

From the *Transactions* of the  
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

## **Gloucestershire Castles**

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1991, Vol. 109, 5-23

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## Gloucestershire Castles

By DAVID WALKER

*Presidential Address delivered at the High School, Gloucester, 16 March 1991*

The obligation to give a presidential address presented me with the opportunity to talk about Gloucestershire castles.\* It would be possible to take a small number of castles and to talk at length about their architectural development. We might take the major defence provided by Chepstow castle and analyse its physical development in detail. Or there is St Briavels, the centre of administration for the Forest of Dean. There were two earthwork castles here within a mile of each other, and the permanent site was expanded from basic earthworks, to a strong stone keep, and then to massive curtain wall defences, and finally to the great gatehouse which is the castle's chief surviving feature. Or again, we might take a luxurious residential castle, the great house which Berkeley became in the 14th century, and analyse that in detail.

Elsewhere, ruined sites, like Lydney and Miserden, or castle mounds like Brimpsfield and Dymock, point to other facets of castle building and castle use. Place names amplify the nature of physical survivals: Castle Mound at Brimpsfield, Castle Farm at Dymock, or Castle Bailey at English Bicknor.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, they point to the existence of castles which have disappeared: Castle Farm at Dursley confirms the Berkeley stronghold in or near Dursley,<sup>2</sup> and perhaps Castle Street at Cirencester,<sup>3</sup> though the castle only existed there briefly between 1141 and 1142.

My concern is to cover a wider field. There are intriguing problems of local topography, and of royal and baronial administration; there are economic and social facets to the study of medieval castles. I shall consider Gloucestershire castles in their setting, and examine how they illustrate a variety of historical problems.

With any discussion of English castles, we are concerned with castles which depend primarily on earthworks for their defence and those which rely primarily on stone buildings for defence. There are two classic types of earthworks which were especially important for the 11th and 12th centuries, and they can be classified, very generally, as ringworks and motte and bailey castles.

The ringwork consisted of an area defended by a ditch and embankment, made more formidable by strong wooden palisades. On many sites post holes suggest the buildings which were once in use. The entrance, always a weak point, might be heavily fortified with a wooden tower. When it was attacked, the fact that the enemy would have to cross a narrow bridge across the ditch in small numbers must often have reduced the threat of a large-scale frontal assault. In Gloucestershire, there was a concentration of ringworks in the Forest of Dean area. The basic plan allowed for a wide range of variation. At Littledean, excavators expected to find evidence of Iron Age or Roman occupation within the earthworks, but they were able to identify clearly that the site was a Norman ringwork in which part of the defences had been built up as a platform, perhaps for an observation post or perhaps for a stronger defence at that particular point.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere in the shire, at Hillesley, excavation indicated a simple Norman ringwork which was

\* I have retained the format of this address, but I have extended it at some points where justification of general claims, not appropriate in a lecture, is necessary in print. The maps were prepared by Guy Lewis, senior cartographer in the Department of Geography at the University College of Swansea.

strengthened, extended and greatly modified in two subsequent phases.<sup>5</sup> The whole process covered a period from the late 11th century to the 13th century.

The other type of earthwork is the motte and bailey castle. The defences consisted of bank and ditch around the bailey – the courtyard – and the motte, an artificial mound, served as the safest place of refuge in the castle. The rampart would carry a strong wooden stockade, and the motte would have its own ditch and be provided with a wooden palisade and with a watch-tower. The orientation of such a castle is generally from the motte through the bailey, and often to the entry, with its strengthened defences. To take the bailey by assault was the first step towards attacking and capturing the motte. As an emergency castle, or a campaign castle, the motte could stand alone, and it might never be given a bailey. It is easy to describe the stereotype briefly, but the variation of pattern and scale, the adaptation of earlier defence works, and occasionally the use of two baileys, all make for great variety in this type of castle. Increasingly, those who study the development of castles have come to believe that in Normandy and England in the 11th and 12th centuries the earliest form of many castles was a ringwork, and that the fully developed motte and bailey may represent a later stage in the growth of the castle. For many years, they have been seeking to identify whether a motte was essential for defence at the earliest stage of the development of a castle.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the pattern, earthwork castles were simple and effective. They are to be found all over the British Isles, and they range in time from the Norman Conquest to the end of the 12th century.

Derek Renn has mapped the distribution of mottes.<sup>7</sup> They are heavily massed along the borderlands between England and Wales, and in the areas of Norman expansion in South Wales. Herefordshire, Shropshire and their Welsh hinterland are very thickly covered. These castles are recorded over a period of some 150 years. They were not all in use at the same time, and some of them existed for only a few years. But when due allowance has been made for that, much of the West Midlands was shielded by a heavy concentration of castles along the frontier.

The second type of castle is the massive stone keep, which depends upon size and scale for defence, and which is very difficult to capture. Such *donjons* derive from the great keep towers of Anjou and Normandy. The Tower of London, and the Norman keeps of Colchester or Norwich are perhaps the best examples of royal keeps. Among private castles, the de Vere family's tower-keep at Hedingham (Essex), built about 1140, is particularly fine. It displays many of the features which can be found in these *donjons*: massive walls, rising to three or four stories; corner turrets; the main entrance at first floor level, with the stair and entry protected by a forebuilding – this has disappeared at Hedingham, though the foundations are clear to see. In the lower stories, openings were few and small. They can be larger and more elaborate at higher levels.

Castles built at strategic points contributed greatly to the success of the Norman conquest of England. There is documentary evidence for at least 32 castles before 1071, and of these nine lay in the West Midlands.<sup>8</sup> William fitz Osbern was given responsibility for a wide area covering Herefordshire and Gloucestershire and probably Worcestershire, with a castle at Hereford as his base. From that outpost he assessed the strategic problem and established castles at Wigmore, Clifford, Ewyas Harold and Monmouth, which gave him a first line of defence against attacks from Wales. Further south he built a castle at Chepstow – Strigoil, as it was then known. William also took a sizeable estate in Sharpness and established the castle we know as Berkeley. There is no proof that he founded the castle at Gloucester, but he had control of the borough, and it is almost inconceivable that he left it unguarded. When we first hear of it, the castle was in the hands of one of his men, Roger de Pitres, but there the chain of evidence breaks down and we can go no further. Renn classified Wigmore as a ringwork with a bailey; as it now stands, it certainly has a motte;<sup>9</sup> the site of Hereford castle has been flattened and built over, but if it did not start as a motte and bailey castle, it certainly acquired a motte. Clifford, Ewyas, Monmouth and

Berkeley, as we know them, are motte and bailey castles much developed in later centuries. From the beginning, Chepstow depended upon a stone tower-keep for its strength, with a bailey running down the line of the river Wye. Consistent and steady building work, much of it from the 13th and 14th centuries, made Chepstow one of the most impressive castles of the southern march. The survival of so much makes it possible to trace the development of the castle with confidence. But it would be a mistake to underestimate the size and scale of fitz Osbern's original castle on this site.

To see the real significance of this castle, we need to look, not at his entrenched position at Hereford, but at the estates with which William fitz Osbern was connected in Gloucestershire (FIG. 1). He held Gloucester and a number of manors near Gloucester, and he had a range of estates down the western bank of the Severn, from Awre to Tidenham. His castle on the Wye was not built in the manor of Tidenham itself, but on the further bank of the Wye. The land which he and his successors gained in Wales, the castlery of Strigoil, were closely linked with Gloucester: the sheriff of Gloucestershire was active in this territory, and was rendering account for its dues with Gloucestershire in 1086. It was through Gloucester that the castlery was answerable to the Crown. It is a fair inference that the initial thrust towards Chepstow came from Gloucester. It is hard to see how a commander based at Hereford could assess the position in Gloucestershire or identify Chepstow as a key outpost of Norman power. There is a parallel on the east bank of the Severn. Fitz Osbern acquired estates at Hempsted and Standish, and he intervened personally in Sharpness and Berkeley. However brief his direct acquaintance with the area may be, he knew something of this part of Gloucestershire, and could either instruct his agents or profit from their greater knowledge and counsel. We are dealing, not merely with physical remains, but with intangibles, with the lines of power and influence, with strategic considerations, and with administrative links.

By 1086, there is evidence for the existence of more than 80 castles in England, with a small number in Wales,<sup>10</sup> and Gloucester and Bristol are among them. It is a curious fact that these castles, the major strongholds of the shire, have disappeared, and to recover the detail of their layout requires a fair measure of ingenuity and conjecture.

The whole area of Bristol's castle had been built over until bomb damage in the Second World War left the site exposed. The remains of a Norman arch, with a corridor area could be seen before the war, and there was a staircase in Woolworths, in Castle Street, from which the moat could be seen, as well as a small bridge in Queen Street which crossed it. The junction of the river and the moat may still be seen, with the sweep which took the moat under Queen Street. Today, the castle site has been laid out as a park, marred for the time being by the tarmac bays of an abandoned car park.

The site of the castle was dictated by the topography of the Anglo-Saxon borough, which lay in a tongue of land between the Avon and the Frome. The Normans built their castle just beyond the eastern boundary of the town, in an area marked by some development and settlement outside the borough. One result was that no tenements in the borough itself had to be taken over to build the castle, and that presumably explains why it was not mentioned in Domesday Book. The first reference to it occurs in 1088. The early defences included a deep-cut ditch, and it has been suggested that this points to a strong ringwork. This was developed into a motte and bailey castle. The ditch of the motte and a short course of the ditch of the bailey have been identified.<sup>11</sup> It was held and presumably built by Geoffrey de Mowbray, bishop of Coutances, who is thought to have added some stone defences to link the castle with the borough. As part of a widespread honour, he held a number of Gloucestershire manors, mostly within a ten-mile radius of Bristol,<sup>12</sup> but his interest in the borough was much more closely linked with the 70 manors he held in Somerset, and especially with Bishopsworth.<sup>13</sup> Geoffrey survived until 1093, when his

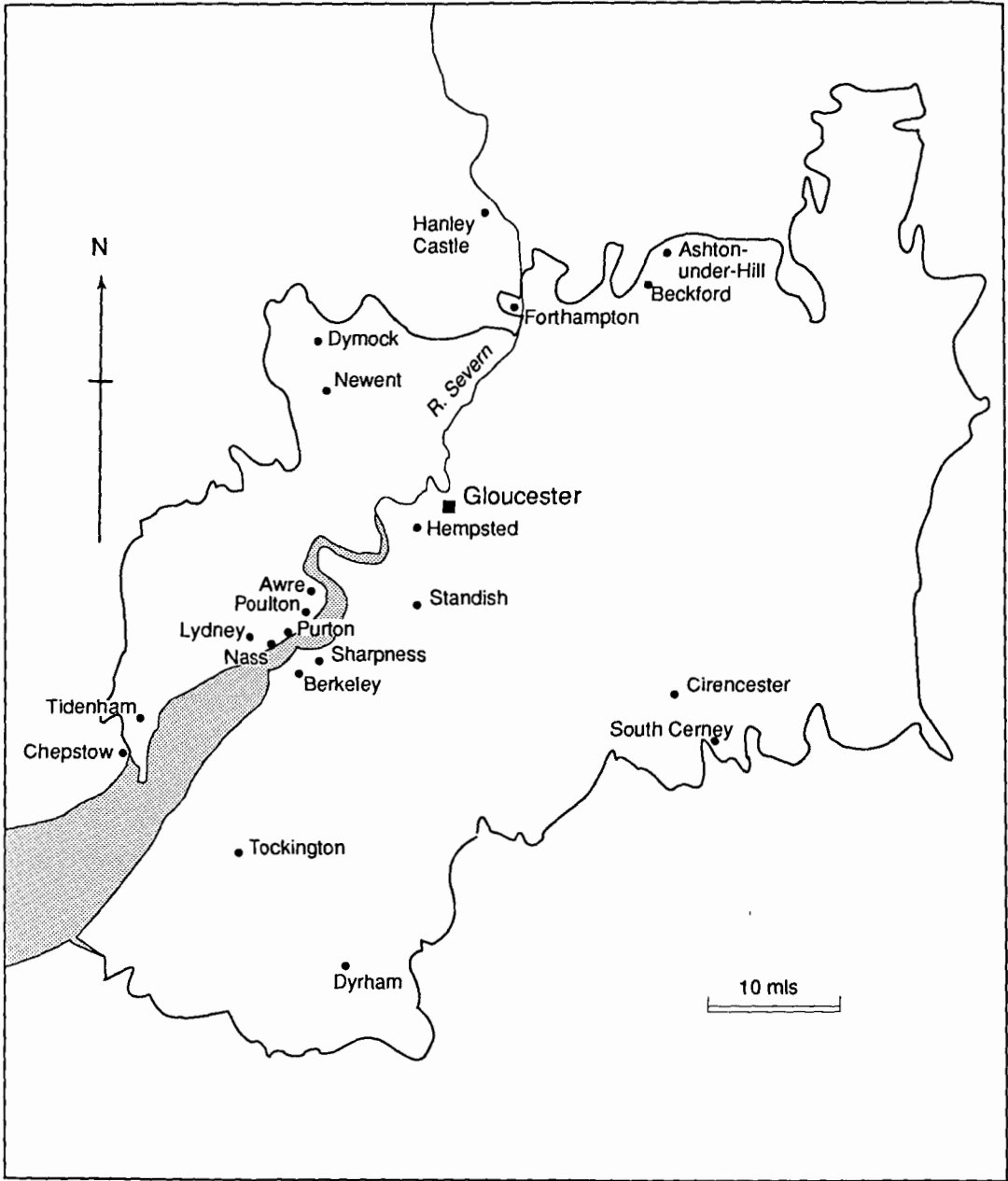


FIG. 1 William fitz Osbern's estates and influence in Gloucestershire.

estates passed to his nephew Robert de Mowbray, who forfeited them after his rebellion against William II in 1094. Bristol passed eventually to Robert fitz Hamo, and through marriage, to Henry I's bastard son, Robert, earl of Gloucester. He is credited with building the great stone keep which dominated medieval Bristol, and which was probably built in the years after 1120. Earl Robert was a staunch supporter of his sister, the empress, in the struggle for power with King Stephen: her son, the future Henry II, spent part of his youth at Bristol. The castle remained with his uncle, Earl Robert, until 1147, and then with his cousin, Earl William, until 1173. At that stage, the king faced widespread rebellion and he reclaimed Bristol which remained a royal stronghold. From 1175, we can trace payments made for repairs and developments at Bristol castle, and for the extensive building programmes of the 13th century.<sup>14</sup> Once it was built, the castle attracted settlement to the east, with a broad market street – Bristol's Old Market – and steady expansion towards Lawford's Gate. The castle was ruinous before the end of the 15th century.

In some ways, the most interesting aspect of Bristol castle is that we know in some detail how the earls of Gloucester used it as their administrative centre. They had a staff of clerics who wrote their charters and other business documents;<sup>15</sup> some of their work suggests that this secretarial office was modelled on the royal chancery. They had their own financial office, their exchequer, which was certainly in operation at some time during the last ten years of Earl William's life (1173–83).<sup>16</sup> The ultimate model for this was the royal exchequer, but the immediate model may have been the exchequer used by the earls of Leicester. The case is interesting but not conclusive. A clerk, Adam of Ely, who served in the earl of Leicester's administration, was dean of Wareham. When an army of the empress captured Wareham in 1139, he came under the control, and eventual patronage of Robert, earl of Gloucester, and spent many years in the service of new masters. He cannot be identified positively in the earl's service until 1147,<sup>17</sup> but it is a fair assumption that he was involved from an earlier date. When Adam died in 1165, he had been continually in Earl William's service for eighteen years as a senior and influential administrator, but there is no evidence that he was directly associated with financial business. So, the chain of evidence is strong but not complete.

At Gloucester, too, the whole site has been built over, and the extent of the medieval castle must be reconstructed from physical features, maps, paintings, early prints, and increasingly, from archaeological evidence. Much of this material has been surveyed and analysed on a number of occasions. H.M. Colvin and R.A. Brown worked over the administrative and financial records in great detail in *The History of the King's Works* in 1963;<sup>18</sup> Henry Hurst dealt at length with the archaeological and documentary evidence in an essay published in 1984.<sup>19</sup> He argued that an early castle was replaced by a stone-built castle on a different site, and his case has both influenced, and been supported by, archaeologists working in this area between 1984 and the present day.<sup>20</sup> A valuable summary account was included in the history of the city of Gloucester published in the *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire* in 1988, and there is a shorter account in Carolyn Heighway's *Gloucester: A History and a Guide*,<sup>21</sup> published in 1985. I think it would have to be said that this case rests on archaeological evidence, and the documentary evidence does not lend any support to the case. The interest of Gloucester castle lies partly in this – that what may be inferred from the evidence of excavation does not match what may be inferred from documentary evidence.

A castle depending on earthworks, almost certainly a motte and bailey castle, was built in the Conqueror's reign. It was held by Roger de Pitres, sheriff of Gloucestershire, one of the trusted followers of William fitz Osbern. Roger died before 1086, and had been succeeded as sheriff and castellan by his brother, Durand, when the Domesday Survey was carried out, but how far back into King William's reign we should take the foundation of the castle cannot be determined. That

it was a substantial castle was made clear in the Domesday account of the borough.<sup>22</sup> Sixteen houses had been demolished, and the site of these houses, with their garden plots, had been taken over to build it. As with other boroughs, Domesday Book gives no indication of the area covered by the Norman castle. It records only the damage done, the number of houses demolished to clear the site. The loss of revenue from these burgages could be substantial. It was an important stronghold, and it was continually being expanded and developed. By the end of the 11th century, between 1097 and 1100, it had been enlarged, and another eight house-plots had been taken over. It is a fair assumption that the motte lay across the line of the Roman defences at Barbican Hill. Until 1815, there was an artificial mound here, used by then as an ornamental feature, and it is difficult to conceive of other conditions which might make the creation of that mound so close to the curtain wall of the 13th-century castle a feasible proposition. The inference that it was the castle motte is hard to reject, but it remains only an inference, and it could be overthrown.

Early in the 12th century, beginning perhaps as early as 1109, more land was acquired by the castellan, Walter of Gloucester, who built a large stone keep which became the most formidable part of the castle. Walter negotiated with the monks of St Peter's, Gloucester, for land where they had a garden, and on that he built his keep.<sup>23</sup> He also negotiated with the canons of St Oswald's for land in front of the castle,<sup>24</sup> and it has been assumed that this was needed for the same purpose. One transaction can be dated to 1108/9, and the other to the years 1109–11; both plots were near the castle, and a big project was being planned. The king, Henry I, was behind all this, and he provided the means of compensating the two religious communities. It was an example of the royal agent acting for the king within his own area of jurisdiction. But the idea that Walter had built the donjon on his own land gained some credence in the borough.<sup>25</sup> He built it outside the defences of the castle. His keep was presumably ready for use about 1120; the sheriff was still accounting for work on the tower in 1130, but by then he might be settling outstanding bills, or paying for repairs and improvements. Walter and his son, Miles, were responsible for adding new outer defences for the borough; Walter added a new ditch on the castle site, and by 1143 Miles had built a new bailey for the castle. After his death, his son, Roger, gave a certain Wulfric Mortdefreit and his wife two stalls (shops) as compensation for the land Miles had taken from them to make the ditch for his new bailey.<sup>26</sup> The sequence is clear. We can piece together something like 60 or 70 years of development at Gloucester castle from its foundation to its extended and complex defences during the reign of Stephen.

By the end of 1143, different parts of the castle were being distinguished. After the death of Miles, earl of Hereford, late in December 1143, there was a conflict between St Peter's abbey and the canons of Lanthony over the rights of burial. The monks were in a difficult position. Four hereditary castellans of Gloucester had died within 60 or 70 years. Two had been buried at the abbey, Roger de Pitres (before 1086) and Durand (before 1095); two had been buried elsewhere, Walter of Gloucester at Llanthony in Wales (in the mid 1120s), and Earl Miles at Lanthony-iuxta-Gloucester (1143). If the abbey could not establish its claim, the right of burial over the castellans and garrison of Gloucester might be lost. The monks could use the precedents of Roger and Durand and plead long-standing custom, or they could argue an ingenious case. The keep had been built on land which had formerly been their garden; they could demonstrate that their chaplain had exercised parochial rights over that land and had sent bodies for burial at the abbey and their chaplain continued to do this after the keep was built. The appeal to precedent covered the castle before the keep was built; the appeal to parochial rights covered the keep. In the event, they used both arguments, and they secured from the castellan, Roger, earl of Hereford, a recognition of their rights of burial. Henceforth, that would be their unassailable title-deed, and so the definitions used in it were important for their future. Documents issued by

two bishops of Worcester provide these definitions.<sup>27</sup> In one, it was agreed that in future all those who should die within the *ambitum* of the castle should be buried at the abbey. That ambit must mean the whole enclosure, all that lay within the perimeter of the castle. In the other document, they used a different phrase: all those who should die in the castle 'both new and old' (*tam novo quam veteri*) should be buried in the abbey.<sup>28</sup> The important feature about this agreement is that the whole castle was still in use, the old part and the new part, and it was expected to continue in use for the foreseeable future. In the second half of the 12th century, we have to think of a castle which included the Norman work<sup>29</sup> and Henry I's great keep. The documents do not suggest or support the view that an old castle had been superseded by a new castle on a different site.

By the last decades of the 12th century, or the first decade of the 13th, the situation had changed. We have to ask what use could be made of the motte and of any wooden building on the motte, once the stone keep was operational. From a military point of view, it would not be essential to build a stone tower on the motte, but so long as a wooden building remained in reasonable repair it could be used for accommodation, if not for defence. Wooden buildings decay, and in many castles wooden defences on mottes were eventually replaced by stone buildings, often in the later years of the 12th century or early in the 13th. At that stage, there would be little justification for new work on the motte at Gloucester, and it would make sense to abandon the motte and its subsidiary defences. By the 1180s, walls had been added to the defences and were being kept in repair. We know much about the cost of maintaining these walls, but there is little direct evidence for their layout within the total area of the castle.<sup>30</sup> On the western side of the castle, running along the Severn, part of the 12th-century curtain wall was identified in 1985. A length of 75 metres was planned from pile and foundation trenches. The existence of two external towers was established; one may have been part of the King's Bridge to Castle Meads, and was not an integral part of the wall.<sup>31</sup> It is a reasonable assumption that these 12th-century defences matched the outer circuit of the 13th-century castle. If that assumption is well-based – and so much of the history of the castle turns on assumptions – the decline of the old part of the castle might be assigned to the 1170s and 1180s. Mr Hurst drew attention to the fact that men living in the Old Castle area were using the names de Vallo and de Bailli.<sup>32</sup> During the time of Abbot Thomas (1179–1205), the sub-almoner of St Peter's had three small tenements in Old Castle for which tenants paid annual rents. Elias Palmer paid 5s., a year, and two brothers, Peter de Vallo and Robert de Vallo, paid 20d. and 12d. for their holdings. A fourth tenement was held by a certain Wimund, but who his landlord was is not known. Peter was also called 'Peter, brother of Robert' and 'Peter Ingan'.<sup>33</sup> Their holdings were very small, and the two brothers seem to have been unimportant figures: they only attest charters dealing with this small group of properties. In the next generation, during the time of Abbot Henry Blount (1205–24), William de Bailli is named, apparently as the tenant of Robert de Vallo's holding.<sup>34</sup> Nothing more is known of him. We may, surely, think of a huddle of small houses – perhaps only a few small houses – built against the remains of the Norman earthworks.

In terms of topography, much of what I have said about the early stages of the history of Gloucester castle turns on the association of documentary evidence and archaeological evidence. The consistent interpretation of the documentary evidence has been that Walter of Gloucester acquired land 'in front of the castle' in order to build his keep. That implies that the orientation of the motte and bailey lay towards the site of that keep and ran north and east from the motte. Henry Hurst and his colleagues have argued for a different orientation, with a bailey running south and west from the motte. Hurst expressed their tentative conclusion very guardedly: 'Such pointers as there are seem to favour a first-phase enclosure in the southwest corner of the Roman walled circuit constructed prior to 1086, with the secondary addition of a motte (Barbican Hill), perhaps on the occasion of the breaching of the Roman wall.' He goes on to say, 'This is,

however, a speculative reconstruction from inconclusive evidence and the question as a whole must remain open until further information is revealed by excavation.<sup>35</sup> For an observer, there is a sharp contrast between this guarded language and the extent to which Hurst's thesis has been hardened and adopted by other local writers. The explanation seems to be that his fellow archaeologists were convinced before his views appeared in print. Their certainty and enthusiasm sprang from their knowledge of his work as it was in progress and not from the terms of his article.<sup>36</sup> So far as I can see, there has been no opportunity for a major exploration of the area between Barbican Hill and Blackfriars. The interpretation of work at a site at Commercial Road in 1984 was that 'the remaining portions of an earlier building and the rubble around it were levelled for the construction of the Norman motte-and-bailey castle', and that some parts of the bailey surface survived there. It was also reported that 'occupation of the castle was short-lived, and the area became open ground in the 12th century'.<sup>37</sup> It is not easy to determine whether more recent studies have confirmed Hurst's tentative conclusions, or whether his successors have assumed his findings in the interpretation of their work. Having argued the case for the existence of a bailey running south and west from the motte, Hurst put forward the view that there were two castles at Gloucester, the motte and bailey superseded by the keep and the castle works associated with it. On that question, I have tried to show that the documents assume a single castle, incorporating the old part and the new part. There remains the contrast between the inferences to be drawn from the documentary evidence and the archaeological evidence. I suspect that Hurst's appeal to further excavation is still an essential feature of the discussion. It is heartening to learn that a major exploration of this site is in progress at the present time. If preliminary findings are corroborated, our views about Gloucester castle will need substantial revision in the near future.

From the reign of Henry III, the development of the castle site presents complex problems. There were extensive alterations and repairs to the defences and to bridges giving access to the castle. Henry III transformed the castle into a royal residence, with a great hall, a large kitchen, domestic apartments for himself, for the queen, and for his heir, the Lord Edward. There were three or four chapels and a stable block. Part of the keep had been used as a gaol since 1185, and in the later middle ages different parts of the castle were used for this purpose. Within the defences there was room for a herb garden and a vineyard. The area inside the curtain wall was divided by internal walls into small baileys. For Hurst and his colleagues it has been a matter of acute observation and conjecture to seek to establish in detail the changes and developments indicated in topography and in the record evidence.

Visits to Gloucester and Gloucestershire by the Norman kings were recorded only on rare occasions. Although William the Conqueror was said to have spent Christmas at Gloucester whenever he was in the kingdom, only two such visits are actually recorded, in 1080 and 1085.<sup>38</sup> William II was at Alveston and Gloucester in the summer of 1093, and in that year he held his Christmas court at Gloucester. It was noted that this was the first occasion on which he had held his court there;<sup>39</sup> he was certainly in Gloucester again for Christmas, 1099. Henry I broke with the practice of spending Christmas at Gloucester; he preferred to keep the feast at places nearer London, often at Westminster or Windsor. He was in the forest of Dean in 1100 and 1101, in Cirencester and Gloucester in 1107 or 1108, at Alveston and Berkeley (where he spent Easter) in 1121, and in Gloucester in 1123. The maintenance of royal authority depended upon the vigilance and trustworthiness of royal officials.

In Gloucestershire the dynasty was served by a family of hereditary sheriffs, who remained in the royal service from the time of Roger de Pitres to that of Walter of Hereford, covering a time span from the late 1060s to 1159 (FIG. 2). Roger de Pitres and his brother were sheriffs of Gloucestershire and castellans of Gloucester castle. Roger's son, Walter of Gloucester, also held



FIG. 2 Estates and influence of the Gloucester family.

the office of constable in the king's household and was one of Henry I's leading administrators. His son Miles continued in the royal service, and became earl of Hereford in 1141. When he died in 1143, it seemed that all his gains in lands and offices would be consolidated by his son, Roger, earl of Hereford. Then, in 1155, Earl Roger rebelled against Henry II and he paid a heavy price; he was allowed to enter the monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester, and within a few months he was dead. His brother, Walter, continued as sheriff until 1159 when he withdrew from the royal service to journey to the Holy Land where he died. His younger brothers ceased to have any connection with local administration, and when the last of them, Mahel of Hereford, died in 1165, his estates were divided between his sisters. By far the greater part of the family's English lands went to Margaret, wife of Humphrey de Bohun.<sup>40</sup>

Our present concern is with the way in which these changes affected the pattern of tenure and influence. While they were powerful in local administration Gloucester castle was clearly the centre of the Gloucester family's activities. But they had other castles outside the shire. The *caput* of their honour was their castle at Caldicot, in its early form a splendid motte and bailey; the later additions to the castle merely emphasise strength of that motte and bailey. We do not know how much the family used this castle; the first glimpse of life at Caldicot comes at the end of the 12th century. Earl Miles married the heiress of the lordship of Brecknock, and Brecon castle was an important centre for him. He also gained control of the lordship and castle of Abergavenny. Earl Roger and his brothers had close links with Brecon, and between 1155 and 1165 that may have been their principal base. In Gloucestershire they had a group of estates near Gloucester. At Haresfield, a mound and ditch on Puddingworth brook has survived, and the manor house, built at a later date, was called 'The Mount'.<sup>41</sup> The mansion at Haresfield Court was once identified as Moat Place, and in the 19th century it was reported that massive foundations had been found behind the house.<sup>42</sup> The siting may, perhaps, indicate the limit of a bailey, possibly with a gate-house or defensive tower? In the 14th century, William of Worcester, a Bristol antiquarian, kept a record of journeys which he had made, and he recorded seeing a castle at Harescombe. The tradition survived that when the Guise family built their new house at Elmore in the reign of Elizabeth I, they made use of stones from Harescombe castle.<sup>43</sup> Quedgeley has a moated site; a chapel was in use in the manor by 1095. A substantial house can be traced there from the middle of the 12th century.<sup>44</sup> At Hempsted, medieval pottery dating from the 11th to the 12th centuries has been found.<sup>45</sup> It was a manor held by Walter of Gloucester by the end of the 11th century, and the family also had Moreton Valence and Whaddon. These three sites do not appear to have been fortified.

This cluster of estates and fortifications near Gloucester is a curious feature. The castles might be seen as an outer defence for the borough, or as a group of manors which the family could use at leisure; that might have been especially important before Walter of Gloucester built the spacious keep at Gloucester. Hempsted and Moreton suggest another practical possibility. When he gave the manor of Hempsted to Lanthony, Earl Miles retained rights in the manor which he called *hospitia*: twice a year he and his retinue had the right to overnight hospitality.<sup>46</sup> At Moreton Valence, much later, in 1225, William de Pontlarge had a house where his predecessor had found a night's lodging for the sheriff.<sup>47</sup> It looks as if that tenement carried a similar service. Small castles or houses near the town could provide accommodation for the sheriff or his staff if it were needed.

When Margaret de Bohun succeeded in 1165, there were changes. She and her husband now had no interest in Brecon or Abergavenny. At Caldicot, she maintained a chaplain who served in the chapel and who acted as the agent of the canons of Lanthony. Between 1181 and 1197, she gave the canons the house and grange which the chaplain held in the castle. That services were maintained points to domestic use of the castle if only at intervals.<sup>48</sup> In the 13th century a round

stone keep was built on the motte, and a little later, the curtain walling and a somewhat crude tower were added. Changes at Haresfield occurred rather earlier. The site was redesigned for comfortable living. A large park was established and, presumably, that may be taken to imply that a manor house was then built.<sup>49</sup> Already, before the end of the 12th century, it was possible to abandon the principle of defence in favour of a spacious setting and a pleasant dwelling. By 1212, the Bohuns regarded Haresfield, rather than Caldicot, as the main centre of the honour Margaret had brought them.<sup>50</sup> But, again, we have to think of magnates with a wider range of interests. The centre of the Bohun honour lay in Wiltshire, at Trowbridge, and in the 13th century they re-established by marriage a claim to Brecon and part of the lordship of Brecknock. If we try to draw the lines of influence and interests, they produce a complex pattern, and until the 14th century the evidence is rarely sufficient to enable us to see how this pattern worked in practice.

For Robert, earl of Gloucester, Bristol was the centre of his honour, but his castle was one of the main bastions of Angevin power in the kingdom. For a time, in 1141, King Stephen himself was a prisoner there. The struggle between Stephen and Matilda owed much to the control of major strongholds, but it often turned on the use of small, temporary motte and bailey castles.<sup>51</sup> The writer of the *Gesta Stephani* noted that during the campaign of 1145 the king's men 'had built a very large number of castles in Gloucestershire', and two years later he recorded that 'the new castles could be seen rising that Earl Robert built in haste'.<sup>52</sup> Some of the new foundations of these years can be identified. Miles of Gloucester built a little castle (*quandam munitiunculam*) at South Cerney 'to excite rebellion against the king', and Stephen attacked and took this fortification in 1139.<sup>53</sup> At Cirencester, in 1141, the empress built a motte and bailey near the abbey church, and in the following year Stephen found it virtually undefended; he captured and burnt the castle and 'demolished the rampart and the stockade to its foundation'.<sup>54</sup> Roger, earl of Hereford, threw up a motte and bailey at Winchcombe in 1144: the castle was said to rise steeply on a very high mound. It did not last long against royalist attack. Before the end of the year, royalist forces breached the outer defences and with great courage scaled the motte and captured it.<sup>55</sup> Dursley had a castle in 1149, and that was probably a product of the civil war.<sup>56</sup> During the critical years of the conflict (1139–48) Hailes had a castle, and at Upper Slaughter the end of a promontory was fortified, with the church converted into part of the fortifications.<sup>57</sup> Dymock is first mentioned in the later years of Stephen's reign (1148–53).<sup>58</sup> The castle at Lydney was excavated in the 1930s, and the evidence suggested that it should be assigned to the years of the anarchy.<sup>59</sup>

Elsewhere, we find the earliest references to castles which had probably been established some time before. Robert Musard was obliged to surrender his castle at Miserden in 1146, but the scale of the surviving earthworks indicates a large castle of earlier foundation.<sup>60</sup> So, too, does a curious reference to a castle at Tetbury which was attacked in 1144. The outer defences were breached, but the garrison still held out 'in the narrow space of the inner enclosure' and siege engines had to be brought up to continue the attack.<sup>61</sup> That does not sound like a hastily built or temporary castle but, rather, a well-established and strongly fortified castle. That may be the explanation of the consistent scepticism as to whether a castle ever existed at Tetbury. The description suggests the fortified site nearby at Beverston, which long survived as a major stronghold.

The conditions which made castles essential may best be seen in terms of local campaigns carried out between 1138 and 1140. In 1138, Stephen attacked Bristol and laid siege to the castle and borough.<sup>62</sup> He was advised to build two castles – motte and bailey siege castles – one on each side of the town to force its surrender. In the event, his supporters vacillated and he was persuaded to raise the siege and to seek other targets. In 1139, Miles of Gloucester attacked and demolished a number of the king's castles in Gloucestershire, and in November of that year he

and Robert, earl of Gloucester, attacked Worcester, held for King Stephen by Waleran de Beaumont. They caused widespread damage. In revenge, Waleran swept into Gloucestershire, attacking Sudeley and Winchcombe. The following year he advanced to Tewkesbury, where he destroyed the earl of Gloucester's 'residence', and then carried his attack to within a mile of Gloucester itself.<sup>63</sup>

The civil discord of Stephen's reign spelt disaster for one Gloucestershire magnate, the lord of Berkeley. The Domesday reeve of Berkeley was a powerful local figure, and his descendants continued to enjoy their lordship until the last years of Stephen's reign. Unfortunately for the dynasty, in an area which was strongly Angevin in sentiment, Roger of Berkeley gave his allegiance to King Stephen. At one point he was subjected to a brutal mock hanging outside Berkeley castle and almost died of the torture.<sup>64</sup> Even before his accession, Henry II determined to give the lordship of Berkeley to a wealthy and loyal supporter, Robert fitz Harding, and early in his reign he confirmed this gift. By a complex settlement, the families were bound together by two marriages between children of Robert and Roger of Berkeley. Roger was allowed to hold a small lordship, based on Dursley, and he was endowed with parcels of land from his old Berkeley estates.

The castle at Berkeley evolved steadily from the little castle (*unum castellulum*) established by William fitz Osbern before 1071,<sup>65</sup> to the motte and bailey which is still the basis of the castle today. Was that little castle small by comparison with the castle fitz Osbern established at Chepstow? Or does the phrase imply a simple ringwork as the first stage in developing the site?<sup>66</sup> As part of his resettlement of this area, Henry II undertook to fortify Berkeley castle, and the stone keep must have been built in the early years of his reign. A strong curtain wall was provided for the bailey, and it is tempting to see that as very close in date to the motte. Smyth in his *Lives of the Berkeleys* assigned the keep to the time of Robert fitz Harding and the curtain wall to the time of Maurice of Berkeley, who succeeded in 1170.<sup>67</sup> Maurice infringed on the cemetery of Berkeley church when he made the ditch of the north side of the castle, and he had to make reparation to the canons of St Augustine's for this encroachment. That does not look like the defence of the inner bailey, but rather a northern extension of the castle.

The motte is a fine example of a revetted motte, with stone walling rising from the foot of the mound to reinforce the mound, and in this case, to enclose it. There is a difference of some 20 feet in floor-level of the bailey and the interior. Part of the keep was given pilaster strips which are decorative rather than functional, and four semicircular turrets were added as the keep was being built. We must think of the mound inside the wall being levelled to fill the space, and then the wall, with its turrets, was finished to its full height. One turret, on the east side, contained a chapel of which the medieval apse survives, and from the chapel tower an arcade of four bays can be traced across the shell keep. Within this shell we must envisage living quarters, presumably built around the interior of the wall, though the pattern has been completely lost in later rebuildings. The circuit of the inner bailey was breached, and the defences of the outer bailey were destroyed, in 1645, when Berkeley was the last royalist stronghold in Gloucestershire to fall to the parliamentarians. The breach was never rebuilt. In the 12th century there was a great hall in the inner bailey, on the site of the present hall, and some fragments of windows survived when this part of the castle was redesigned. The castle as we know it is largely the work of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, in the decade from 1340 to 1350. He built a new great hall, an impressive kitchen range, and a set of grand apartments for the family's use. He also remodelled the layout of the keep.

Berkeley is fascinating in its own right as a castle, but it deserves serious consideration in a wider context. It was the centre of a rich royal estate: a central manor had a number of outlying estates, all of which belonged to Berkeley and which formed Berkeley hundred (FIG. 3). This

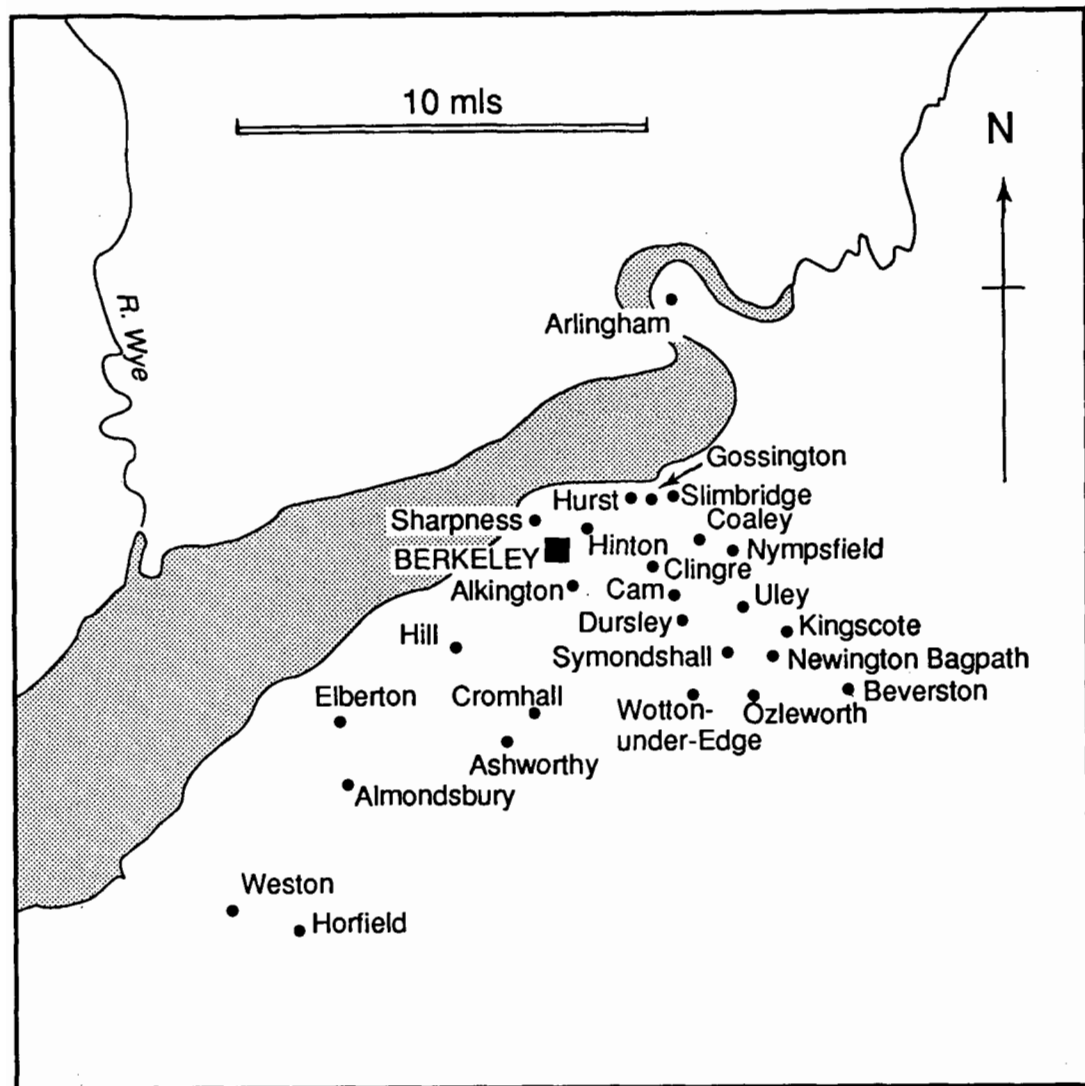


FIG. 3 Estates attached to Berkeley in 1086.

complex had been created before the Norman conquest, and Domesday shows that it was still being shaped and modified after 1066.<sup>68</sup> William fitz Osbern took five hides to establish his castle; he commended two brothers, with their land in Cromhall, to the reeve of Berkeley so that he might have their service. The reeve himself held five distinct parcels of land in the complex. Whatever index we use, it was a rich and productive collection of estates. There were rather more than 132 hides – the unit of assessment for taxation.<sup>69</sup> There were 331 men of different status holding or farming land, and another 179 smallholders who were available as a labouring force, and at the lowest level there were 22 freedmen, 152 serfs, and 15 bond-women. Seventeen men lived in the market and paid their dues there. So, we have to think of a small borough in the making at the heart of this complex.

Until the early 1150s, the heirs of the Domesday reeve, Roger, controlled this wealthy complex, and from the first years of Henry II's reign it passed into the hands of Robert fitz Harding. As his name makes clear, he was of Anglo-Saxon stock. His family survived the Norman conquest and prospered in Bristol. Berkeley has been held by their descendants to our own day. Robert's source of power was that he was a rich man in his own right: astute political judgement and financial and landed wealth gave him great advantages. With his accession, the scale of the interest and influence of the lords of Berkeley changed dramatically. This can be seen from the group of estates which the second line of Berkeley held in Gloucestershire and Somerset, for their properties straddled the Avon (FIG. 4). Robert had three hundreds in north

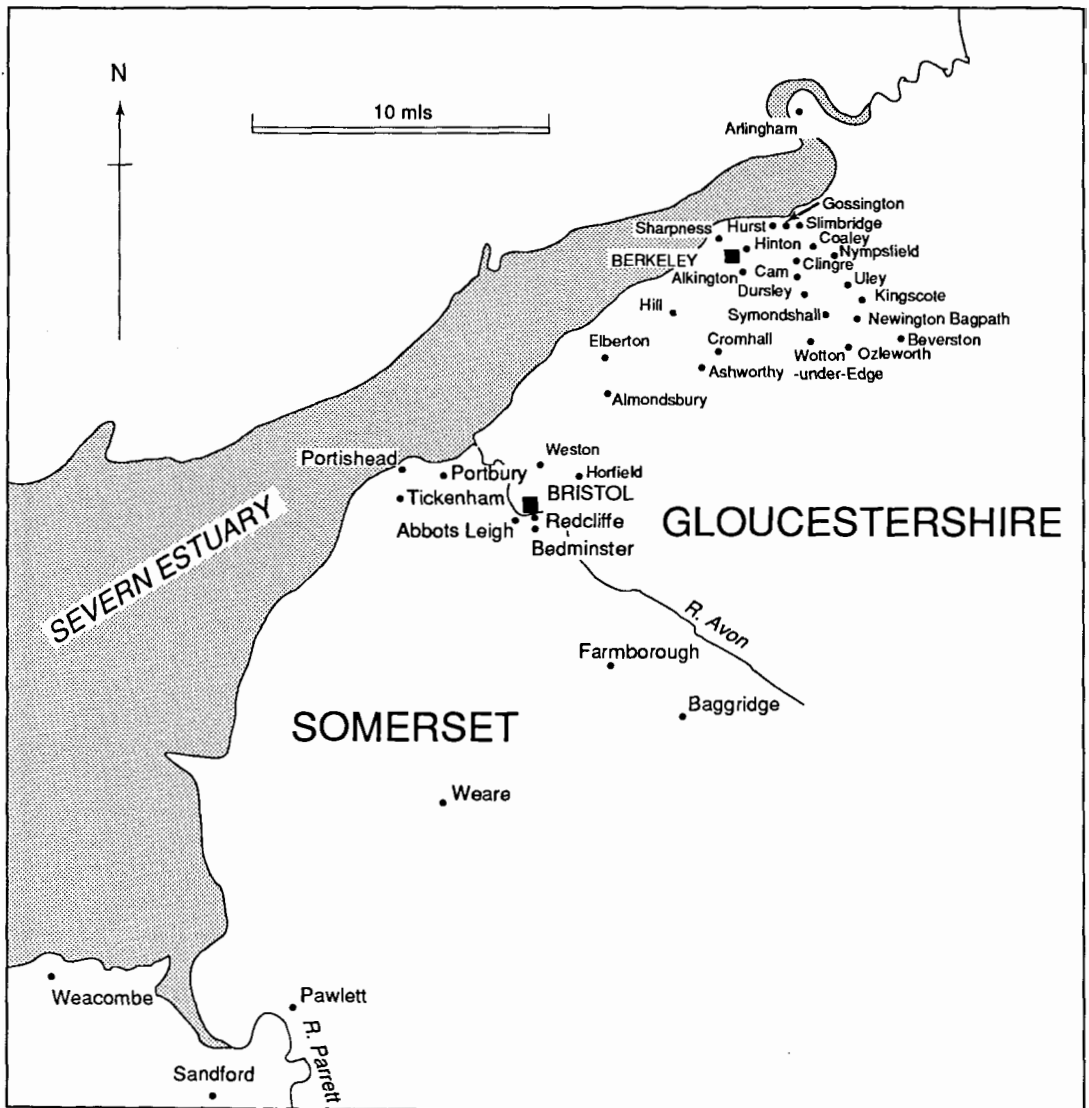


FIG. 4 Berkeley estates in Gloucestershire and Somerset.

Somerset, Portbury, Hartcliffe and Bedminster, with many manors in that shire.<sup>70</sup> He also had outlying estates in Devon, Dorset, Wiltshire and Warwickshire. There was a price to pay. Roger of Berkeley, dispossessed of his patrimony, had 2½ knights' fees endowed from some of the Gloucestershire manors which once had been his in full right.

If we went further, and considered the links which Robert fitz Harding and his successors forged through marriage, their social and political connections would be seen in a much wider setting. They were allied with some of the most powerful families in the land: Clare, Despenser, de Lisle, Ferrers, Marshal, Mortimer, Mowbray, Nevill and Stafford. Berkeley was no mere local stronghold. It was the centre of a rich landed endowment, and it was part of an intricate network of invisible but powerful connections.

One reflection of that was the number of large houses which the family could use. Thomas, Lord Berkeley, was a prolific builder, credited with new houses at Awre, Newpark and Over, with repairs to a house at Wotton-under-Edge, and with extensive rebuilding programmes at Berkeley and Beverston, to limit the record only to his Gloucestershire estates. He rarely remained for long in one place, 'But having many furnished he easily removed (without removing)' from one residence to another.<sup>71</sup>

At Beverston he found a compact but still imposing 13th-century castle which he modernised. The great hall was retained, but the domestic quarters were extensively modified. The western range, especially, was redesigned. The south-west tower was partially demolished, and a new south-west tower was built. This housed a vaulted chapel with an impressive three-light east window; it was elegantly furnished. Above it was added a new chamber, with a small oratory, for Lord Thomas.<sup>72</sup> Two large rooms, built over vaulted cellars, ran down the western curtain wall to link with the north-west tower, which was given a third storey and provided with a stair turret to make it a self-contained unit.<sup>73</sup> What had been a simple tower-gate was made into a more elaborate gatehouse, with guard rooms and with its own moat and drawbridge. Even in ruins, it adds dignity to the modern house. Much of this castle was redesigned in the 17th century. The Berkeleys sold Beverston to Sir Michael Hicks in 1597, and he built a new house on the site of the great hall. The elements which remain, and especially the chapel, indicate the scale and quality of the 14th-century castle. That was, essentially, a place intended for luxurious living.

With Sudeley, it is tempting to look back at its past, and to dwell on the fact that here an Anglo-Saxon family survived, and continued to hold its estates and to maintain its lineage down the centuries. But our concern is with the castle which is the product of three major building phases and of a sweeping restoration in the 19th century. Ralph Boteler held the castle from 1398 until 1469, and was responsible for a substantial building programme. His work on the church and the barn has survived, but his work in the castle itself has been much altered. From 1469 until 1478 it was held by Richard, duke of Gloucester, and it came into his hands again after his accession in 1483. He was responsible for building a splendid suite of rooms in the inner court at Sudeley, with one major apartment, sometimes identified as a banqueting hall, but now accepted as the duke's presence chamber. The most striking features of the ruins of Duke Richard's work are the windows, with the five-light oriel window, and the long four-light window in the east wall, and a well-designed window of seven lights in the northern wall. Thomas Seymour, who married Henry VIII's widow, Catherine Parr, held the castle from 1547. Modifications in the reign of Elizabeth gave the castle an extended life, but it was sadly damaged, and deliberately made useless as a military site, in 1649. The ruins of the outer court, and some parts of the inner court, were rebuilt in the middle decades of the 19th century, and the church was restored, mainly by Sir Gilbert Scott, in the early 1860s. The castle's royal associations were commemorated by the tomb of Catherine Parr, designed by Scott, with an effigy by J.B. Philip.<sup>74</sup>

Thornbury castle represents the last phase of medieval castle building, superseded by a

grandiose scheme undertaken in the second decade of the sixteenth century. There was a market at Thornbury by 1086;<sup>75</sup> perhaps, like Berkeley, it already had the potential to become a borough. The impetus for development came between 1243 and 1262, when Richard of Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford offered to all who would come to Thornbury and take up burgage tenements there the liberties and customs which his burgesses at Tewkesbury enjoyed.<sup>76</sup> The manor itself was a rich one, and from the end of the 13th century the Clares increased their control over its wealth by an extensive programme of imparking their lands. The process was resumed on a large scale early in the 16th century.<sup>77</sup> There is no evidence of an early castle there, though it has been assumed that one must have existed in the 12th century.<sup>78</sup> At the end of the 13th century the Clare earl of Gloucester and Hertford was said to have a capital court there,<sup>79</sup> and all the later evidence points to the development of that mansion.<sup>80</sup> A great hall was in use by 1330 and was the nucleus around which domestic offices and residential blocks were built. The manor passed from the Clares to the Staffords in the first half of the 14th century and became one of their major houses. Thornbury was planned and used to house the itinerant court and retinue of a great magnate. They needed numerous and ample lodgings within easy reach of the duke's personal apartments yet not intruding too much upon his privacy. In 1483, Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was executed, leaving a son of six as his heir. Two years later, after the accession of Henry VII, his widow married Jasper Tudor, the king's uncle, and although formal responsibility for the boy and his estates was not granted to him, Jasper made good use of Thornbury and was credited with building work there.<sup>81</sup> Duke Edward attained his majority in 1498 and took over his inheritance. He was at Thornbury, as owner in his own right, in May of that year. The mansion became his principal residence, and as he grew older he made elaborate plans for its expansion. In 1510 he was given licence to crenellate the house, and he spent the next eleven years creating a palace with the outward appearance of a castle.

The site is organised in a series of courts, gardens and orchards. The earlier buildings to the east have disappeared. To the west, the outer court is marked out by ranges of lodgings on two sides, while its eastern range is dominated by the gatehouse into the inner court. The great achievement of Buckingham's scheme was the so-called New Building. The inner face, forming part of the Inner Court, is bleak and forbidding, but it has a fine oriel window in the upper storey. The lavish scale of the building can be seen from the garden front, with a splendid run of windows which belie the crenellation of the roof-line. The duke had a choice: to be a builder on the grand scale, or to play politics, and that, in the reign of Henry VIII, was a dangerous past-time! His offence was to be born with a claim to the English throne; pride and ostentation could always be interpreted as political ambition. In 1508, to cite only one example, Buckingham gave a great feast to mark the Epiphany: with guests and their friends, and with many servants, he had 519 at tables for dinner, and a further 400 for supper. He offended Cardinal Wolsey; loose talk reached the king's ear. In 1521, he was arraigned for treason and executed. His great house at Thornbury was still unfinished. Although his son eventually regained favour and was restored to honour, he could never afford to take up his father's ambitious scheme. The splendid windows looked out from a house moving towards ruin. What we see now is the product of rescue work in the 18th century, and of enlightened patronage in the 19th century: Then, in 1811, Lord Henry Howard restored the imposing south tower and began to rebuild other parts of the castle. Some 40 years later, a distinguished architect, Anthony Salvin, was recruited, and in 1854 he realised Buckingham's grand scheme with more restraint than might have been expected in the heyday of Victorian gothic.

From Berkeley and Sudeley in the 14th century to Thornbury in the 15th and early 16th centuries we have moved into the era of the great house as a centre of social and political power. Thornbury's affinities lie with the Badminton of the future, rather than with the great strongholds of the medieval past like Chepstow, Bristol and Gloucester.

## Notes

1. A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire* 1, 146; 3, 169, 212.
2. *Ibid.*, 2, 222. The castle may be Drakestone in Stinchcombe.
3. *Ibid.*, 1, 62.
4. Their report was issued in 1959. C. Scott-Garrett, 'Littledean Camp', *TBGAS* 77 (1900), 48–60; D.F. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 2nd edn. (1973), 227.
5. Bruce Williams, 'Excavation of a medieval earthwork complex at Hillesley, Hawkesbury, Avon', *TBGAS* 105 (1987), 147–63.
6. Work on early castles in Normandy is particularly associated with Michel de Bouïard, and with the research he encouraged at successive Chateau Gaillard conferences, published in *Chateau Gaillard*. Among these were valuable studies by B.K. Davison, 'Three eleventh-century earthworks in England: their excavation and implications' (*Chateau Gaillard* 2, 39–48), and 'Early earthwork castles: a new model' (*Chateau Gaillard*, 3, 37–47). D.J. Cathcart King, 'The field archaeology of mottes in England and Wales' (*Chateau Gaillard* 5, 101–12), surveyed a range of English castles. D.J. Cathcart King and L. Alcock also produced a valuable list of ringworks in 'Ringworks of England and Wales' (*Chateau Gaillard* 3, 90–127). The ideas which were suggested in these, and similar studies, are now commonplace elements in modern works on English castles.
7. D.F. Renn, *op. cit.*, 16, Map D.
8. *Ibid.*, 13, Map B.
9. *Ibid.*, 346–7. It was not classified as a ringwork by Cathcart King and Alcock, *op. cit.* The motte with a low shell keep is an unmistakable survival of the castle despite all the later development of the site.
10. D.F. Renn, *op. cit.*, 15, Map C.
11. For a summary see David Walker, *Bristol in the Early Middle Ages* (1971), 8–9. There is an extensive sequence of studies of Bristol's early castle. Much springs from Kenneth Marshall, 'Excavations in the City of Bristol, 1948–51', *TBGAS* 70 (1951), 13–21. The most recent restatement of the evidence and its interpretation is in the report on 'Archaeology in Bristol, 1989', *TBGAS* 108 (1990), 175–80. There is a resumé of the history of the castle in very general terms in *Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. M. Sharpe, Bristol Record Society 34 (1982), xvii–xxii.
12. Doynton, Wapley, Hambrook, (Harry) Stoke, Lee, Acton (Ilger), and Gaunts Earthcott; Dodington was the furthest removed.
13. *Domesday Book* 1, ff. 87v–89; *VCH (Somerset)* 1, 445–55. He had a number of estates in the (modern) north Somerset hundreds of Chew, Keynsham, Bath Forum, Hartcliffe with Bedminster and Portbury. Those estates which were close to Bristol include Clapton, Easton and Weston, all in Gordano, Portbury, Portishead, Hartcliffe, Long Ashton, Abbots Leigh, Backwell, Barrow Gurney, Bishopsworth, Butcombe, Havyatt, Midgell, Compton Dando, Saltford and Winford.
14. R.A. Brown, H.M. Colvin and A.J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works* 2 (1963), 577–81.
15. *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, ed. R.B. Patterson (1973), 9–21.
16. F.M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, 2nd edn. (1961), 70; R.B. Patterson, *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, 12, and 166–7, no. 188.
17. *Ibid.*, 114, no. 119. The link between the Leicester and Gloucester administrations was made by David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins* (1986), 46, 152–3, 166.
18. *The History of the King's Works*, 1 (1963), 37, 39, 62, 113–4; 2 (1963), 651–6.
19. 'The archaeology of Gloucester castle: an introduction', *TBGAS* 102 (1984), 73–128. For early stages of the growth of the castle Hurst drew upon material from the cartularies of St Peter's, Gloucester, and Lanthony which I had discussed, and some of which I had printed, at an earlier date. See my 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095–1201', *Camden Miscellany* 22 (1964), 2–3, 26, 29, and 'A Register of the Churches of the Monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester', *An Ecclesiastical Miscellany*, ed. David Walker, W.J. Sheils and John Kent, BGAS Records Section 11 (1976), 7, 18–19.
20. A number of interim reports have made these studies known.
21. *VCH (Glos)* 4: *The City of Gloucester*, ed. N.M. Herbert (1988), 245–9; Carolyn Heighway, *Gloucester: a History and a Guide* (1985), 39–43.
22. *Domesday Book* 1, f. 162.
23. *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W.H. Hart, 1 (1863), 59. In *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* 2, ed. C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne (1956), no. 706, an earlier date, 1107, is suggested, but the witness list does not invite confidence.
24. *Ancient Charters Royal and Private*, ed. J.H. Round, Pipe Roll Society 10 (1888), 4, no. 3.
25. It was noted in a Lanthony Chronicle and cartulary (BL, Cott. Ms. Cleop. C III, 21; PRO, C115/K2/1185, f. 10; H. Hurst, *op. cit.*, 122, n. 16).

26. David Walker, *Camden Miscellany* 22, 29, no. 39.
27. Printed in an appendix to the Introduction to the history and cartulary of St Peter's, Gloucester, W.H. Hart, *op. cit.*, 1, lxxv-lxxvii, nos. II and III.
28. The phrase occurs in an *actum* of Simon, bishop of Worcester (W.H. Hart, *op. cit.*, 1, lxxv). Hurst read an *actum* of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, to mean that the site of the castle had been changed; as I understand it, the bishop's resumé speaks of the *change of use* of the site of the monk's garden which had been used for building the keep, but despite this change of use, the monks maintained their parochial rights (*Ibid.*, 1, lxxvi; H. Hurst, *op. cit.*, 76 and n.13).
29. I have tried to limit the discussion to that area of the Norman work which was included within the outer defences of the fully developed castle, that is the area around Barbican Hill.
30. See *The History of the King's Works* 2, 651; and H. Hurst, *op. cit.*, 101–2, for some of the details. Overall, Henry II spent £232 13s., Richard I spent £115 10s. 7d., and John spent £75 2s. on the castle. For a period of 62 years, the total figure of £423 5s. 7d. is a comparatively small outlay on a major castle.
31. Garrod recorded finding the primary metalling of a bailey associated with the keep ('Archaeological Review No. 10, 1985', *TBGAS* 104 (1986), 237; reported also in *Medieval Archaeology*, 30, 135–6). Whether this should be linked with Walter of Gloucester's work (c. 1110–20) or with Miles of Gloucester's work (before 1143) is not clear.
32. H. Hurst, *op. cit.*, 79.
33. Gloucester Cathedral Charters 5, p. 5(i), no. 13; p. 7, nos. 17, 19; p. 7(iii), no. 18. A loose charter (no. 5) is a copy of this lease. Gloucester Register B, f. 293, nos. 677, 678; f. 293v, no. 679. I have been through my transcripts of the Gloucester Cathedral Charters, but have not found any further instances of these, or similar, cases.
34. Gloucester Cathedral Charters 5, p. 5(i), no. 13; Gloucester Register B, f. 293v, no. 682. Vol. 5, p. 4, no. 12 is a lease by Abbot Henry to Philip Cloch. The rental suggests that he has taken over Peter de Vallo's tenement.
35. H. Hurst, *op. cit.*, 81.
36. This emerges clearly from A.P. Garrod and Carolyn Heighway, *Garrod's Gloucester* (1984); it is written into the general survey (6–7); it occurs in the site report for Ladybellgate Street (20, no. 9/75), and in the general discussion of the excavations of the Roman Quayside Wall (51). Hence, no doubt, Carolyn Heighway's firm view (*Gloucester: a History and a Guide* (1985), 48). It is intriguing that in Damyon Ray's drawing of the earthwork castle, the artist presents a motte, with its ditch, and a miniature bridgehead defence at the main entry, but he does not give the castle a bailey (*Ibid.*, 42).
37. *TBGAS* 103 (1985), 232; *Medieval Archaeology* 29, 172. These excavations were undertaken by I.J. Stewart (1983) and T.C. Darvill (1984).
38. The claim was made in the eulogy of the Conqueror in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*English Historical Documents* 2, ed. D.C. Douglas, 163). William of St Karelif was consecrated bishop of Durham either on 27 Dec 1080, or 3 Jan 1081, at Gloucester. That must have been connected with the king's Christmas court and council. The 1085 feast and council are recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*Ibid.*, II, 161).
39. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* 1, ed. W.H.C. Davies (1913), no. 338. The comment appears to have been added to his transcript of the charter by Roger Dodsworth. Technically, William had an assembly of barons with him at Gloucester in August, 1093, when King Malcolm of Scotland arrived there; but Dodsworth was right to think that this was the first time Rufus had kept Christmas at Gloucester (cf. F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (1983), 309–10; and for the king's itinerary, 449–52).
40. She managed to hold on to them for some 30 years, to the detriment of her sister, Lucy fitz Herbert. Only at the end of the 12th century did the fitz Herberts establish their claims (David Walker, 'The "Honours" of the Earls of Hereford in the twelfth century', *TBGAS* 79 (1960), 192–202).
41. *VCH (Glos)* 10, 189, 191.
42. *Ibid.*, 10, 193.
43. William Worcester, *Itineraries*, ed. J.H. Harvey (1969), 287; R. Bigland, *Historical . . . Collections*, ed. B. Frith, 2 (1990), 581.
44. *VCH (Glos)*, 218; *Garrod's Gloucester*, 70, no. 62/75. The view that there were the remains of a motte there is not sustained by recent investigations.
45. *TBGAS* 96 (1978), 88.
46. David Walker, 'Hospitium: a feudal service of hospitality', *TBGAS* 76 (1957), 48–61; *Camden Miscellany* 22, 13, no. 3.
47. *VCH (Glos)* 10, 210.
48. *Camden Miscellany* 22, 67, no. 109.
49. *VCH (Glos)* 10, 189, 191. Specific references to a chapel on the site, and then to details of the late medieval manor house occur in 1318 and 1460.
50. *TBGAS* 77 (1958), 202, 207.
51. This was the feature which impressed the monk of Peterborough writing the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle during these

- years (*English Historical Documents* 2, 199). His attitude was reflected in the Chronicle of John of Worcester, whose understanding of these events was sharpened by the destruction caused at Worcester by opposing armies (*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. J.R.H. Weaver (1908), 40).
52. *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K.R. Potter and R.H.C. Davis (1976), 174, 198.
  53. *Ibid.*, 92. The description comes from William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. K.R. Potter (1955), 36. Renn thought that this might be the ringwork at Ashton Keynes, in Wiltshire, two miles from South Cerney (*op. cit.*, 96).
  54. *Gesta Stephani*, 138.
  55. *Ibid.*, 174.
  56. *Ibid.*, 218; D.F. Renn, *op. cit.*, 180. The normal assumption is that the Berkeley castle at Dursley was founded after the loss of the Berkeley inheritance in the 1150s.
  57. D.F. Renn, *op. cit.*, 199 (for Hailes), citing *Landboc sive Registrum de Winchelcumba*, ed. D. Royce (1892–3) 1, 65; 336 (for Upper Slaughter); *VCH (Glos)* 6, 134–5. Gilbert Foliot, then abbot of Gloucester, was deeply incensed at this affront (*The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke (1967), 39, no. 5).
  58. D.F. Renn, *op. cit.*, 180; J.E. Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock Down the Ages* (1951), 124–5. How early this castle may have been established cannot be determined.
  59. D.F. Renn, *op. cit.*, 238; D.A. Casey, 'Lydney Castle', *Antiq J* 11 (1931), 240–61.
  60. *Gesta Stephani*, 186; *VCH (Glos)* 11, 50; D.F. Renn, *op. cit.*, 245.
  61. *Gesta Stephani*, 172; *VCH (Glos)* 11, 261; Renn accepts that a castle was built at Tetbury (*op. cit.*, 321).
  62. *Gesta Stephani*, 64; *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, 50.
  63. John of Worcester reported the savagery of the attack on Worcester and its consequences (*Chronicle of John of Worcester*, 57). These events have most recently been examined by David Crouch in *The Beaumont Twins*, 47–8. The earl's residence was probably at Holme Castle (D.F. Renn, *op. cit.*, 321). For the problems involved in solving the nature of this residence see *VCH (Glos)* 8, 124–5.
  64. *Gesta Stephani*, 126. The attack took place in 1146.
  65. *Domesday Book* 1, f. 163.
  66. It has been suggested that the castle may not have been completed by 1088 (D.F. Renn, *op. cit.*, 107), and the work on the castle was begun as late as 1117 (*Complete Peerage*, by G.E.C., revised edn. ed. V. Gibbs, H.A. Doubleday, Lord Howard de Walden, G.H. White and R.S. Lea 2, 124). Both suggestions are very insecure.
  67. John Smyth, *The Lives of the Berkeleys*, ed. Sir John Maclean, 1 (1883), 66, 68.
  68. *Domesday Book* 1, f. 163. The most recent examination of this group of estates is by John Moore, 'The Gloucestershire Section of Domesday Book: geographical problems of the text, part 2', *TBGAS* 106 (1988), 87–9.
  69. There was a small fraction of 1½ virgates of land in addition to this hidage.
  70. His estates near Bristol included Redcliffe, Bedminster, Abbots Leigh, Portbury, Portishead and Tickenham.
  71. Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, 301, 308–9.
  72. David Verey's description of the site is very helpful (*Buildings of England, Gloucestershire* 1, 104–5). For detail, especially of the chapel and oratory, see Margaret Wood, *The English Medieval House* (1965, reprint 1985), 90–1, 125–6, 239, 241, 356, 365, 368, and plate 30.
  73. This was one of four turrets built into the inner courtyard.
  74. David Verey's account is very clear (*op. cit.*, 1, 438–40).
  75. *Domesday Book* 1, 163v.
  76. H.P.R. Finberg, *Gloucestershire Studies* (1957), 66.
  77. Peter Franklin, 'Thornbury woodlands and deer parks, part 1: the earls of Gloucester's deer parks' is an indispensable study (*TBGAS* 107 (1989), 149–70).
  78. So, for example, Finberg, *op. cit.*, 66.
  79. *Inquisition post mortem*, 24 Edward I, no. 107; *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for Gloucestershire*, Part IV, ed. S.J. Madge (British Record Society, 1903), 182.
  80. A.D.K. Hawkyard, 'Thornbury Castle', *TBGAS* 105 (1987), 51–8.
  81. For the arrangements made for Buckingham's minority see S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (1972), 56, n. 13, 57, n. 2, 248. For Jasper Tudor's work at Thornbury see Hawkyard, *op. cit.*, 51 and n. 7.