigns of work, but how far apart were these phases? Various authors suggest that the main gatehouse may date from the 1190s, or *c*1220 with the current curtain walls following on in the mid-13th century (Peers 1933, 9-10; Goodall 1999, 5-6; Chapman 2007, 113). It is unlikely that such a substantial, stone gate would be constructed in splendid isolation within a century-old earthwork and timber palisade, unless there was an intention to replace the earthwork fortification, though this programme might have been delayed. If the gatehouse was as early as the 1190s, what would have been the structure of the castle in 1216, when John is said to have had to dismantle the castle? Might the superior character of the fabric of the gatehouse and the consequent appearance of joints between it and the adjacent walls simply be due to its superior status, architecturally? Does the projection from the north face of the gate indicate hesitation or an earlier phase incorporated into the final gate design? Might the superior finish be a result of a later smartening up of the facade?

A gate clearly existed by 1265 for the fortification to be able to resist the siege, but in 1288-9 a payment was made 'For wages of 3 men carrying stones and mortar on to the top of the gate on their backs for lack of windlasses, from Michaelmas to All Saints' day, 4 weeks and 3 days, 9s (being 8d a week each)' (Salzmann 1906, 10). In the accounts for the following year, more than 4,000 blocks of stone were acquired and there was a payment to Master Simon the Mason for building the north part of the gate £17 17s 8d (Salzmann 1906, 12; Fig 17) Interestingly, 4,000 blocks of stone appears to equate roughly with the number of stones required for the facing of the north tower, each course consisting approximately of 50 blocks. Fortunately, the north turret of the gates survives so that we can admire Master Simon's work, but unfortunately much of the south turret does not and therefore it is difficult to ascertain if there was a significant difference in the fabric of the upper parts of the two turrets.

At the level of the moat, there is an awkward relationship between the fabric of the gatehouse towers and the stonework of the east side of the base of the bridge. This block looks both to have been inserted between the two turrets of the gatehouse and at the same time cut back to accommodate the turrets. There is a reference in 1274 to the great bridge in front of the castle gate being mended and the drawbridge renewed (Salzmann 1906, 8). Despite being repaired, it appears to have been replaced in the late 1280s, but was again in need of repair in 1306 (Salzmann 1906, 10-11, 16-17).

*Fig 15: Assessing the character of the walling on the south side of the medieval castle is complicated by undergrowth and more intrusive 20th-century interventions and repairs. Nevertheless, it seems to be somewhat coarser in finish than the west and north walls of the castle (Investigator Photograph)*

*Fig 16: Despite the robbing of the good quality ashlar of the lower courses on the north side of the castle, the walling seems a little neater and more sophisticated than the south side of the castle (Investigator Photograph)*

*Fig 17: The north turret of the gate survives to a large extent and illustrates that the stonework is of superior quality to the flanking walls of the castle (Investigator Photograph)*

## The buildings of the mediaeval castle

As noted above, in 1268 Peter of Savoy died, leaving most of his possessions in England to his niece Queen Eleanor of Provence and therefore records of works at the castle begin to appear in accounts of royal finances. Documents provide greater detail about the buildings of the castle during the reign of Edward I and most of the references suggest repairs to existing buildings rather than new construction. Around the inside of the curtain wall of the mediaeval castle, there were clearly a series of buildings containing suites of rooms, a number of which were heated. There is evidence of two fireplaces in the south wall of the inner bailey, two in the west wall and three in the north wall. What is absent is evidence of any stone walls projecting from the surface of the walls of the inner bailey, suggesting that the buildings around its perimeter were predominantly timber framed. There is also no evidence where fireplaces are located of any projecting stone canopies, but flanking each of the fireplace positions are large holes where stone corbels were once located to support timber and plaster hoods (Fig 18). One corbel that may have been associated with a fireplace may survive in the north wall of the castle, in amongst the plants adorning the wall beside the east tower (Fig 19). This once common form of fire hood rarely survives in any building of status, though it can be found in later,

lower-status, vernacular houses (Wood 1985, 262). There are also a number of corbels set high up in the north and west walls suggesting that there was a wall walk around at least some of the walls of the inner bailey.

*Fig 18: One of the fireplaces in the north wall of the medieval castle shows the typical arrangement of flanking holes where corbels were located (Investigator Photograph)*

*Fig 19: This projecting stone is at the right height to be a corbel flanking a fireplace, but vigorous plant growth is obscuring its precise function and form (Investigator Photograph)*

Louis Salzmann published the royal accounts concerning Pevensey (1906) and in them can be found references to a number of buildings and chambers (see Appendix 1). Mention is made in the 1270s of stables and a barn, which were presumably outside the inner bailey. There are references to repairs to the Queen's chamber in

1273 and 1275 and in the latter year work was also carried out to the chapel and the hall (Salzmann 1906, 8). In 1276 work was carried out to the north tower, where an upper room (solar) was built and the roofs of the south tower and chapel were mended (ibid). The Queen's hall was again being repaired in 1277, but thereafter there is a gap of a decade, until a more concerted programme of repair and construction began (ibid). In 1288-9 just over £25 was spent, with £43 expended in each of the two following years, and wages were paid to a number of craftsmen, including stonemasons and carpenters (ibid, 9ff). During the first year, there appears to have been the need for extensive masonry repairs, as well as the work carried out to the gatehouse mentioned earlier, and carpenters were active preparing posts, beams, planks, etc (ibid, 10). There is also a record of paying the wages of two men to dig stones and cement from under the wall of the castle that was thrown down at the time of the war, presumably the section of the north wall of the Roman fortification (ibid, 9; Fig 20).

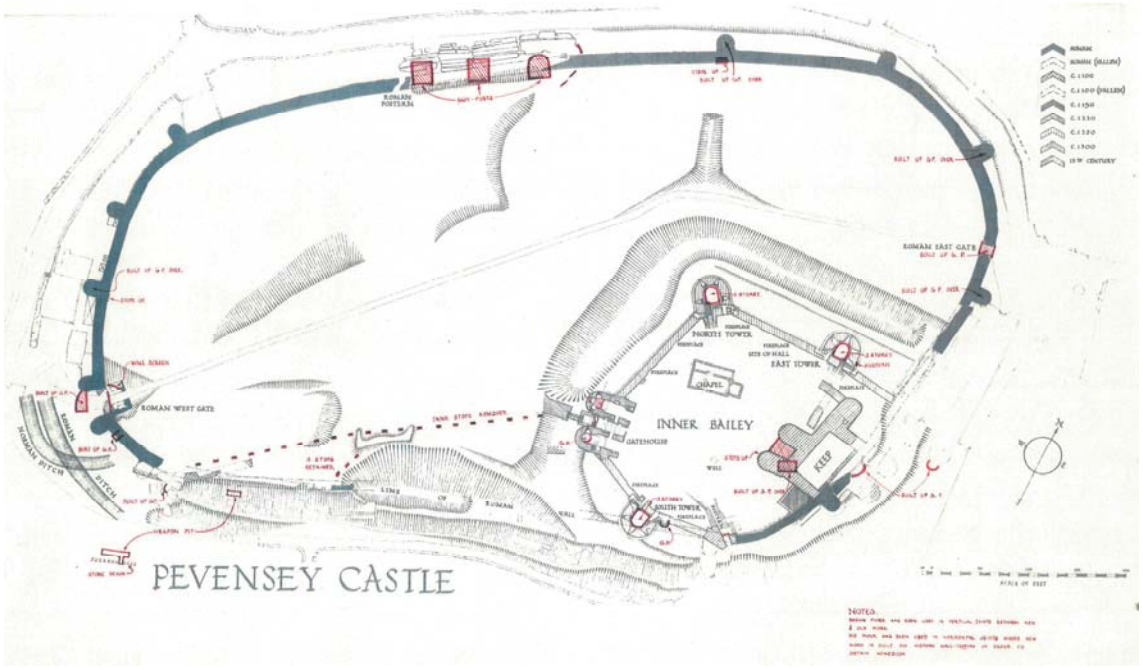



*Fig 20: Government survey of the 1940s, showing the location of gun positions and other defensive structures created during the Second World War, also shows the gap in the Roman north wall and what seems to be fallen masonry in front of the three pillboxes NMR MP/PEV0037 ©Historic England*

In 1289-90 work was being carried out on the Queen's room, including thatching it, as well as work on the hall and chapel. At the same time, the Queen's room and chapel were being insulated and the latter was also plastered (Salzmann 1906, 11). Work was also continuing on the north tower and there is also mention of the Queen's chamber, though it is unclear whether this is different to the Queen's room. Lead sheets were being placed on the western part of the great tower and other work was being carried out to the keep that involved raising joists and work to cover 'the bridge of the great tower' (ibid, 11). As mentioned above, the ashlar of the ground floor of the keep has not been robbed, due to it having been covered by an earth mound and the surviving fabric reveals no location for an entrance at ground floor level (Fig 21). Therefore, it is likely that the reference to a bridge is a stairway

up to a first-floor entrance, presumably at the west side of the keep, where the lead sheets were to be deployed. An obvious location for this entrance is between the two large turrets dominating the west side of the keep, but there are two sections of wall located to the west side of the northern end of the keep that require consideration. One wall projects 8.2m westwards from the north end of the northern bastion of the keep, while another, shorter wall, 6.1 m long, is set at an angle between the keep and the projecting wall. Both are now simply short stumps of rubble core, any ashlar having been robbed from the surface. It is not possible to posit any definite function for these walls, but it is possible that they relate to some form of stair arrangement to provide access to the upper floor of the keep. If access was via a stair, therefore there would have also had to be an internal stair of some form down to the ground floor level of the keep.

*Fig 21: The keep from the west, showing the intact ashlar on much of its ground floor and the absence of any openings (Investigator Photograph)*

As was mentioned earlier, the major activity taking place in 1289-90 appears to have been the construction of the north part of the gate, with Master Simon being paid £17 17s 8d for this work, while a further 66s was spent on battlements created above the gate (Salzmann 1906, 12). It is likely that the more than 4,000 stones acquired during the year were destined for the gate, though a further 42 blocks of Caen stone were presumably acquired to repair an existing structure, perhaps the keep (ibid).

In 1290-1 mention is made of insulating the hall and the Queen's chamber and plastering for the latter, as well as thatching its roof (Salzmann 1906, 12). Master Simon the mason was still active during the year, carrying out repairs requiring more than 500 blocks of stone, and at least some of the work appears to have been on the keep (ibid, 12-13).

The sudden cessation of this campaign of work coincided with Queen Eleanor's death in 1291, and the transfer of the castle to Edward I, but in 1301-2 work seems to have resumed. During that first year, just over £11 was spent, followed by a similar amount in 1302-3 and just over £4 in 1303-4. In the first year, repairs were taking place to the hall, 'the chambers annexed to the same', including a solar and the castle wall (Salzmann 1906, 14-15). One of the repairs being carried out was to thatch the hall where the covering of tiles was defective, but provision was also made to employ a tiler to lay 6,000 tiles on the hall roof (ibid, 15).

The omission of the qualification 'Queen's' in the 1301 document may simply be a recognition of the site now being held by the King, though Royal houses often had King's and Queen's sides or separate storeys in the case of the Great Tower at Dover Castle. The presence of seven fireplaces around the interior of the curtain wall of the inner bailey may suggest that some version of this type of duplication existed. As well as at least one hall, there were presumably a number of adjacent chambers, including one described as a solar, which seems to have been within the north tower. The buildings around the inner bailey appear to have been timber-framed and predominantly single-storeyed, according to the fireplace positions. This would have kept their ridges beneath the height of the curtain wall. There is evidence in the documents of a mixture of thatched and tiled roofs.

*Fig 22: The footings of the chapel in the centre of the medieval castle, with its chancel to the east (left), could not predate the creation of the medieval castle in the mid-13th century (Investigator Photograph)*

The castle also had a chapel. Arnold Taylor has suggested that this chapel may date from before 1066 and he has suggested that the simple footings in the centre of the mediaeval castle (Fig 22) may be remnants of this building (1985, 238-40). As mentioned above, Peter of Savoy was granted permission by Richard de Wyche, Bishop of Chichester between 1245 and 1253, to move the chapel built near the keep of Pevensey to another suitable site (Peers 1933, 6). This chapel may have been used by the townsfolk of Pevensey, as well as the castle, hence the desire to move it, but this transfer was also probably part of the programme of creating the existing mediaeval castle. The suggested pre-conquest chapel may have been near the keep, perhaps lying to the north nearer the gate of the Roman fortification and

in the way of the development of the castle. A chapel is mentioned in 1275, 1276 and again in 1289-90, references that suggest that it was a building close to the hall or Queen's hall. This is confirmed by the 1306 survey of the fabric of the castle, which mentions repairs required to 'the Queen's chamber with a chapel and other chambers annexed' (Salzmann 1906, 17). However, in 1302, financial records itemise the materials, procedures and manpower necessary to create a new timber-framed chapel (ibid, 15). It seems plausible to see this event being linked to the footings for the chapel in the centre of the castle.

In 1302 lead was obtained to repair the roof of the great tower and the tower of the granary (Salzmann 1906, 15-16). The repair work to the great tower continued in 1303 and includes a reference to removing 'all the lead over the kitchen in the great tower' to allow the replacement of joists (ibid, 16). It is unlikely that the kitchen would be on the top floor of a keep, and therefore this is probably referring to a single-storied attachment to the keep, thus meriting the description of being 'in the great tower'. In 1303 the woodwork of the gate of the outer bailey of the castle was rebuilt and money was set aside for 'repairing a piece of the wall of the inner ward of the castle towards the town of Pevensey which had fallen' (ibid). A section of the Roman curtain wall between the keep and the moat to the north of the mediaeval castle is absent today and this is presumably the section of wall that was apparently beginning to fall down (Fig 23). The quantities of lime and sand being purchased to carry out the work suggest a shorter stretch of wall was concerned, but nevertheless indicates that the collapse of this section was underway. By 1318 the breach was said to be 40 feet long, implying that the situation had worsened in just over a decade (ibid, 18).

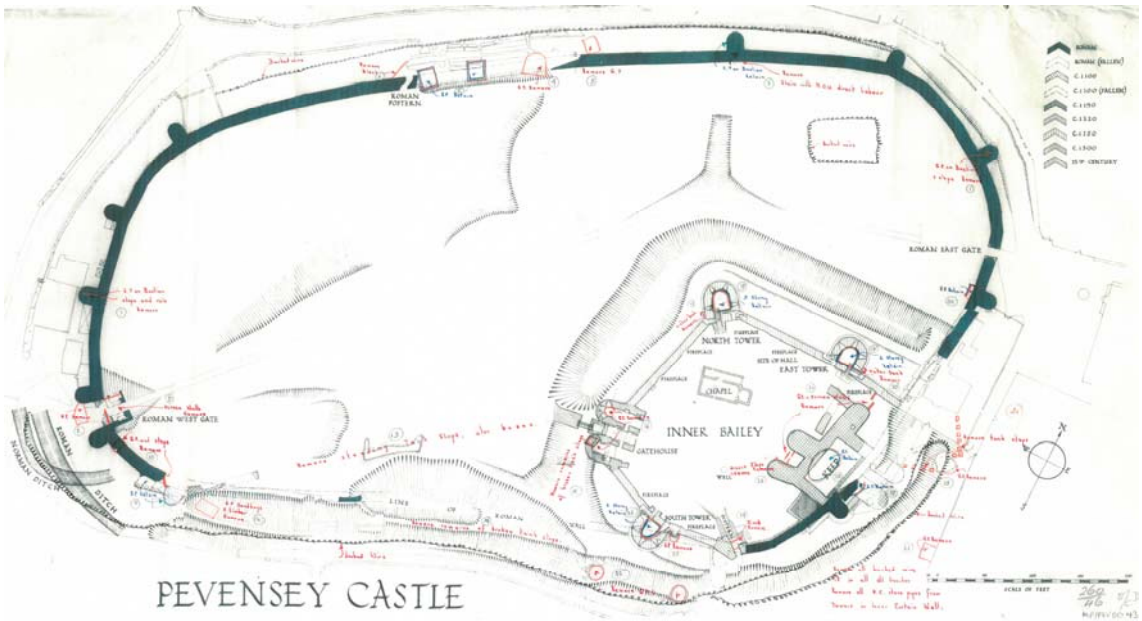



*Fig 23: 1940s plan showing some of the military defences being removed; at the east side (right) can be seen the missing section of Roman wall facing towards the village (NMR MP/PEV0043)*

## The decline of the castle

The repair programmes of the late 13th century and the first years of the 14th century were clearly insufficient to return the castle to top condition, as in 1306 it was described as being ruinous and John Abel was ordered to survey the building (Salzmann 1906, 16). Access to the castle was complicated as the bridge across the moat was said to have been broken down and its timber had been sold off. Abel then went on to list an extensive set of issues. The barn, which measured 110 feet in length and was 30 feet wide, had collapsed and its timber had been burnt, while the pigeon house had also suffered damage. The barn in the outer bailey was described in 1318 as being ruinous and that it 'used to serve to store the corn of the Manor of Pevenes' (ibid, 18). In the inner bailey, the hall with attached bed chambers required repairs in 1306 and 'the Queen's chamber with a chapel and other chambers annexed' was also in need of repair (ibid, 17). This work was expected to cost £20, but Abel expected repairs to the keep and four towers to cost an eye watering £1,000.

Nothing appears to have happened in the aftermath of the 1306 report and another was commissioned in 1318, which suggests that the castle was indefensible. It was also still difficult to access parts of the site as the steps and bridge at the entrance to the keep 'are entirely fallen down and broken' (Salzmann 1906, 18). The roof of the north tower had collapsed and fallen through the floors beneath; this was where the solar had been created in the 1270s. The breach in the east wall of the Roman fortification beside the keep seems to have worsened and many of the walls of the inner bailey lacked crenellations. A 100m gap existed in the Roman south wall and the hole in the north wall of the same fortification is also mentioned. To prepare and reinstate the walls of the outer bailey was estimated to require £1,000 of expenditure. In the aftermath of this report only a modest sum of money was earmarked for repairs but nevertheless, Edward II stayed at Pevensey between 30th August and 1st September 1324 (ibid, 19). It has been suggested that the keep was radically altered in about 1325, when its medieval eastern bastions, along with a substantial section of the adjacent Roman wall, fell down and was replaced by two new towers; this construction work would have entailed demolishing much of the upper part of the keep (Goodall 1999, 8). The dating evidence for this is uncertain, however; it would be surprising if such a potentially major piece of work did not show up in the records (see below).

A costing for works made in 1370 included repairs to 'the great bridge in the Castle' and 'another bridge before the door of the keep, and of a great steghere there entirely broken up, and of the great gate of the castle, and for the roofing of the buildings there' (Salzmann 1906, 20). The 'steghere' was translated by Salzmann as (? stairway), presumably the same structure as 'the bridge of the great tower' mentioned in 1289-90 (ibid, 11). One of the stone towers of the keep also required repairs, presumably one of the large projecting turrets (ibid, 21). The total cost of all this work appears to have been just over £650, as the final accounts say that the total expenses were £732 10s 10s and he [presumably Nicholas de Loveyne, the Constable of the castle] owes £80 9s 2d (ibid). The parlous state of the buildings at

the beginning of the 14th century had probably worsened, but despite some expenditure, it was probably insufficient to do more than limited repairs.

In 1331 the honour of Pevensey was bestowed upon Queen Philippa, the wife of Edward III, as part of her dower and the Queen obtained a lease of the castle for life. Three years after her death in 1369, the castle and honour were granted to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (Colvin 1963 **2**, 779). When faced with a possible French attack in 1377, he decided to leave the castle undefended, perhaps because he had reached a secret understanding with England's enemy (Salzmann 1906, 22). The Constable of the castle, Sir John Pelham, supported Henry Bolingbroke when he usurped the English Crown from Richard II in 1399, meaning that the increasingly decrepit castle was besieged, but not taken (Goodall 1999, 26; Sussex EUS 2008, 17). Clearly its poor state of repair did not prevent it from providing a defensible structure but in 1405 Pelham wrote to the Privy Council stating that a great part of the keep was falling down and in 1408 money was spent on repairing 'the stone bridge at the great gate of the Castle', part of the keep and 'a certain tower called Dameydeynesto[r]' (Salzmann 1906, 23). Might this reference to the dangerous state of the keep be the prelude to the collapse previously dated (Goodall 1999, 8) to around 1325? There is also reference to making a repair to 'a certain new wall between the keep and the gateway' (Salzmann 1906, 24). There is no evidence of such a wall in the inner bailey, but if 'the gateway' was not the main gate, but the east gate of the Roman fortification, this may indicate continuing concern about the collapsing Roman wall beside the keep.

*Fig 24: In the south turret of the gatehouse, the eastern room on the ground floor has bricks in the rear of its fireplace (Investigator Photograph)*

Pevensey Castle had served as a jail since the late 12th century, if not earlier, and in the 15th century hosted Royal and aristocratic prisoners. In 1405 Edward, Duke of York was confined there, while James I of Scotland arrived in the following year. Joan of Navarre was imprisoned there from 15th December 1419 to 8th March

1420 (Salzmann 1906, 24: Horrox 2004; Jones 2014). However, an inquiry in 1420 showed that the upper chamber (solarium) of the chapel in the keep (le Dongeon) of the castle was ruinous, and the wooden bridge in front of the keep was in a state of disrepair (Salzmann 1906, 24-5). Presumably this is again the 'steghere' mentioned in 1370. In 1440 repairs to the lead work of the roofs of the castle were authorised and three years later, £7 17s 3d was spent on the repair of 'a tower called le Dongeon', the chapel, royal hall, kitchen, stable and other buildings' (Salzmann 1906, 25-6). Further small repairs were authorised over the next 20 years, but it is clear that this was simply tinkering with increasingly run-down and little-used buildings. Nevertheless, on the ground floor of the main gate into the inner bailey, the rooms at the east side of the north and south turrets were both provided with fireplaces, possibly in the late 15th or 16th century. Only small parts of these fireplaces survive, but the bricks used suggest this broad time period for their creation (Figs 24 and 25).

*Fig 25: The north turret of the gatehouse also has bricks in its fireplace, though most of these have a distinctly reset quality (Investigator Photograph)*

In 1548 Pevensey Castle was still nominally a fortification and in 1573 a survey was conducted to consider whether the building was worthy of repair (Salzmann 1906, 26-7). An extensive and expensive list of repairs would be required, particularly in replacing all the lead that had been removed, and it is clear that the site was already being treated as a quarry (see Fig 16). The shape of the moat as it existed in the 19th century (see 1875 OS map) explains the pattern of robbed stonework on the outer face of the castle. The fine ashlar of the lower courses of the curtain wall survives on the west side of the castle and on part of the north tower. Thereafter, the east face of the tower and the north side of the curtain wall has had its lower courses robbed. The survival on the west side was due to the presence of the moat preventing easy access to take away the ashlar blocks (Fig 26).

*Fig 26: The robbing of the ashlar ends abruptly on the north tower because this was where the moat as it existed in the 19th century prevented access to the walls (Investigator Photograph)*

Inside the inner bailey, an earthen mound covered the keep, and this meant that its otherwise accessible, ground-floor stonework has survived reasonably intact. This mound, depicted in 18th-century engravings and removed during the early 20th century, may have been part of the preparations to resist the onslaught of the Spanish Armada (Saunders 1989, 62; Fulford and Rippon 2011, 6). An earthwork gun battery was created on the south side of the outer bailey and its form appears to be appropriate for this period (see below), but it is possible that the mound covering the keep was also used as a gun platform. Another survey was carried out in 1591 and it again painted a picture of a very dilapidated structure uneconomical to repair (Salzmann 1906, 30). In 1653, the Water Poet John Taylor wrote that:

> At Pevensey doth a ruin'd Castle stand
> And there the Norman Conqueror did land
> (Caldecott 1940, 27).

During the 18th and 19th centuries the romantic ruin attracted many antiquarians and artists. Among the dozens of published images was a bird's eye view based on a watercolour by Samuel Grimm (1733-94), which shows the earth mound covering the keep (Fig 27).

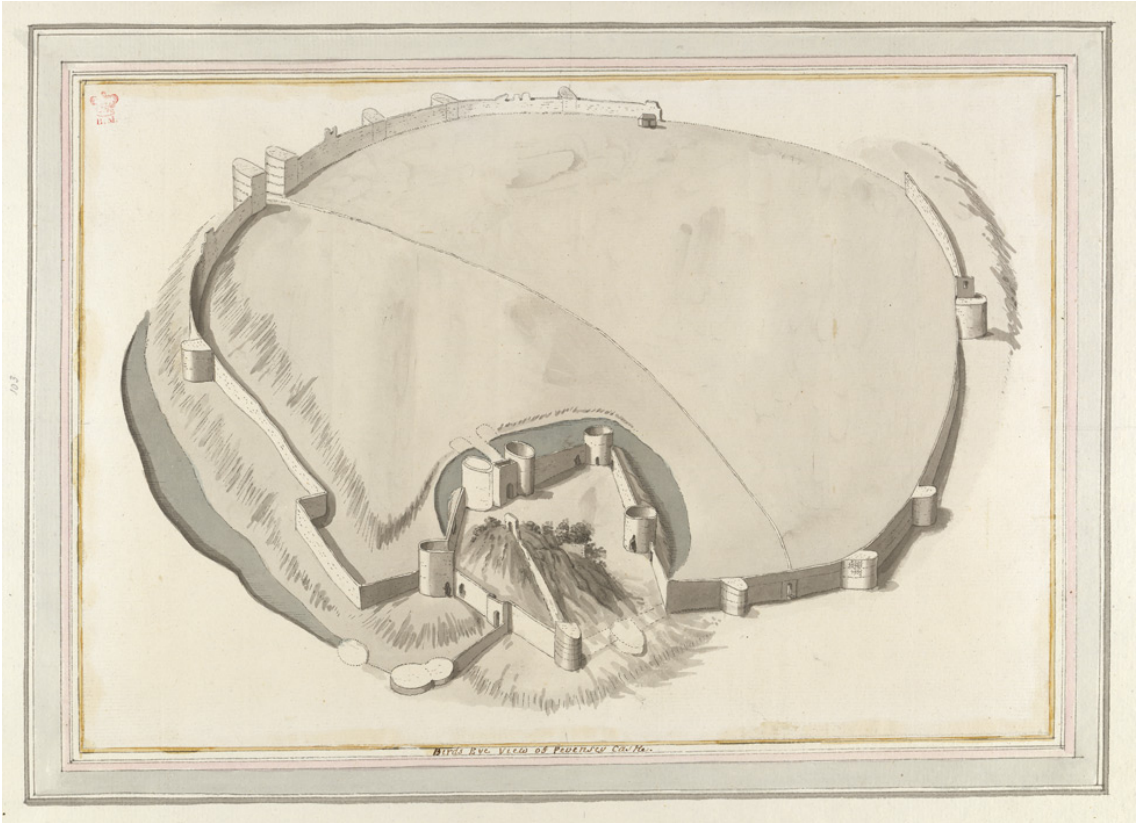


*Fig 27: The original watercolour by Grimm was used by Francis Grose in* The Antiquities of England and Wales*, which was published in 1773-87 (Wikimedia Commons)*

In June 1803 there was a proposal to create a barracks for 700 men at the castle, but this was abandoned in favour of a larger barracks nearby on the north side of Westham (Hudson 1989, 267; Sussex EUS 2008, 19; 1st edition OS Map 1813). The castle's military history did not end with the Spanish Armada; in 1940, Pevensey was once more a potential landing-place for an invasion (Goodall 1999, 28). A command and observation post was set up in the castle and the perimeter defences were refortified with pillboxes for machine-gun posts being built and a blockhouse for anti-tank weapons was constructed in the mouth of the Roman west gate. Two 5½ inch naval guns manned by 237 Coast Battery were in place by 1941 (Goodwin 1994, 23-4; Maurice-Jones 2005, 232). The towers of the inner bailey were refitted to create barracks for its garrison, which included Home Guard, British, Canadian and US Army Air Corps units. To blend the new work in with the old, but also to camouflage the new additions, these alterations were supervised by the Ministry of Works. The castle was returned to the Ministry's control in 1945 and it was decided to leave most of the recently constructed military installations in place to illustrate this important phase in the castle's history (see below).

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND INVESTIGATION OF THE OUTER BAILEY

## Description

In this report the most prominent features are described first, followed by slighter (but still significant) features, generally in an anti-clockwise direction, starting in the east. The letters and numbers assigned to features refer to their depiction in Figure 28 (inside back cover).

*Major features*

The moat (a) surrounding the towers and curtain of the inner ward was cleared out (apparently without record) by the Ministry of Works by 1936, so its current form is not of historical significance. This includes the scoop above the outer face of the moat opposite the north-west tower of the inner bailey, which is clearly in part at least related to the construction of the current public footpath through the outer bailey. However, three points should be noted: first, historic OS map evidence indicates that in the 19th century there was an oval hollow at approximately point (1) of which there is now no sign; secondly, another historic map (OS 1:10,560 1st edition) indicates that until the mid-19th century the western arm of the moat was water-filled up to the walls as far as point (2) which, as noted above, explains why the robbing of facing stones, which is such a prominent feature of the northern towers and curtain, stops at this point (see Fig 26); thirdly, slight platforms in the outer scarp of the moat at point (3) may be of significance but this remains to be discussed.

The ditch (b) is a prominent feature, 0.9m deep, again due to its treatment in the 1930s or later. A section (Trench III – Lyne 2009, 4, 61-2, fig 1) was excavated across it at point (4) in the 1930s. The ends of this trench are still visible as slight 'kicks' in the top of the ditch slopes. What seems to have happened is that at some time following this excavation a length of the ditch was 'cleared out', without record, in order to make obvious to the public what was thought to be (and may indeed be) a significant feature of the site. The pre-excavation profile of the ditch can be seen in a short length to the north, close to bastion 3. The ditch is accompanied by the very spread remains of a bank to the east, up to 0.4m high. There are also traces of what appears to be a slight counter-scarp on the west but as this is only apparent opposite the 'cleared-out' section its status is somewhat doubtful. At the southern end of the 'cleared-out' length the sides of the ditch and its accompanying bank(s) have been chiselled away to accommodate the public footpath and a concrete base for a bench. The ditch was cut through a thick deposit of clay, which Lyne thought to be derived from the digging of the moat in the 1250s, overlying early medieval and Romano-British deposits; a group of sherds from a vessel of the late 13th or early 14th century was found in the ditch fill (Lyne 2009, 61, figs 15A and 38.30).

The differing ground levels at the east and west ends of the inner bailey are hard to reconcile; the west end of the bailey is as low as about 7m OD, the east up to over 11m OD. Salzmann described how 'the high [ground] ... slopes off to the lower in a

manner suggestive of a 'tip', and excavation proved that such is its nature. All this high ground has been artificially raised since the Roman period by a 'tip' or 'dump' of clay' (1908, 107); subsequent work has modified this view slightly – not *all* the high ground is artificially raised. The evidence of Trench XIII, dug in 1936-7 (c – Lyne 2009, 4, 33-5, figs 1, 12 and 13) suggests a build-up here of approximately 2.8m of material between the construction of the Roman fort and the high medieval period. There is no doubt that there is a spine or ridge of higher ground running from south-west to north-east through the centre of the bailey and rising to the east but the scarps defining it (d, d) and (e) are not, for the most part, natural slopes; they appear to be quarried faces, the edges of hollow ways, the edges of dumps as proposed by Salzmann, or at least modified – steepened – slopes. If any of them are in fact quarried they are presumably cut into natural deposits, not the cultural deposits suggested to be behind Trench XIII and seen in Trench III. Further east the excavated evidence suggests that Roman levels are only just below the surface and therefore that the natural ground surface is higher. The best defined of the possible hollow ways, up to 0.7m deep, at point (5), seems to mark a direct route from the west gate to the inner bailey gatehouse, or a point just north of it.

An earthwork (f), only about 0.4m high but sharply defined, on the lip of the southern scarp (g) edging the outer bailey, has long been recognised and interpreted as a gun battery from the time of the Spanish Armada, when two guns are known to have been deployed at Pevensey (Goodall 2016, 12, 27). In form and scale this earthwork resembles gun batteries – particularly Pellew's Redoubt on St Mary's and Carn of Works on The Gugh – on the Isles of Scilly, which are traditionally thought to be of the Civil War period and must be of 16th, 17th or early 18th-century date (Bowden and Brodie 2011, 23-4, fig 26; Bowden 2011, 3, 32-3, figs 2 and 17, pl 25), though they are rather more complete. It is therefore very likely that this earthwork is indeed a gun battery of 16th-century or later date.

The large scarp (g, g), up to 7.3m high, that now marks the southern edge of the outer bailey is probably the result of coastal erosion that has undermined and removed the Roman fort wall. This probably occurred largely before the Norman Conquest (see architectural report above). The scarp was not examined in detail due to the state of vegetation over much of it (and strictly being outside the scope of the project). However, the length at point (6) is of particular interest; here, what appears superficially to be a ditch or quarry, more-or-less on the projected line of the Roman wall, is probably the result of a rotational landslide. Its outer face is made up of an irregular bank that may consist of rotated blocks of failed material and tumbled blocks of Roman masonry that have been overgrown and partly covered with soil, though it should be noted that an MoW plan (HE Archive MP/PEV0003 1946) shows a modern wall along the top of this section.

A deep, narrow ditch with sharply defined sides (h) lies south of the bridge to the inner bailey, extending the line of the moat. This is apparently the result of 'exploration' by BW Pearce in 1939 'when he cleaned out the whole of the southern end of the moat' (Lyne 2009, 4). Whether this 'cleaning out' accounts for other earthworks in this area, such as the slight oval mound to its east, is not clear. How it relates to the actuality of the medieval topography is also not clear, though apparently Pearce did record some section drawings (Lyne 2009, 56). A previous

excavation (Trench X), started by Frank Cottrill but completed by Pearce, revealed what was said to be the dam retaining water in the moat (Lyne 2009, 4, 55-6, figs 1 and 18). There is some doubt about the position of this trench; Lyne's fig 1 and derived plans (e.g. that in Goodall 2016) place it 10-15m south of the bridge but in his text account Lyne states that it was 30m south of the bridge (2009, 55). If the plan location is correct it was at about the position of the northern terminal of ditch (**h**) but there is no sign of this trench or the dam on the surface now, at this location or elsewhere. The dam was built of flints in mortar and 'gravelly concrete'; it was 2.25m thick, 8.7m long and had a breach in the centre; the breach may have been made as early as 1280 when there is a documentary reference to breaking 'through the head of the castle ditch to let the water out' (Lyne 2009, 55-6). Ditch (**h**) is now blocked to the south at point (**7**), approximately 37m south of the bridge, by a mass of masonry that is currently covered in brambles and other vegetation so that its nature is not clear, though it is possibly a fallen block of Roman masonry.

*Slighter features*

For much of the circuit of the Roman walls there is a very slight, spread scarp (**j**, **j**, **j**), up to nearly 1m high in places, facing into the interior. This probably represents a combination of the accumulation of material fallen from the walls and the erosive effect of people walking around the circumference of the open space afforded by the fort's interior.

Immediately inside the east gate scarps on either side of the footpath show the approximate position of the excavation of Trench EG and adjacent trenches in 1936 (Lyne 2009, 2, fig 1). To the west of this a very slight scarp (**k**), 0.3m high, indicates levelling up for the footpath. A slight rectangular extension of its top at point (**8**) is in approximately the position of Trench XI, dug to trace the line of a small medieval ditch (Lyne 2009, 4, 57, fig 1). Whether this slight divot represents that small trench it is impossible to say for certain; none of the other small trenches that were dug in this area appear to be visible on the surface but they are visible on historic aerial photographs (see aerial report below). The ditch excavated in Trench XI and adjacent trenches has been dated to later than the Middle Saxon period but before 1100 – Lyne suggests that it is of the Conquest period but admits that it 'could be described as a weak defensive work' (2009, 57-8, figs 11D and 15C).

To the south of the footpath a faint rise in the ground surface (**m**) may be the remains of spoil, perhaps material excavated from the moat before being removed from site, for instance. This feature is too slight to be surveyed, apart from a faint suggestion of a scarp marking its north-eastern corner.

In area (**n**) are a number of slight earthworks apparently laid out approximately parallel to, or at right angles to, ditch (**b**). These include banks and scarps, some of which define level areas that could be interpreted as building platforms (**9**, **10**, **11**), though they are by no means clear; historic aerial photographs show that excavation spoil was extensively dumped in this area in 1936 (see aerial report below, Fig 34). A strongly defined gully or small ditch (**12**), 0.3m deep, to the south also shares the alignment of these earthworks; lidar shows this feature extending slightly further to the north than was apparent on the ground. Interestingly this

gully appears to be cut by the castle moat, which would suggest that it is a relatively early feature, but it is possible that it is only cut by the 20th-century re-modelling of the moat.

Lidar shows clearly a straight, narrow negative feature passing through area (**n**), aligned almost precisely east – west and cutting all other features. This is almost certainly the cut for a water pipe to the livestock drinking trough near the north wall of the fort. It was only seen clearly on the ground where it cut through a low bank at point (**13**) but it is also visible distorting two further scarps to the west. The upper of these scarps is the major feature (**d**). The lower one is a well-formed scarp (**p**), up to about 0.3m high. To the south-west of the point where it is cut by the water pipe (**p**) is much less well-formed and curves gently to the west. There are some other slight earthworks apparent in the area defined by the foot of this scarp but only one slight scarp could be surveyed. This area is occupied by the livestock drinking trough and historic OS mapping shows a building at this location (all editions from 1875 to 1927) which Salzmann mentions as a cattle shed (1908, 99).

Further to the west a series of narrow linear negative features could be seen cutting through scarp (**d**) and crossing the lower ground. These are almost but not precisely parallel to each other and approximately parallel to the main banks in area (**n**). One, at point (**14**), has a penumbra of spoil around its upper terminal, confirming that it is an excavated feature. They are, partly at least, traces of Salzmann's excavation trenches from 1906-7; the earthwork at (**14**), for instance, is the head of his Trench 4 (1908, pl 9); some of his other trenches can be seen on the historic aerial photography and lidar (see aerial report below). Lidar suggests the possibility of a rectangular platform immediately to the south-west of (**14**) and this is possibly confirmed by a spur-like scarp projecting from the top of (**d**), though this may also be the result of Salzmann's trenching.

A slight scarp (**q**) appears to be another of these features but during survey it seemed to be one side of a wider depression; this could not be satisfactorily resolved in the field and the other side was not surveyed. However, lidar images (in this case most clearly shown in the slope gradient visualisation) confirm that it is one side of a very shallow sub-rectangular or irregularly-shaped depression. This equates to part of Salzmann's Trenches II and VII from his 1907-8 season; it is here that he found a Roman timber-lined well and a 12th-century sand pit (1909, 84-6; Dunning 1958).

There is a low, sub-circular mound (**r**) about 0.3m high, apparently the only feature of its kind on the site, though lidar seems to show another, similar but lower, mound immediately to its north. Salzmann shows mound (**r**) on his 1907-8 excavation plan and he drove his Trench VI through the middle of it (1909, pl 6) but he does not mention it in his text. Due south of (**r**) is a small but distinct hollow (**s**), no more than 0.2m deep. This could possibly be Salzmann's Trench VIII or IX but it doesn't seem to be quite in the planned position of either (ibid) and it might be the result of military activity in 1940 or other disturbance.

At the west gate excavation Trenches IV and V (Lyne 2009, 19-22, fig 7) have been left open, the sharply defined scarps marking their north-eastern edges cutting

through the sides of an earlier but undated hollow way entering the bailey through the gate.

At (t) there is a mound behind a displaced length of Roman walling, probably representing fallen material; it is up to 0.6m high. Excavation Trenches 1, 2 and 3 were dug in this area in 1932 with the aim of finding the line of a Norman defensive wall (Lyne 2009, 1, fig 1) but have left no clear trace. In contrast a clear elongated hollow near the south-east corner of scarp (e) at point (15) is almost certainly part of Trench 4 of the same series, though slightly misplaced from its position on Lyne's plan (2009, fig 1).

A low but well-defined bank (u) runs along the lip of the big scarp (g) to the east of bastion 9. This looks like a wall footing, though it was covered by nettles at the time of survey, and is possibly the remains of the Roman fort wall as it appears to be precisely on the projected line; however, the MoW plan (MP/PEV0003 1946) shows a modern wall here. The interior of the bailey behind (u) and between (e) and (t) is slightly hollowed but this may be part of the natural landform.

A large low semi-circular mound, up to 0.6m high, at (v) does not seem to have been noticed before. It has considerable bulk, best appreciated from the north where it can be seen standing proud above the general ground level, but it is spread so as to be barely visible on lidar – though it can be seen on the 16-direction DSM image. Its interior, to the east, is hollowed. Ground survey was hampered by particularly long grass and nettles – the feature looks more regular on lidar than it does on the ground survey plan. This mound is at the west end of the bridge to the inner bailey, immediately opposite the gatehouse. Two possible interpretations can be considered: either it is the remains of a spoilheap of material dumped from 'clearing' the inner bailey before being removed from site in the 1930s; or it is the remains of a barbican. Trenches XD and XA are the only recorded excavations in this area and neither throws any light on this question (but see below); they were dug to explore 'a late 11th century turf rampart and associated defensive ditch' (Lyne 2009, 4, 46-7, figs 1 and 14) which is not currently apparent on the surface. Trenches XACB and E may be adjacent to the current fence, where a path to the west of the fence is eroding the shoulder of the main scarp (g).

This aspect of the project excluded the inner bailey, as it was thought that disturbance of the ground surface there by the MoW in the early 20th century would render any earthwork survey pointless. This is almost certainly correct. Nevertheless it is perhaps important to mention one significant earthwork that existed in the inner bailey but which has gone apparently without trace and without adequate record – the mound that partly covered the keep, mentioned above in the architectural report. Reading University did uncover a deposit of yellow clay on top of the sequence in their Trenches 1 and 2, which they believed to be the last remnant of this mound (Fulford and Rippon 2011, 31, figs 2.1 and2.5) but nothing else remains.

## Further remarks on the earthwork remains

A few further points can be made regarding the archaeological earthwork remains. First is the observation that 'clearance' by the MoW in the early 20th century has been little short of disastrous for understanding the earthwork evidence at Pevensey. Slight reports on the work undertaken (e.g. *Sussex Archaeol Coll* 70, 1929, 218; *The Times*, 23rd August 1930, 13) only suggest how much was lost.

Possibly the most interesting point to come out of the earthwork survey is the recognition of mound (v). As mentioned, the trenches dug on or close to the southern flank of this feature do not shed much light on its interpretation, unless layers 7, 8 and 9 in Trench XD (Lyne 2009, fig 14B, 47) represent deliberate levelling up and layer 4 (not discussed by Lyne) is a significant structural deposit – it appears to include fairly large blocks of masonry. Lyne thought that layer 7 was derived from the digging of the moat, which he dated to 1250-4. This would be consistent with mound (v) being a barbican but it is not conclusive. A previous 'opening' in this location had been made by Roach Smith and Lower, who found 'a bed of sandstone chippings' (Lower 1853, 276 – marked '*g*' on their plan – see front cover image).

The ditches in the outer bailey, that at (b) and the one to its east that is not visible on the surface, are of considerable interest. Lyne's dating of these, which seems to be secure, has been accepted for the purposes of this report. The slighter eastern ditch may well represent the defensive work created at the time of the Hastings campaign in 1066. Our suggestion (see architectural report above) that it cut off the end of the Roman fort, to the position of bastion 10 on the south, seems plausible. It would encompass a relatively small narrow area, suitable for the presumably small force that William left at Pevensey to guard his ships. However, it is impossible to believe that such a relatively slight ditch continued to function as a defensive perimeter for any length of time. It could be argued that ditch (b) replaced it. However, if ditch (b) was not constructed before *c*1250 there must be another, intervening defensive work not yet discovered. Perhaps the most likely position for this is along the line now occupied by the moat and curtain wall of the inner bailey but this will be forever incapable of proof if it has been entirely destroyed by the later works.

It is not possible to say anything more about the other earthworks in the outer bailey. Unfortunately it has not been possible to locate the site of the barn mentioned in the early 14th century, that measured 110ft by 30ft [33.5mx 9m] (see above). The clay mound within the inner bailey will be discussed further below.

# AERIAL INVESTIGATION AND MAPPING OF PEVENSEY CASTLE AND ITS ENVIRONS

The aim of the aerial assessment was to provide a specialist survey of Pevensey Castle from aerial photographs. Specific objectives were to:

- investigate the historical aerial photographic evidence for the castle's immediate hinterland;
- provide a record of the Second World War activities and alterations to the castle.

The project area encompassed the remains of Pevensey fort and the immediate area beyond the castle walls including the village and surrounding fields (Fig 29).

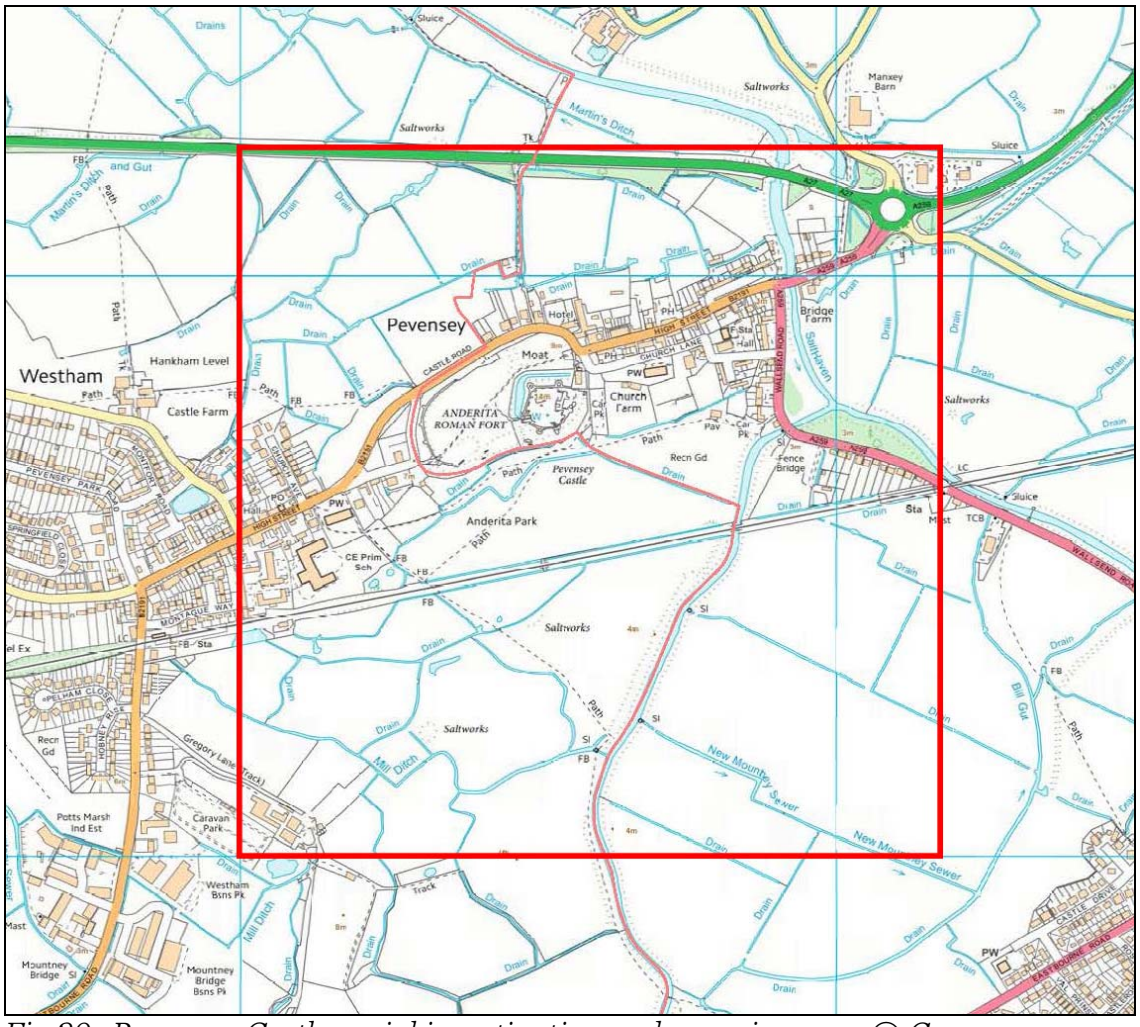



*Fig 29: Pevensey Castle aerial investigation and mapping area © Crown Copyright and database right 2018. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088*

*1931*

The earliest aerial images of Pevensey Castle held in the Historic England Archive are a set of four low level oblique photographs taken by Aerofilms Ltd on 25th May 1931. The four photographs are taken from differing directions recording the castle within its landscape, surrounded on three sides by low-lying former marshland, with the present-day seashore over a mile to the south. One view is taken from the south-west showing the eastern half of the Roman fort and the entire medieval castle and village surrounded by the low-lying fields of former marsh (Fig 30). A second image is taken from further west, looking over Westham and the railway line to the castle and Pevensey village in the distance (Fig 31).

*Fig 30: Aerofilms photograph, 25-May-1931, looking north-east across the eastern end of the castle and Pevensey village; scaffolding is visible on the north tower and the moat ditch is newly cleaned AFL19310525 EPW035326 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

Another photograph shows the eastern end of the castle and part of Pevensey village with the flat reclaimed fields extending to the sea just over a mile to the south (Fig 32). The remains of five early 19th-century Martello towers can be seen in a line in the far distance, close to the present shore. A wider view taken from the north-west shows the Roman fort and medieval castle, the village and the sea in the distance (Fig 33).

*Fig 31: View from south-west looking along the ridge of higher ground surrounded on three sides by low-lying reclaimed marsh. Westham village and railway station are in the foreground, Pevensey Castle and village lie beyond AFL19310525 EPW035327 25-MAY-1931 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

The work undertaken by the MoW after the castle came into state guardianship in 1925 entailed repair to the medieval towers and curtain wall, clearing and re-damming the castle moat. It also involved removal of the mound of clay which partly sealed the remains of the Norman keep. The Aerofilms photographs from 1931 clearly show consolidation work under way (see Fig 30; Fig 34). The north-west tower of the inner bailey is still encased in scaffolding and the ruins of the keep have been exposed. The bare soil around the castle moat suggests that it had recently been cleared. It is already holding water around the northern and western sides. There is widespread evidence of on-going clearing and building works and what appear to be piles of newly excavated material on the north side of the path within the outer bailey, presumably removed from the ditch and keep.

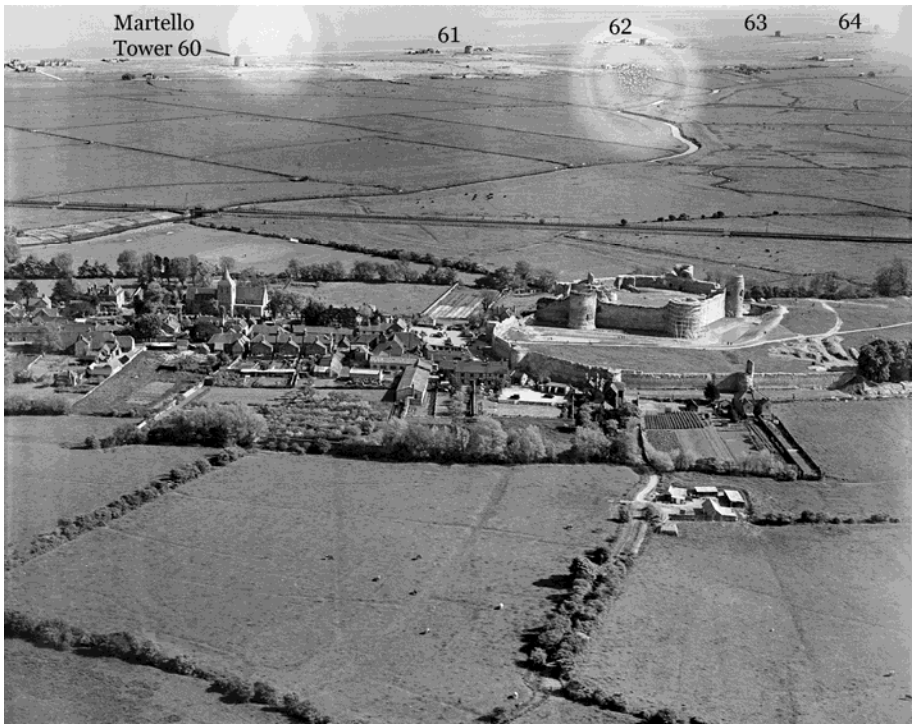



*Fig 32: View across Pevensey looking south to the coast, showing five early 19th-century Martello towers, 60-64 AFL19310525 EPW035325 25-MAY-1931 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 33: Looking south-east towards the coast AFL19310525 EPW035328 25-MAY-1931 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 34: Extract from Fig 32, looking south, showing the north tower encased in scaffolding and piles of excavated material dumped on the near-side of the path through the bailey (to the right of the castle) ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*1936*

Pevensey was revisited by Aerofilms in July 1936, taking a series of low-level oblique photographs of the castle and village. By this time the programme of restoration appears to be complete. The castle ditch is now completely refilled with water and much of the disturbed ground repaired. The bailey is being grazed by cattle and visitors walk amongst the ruins of the keep and around the bailey (Fig 35).

There is still some of the excavated material present in the northern part of the outer bailey and there also appear to be on-going excavations at various locations. These were probably those carried out by Frank Cottrill, who excavated for eight months in 1936 (Collingwood 1937, 245) under the supervision of J P Bushe-Fox for the MoW (Lyne 2009, 1).

One of these trenches cuts across the ditch that heads south from bastion 3 of the Roman wall (Figs 35 and 36). There is a line of spoilheaps along a series of small excavation trenches extending north from the path to a point between bastions 1 and 2 (exposing an 11th-century ditch, but which also identified a Roman building (Lyne 2009, 4)). There are also two excavation trenches, one on either side of the Roman East Gate, both with visible piles of upcast spoil (Fig 36). These trenches identified 4th and 5th century Roman road surfaces, flanked by traces of Roman buildings and overlain by a medieval cobbled road (Lyne 2009, 4). There are further excavations underway on the south side of the West Gate of the Roman fort where the Roman defensive ditch is crossed by the later Norman ditch (Fig 37).

*Fig 35: Aerofilms photograph, July 1936, looking east AFL193607 EPW051349 JULY 1936 © Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

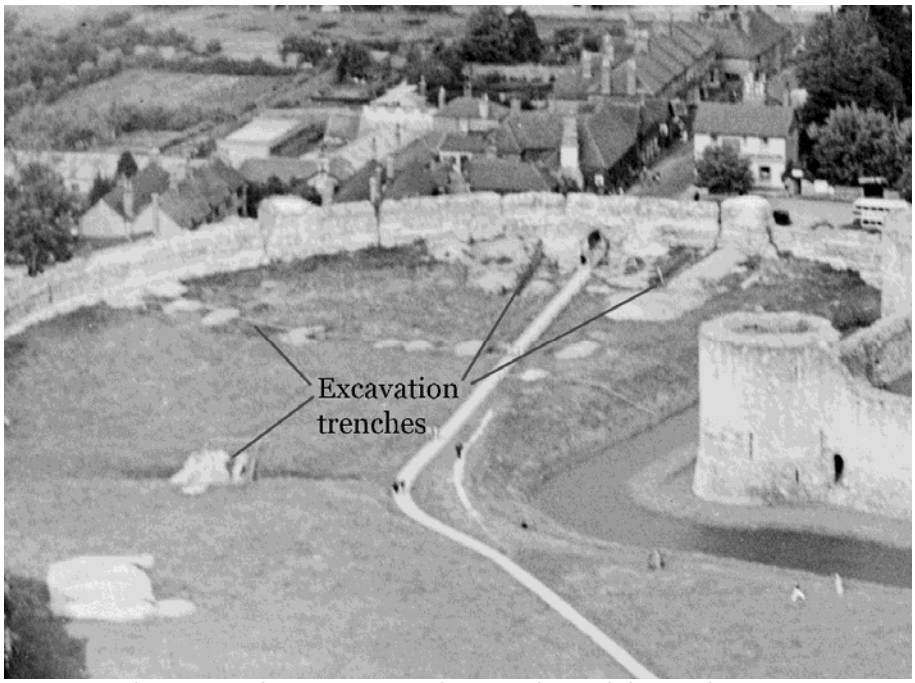



*Fig 36: Extract of Fig 35, showing trenches and spoil from the programme of excavations undertaken by Frank Cottrill in 1936 within the east gate of Pevensey Castle © Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*


*Fig 37: Second extract from Fig 35, illustrating the excavations carried out by Frank Cottrill outside the Roman West Gate. AFL193607 EPW051349 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

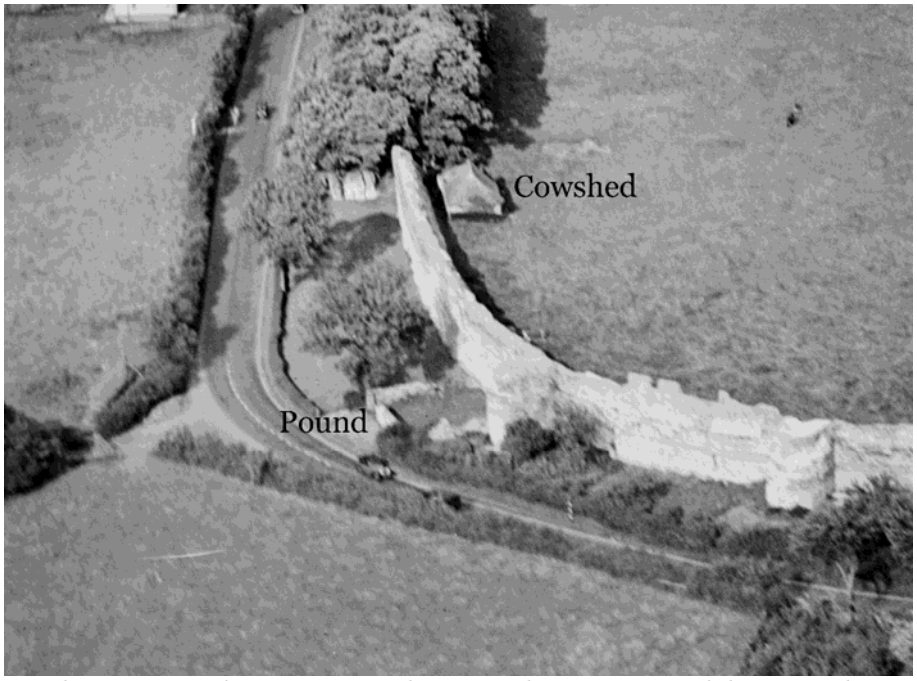



*Fig 38: Further extract from Fig 35, showing the remains of the pound attached to the outside of the Roman wall and bastion 4, and the cowshed within the castle walls AFL193607 EPW051349 Jul-1936 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

The 1936 Aerofilms photographs record the cattle shed inside the Roman wall, just west of the northern postern gate (Fig 38). This is mentioned in passing by Salzmann (1908, 99) in relation to nearby excavations at the north postern gate

undertaken in 1906-7, and is marked as Cow Lodge on the accompanying plan on p105 of the same article. The same photograph records the low walls of what remains of a square pound built against the outside of the Roman wall abutting the eastern side of bastion 4. Aerial photographs show that the pound was removed at some point between 1940 and 1948.


*Fig 39: Archaeological remains transcribed from aerial photographs (green- ditch, red- bank), including earthworks and some buried remains seen as cropmarks, overlaid on the 1940 aerial photograph ©Historic England RAF/26C/UK/1442 1578 21-AUG-1940 Historic England RAF Photography*

In addition to the masonry remains, there is evidence of a number of hollows, mounds and ditches seen as slight earthworks or cropmarks within the outer bailey (Fig 39). These can be compared with Salzmann's plan of his trenches dug between 1906 and 1908 in the northern half of the Roman fort (Fig 40).

The buried remains of excavation trench X on Salzmann's plan can be seen as a cropmark on 1940s aerial photographs (see Fig 39 and feature **q**, archaeological report, above). The shaft of a timber-lined Roman well 3.4m (11 feet) deep was uncovered during these excavations within trench X (Salzmann 1909, 85-7). Salzmann's mound XI is marked D on Figs 39 and 40 (see feature **r** of archaeological survey). Hollows A and B are visible on recent Environment Agency lidar and correspond directly to areas VII, IV and X on Salzmann's plan. There are cropmarks of buried long cut features that do not correspond with Salzmann's plans and these could be the remains of post-Roman and medieval occupation within the outer bailey. Salzmann's and Cottrill's excavations located extensive remains of the Roman occupation but much of this lies buried beneath later clayey deposits of

considerable depth across the site (Johnson 1976, 59), too deeply buried to appear as cropmarks.

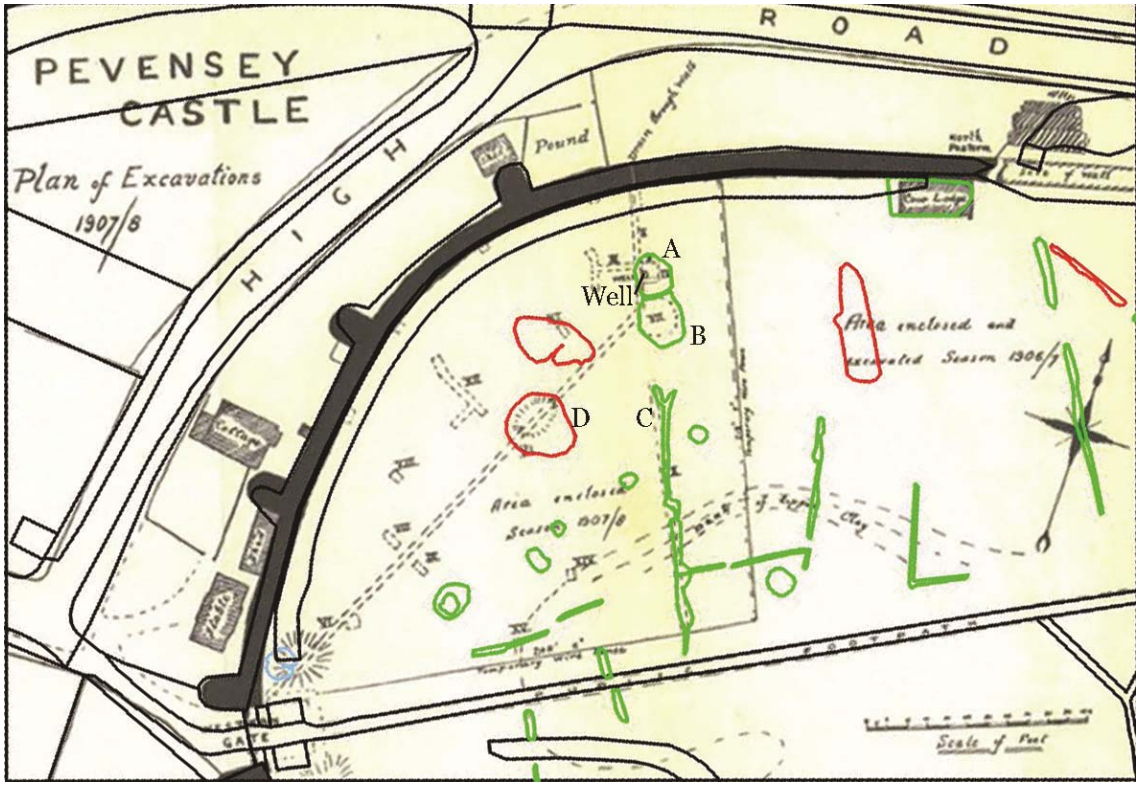



*Fig 40: Extract of aerial mapping ©Historic England, overlaid on the plan of excavations undertaken by L. Salzmann, 1907-8 (Salzmann 1909, 100)*

## The Second World War

Within months of the outbreak of the Second World War, Pevensey Castle was transformed to an active military site. Following the fall of France in 1940 Britain was prepared for imminent invasion (Peers 1985, 12). Anti-invasion defences were rapidly thrown up along the southern and eastern coast of England. Potential landing points were identified and fortified. Pevensey Castle, located just over a mile from the sea across low-lying ground, was secured to prevent it being taken during an invasion.

In May 1940 Pevensey Castle was converted for modern military purposes under the direction of the MoW. It became an observation and command post. Machine gun emplacements were constructed within the towers and walls of the medieval castle and keep, in the bastions of the Roman wall and amongst fallen fragments of wall (Peers 1985, 12). Great care was taken to camouflage the new defences to make them blend into the old fabric of the castle. Three pillboxes were constructed in the breach in the northern Roman wall adjacent to the road, but all are concealed by trees on all aerial photographs.

Both main entrances to the castle were blocked to impede access by large vehicles or tanks. The east gate was blocked with staggered reinforced screen walls (obscured

by the gateway so not visible from above). However, the defences on the west gate can be seen on aerial photographs and comprised a protruding blockhouse for anti-tank weapons (Peers 1985, 12) added to the outside of the northern gate bastion and an opposing obstruction on the southern side within the gateway (see Figs 42 and 44 below). Also visible is the screen wall constructed to fill the missing northern wall of the gatehouse to complete the gate defences (Peers 1985, 12). The medieval southern postern gate was blocked and the Roman northern postern guarded with one of a line of three pillboxes placed in the breach in the northern wall amongst the fallen Roman masonry.

The medieval towers were converted to provide troop quarters, continuously occupied by the army and Home Guard until 1944. The regular troops quartered here included Canadians and the US Army Air Corps, who used the castle as a radio direction centre from early 1944 (Peers 1985, 12).

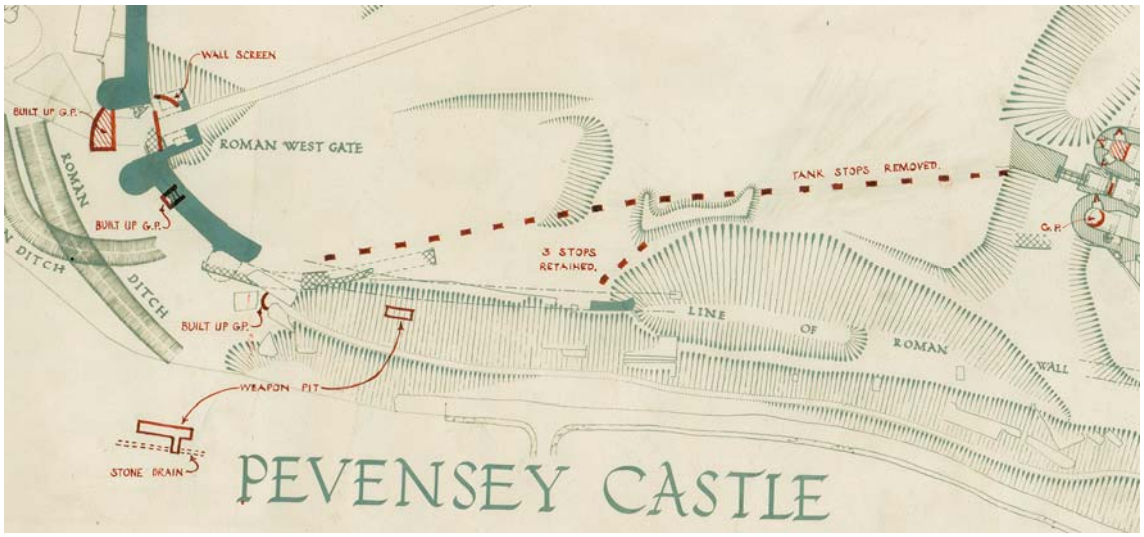



*Fig 41: Detail of Fig 20, late 1930s-mid-1940s Ministry of Works plan of Pevensey Castle detailing the defences to be inserted into the castle fabric ©Historic England Archive*

The wartime enhancements to the castle were recorded by the MoW on a map of the castle which annotated the location and form of the planned gun emplacements, reinforcements and adaptations such as stairways for access. This plan (Fig 41) records the line of anti-tank cubes along the southern side of the outer bailey, but shows them arranged in a single straight line from the gatehouse bridge in the east to the break in the castle wall to the south-east of the Roman west gate, with a further row of three cubes to the south. It is not clear when this and a later plan detailing the removal of the wartime insertions were drawn up. There are discrepancies between the depicted and the actual structures but whether this is due to changes to the original plans is not known. However, the annotation 'TANK STOPS REMOVED' suggests that this plan was drawn up retrospectively following the removal of the initial alignment of anti-tank cubes.

Throughout the war the RAF carried out a series of reconnaissance surveys, photographing much of the country to provide a mosaic of vertical aerial

photographs. During the months of June and August of 1940 the RAF flew reconnaissance sorties over the south coast which included Pevensey, providing the first aerial photographic record of the wartime military activity in and around the castle.

*July 1940*

The first set of photographs that cover the castle and surrounding village were taken on 29th July 1940. These were high-altitude verticals at a scale of 1: 9000-13500, making it difficult to discern finer details and smaller structures. However, it is possible to make out obstructions along the southern edge of the Roman fort (Fig 42). The castle defences were at their weakest at this point where the Roman walls are missing. Therefore, a line of anti-tank cubes formed an obstruction above the outer ditch, along the southern edge of the Roman fort.

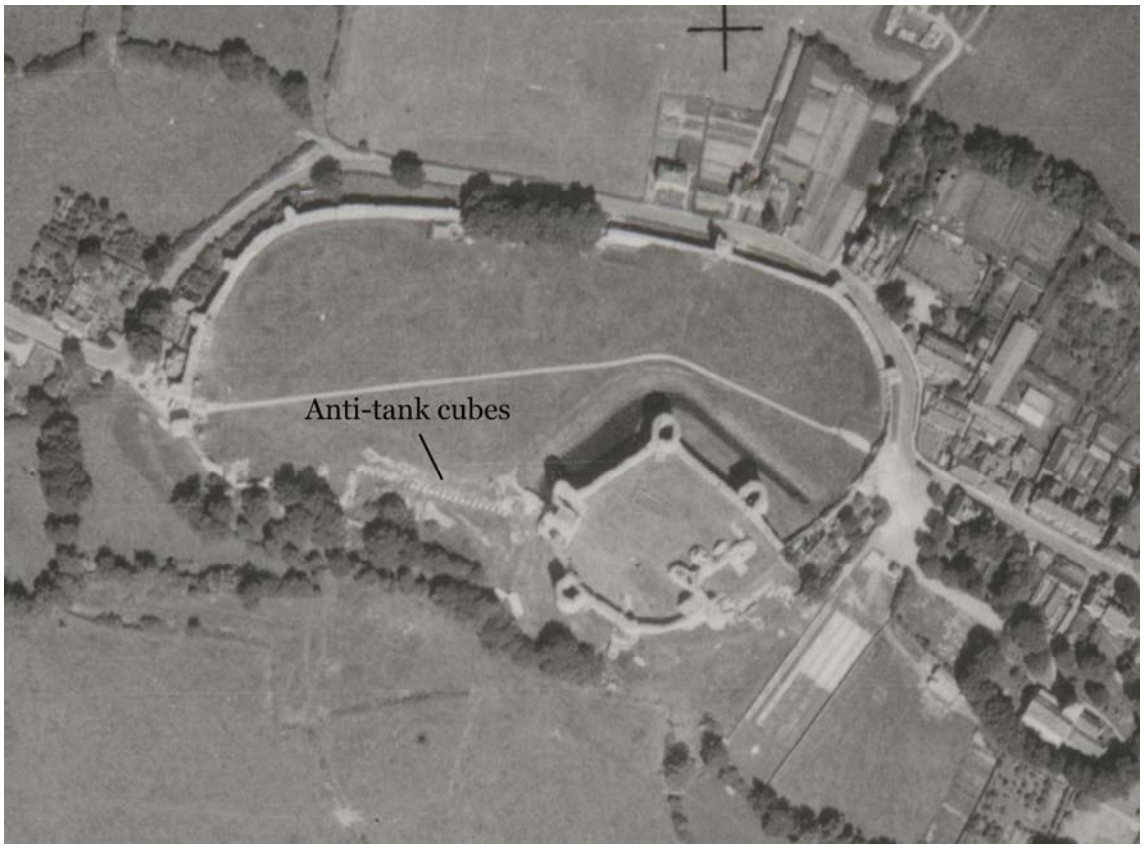



*Fig 42: Extract of a high-altitude vertical RAF photograph of Pevensey showing traces of anti-tank cubes on the southern side of the outer bailey RAF/26J/UK/1058 6 29-JUN-1940 Historic England RAF Photography*

Three cubes were placed to the south of the bridge across the castle moat and approximately 21 further cubes formed a line extending westwards for 60m. Seventeen of these cubes are definitely extant as they cast shadows, but the western eight or so are less clear and may only be the bases. The line then turned south for 12m, comprising around five further cubes or bases for cubes before it turned west again for 35m to join up with the surviving standing Roman wall.

A line of four anti-tank cubes is also in place across the end of the castle ditch to the east of the keep and the two staggered concrete anti-tank obstructions in the west gate can be seen in place. No further details of the other works being undertaken can be discerned from these photographs, apart from the presence of two bell tents flanking the inside of the Roman west gate and a profusion of white patches presumably from the mixing, construction and possibly removal of concrete structures.

Outside the castle, in the village of Pevensey and beyond Pevensey Bridge to the east, further anti-tank cubes form a heavily defended road block across the road to Bexhill. Concrete blocks also enclosed Bridge Farm to the south of the road on the eastern side of Pevensey Haven (Fig 43).

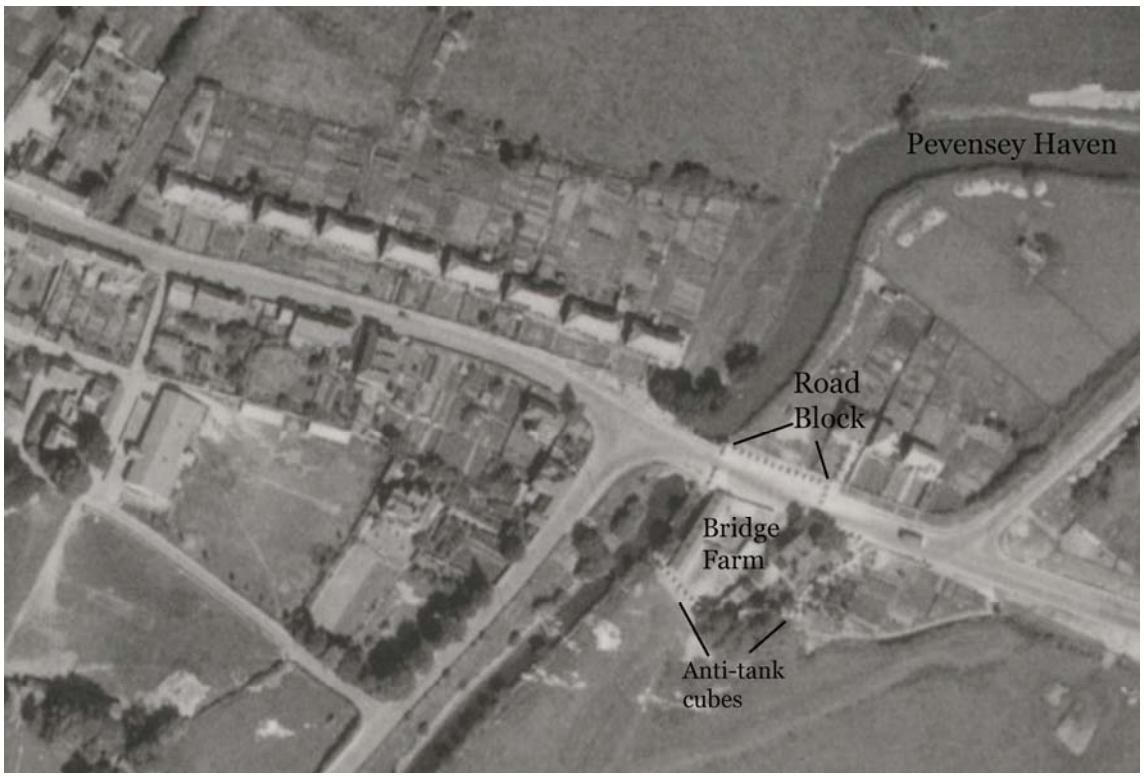



*Fig 43: Extract of RAF photograph showing the road block and defended area at Pevensey Bridge and Bridge Farm RAF/26J/UK/1058/VC 6 29-JUL-1940 Historic England RAF Photography*

*August 1940*

The castle was photographed on 21st August 1940, with three vertical runs taken from a lower altitude. These provided larger scale aerial photographs than those taken in July and more detail is visible. There is evidence on these photographs of a lot of activity at the castle. The entire site is criss-crossed with paths and littered with pale patches, possibly piles of building material. These photographs clearly show that the line of anti-tank cubes placed on the southern side of the outer bailey had been removed. Their former position is indicated by two-dimensional square marks of the bases amongst a spread of pulverised concrete. As noted, the earlier photographs taken in July, though smaller-scale, did indicate that only half of the

anti-tank cubes were extant and casting a shadow. This suggests that their removal was already under way. The cubes appear to have been broken up and the remains tipped into the ditch below. Only four cubes at the western end of the line remained in August 1940, either left or put in place as a result of a secondary phase or plan (Fig 44).

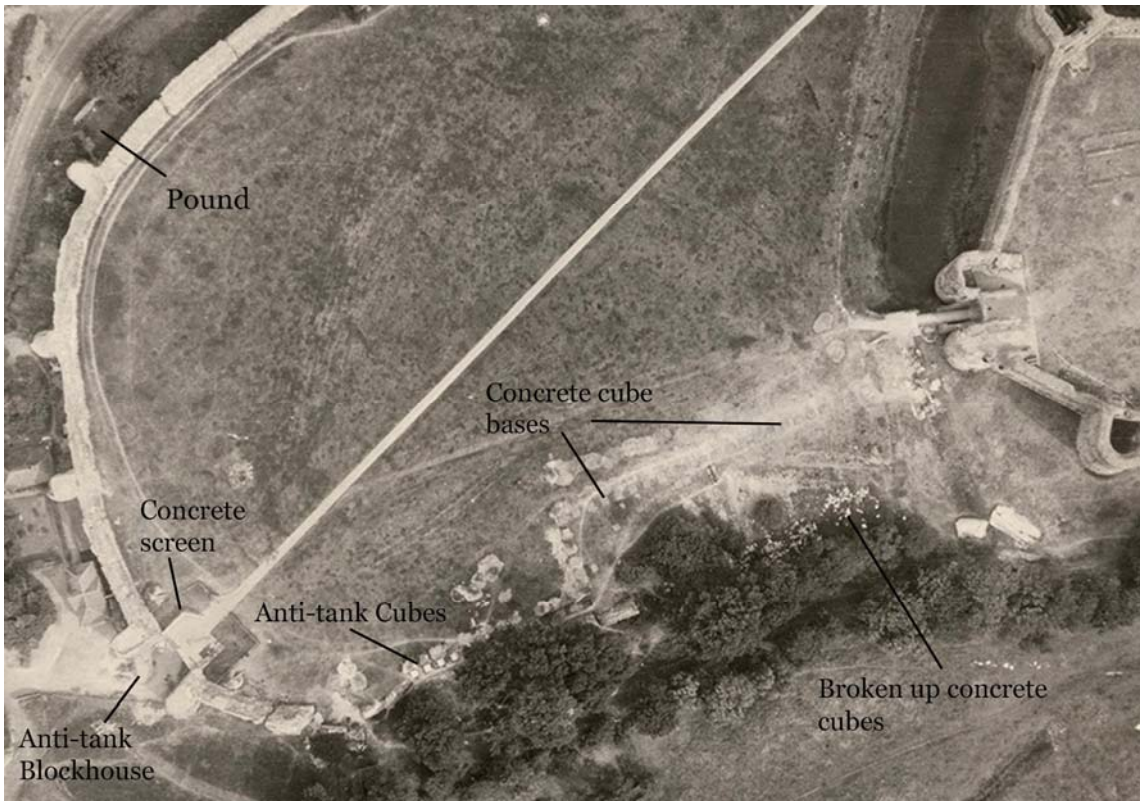



*Fig 44: extract of RAF vertical photograph of the western half of Pevensey Castle showing the remains of anti-tank cubes along the south side of the outer bailey. Most have been removed and lie in fragments in the ditch RAF/26C/UK/1442 1578 21-AUG-1940 Historic England RAF Photography*

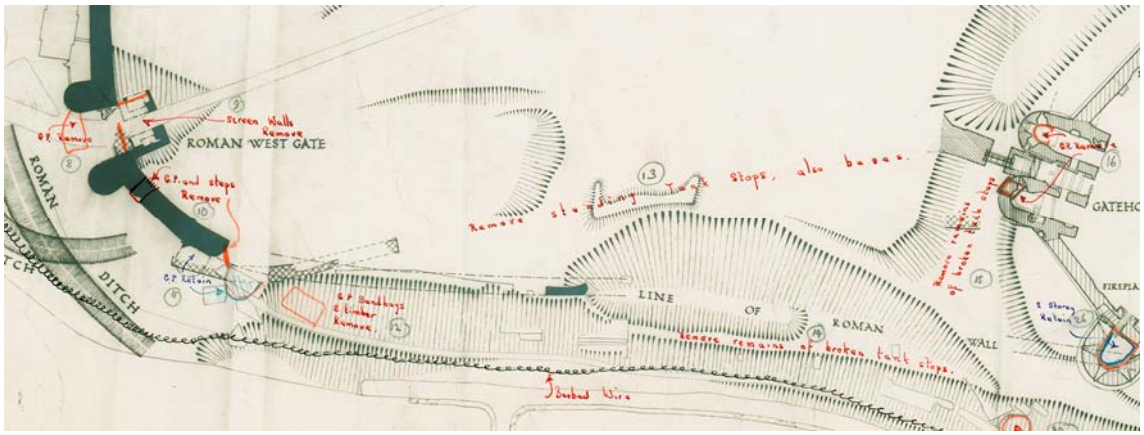



*Fig 45: Detail of Fig 23, 1940s Ministry of Works plan of Pevensey Castle detailing the defences to be removed and retained at the end of the Second World War ©Historic England Archive*

This curious situation is confirmed by the second of the two annotated MoW maps (also of uncertain date) detailing restorative works at the end of the war (Fig 45). The southern ditch carries the note: '*Remove remains of broken tank stops'* and above is marked '*Remove standing Tank stops, also bases'*. It is not clear why the newly placed defences were broken up as early as 1940 and discarded so soon after construction. Elsewhere on the south coast there is evidence that unwanted tank blocks were moved and reused at other sites (Edward Carpenter pers com). However, at Pevensey, it is possible that the blocks could not be moved, and were therefore broken up, because the entrances to the castle had already been blocked and therefore rendered impassable to large vehicles.


*Fig 46: Extract of 1940 RAF vertical showing details of military insertions and traces of on-going building works within and around the Norman castle RAF/26C/UK/1442 1576 21-AUG-1940 Historic England RAF Photography*

The August photographs also capture continued construction both inside the inner bailey and outside the keep to the east of the castle where several ladders, cordons and platforms are visible (Fig 46). Further anti-tank cubes (A) can be seen blocking a gap between the end of the outer ditch and a house which abuts the eastern castle wall – these may have been in place in July 1940, but could not be seen on the photographs. The aerial photographs also record the pillbox constructed on top of the south-western tower of the keep (B) and the foundations of pillbox or gun

emplacement (C), that was recorded on the MoW map, built against the western wall of the former cattle market.

Against the southern inner bailey curtain wall there were piles of the numerous medieval stone ammunition balls (D) for trebuchet or other engines of war (not cannon) excavated from the castle ditch in the 1930s (Peers 1985, 26). These remained there until at least 1951 when they were recorded on aerial photographs (see Fig 55 below). The anti-tank defences on the west gate are clearer on 1951 aerial photographs, showing the staggered obstructions guarding the entrance and the concrete screen walls built inside the entrance.

Two bell tents recorded on the July 1940 aerial photographs are still in place in August 1940 on either side of the path inside the west gateway. All other insertions and alterations to the castle are obscured from view or within the fabric of the castle walls. Outside the castle walls there is some evidence of wartime preparations including a long zigzag trench, probably an emergency air raid shelter, behind the fire station on the southern side of the main street (Fig 47).

*Fig 47: Second World War trenches behind the fire station in Pevensey village visible in an extract of a 1940 RAF vertical photograph. This site was subsequently occupied by a hutted camp RAF/26C/UK/1443 1573 21-AUG-1940 Historic England RAF Photography*

*Later Second World War sorties*

As well as the 1940 sortie there was also aerial reconnaissance covering Pevensey by the RAF on 26th March 1942. These were another high-altitude set of verticals in which details were hard to discern (Fig 48). The interior of the castle appears little changed since 1940, apart from the removal or grassing over of the disturbed ground resulting from the fortifications carried out in 1940. The faint course of a number of lines of barbed wire can be seen extending around the south side of the castle from the west gate to just east of the ruined keep, providing further obstructions alongside the castle's ditch. Also of note is the clearing and widening of the drains around a large field to the north of the castle and another on the eastern edge of Pevensey village, possibly to act as anti-tank ditches intended to impede access from the marshes to the road network. Within Pevensey village a small military camp comprised huts extending across three fields east of the church, including the area around the fire station (Fig 49). This camp may have served as supplementary accommodation to that provided within the castle for troops manning the defences. Oblique photographs taken in 1948 by Aerofilms clearly show a mixture of Nissen huts and pitched-roofed huts (see Fig 53 below) The zigzag ditch of the air raid shelter by the fire station appears to have been covered over or filled in and was partly obscured by a large hut or building.

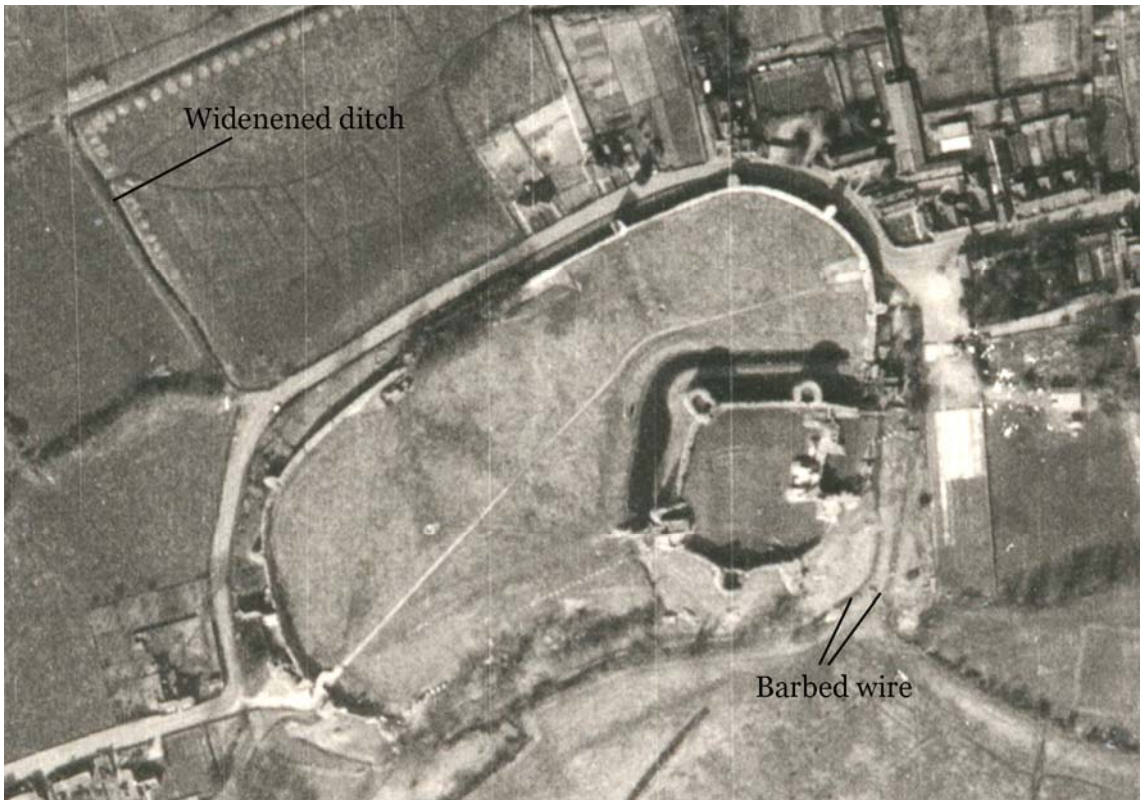



*Fig 48: Extract of RAF vertical showing traces of barbed wire entanglements around the south-east corner of the castle and widened ditches to the north, to impede access from low-lying ground. Note the presence of the pound on the outside of the walls RAF/HLA/430/RV 6044 26-MAR-1942 Historic England RAF Photography*

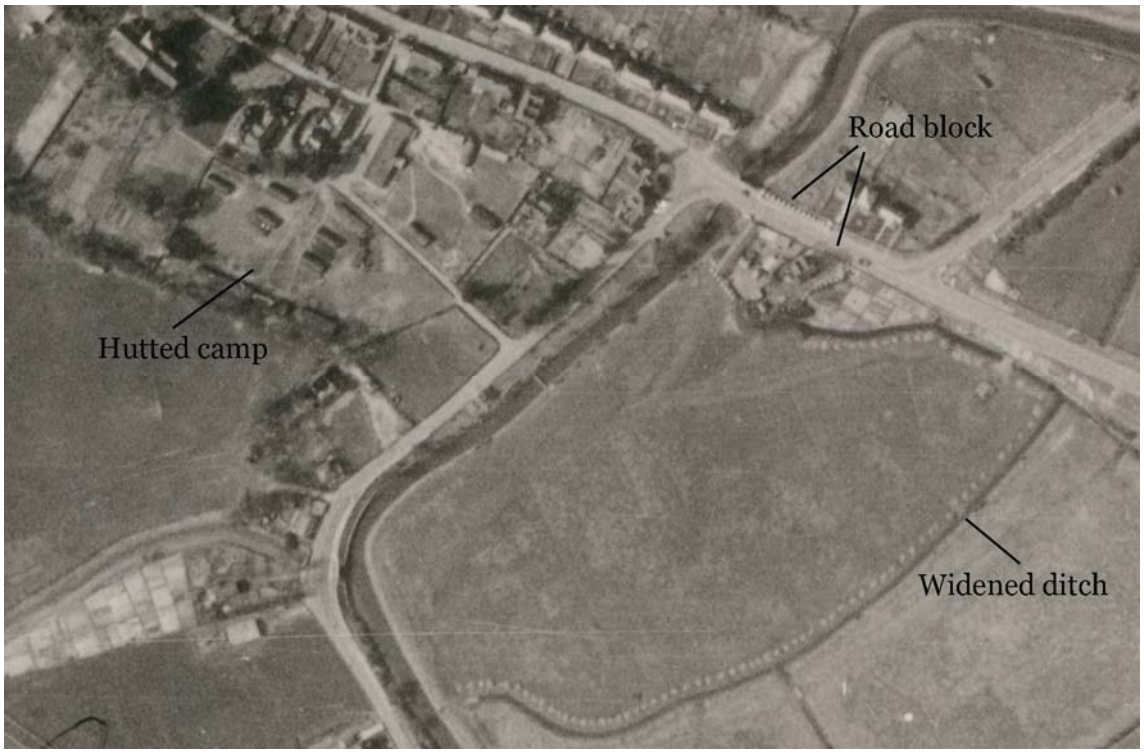



*Fig 49: Extract of 1942 vertical photograph showing the anti-invasion measures on the roads and fields approaching Pevensey and the hutted camp to the east and south of the fire station RAF/HLA/430/RV 6035 26-MAR-1942 Historic England RAF Photography*

Pevensey was photographed by the RAF again in July 1943, but the small scale and poor clarity of the photographs means that little detail of the castle and surrounding area can be discerned. The next set of reconnaissance photographs were taken by the RAF in July 1945 (Fig 50). Again, these are high-altitude vertical photographs which, though being at small-scale, show Pevensey just over two months after the end of the war in Europe. It is not possible to make out much detail, but the hutted camp is still present within Pevensey village. However, it is not possible to tell if the camp is still in use. To the south of the railway line and Westham village at TQ 6418 0426 the traces of a Second World War DIVER Battery (Coastal Gun Belt Diver Battery B13 (NRHE 1477145)) can be seen as an arc or flattened V of six pale sub-circular marks (Fig 50). Each mark indicates the position of a mobile anti-aircraft gun set on a portable Pile platform of steel rails, filled with ballast. Within the arc was the command post which typically left a smaller rectangular mark, most noticeable on the two southern sites (Lowery *et al* 2001, 61-2; see Fig 51).

These DIVER batteries were established across the south-east of England from mid-late June 1944 to counter what became known as the *Crossbow* threat: the new wave of enemy aerial assault in the form of the German V-1 flying bombs launched from sites in France (Dobinson 2001, 419-420; 2019). The first V-1 was launched on London on 13th June 1944, there following wave upon wave of deadly missiles over the south-east. Known as buzz bombs or doodlebugs, they were the first powered cruise missiles which at their peak numbered over one hundred a day

until the last was launched in March 1945. September 1944 saw the launch of the even more deadly V-2, the world's first guided rocket-propelled missile.


*Fig 50: 1945 aerial view of Pevensey showing the traces of a Diver Battery – the location of six mobile anti-aircraft guns installed to counter the German V1 and V2 rocket raids. Extract of RAF/3G/MEW/T5/V 5144 08-JUL-1945 Historic England RAF Photography*

Three additional Diver sites are recorded on the same 1945 aerial photograph (Fig 51). One comprised eight gun positions on the south side of the road (now the A259) mid-way between Pevensey and Pevensey Bay. Two further sites were adjacent to one another on East Langney Level, 1.5km south of Westham (NRHE 1477123). It is possible they are two phases of the same battery of guns.

By 1946 many wartime defences were cleared away across the country, but pillboxes and other more permanent concrete structures tended to remain to be removed at a later date. At Pevensey in 1946 it is not entirely clear from the aerial photographs how much post-war clearance had taken place. The outer anti-tank obstruction at the west gate was still there, as were some anti-tank cubes and bases of previously removed cubes.

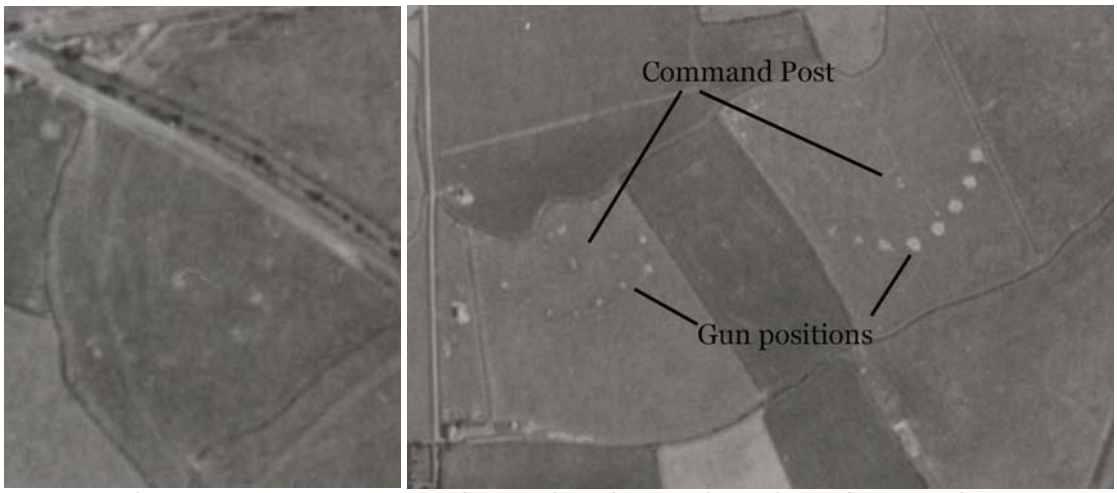



*Fig 51: Three Diver Battery sites located to the south and south-east of Pevensey visible as an arc of gun positions and command post visible as a small rectangle within the arc. Extract of RAF/3G/MEW/T5/V 5144 08-JUL-1945 Historic England RAF Photography*

*Fig 52: The castle from the south AFL19480413 EAW014353 13-APR-1948 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

The 1945 aerial photographs also recorded the possible gun emplacement or pillbox placed against the wall of the former cattle market to the east of the castle. These were no longer there in 1948 when Aerofilms photographed the site (Fig 52). However, the locations of the anti-tank cubes can still be seen as bald patches in the grass of the outer bailey and there are clear signs of recent removal of defences at the west gate. Also of note is the absence of the pound and cowshed which were present through the war. The 1948 Aerofilms photographs also record the Nissen huts within the military camp still extant to the east of the church (Fig 53). All huts with the exception of the pitched-roof hut had been removed by 1951 (Fig 54).

*Fig 53: 1948 Aerofilms oblique aerial photograph showing part of the military camp to the east of the church with Nissen huts, a pitched roofed hut and concrete hard-standings of three removed huts in the foreground AFL19480413 EAW014357 13-APR-1948 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

Other defences built into the castle walls were retained as monuments in their own right, forming part of the historic fabric of the castle. Some of the larger more obvious defences are visible on the Aerofilms oblique photographs taken in 1951 which show two of these gun emplacements – one built into the walls of the keep, the second constructed amongst the fallen masonry below the keep (Fig 55).

*Fig 54: Aerofilms oblique aerial photograph showing the last surviving building – a pitched roofed hut (roof just visible above the trees in the centred of the photograph) and concrete hard-standings of the military camp to the east of the church EAW037831 AFL19510717 17-JUL-1951 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*


*Fig 55: Retained Second World War defences within the keep and fallen masonry visible in 1951. The large black marks are photo blemishes. Extract of Aerofilms vertical photograph ALF19510717 EAW037830 17-JUL-1851©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

## Post-war Pevensey

Following the Second World War, once all wartime defences to be removed had been cleared and repaired, there appears to have been little further major change to the monument. Over the intervening years there have been some excavations in and around the castle, but no further major interventions.

*Fig 56: Oblique view of Pevensey Castle from the west, September 2011 HEA 27303/029 29-Sep-2011 ©Historic England*

Comparing the early photographs with the more recent images it is clear that a considerable amount of vegetation and trees have encroached on the site (Fig 56). The moat, which was cleaned and bare of vegetation after the major works undertaken in 1936, appeared overgrown and clogged with weed when photographed during Historic England reconnaissance in 2011 and on the most recent Google Earth aerial photographs from 2016. These recent photographs illustrate how overgrown the areas to the east of the castle and keep are. These show vegetation growing out of the tops of walls and ivy on the walls of both the Roman fort and the medieval castle. Much of this has now been cleared.

## Earthworks in and around Pevensey Castle

Airborne laser scanning (lidar) images from the Environment Agency have revealed extant earthwork features within and around the castle at Pevensey (Fig 57). The raised mass of deposited material thought to be the material removed to create the medieval moat (Johnson 1976, 59) can be seen extending west of the inner bailey, creating different levels within the outer bailey (but see archaeological survey

above). There are numerous earthworks, some very slight, of ditches, hollows and mounds, some of which have been attributed to the various programmes of 20th-century excavation. These features are discussed in the results of the archaeological earthwork survey (above).

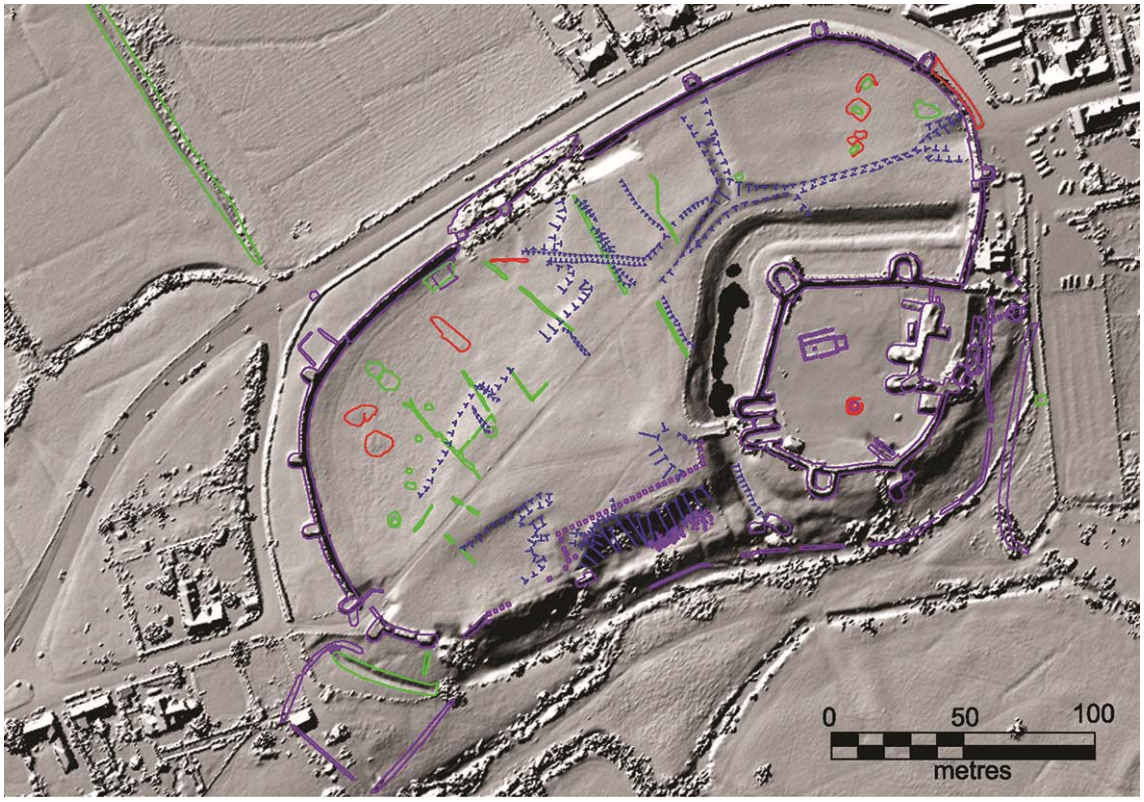



*Fig 57: Extract of transcribed remains, including extant structures and earthworks within and around the castle, overlaid on Environment Agency lidar DSM data ©Historic England*

There are a number of possible archaeological earthworks to the east of the castle and to the south of the church (Fig 58). Lidar images revealed slight earthworks in the property enclosure immediately to the east of the old cattle market. It is not clear from the aerial sources what these features represent but the sequence of land reclamation indicates they are likely to be medieval or post-medieval in origin. To the south and west of this there are the remains of former tennis courts and a cricket pitch. These survive as slight rectangular platforms, but they are recorded in use on aerial photographs taken before, during and after the war. The cricket pitch is still in use. Also recorded on lidar, there are remains of boundary ditches, possible tracks and an east–west aligned hollow way. These features appear to be medieval or later and occupy land which would have been partially or wholly submerged during the Roman period. Further investigation of these earthworks is needed to ascertain their exact date and function.

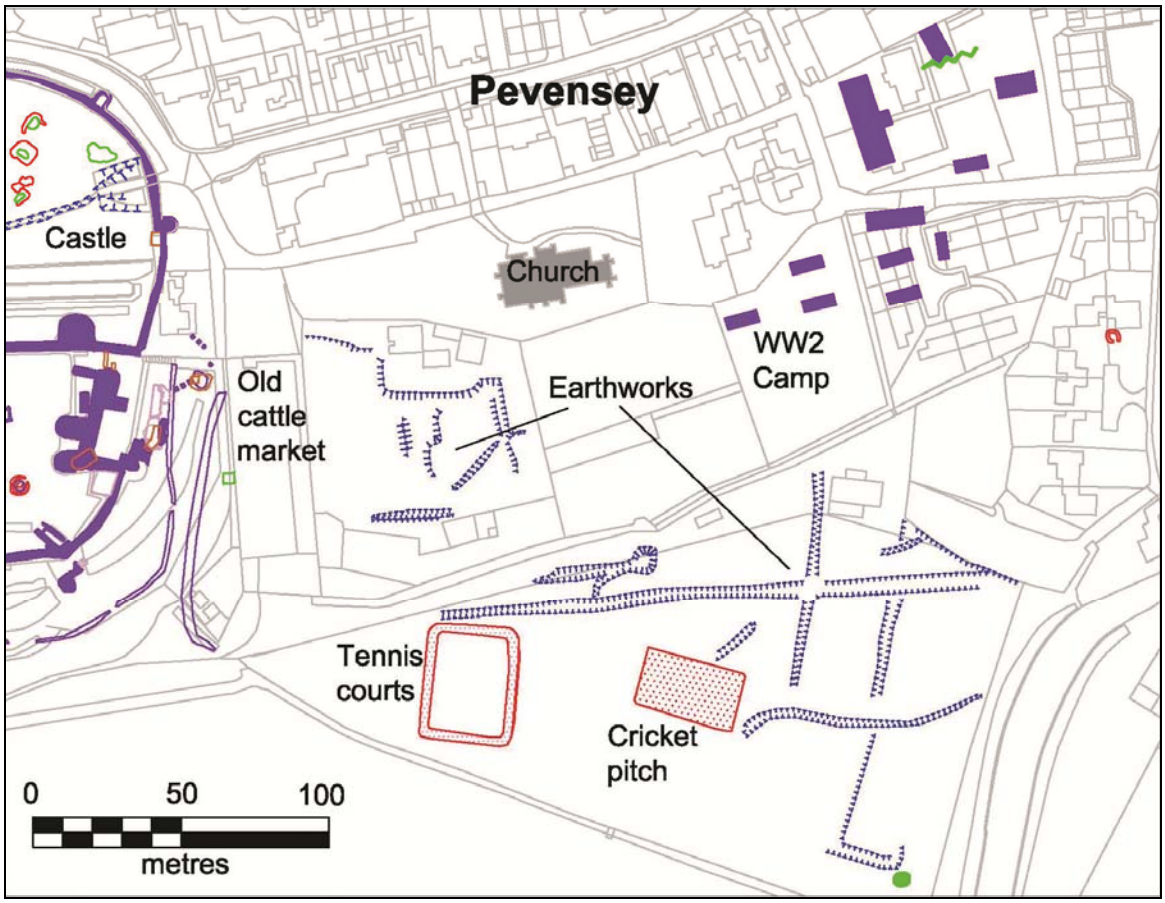



*Fig 58: Extract of aerial mapping depicting features recorded to the east of the castle, including earthworks seen on lidar images, and the Second World War camp and trenches visible on RAF vertical photographs taken between 1940 and 1948 ©Crown Copyright and database right 2018. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088*

# DISCUSSION

## The keep or great tower

As stated above, the keep at Pevensey has long been and remains an enigma. However, the solution put forward here to explain its architectural form seems to be a robust suggestion. It is a unique structure, so far as we know, and demands a unique explanation. Though it has been suggested that the bastions might be a later addition to a relatively straightforward tower, no physical examination of the structure has ever found evidence to support this theory.

William the Conqueror landed at Pevensey and, according to a legend that was recorded in the early 12th century, fell on the beach and 'seized' England. This story is a direct copy of a tale that was also told of Julius Caesar landing in Africa (Lawson 2003, 66-7; Suetonius *Divus Julius* 59) and was designed to flatter William. William was prone to compare himself favourably to Caesar and other classical heroes (Wheatley 2004, 131). A number of the primary sources for the events of 1066 make explicit and flattering comparisons between William and Caesar (Lawson 2003, 88, 98-9, 102). Ordericus Vitalis underlined the comparison by likening William's advisors to the Roman senate (1853, 463). What would be more natural, therefore, than that William should commemorate his conquest of England not only by the establishment of a monastery at Battle (Wheatley 2004, 89) but also by construction of a tower that made direct reference to Roman military architecture at Pevensey? Alternatively, perhaps Robert, Count of Mortain, built the tower as a tribute to his half-brother. It may also be significant that, as noted above, for many decades Pevensey was held by the de l'Aigle, or Aquila, family, descendants of Engenulf de Aquila, one of the 'Companions of William' and the only Norman named as being killed at Hastings.

### *Pevensey and the campaign of 1066*

As noted, the Roman monument at Richborough cannot have been known to William the Conqueror. William may even have believed that Caesar had also landed at Pevensey. However, this idea only has significant meaning if Pevensey was William's sole intended landing place. This may have been the case, as some commentators have assumed (e.g. Grainge and Grainge 1993) but given the difficulties of navigating the English Channel with the maritime technology then available it is likely that Pevensey was one of a number of possible landing places contemplated by William and his advisors, to be used as wind and tide served. It was a good landfall but Hastings itself, for instance, might have been a better one. The landing at Pevensey seems to have necessitated a further move, to Hastings, and there is no clear evidence as to how this was achieved. Many authorities have assumed a march, leaving the boats behind, and Freeman even suggested that a Roman road ran east from Pevensey towards Hastings (1869, 407); this, of course, is impossible as the area to the east of Pevensey was open sea in the Roman period. Even by the mid-11th century a march from Pevensey to Hastings would probably have required a long detour inland. It seems likely that at least some of William's troops and equipment went to Hastings by sea.

## The development of the medieval castle

We have suggested that the medieval castle evolved gradually over an extended period, reacting in part to structural weaknesses and further collapses in the Roman walls and bastions. For some time the extraordinary and flamboyant keep, in our model, would have stood partly enclosed by the Roman works and partly by earth and timber ramparts. This may not be as incongruous as it seems; earth and timber ramparts were not as 'simple' as they appear in their collapsed state, and could indeed be made to look like masonry.

The postern gate may have been inserted in the 1190s and the main circuit of masonry curtain wall and towers constructed, in three or four campaigns, by Peter of Savoy between 1246 and 1264, though apparently substantial work was being done at the gatehouse in the late 1280s. An added complication is our suggestion that there may have been a large semi-circular barbican in front of the gatehouse. Further work is required to test this idea but if it is correct it might have resembled the D-shaped barbican of Goodrich Castle, which is thought to have been modelled on the Lion Tower barbican at the Tower of London, where construction began in 1275. The barbican at Goodrich and the Lion Tower were both about 25m across; a barbican at Pevensey represented by mound (**v**) could have been of approximately the same scale.

## The clay mound within the inner bailey

As mentioned in the architectural report (above) it is extremely unlikely that this mound was an original feature of the design of the keep, though it is not impossible. It is more likely that it was added to the keep at some later but unknown time. Fulford and Rippon state that 16th-17th-century pottery was found in layer 32 of their Trench 2, which should be at the base of the yellow clay deposit; unfortunately this layer is not depicted in the only published section drawing (2011, 31, fig 2.1) so some uncertainty about the dating remains but, nevertheless, a 16th-century or later date for the construction of the mound seems to be indicated. The only evidence for the shape and size of the mound is: a drawing by Samuel Grimm dated *c*1780 and twice published (Grose 1783; King 1801; see Fig 27); a plan of the castle published by Lower (1853; see front cover image); some slight hachures on historic OS mapping; a profile by DH Montgomerie (Renn 1971, fig 2); and a historic photograph (copy held by the site staff) that seems to show the tail of the mound. The 18th-century drawing suggests that the mound was elongated, stretching from the southernmost tower to the fallen bastion or tower on the east side of the inner bailey – and therefore filling almost half the bailey – and that it was tall enough to almost but not quite cover the existing keep building – parts of the keep structure are visible on early OS map editions. If this drawing is accurate the mound would have covered the back of the postern gate. The map evidence, however, suggests that the mound was rather smaller and did not interfere with the postern gate, though it also suggests a rather elongated shape. Perhaps the best plan evidence is that presented by Lower (1853), which shows the mound clearly as an oval. A profile from east to west, surveyed by Duncan Montgomerie, is reproduced by Renn

(1971, fig 2) and shows the mound, rising almost to the top of the surviving wall height of the keep, the western side being more gently sloped than the east – consistent with Lower's plan. The question remains as to when and why this mound was raised. One possibility is that it was intended to turn the keep into an artillery platform, in the 16th century or possibly later. This would be similar in some respects to Wark-on-Tweed Castle, Northumberland, where the motte and/or great tower was converted to an artillery platform in 1543 (Bowden 1992; Welfare *et al* 1999, 53-5, fig 19). This might explain the apparently elongated, ramp-like shape of the mound. Though it has been assumed that the two guns mentioned in an inventory of 1587 were mounted in the battery at (**f**) it is possible that they were mounted on the mound over the keep, or in both locations at different times, or that there were other guns, unrecorded, stationed here at different times in the castle's early post-medieval history.

## 20th-century developments

The aerial photographs illustrate very well the archaeological excavation and 'restoration' that took place during the 1930s at Pevensey. They also add considerable detail to the story of military activity within and around the castle during the Second World War, emphasising the rapid changes of plan in fortifying the castle with anti-tank cubes, for instance, in the early months of the War. With the lidar that is now available the photographs also suggest avenues for further research into the landscape of medieval and post-medieval reclamation beyond the castle.

# METHODOLOGY

## Architectural

It was not found necessary to undertake any measured survey of the architectural remains and the Project Design did not demand it. Research on-site was limited to observation and systematic visual analysis of the fabric, aided by some record photography.

## Archaeological

Archaeological survey involved a combination of electronic methods – Total Station Theodolite and survey-grade Global Navigation Satellite System – with some features recorded by more traditional plane-table and graphical methods. Seven stations were fixed to the National Grid using a Trimble R8 survey-grade GNSS receiver; hard detail (path edges, fences, etc) and soft archaeological details were supplied using an R8 receiver as a rover. The stations were then occupied with a Trimble S7 TST in order to supply further hard detail (outer faces of the walls of the inner bailey, inner faces of the wall of the outer bailey) that could not be supplied using GNSS. Some extra control points were also supplied, principally on the southern edge of the site, for subsequent plane-table and tape-and-offset survey at the elected scale of 1:1000.

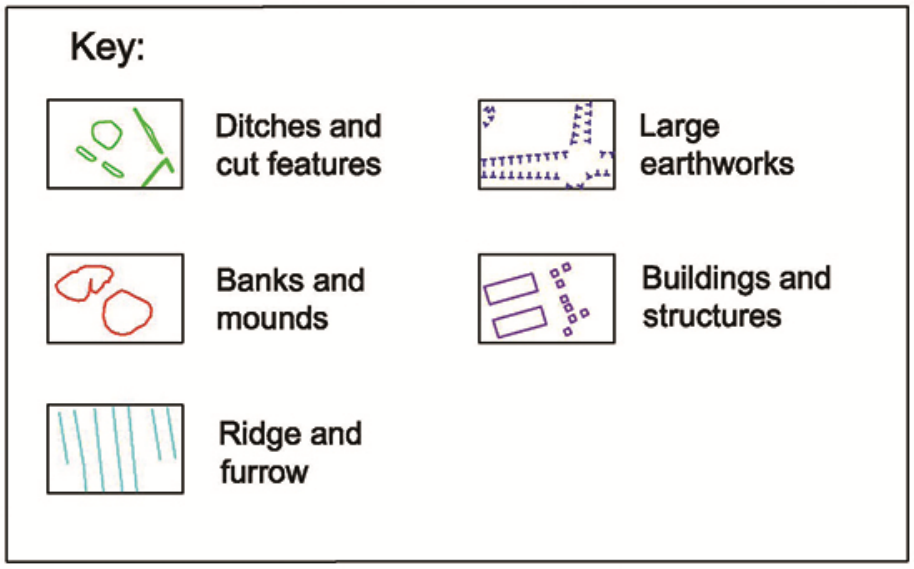
At the time of fieldwork some parts of the ground surface were obscured by long grass and nettles, so some slight earthworks may have been overlooked and subtle variations in some features may have been missed. Close observation of the available lidar data, particularly using a 16-direction Digital Surface Model (DSM) image, revealed further details in some cases.

## Aerial

Vertical and oblique aerial photographs held in the Historic England Archive, Swindon were assessed. A total of 700 photographs were loaned, including 550 vertical photographs and 150 specialist and military oblique photographs, ranging in date from 1931 to 2011. Where possible, all vertical photographs were viewed in stereo under magnification. Digital images including born digital images and high resolution scans of photographic prints were viewed on screen. Georeferenced and rectified digital images were produced using the University of Bradford AERIAL 5.36 programme. Control information was derived from digital 1:2500 scale Ordnance Survey MasterMap data. All visible archaeological features, including Second World War alteration to the castle fabric, were mapped using Historic England mapping conventions in AutoCAD Map on separate layers based on the form of the remains – ditch, bank, structure, etc (below). Monument records in the Historic England NRHE AMIE database were created or amended where appropriate and are available via Pastscape (www.pastcape.org.uk), and mapping is available on request to Historic England Archive Services.

The Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs (CUCAP) is currently closed so this was not consulted. This collection holds oblique aerial photographs from 1947, 1948, 1954 and 1967 and vertical photographs taken in 1967. Any photographs held by the local authority were not consulted. However, the Historic England Archive aerial photographs provide more than adequate cover for the purposes of this survey.

*Mapping Conventions*
Features have been mapped using Historic England Aerial Investigation and Mapping standards for buried and extant ditches and banks, and ridge and furrow. Large extant earthworks are depicted with T- hachures. Second World War military buildings and structures, such as concrete anti-tank cubes, are recorded as structures. Structures including the outlines of the castle walls have been recorded for context despite being recorded on the OS Master map,



# RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

## Geophysical survey

1: in the inner bailey to locate any buried defensive ditches, such as a continuation of (b) or the slighter ditch to its east
2: in the area of mound (v) to locate any masonry structural remains; GPR might be a cost-effective means of answering the question raised by the earthworks here
3: in area (n) to locate any structural remains

## Analytical earthwork survey and architectural investigation

Survey in the south-eastern part of the castle, currently inaccessible due to invasive undergrowth, below the postern gate and keep, would be beneficial to aid understanding of the results of Reading University's excavations in this area.

Clearance of vegetation from the standing masonry in this area would also enable elucidation of the fabric at this point.

## Aerial survey

Further investigation of earthworks of boundary ditches, possible tracks and a hollow way to the east of the castle is needed to ascertain their date and function.

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# APPENDIX 1 - DOCUMENTARY SOURCES FOR MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT

## Extracts from Salzmann 1906

Salzmann 1906, 9
[1288-9]
Accounts of William Cropp foreman of the works of the Castle of Pevenes.

For the wages of William Masson: mason, shaping stones for 16 weeks and 3 days 28s 10½ d (being 21d a week). For wages of Roger de Ore mason shaping stones for the same time 24s 9d (being 18d a week). For wages of Master Simon the mason shaping and laying stones for 14 weeks and 3 days 29s (being 2s a week). For
wages of 2 other masons for 13 weeks and 3 days 40s 6d (being 18d a
week each). For wages of 3 other masons ...
Total. £8 15s 1 ½ d

For 95 blocks of Caen stone *(petris de Cam)* bought at Pevenes 3s for carrying the same from the sea to the castle 2s. Total *5s*

For wages of 2 men carrying stones from the outer bailey of the castle and from the keep to the porch of the hall for 16 weeks and 3 days 26s 2d (being 9d a week each for 8 weeks and 10d for 8 weeks and and 3 days following at harvest time). For wages of two other men digging stones and cement *(vetus mortar)* under the wall of the castle which was thrown down at the time of the war, for 14 weeks and 3 days 23s. For wages of two others carrying chalk from the keep to the gate and making cement and mortar (*vetus mortar et novum)* for the same time 23s. For wages of 2 men raising stones and mortar with windlasses *(gwyndas)* over the gate for the same time 23s. For wages of one man receiving the stones and mortar on the scaffolding and tower and helping to lay stones for the same time 12s (being 10d a week).
Total. 107s 3d

For 40 hurdles (*cleis* ), made of the Queen's own material, for the scaffolding 2s. For carrying the same from Clavrigg to Pevenes in 5 carts 20d. For 12 carts employed to bring beams of beech *(boull')* for the scaffolding from Clavregge 4s. For 300 large withies (*hartis)*

Salzmann 1906, 10
bought for the same 18d. For 100 small withies bought for the same 2d. For 25 large nails bought for the same 6d. For small nails 4d.
Total 10s 1d

For pointing and sharpening picks, axes, chisels, (?) adzes *(ponsoribus)* and other mason's tools many times during the said period 7s. For four morters *(tribulis)* and

1 sieve bought 3d. For one handcart bought 4½ d. For 3 sacks bought to carry chalk from the keep to the gate 16d. For one hurdle bought *ad vent' mort' mud'* 2d. For 6 tubs (*alveolis*) for mortar 6d. For wages of a cooper making and hooping buckets, barrels, and butts (*boukett' tynas et cunas)* for 10 days 2s 6d. For hoops bought for the same 8½ d. For raising a winch *(vernam)* over the gate 8d. For 50 sheaves of furze bought to put under the winch 18d. For a cord of 27 strands *(theys)* bought to lift up stones mortar and other things 15½d. For mending and splicing the said cord many times 4d. For grease *(sapone)* bought for the windlasses 1½ d. For carriage of timber for the stairs from Clavrig to Pevenes 4d.
Total. 17s 1d.

For rough timber brought from the Broyle to Pevenes in 18 carts for the construction of a new bridge in front of the door of the keep 9s. For wages of 2 sawyers sawing posts, beams, planks, *(chymbetr')* and other things needful, for 13½ days, by the job, 9s. For wages of 2 carpenters constructing the said bridge and making the scaffolding and the windlasses and winch and other things needed in the castle for 11 weeks £3 6s (being 3s a week each). For wages of a carpenter for the same period 13s 9d (being 15d a week). For 2000 bolting nails (*clavibus de Hussem)* bought for the same 2s 1d. For *150* large nails 4½d.
Total. 72s 8½d

For his own wages while he was over the workmen in the said castle from Monday before St Barnabas' day to Michaelmas, 16 weeks and 3 days, 14s 4½d (being 10½d a week). For his wages from Friday on the morrow of Michaelmas to the Saturday on the morrow of Martinmas, six weeks and 1 day, 5s 4½d.
Total 19s 9d.

For wages of 3 men carrying stones and mortar on to the top of the gate on their backs for lack of windlasses, from Michaelmas to All Saints' day, 4 weeks and 3 days, 9s (being 8d a week each). For wages of 2 men digging stone in the moat and in the mill pond and elsewhere in the township of Pevenes and carrying the same into the castle and making mortar and cement *(mortar novum & vetus)* for the same period 12s 3d. For wages of a carpenter mending the old buildings and the palings and gates and making lathes and shingles and constructing shutters and gutters and other things for 6 weeks and 3 days 8s 1½d.
Total of all expenses. £*25* 3s 3d.

[1289-90]
Account of the same for the 17th and 18th Edward I.

For wages of a carpenter mending the Queen's room and other buildings, by the job 2s 6d. For thatching the Queen's room, by the job 4s 8d. For thatching the hall and chapel 2s. For rods and withies

Salzmann 1906, 11
bought for the same 18d. For pugging (*dossand)* the pigeon-house 6d. For nails bought for the Queen's room Rd. For pugging the said room and chapel with mortar

and for plastering the chapel 12d. For nails bought for plastering 1td. For wages of a mason mending the openings of the room (?) in the west turret, 18d. For wages of a carpenter remaking the chimney of the north turret which had been cast down, and mending the palings round the chapel 2s 1d. For plastering the same 14d. For wages of a carpenter putting new rafters in the south turret and mending and underpinning the old rafters 8d. For wages of a thatcher thatching the said turret 4s. For rods and withies for the same 7d. For obtaining reeds at Willendon for the thatching 6d.

For wages of a carpenter mending the posts of the door of the north tower and the windows of the Queen's chamber. For plastering the said doorway 3d. For 2 hanging hooks *(gunff')* and 7 hinges *(vertevell')* bought for the windows of the said chamber 2d. For mending the great bridge in front of the gate 4½d. For making catches for the
postern 2d.

For wages of a plumber taking up the leaden sheets (*tabulas)* of the western part of the great tower and relaying them and soldering (*soudantis)* them and other gutter pipes and lead sheets, during 10 days, 8s 4d - receiving daily for himself and his assistant 10d. And for 6 lb of tin *(estemi)* bought for the same 12d. For wages of a carpenter taking down 3 rotten joists *(gistas)* and putting up 3 new ones 12d. For carriage of the said beams from the Broy le to Pevensey 18d. For wages of a mason preparing the wall for the end of the joists *(ad capud gistarum).* For lifting the same on to the tower 9d. For a rope employed for the same 12d. For 4 men employed in digging earth 9 days and carrying the same from the town up to the tower 4s 6d. For
a lock bought for the gate of the great tower 2-!u. For wages of a carpenter covering the bridge of the great tower 3s. For 100 boards bought for the same 4s. For wages of a carpenter making the drawbridge 14d. For hinges *(vertevell')* made for the said bridge 4d.

For taking down the old scaffolding *(scaffotis)* from the south part of the gate 8d. For 2 large buckets *(scopis)* bought 2d. For 8 sacks bought 8d. For a morter *(tribula)* bought 1d. For 2 arch-frames *(chyntr')* made 12d. For 50 boards bought for the same 16d. For 14 loads of scaffold poles brought from Clavrigg to the castle 4s 8d. For
withies bought for binding the scaffold poles 13d. For cord made of *25* strands for the windlass 3s 10d. For wages of 2 carpenters making a winch and windlass (*vernam et windas)* 12d. For soap bought for the same 2d.

For wages of a man burning 360 horse-loads (*summas)* of lime at Willendon 18s. For 56 cart loads of firewood obtained at Clavrugg and brought to Willingdon 9s 4d. For cutting down the said wood 18¾d. For sea coal bought for the same 17s. 4d. For obtaining the same at Sefford and elsewhere 3s. For 7 seams 1 bushel of lime bought

Salzmann 1906, 12
3s. 5d. For 6 seams of lime obtained at Willendon by way of exchange (?) 16d. For carriage of 310 seams of lime from Willendon to Pevensey 18s.

For 2100 stones bought at the quarry for the castle works 105s. For 500 stones brought in the winter from the quarry *of* Burne to the Ilonde 15s. For carriage *of* the same from Ilonde by boat to the castle 5s. For 1600 of the same stones brought in the summer from the quarry to the castle 48s - being 3" a hundred. For 42 blocks of Caen stone *(petris de Can)* bought at Pevensey 18d. For 37 boatloads of sand for the same 18s 6d.

For wages of *5* men digging for stone round the castle in the town of Pevensey and elsewhere and carrying it to the castle for 7 weeks and *5* days 25s 10d. For wages of 4 men digging for stone and carrying stones and sand from the mill to the castle, and digging for cement *(vetus mortar)* for 10 weeks 26s 8d.

Paid to Master Simon the mason for building the north part of the gate £17 17s 8d. Paid to the same for part of the former work of battlements made above the gate 66s 8d.

For 1 quarter 6 bushels *of* bran bought for burnishing the armour 2s. 4d. For burnishing the said armour 12d. For grease bought for the same 1d. For the purchase and stringing (*nervisandis)* of certain horn-tipped (or horn-shaped) crossbows *(balistas de cornu)* 12d.
Total expenditure. £42 . 18 . 1.

[1290-1]
Account of the same for 18th-19th Edward I.

For wages of a carpenter mending the great bridge and the palings round the barn and squaring trunks for cutting 12d. For cutting 325 feet of board for planks 19½d - at 6d. the hundred. For iron bought for making hinges and straps *(bendas)* for the bridge 10d. For making hinges and nails for the same 5d. For making the gate outside the postern 7½ d. For hinges and hinge-plates 7½ d.

For pugging (*dossand)* the hall and the queen' s chamber with mortar and earth 4d. For plastering the queen' s chamber 2d. For taking the slates off the stable 8d. For wages of a thatcher *(tectoris)* thatching the queen's chamber 12½d. For taking down the woodwork of the stable 6d.

For wages of 2 carpenters making a windlass over the well and 7 buckets *(scobas)* and 4 measures (?) *(gatas)* for the use of the masons 3s. For 4 hinge plates and 4 hinges bought for the door of the well 3d. For a rope bought for the well 5d. For clearing out timber and stones from the well 1 d. For wages of a mason mending the well for 1 day 3d.

For wages of a carpenter making new joists above the gate and doing other necessary work during one month 8s 2d. For wages of a

Salzmann 1906, 13
mason mending the foundation under the leads for 3 days 9d. For 2 men employed in obtaining sand at the mill for casting sheets of lead 2d. For 2 men employed

taking off the old lead sheeting of the gate and carrying earth up on to the gate and carrying up sheets of lead and doing other necessary work for 28 days 8s 2d. For 6lb of tin
(*estemi*) bought 12d. For lard and grease bought 2d. For nails bought for fixing the lead 4d. For wages of a plumber making lead sheeting (*tabliamentum*) for 18 days 23s. For wages of a plumber making part of the said sheeting by the job 13s 4d. For wages of Simon the mason and two other masons and one assistant mending the battlements between the gate and the north turret for 15 days 12½d.

For cutting 50 scaffold poles at Walderne 5d. For carriage of the same to Pevensey 2s 8d. For 21 scaffold poles bought at Pevensey in default of free grant (*pro dejectu deliberacionis*) when the King had seisin of the barony 2s. For 50 hurdles made of the Queen's own materials 16d. For carriage of the same from Walderne to Pevensey 20d. For 200 nails bought for shutters 3d. For men employed lifting a winch (*vernam*) on to the tower 4½d. For 400 withies bought for binding the scaffolding 2s. For a sieve bought 1 d. For obtaining 34 boat loads of sand on the shore and carrying it to the castle 12s 9d. For a stone bought for sharpening the masons' axes 4½d. For wages of two men carrying lime sand and stones for 8 weeks after Master Simon undertook the repairs of the castle by contract 11s 4d, being 17s a week. For 525 blocks of stone bought at the quarry 26s 3d. for carriage of the same to Pevensey 15s 9d. For 49 blocks of stone bought in one lot (per 1 particularn) 2s 6d. For carriage of the same to Pevensey 18d.

For wages of Simon le Masson doing the work on the great tower in front of the iron door (*ante hostiurn ferraturn*) from 9 April to 4 May for 5 weeks 10s. For wages of Roger of Ore for the same time 6s 8d. For wages of Martin the baker for the same time 3s 4d. For 4 boat loads of sand brought from the sea to the mill 10d.

Paid to Master Simon the mason who carried out the remainder of the work on the tower by contract £12. For wages of William warden of the works of the castle for 25 weeks 2 days 22s 4½d, being 1½d a day.

For 2 men employed 14 days in burnishing and mending the armour in the castle 5s 10d. For grease bought for the same 11 d. For a rope for a sack 1 d. For mending the sack on two occasions 2d. For thread? (*cuce*) bought for the same 1½ d . For 2½ quarters of bran 40d. For obtaining the said bran at Hail(sham) 2d. For 10 yards of
canvas bought to cover the mangonel (*arbalist'*) 2s 1 d. For washing and cleaning the said mangonel 6d.

For wages of the constable Ferrand the Provencal Thomas la Gaite and Robert Pisseleg for a year £18. 4., being 3d a day each. For robes for the constable and Thomas la Gaite 20s. For robes for Ferrand 13s 4d yearly.

Total. £43. 3. 4.

(Salzmann 1906, 14)
[1301-2]

Works of the Castle of Pevensey, by view of Richard de Wertlyng and Richard de Aldecherche appointed to oversee the same by the King's command. 29 Edw. 1.

John de Winterselle bailiff of the honor of Aquila accounts for timber and for cutting and squaring beams in the park of Mersefeud for building the hall in the castle and the chambers annexed to the same, 10s. For making 7000 lathes (*lattar-um)* of the said timber 7s 7d. For cutting *5* gutters out of the said timber to lay between the hall, the chambers aforesaid and the wall of the castle 2s. For 43 carts employed carrying the said timber from the park of Merssefeud to Saltereswelle 13s 4d. For carrying the said timber from Salteresswelle to the castle 16s 4d. For a portion of timber bought at Coudenn for ridge rafters *(pannis)* of the hall and for benches (?) (*subsellinas)* of the same 13s 4d. For *5* loads of oak boards bought for the windows of the hall and for the aforesaid chambers and for laying upon the rafters between the roof and the gutters on one side of the hall 15s. For 2000 bolting nails (*heussiem)* bought for the
same 2s 1d. For 18000 prig-nails bought for pannelling *(lattandam)* the hall and chambers and walls 10s 6d. For hinges and hinge-plates for the doors of the said hall and chambers and for the windows, made from iron found stored in the castle 2s 4d. For wages of *2* men cutting props and supports (*stondes et leges)* and other wood work as required for 8½ days 4s 11½d. For taking down the old woodwork of
the hall and for carpenters for the same and for the chambers, by contract *(ad tascham* in *grosso)* 66s 8d. For 6 acres of rushes bought at Wylendon for covering part of the said hall and chambers 18s. For cutting spreading and collecting the same 7s. For carrying the

Salzmann 1906, 15
said rushes from Wylendon to the castle in 17 carts 5s 8d. For 28 bundles of rods and 1500 withies 4s. 2d. For thatching the hall where the covering of tiles was defective 6s 8d. For wages of a tiler laying 6000 tiles upon the hall 3s. For wages of the same mending defects on the solar annexed to the said hall for 3½ days 10½d· For • • • the wall of the hall with mud 6s 8d. For digging mud for the said walls 10d. For carrying the said earth from the Hospital to the castle with *45* barrows *(curtenis)* 22½d. For plastering and whitewashing the walls 2s. For ... employed *5* days with one barrow (*curtena)* in cleaning the floor of the hall and a certain space in the chamber 20d. For 3 men employed in casting lead for covering the gutters between the hall and the castle wall and in making . . . to carry the water from the said gutters in two places through the middle of the hall. For wages of a man and his assistant putting ridge-tiles on *(crestantium)* the hall and the chambers thatched with rushes for 2 days 9d. For 4 locks with keys for the doors of the said chambers and the door of the solar-each costing 3½d.

[1302]

Expended upon re-making the chapel of the castle, 30th Edw. I.

For 2 ridge-rafters *(pannis)* 4 beams (*trabis)* 58 and 4 posts *(postis)* 58 of the length of 11 feet bought at Coudenn for the said chapel 9s. For 8 carts employed in carrying the said timber from Coudenn to the castle of Pevensey 2s 8d. For 38 rafters bought at Chidingelegh 9s 6d. For 2000 laths made of timber in hand *(de proprio rnaeremio)* in the forest of Essesdoun 2s. For 150 props *(stondes)* made in the said forest 8d. For carriage of the same to the castle with one cart Sd. For 3000 prignails 2s. For 1000 bolting-nails *(houssem)* 12d. For 100 door-nails *(dorenail)* for the door of the said chapel 4d. For one "quartrone de shotbord" of oak for the windows of the chapel 12d. For wages of a carpenter making an altar there of timber 12d. For an acre and a
half of rushes bought for covering the chapel 4s 6d. For carrying the said rushes from Wylendon with 3 carts 12d. For wages of a thatcher *(coopertori)* thatching the chapel and making division walls of mud 6s 8d. For finishing off *(crestando)* the said chapel with mud 8d. For hinges and hinge-plates for the door of the chapel 6d. For a
lock with a key bought for the same -. For 400 boards of beech for pannelling (*scelandam)* the chapel made from timber in hand in Assesdon 16d. For making stalls (*scannis)* and a screen (*intercluso)* in the said chapel 18d. For a man employed in cleaning and levelling the place where the chapel was built for 2 days 4d.
Total. 72s 6d.

[1302]
Expended upon the great tower and the tower of the granary, 30th Edw. I.

For 600 lbs of lead for roofing the great tower and the granary tower and for mending the gutters £6. 5. For obtaining sand at Hobenye on which the lead was cast . . . under the lead where it was necessary with 8 barrows *(curtenis)*. For 2 plumbers employed in casting the

Salzmann 1906, 16
said lead into sheets and for making gutters and for laying the said sheets on the great tower and repairing defects there for 27 days 22s 6d, being 5d. each daily. For the wages laying lead and repairing defects on the granary tower . . . 5s 10d.
Total. £7. 14.

[1303]

Expended upon the great tower, 31st Edw. I.

For shaping *(carpentandis)* 2 joists *(gistis)* and raising them on to the great tower and laying them there 6s 8d. For wages of a plumber employed in removing all the lead over the kitchen in the great tower where the joists were placed and in repairing defects upon the same tower and relaying the said lead 8s. For help employed in raising the said joists 2s. For 8 barrows *(curtenis)* employed for obtaining sand to lay under the lead there 8d. For digging the said sand 2d. For carrying the same up on to the tower 6d.
Total. 18s

Expended upon remaking a gate in the castle, 31st Edw. I.

For 2 posts 20 feet in length one beam 14 feet in length and a sillbeam *(subsuliva)* bought at Chiltherst for rebuilding the gate of the outer ward of the castle 4s. For an oak bought at Chidingelegh of which were made boards for the same gate 40d. For cutting 300 boards therefrom 2". For cutting props *(legg')* therefrom for one day and a half 10d. For hinge plates for the same gate and for the wicket *(wicattum)* of the said gate made of iron in hand 12d. For 2 locks with keys 8d. For removing the earth where the gate was placed and replacing it upon the woodwork 6d.
Total 26s 5½d.

Expended upon rebuilding a certain piece of the wall of the inner ward of the castle, 31 Edw. I.

For repairing a piece of the wall of the inner ward of the castle towards the town of Pevensey which had fallen down . . . For 6 quarters of lime bought for the same 3s. For carriage of the said lime from Burne to the castle 6d. For 2 boats employed for obtaining sand on the sea shore 2s. For carrying the said sand from the boats to the castle 15d. For beams and . . . bought for scaffolding 16d. For wages of a mason mending the chimney (*caminum)* of the hall chamber in the castle. . . For plaster of Paris bought for the same at Wynchelse 6s. For carriage of the said plaster from Wynchelse . . .
Total. 42s 10d.

1306 Survey by John Abel

At the great gate of the castle on the north was a bridge 68 feet in length which is broken down and the timber thereof was sold by

Salzmann 1906, 17
Roger de Levelande, constable of the castle under William de Leyburne; the bridge was worth 100s. To repair the said bridge would require timber to the value of £20, also iron to the value of £10, and for work and other expenses another £18; -total £48. Also, at the time that the said William was constable there was there a barn 110
feet in length and 30 feet in breadth which for lack of care fell to the ground, and it was worth £14, and the warders of the castle had the timber of the barn burnt with the palings, fences and other things belonging to the barn; -total £14. There was also a pigeon-house that suffered injury to the extent of 40s in the said constable's time.
There was also a hall with bed-chambers annexed which suffered injury to the extent of £12, and could be repaired for that sum. There is also a chamber called the Queen's chamber with a chapel and other chambers annexed which suffered injury to the extent of £20. There was also a stable that suffered injury to the extent of 40s at the time that William de Bestane was constable. There was also a pentice over the workmen's timber *(pendens ultra meremium ingennorum)* which suffered injury to

the extent of 10s. Also the keep *(turris)* and four towers *(turelli)* need for repairs in lead, masonry, woodwork and other costs £1000.
In all £1098. 10. 0

[1318]
A view and examination of all the walls gates and various buildings of the Castle of Pevenes made by William de Northho and John de Berkhamme on the Thursday following the feast of St Lucy in the eleventh year of King Edward the son of King Edward.

Having seen and diligently examined the defects in the said castle, it is found: -that the steps and bridge at the entrance of the keep

Salzmann 1906, 18
*(magni turris)* are entirely fallen down and broken so that they will need to be remade, and in the said keep are many defects which cannot be clearly seen before the roofing be removed, but by estimation one hundred beams are defective and almost all the boarding, and the lead roofing on the said keep ought to be entirely removed and recast, and it is estimated that the said defects can be mended and repaired at a cost, inclusive of mending the timber and lead and of the workmen's wages, of £120. Also it is found that the walls of the great gate of the lower (*injerioris)* bailey towards the keep are partly fallen, and they . . . , and also the lead roofing ought to be entirely removed and for the most part recast, and about *50* beams are defective and almost half the boarding, and it is estimated that the said defects can be repaired for £40. Also, in the tower called North tower which was of three floors *(stagiis)* the roofing (?) *(cumbris)* of the same has all fallen and broken through all the floors even as far as the stone vault and has penetrated the said vault so that it is shattered and almost in ruins, the walls however of the said tower are in good repair, but it requires to be entirely reconstructed with timber and roofing, and it is estimated that the tower can be reconstructed with timber, lead and other building material for £100. Also there is a breach in the corner of the inner bailey towards the north near the keep and the wall from the said breach to the keep, being 40 feet in length, is hanging over towards the town almost tottering and ought to be supported by means of a buttress or else to be entirely thrown down and rebuilt, and the said breach can be closed and the said wall underpinned for £20 but if it should be thrown down and rebuilt £40 would be required. Also in the case of two other small towers each of which was of three floors and of which the walls are in good repair save that. they are not crenellated they are likewise in need of reconstruction with timber and other materials but they had never been roofed with lead, and it is estimated that the said two small towers can be rebuilt in their original state for £40 and if they are to be roofed with lead, as they require, and to be crenellated, the cost of roofing and crenellating is estimated at £50. Also the walls of the inner bailey in various places are not crenellated and their repair is estimated at £20. Also at the postern towards the town are three . . . the repair of which is estimated at 100s. Also in the said inner bailey there is a hall with several rooms which were thatched and it is in ruins so that no one can (?go into it), of which the repair is estimated at £10. Also a certain bridge before the great gate is ruinous and its repair is estimated at 40'. Also a certain wall of the outer bailey on the north side .

. . fallen and the remainder of the said wall is almost in ruins, and the south part of the said bailey is almost open because the wall . . . and the open part is 20 perches in extent. If the King should wish to repair the said outer bailey its repair is estimated at £1000. Also there is in the same bailey a barn which was thatched and is ruinous and its defects can be repaired for *5* marks, and this barn used to serve to store the corn of the manor of Pevenes, which manor Margaret Queen of England now holds in dower.

Salzmann 1906, 19
The defects began 25 years ago when Sir William Leybourne was keeper of the castle, and the King made no grant for the repair of the castle nor did any keeper carry out any repairs, except John de Wyntersulle, formerly keeper, who repaired certain defects by the King's orders.

Salzmann 1906, 20
[1370-

Account of John de Seyntcler, knight, farmer of the Castle, Vill and Lowey of Pevensey, the manor of Wylyndon and Bailiwick of Endlenewike, by grant of Philippa late Queen of England by indenture of 24 May 40 Edw. III. for a term of 10 years at £200 per annum. Queen Philippa died on the feast of the Assumption 43 Edward III. and at Michaelmas 44 the King made over the castle to Nicholas de Louvyne, knight.

Receipts £813.

Expenses : For wages of 5 men at arms, 12 archers and 1 watchman *(vigil)* being in the castle of Pevenese for its safe keeping against French enemies on various days between 30 April a$^{o}$ 43 and 12 June following during the Queen's life, £17. 13. 3.; paid by virtue of a letter of Sir John de Delves, chief steward of the Queen's lands, sent to John de Seyntcler 27 April a$^{o}$ 43, in which he ordered the same to place in the said castle 6 men at arms 12 archers and 1 watchman at the Queen's charge for reasonable wages to be paid them, which wages he should deduct from the said farm, by testimony of John de Stopham porter of the castle and as appears in the roll of detailed accounts. And for wages of 9 men at arms, 20 archers and 1 watchman in the said castle for the same reason between 12 June a$^{o}$ 43 and 17 August following, £45. 11. 10. ; paid by virtue of a letter of John de Delves. And for wages of 8 men at arms 19 archers and 1 watchman between 16 August and 18 October, and of 6 men at arms 10 archers and 1 watchman from that date to Michaelmas a$^{o}$ 44, £198. 5. 9.; paid by virtue of the King's writ of privy seal 17 October 44 Edward III. by which the King ordered him to pay to the men at arms and archers who had been in the castle for its defence from the time that it came into the King's hands by the death of Queen Philippa wages on the same scale as before. And for like wages down to 26 January a$^{o}$ 45.

And for expenses incurred for repair of the great bridge in the castle of Pevenese and of another bridge before the door of the keep, and of a great *steghre* (?stairway)

there entirely broken up, and of the great gate of the castle, and for the roofing of the buildings there, both for plumber's work with solder bought for the same and for

Salzmann 1906, 21
roofing with tiles, lime *(calce usto),* sand, laths, nails and other necessaries bought for the same work including wages of carpenters,sawyers, tilers, plumbers and other workmen, with timber bought in Ashbournham Wood and carriage and sawing of the same, with other different expenses in connection with the gates and buildings of the
castle, during the Queen's life £14. 8.; paid by virtue of a letter of John de Delves, &c. And for repair of the stone tower of the great gate of one wing (*insule)* of the castle keep and for blocking up three doors of the inner ward of the said castle and for repair of three rooms beyond the great gate which were completely ruined and dilapidated, and for beams *(gistes)* put into the keep, :including wages of masons, carpenters, sawyers, plumbers and other workmen employed on the said jobs and carriage of timber, stones and other things for the same work, 44 Edward III., £26. 13. 5.; paid by virtue of the King's writ. And for 10 quarters of wheat, 4 quarters of beans, a pipe of wine, a cask of salt, 2 casks of chick-peas *(ciser'),* 3 oxen, 20 muttons, 10 swine bought for bacon, provided for the victualling of the castle; and for 8 cross bows (*balistis)* 9 bows, 44 sheaves of arrows bought for the furnishing of the castle, including carriage of the same and other small payments, £26. 11. 10.; paid by virtue of a letter of John de Delves. Also, given to Nicholas de Loveyne, constable of the castle, for repair of the castle £20 ; paid by virtue of the King's writ. And given to Richard de Ravenser late receiver of the Queen, by a tally of 15 July a$^{o}$ 41, £I 3 ; by a second tally of 19 November a$^{o}$ 42, £75; by a third tally of 27 April the same year, £50; and by a fourth tally of 9 November a$^{o}$ 43, £91; for which £229 the said Richard is answerable.

Total expenses £732. 10. 10.
He owes 80. 9. 2.

Salzmann 1906, 23
[1408]
Expenses incurred by the prior of Michelham, 9 Henry IV

Paid to William Mason in part payment for making the stone bridge at the great gate of the castle, by contract, 53s. 4d. Paid to Henry Pavyer, mason, for repairs of the outer part of a certain wall on the south side and for repair .of the inner part of the wall of a certain tower called Dameydeynesto$^{r}$ and of a certain wall of the keep and for

Salzmann 1906, 24
a certain new wall between the keep and the gateway, by contract, £5. 10. And for stone bought from Robert Harry for the same work 35s. 8d. And for stone bought of John Mason for the said work 27s. And for 63 cart loads of stone and gravel from the quarry of Borne and other places brought to the castle, at 8d. the load, 42s. And paid
for digging gravel *(sic)* to make lime 2s 3d. And paid to John Merssher the younger for carriage of 94 loads of sand from the sea to the castle, at 4d. the load, 31s. 4d.

And paid to the same John for 94 loads of flint and rubble *(burr')* brought from the vill of Pevensey to the castle, at 1d. the load, 7s. 10d. And paid for burning 3 pits-full of lime, at 10s the pit, 30". And paid for talwode bought for firing the said pits 27s 1d. And paid for taking the lime out of the pits, at 16d. the pit, 4s. And paid to John Bole, carpenter, working there 27 days, at 4 ½d the day, 10s 1 ½d· And for 2 spades newly ironed, bought, 11 ½d. And for making a pit to burn lime 18d. And for rods bought for scaffolding 2d. Paid to Richard Crownall and John Godynoll working there
at various jobs for 12 days 8s. Paid for removal of dung from a fold below the castle, by contract, 3s. 4d And paid to John Smyzt of Westham for various work at the castle, as shown in detail on a certain paper schedule 5s 8d. And paid to John Ydenne overseeing the works 3s 4d,
Total. £20. 3 . 2.

Salzmann 1906, 25
[1440]

Account of the receiver, 18 Henry VI.

Paid to Thomas Grenecroft of London for one fodir and 425 lb of lead bought from him for repair of the roofing of the buildings of the castle of Pevensey - the fodir containing 1900 lb of lead, the price of a fodir being £4. 16. 8 - with weighing (10d) and carriage (12d) from the Weyhous to Southwerk, £6. 0. It. And for carriage of the same lead from Southwerk to the castle of Pevensey, with 12d paid to certain persons for carrying the lead into the castle across the castle bridge because the said bridge is so weak and rotten that carts cannot go over it, 11s. Paid to William Ohilwell plumber employed by the steward for melting and casting 3771 lb alike of new lead (2325 lb) and of old torn and holey lead sheets (1446 lb) taken by the said William from the roofs of the chapel within the Dongeon, a part of the tower called Mortymers chambre, the artillery chamber and the constable's apartments; and for roofing and covering the said rooms with the new sheet so made - besides a part of the same rooms covered with lead the previous year; also for making a lead pipe reaching from the top of the tower called the Dungeon down to the ground on the west side of the same tower to carry off the water from its wall; at 12d for the casting
laying and working of each 100 lb of lead, 37s. 8 ¼ d. And paid to the same William for 29 lb of solder bought by him for the same work at 4d a pound, 13s. And paid to the same William for mending various defects in the sheeting of divers gutters and of the small towers within the castle, with lead and solder, by contract 15s 4d. And paid to John Lot and John Hill employed in lifting and carrying lead sheets from the ground to the top of the said towers for 3 days, each receiving 4d a day, 2s. And for firewood bought for casting the same lead 18d. And for carriage of a pair of balances from Bourne to Pevensey for weighing the said lead 3d. And for 10 1b of iron bought of which to make *spikyng* for the same work, with the cost of making, 20d. And
for *50* doornails *(durnaille)* bought for the same 2d. And for a cord bought to raise the lead to the top of the towers 6ct. And paid to Richard Page, workman, working with the said plumber for 7 days, at 4d a day, 2s. 4d. .And for 600 leadnails

*(lednaill) b*ought, at 6d the hundred, 3s. And paid to Giles Asshmeston employed with his barrow *(curtena)* carrying sand for 1 ½ days 12d, And for 4 quarters of lime bought at Bourne for repairs of the castle walls, 5s 4ct. And for carriage of the same to the castle 12d. And paid for one cartload of straw bought for the roof of the stable within the castle 12ct. And paid to Thomas Boreword, thatcher, thatching the same with the said straw, for two days 10d. And paid to 1 man assisting him 6d. And for rods and faggots *(roddis et restibus)* bought for the same work 4d. And paid to John Tyman cleaning and carrying mud and earth out of

Salzmann 1906, 26
the Dungeon, as well as for scouring the walls and gutters of the castle, for 21 days, 7s. And for money allowed this accountant for carriage of 71 loads of lime into the castle of Pevensey, at 4d the load, with which he is charged in the Feodary's accounts as arrears of John Grove bailiff of the Fees in 15th year of the present king, 23s 8d.

# APPENDIX 2 – AEROFILMS PHOTOGRAPHS 1936 AND 1948

## Aerofilms Photographs July 1936

*Fig 59: Pevensey Castle from the north-west AFL193607_EPW051350 JULY-1936 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 60: Pevensey Castle and village from the west AFL193607 EPW051351 JULY-1936 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 61: Westham and Pevensey from the west AFL193607_EPW051352 JULY-1936 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 62: Pevensey Castle from the north-west AFL193607_EPW051353 JULY-1936 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 63: Westham and Pevensey from the south-west; the separate tented camps, possibly for Scouts or Guides, are visible in several of these images FL193607 EPW051354 JULY-1936 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 64: Pevensey Castle from the west AFL193607_ EPW051356 JULY-1936 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

Aerofilms Photographs1948

*Fig 65: The castle from the south AFL19480413 EAW014354 13-APR-1948 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 66: The castle from north of west AFL19480413 EAW014355 13-APR-1948 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 67: The castle from south of west AFL19480413 EAW014357 13-APR-1948 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

*Fig 68: A line of pale marks in the grass left by the removed Second World War anti-tank cubes is still visible in the grass (bottom left of image) AFL19480413 EAW014358 13-APR-1948 ©Historic England Archive. Aerofilms Collection*

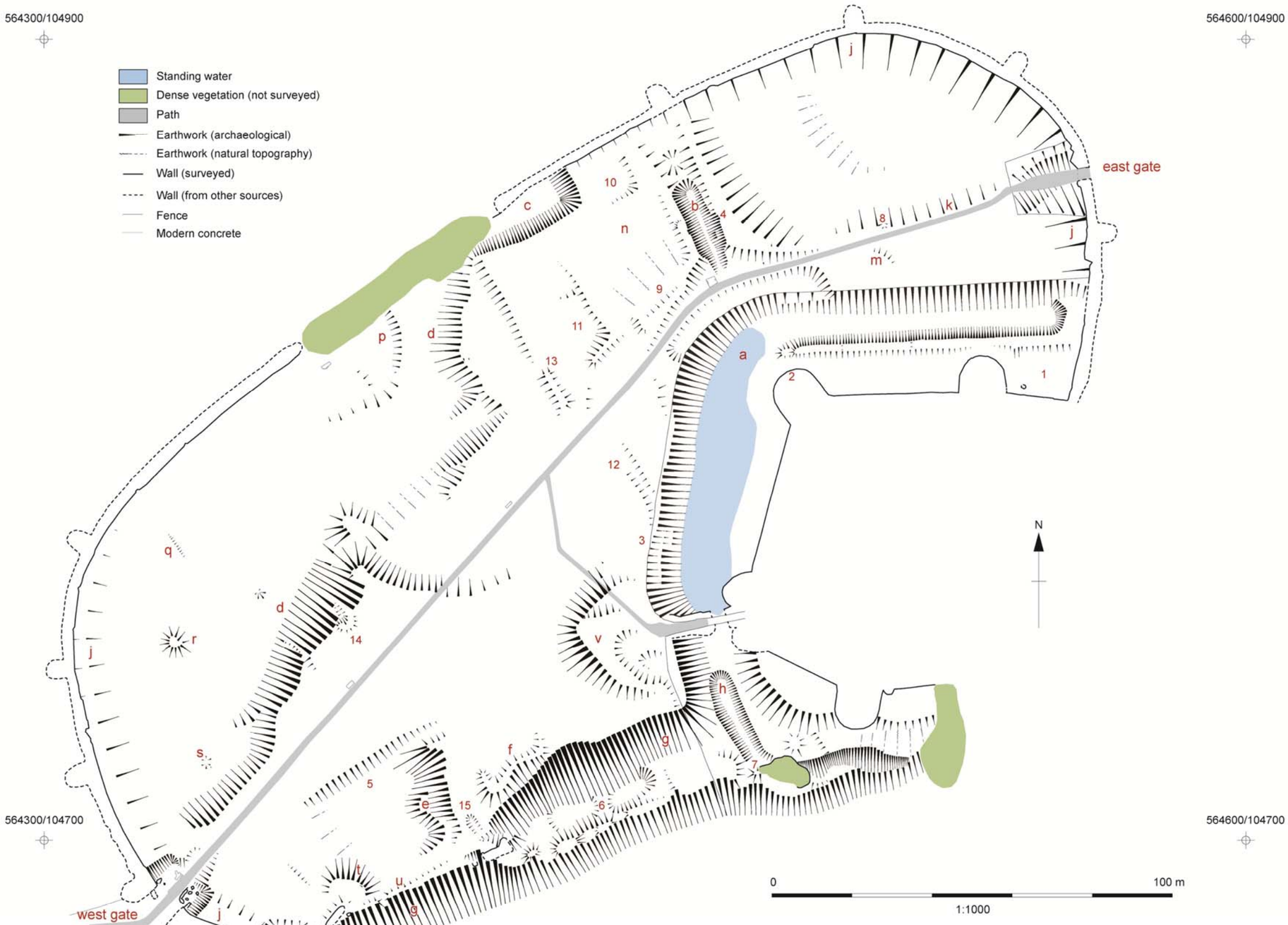


*Fig 28: archaeological survey plan*

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