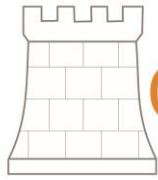# SURVEY AND RECORDING AT PICTON CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE,
2023

Prepared by Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology
For: Castle Studies Trust

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HENEB – DYFED ARCHAEOLOGY

March 2024
Mawrth 2024

SURVEY AND RECORDING AT PICTON CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE, 2023

Adroddiad gan / Report by

Neil Ludlow

Arolwg gan / Survey by

Philip Poucher

SURVEY AND RECORDING AT PICTON CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE, 2023

Client	Castle Studies Trust
Event Record No	130011
Report No	2023-32
Project Code	FS22-049
Report prepared by	Neil Ludlow
Site visit undertaken by	Philip Poucher and Neil Ludlow
Illustrated by	Neil Ludlow
Report approved by	Philip Poucher

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.

SURVEY AND RECORDING AT PICTON CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE, 2023

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SURVEY AND RECORDING AT PICTON CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE, 2023

SUMMARY

The Castle Studies Trust provided funding for survey and recording at Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire (SN 01074 13429), which was undertaken by Philip Poucher of Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology, and Neil Ludlow, during autumn 2023.

The castle is of unusual design with no close parallels. Essentially a towered, three-unit 'H-plan' house, its layout may also reveal influence from northern Britain, or perhaps even Plantagenet Gascony. Detail shows influence from the castles of Gilbert de Clare. Many of its internal arrangements and appointments were drawn from royal planning. Execution of the design is however largely regional. Extensive work during the eighteenth century transformed the castle into an elegant Georgian country house, but its fundamental structure remained unchanged.

No structured survey nor detailed study had hitherto been undertaken, so the project aimed to fill these gaps. Recording was primarily photographic; survey was undertaken using a Leica RTC360 laser scanner, which will be presented separately on the Castle Studies Trust website.

CRYNODEB

Darparodd Ymddiriedolaeth Astudiaethau Castell gyllid ar gyfer arolygu a chofnodi yng Nghastell Picton, Sir Benfro (SN 01074 13429), a gynhaliwyd gan Philip Poucher o Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology, a Neil Ludlow, yn ystod hydref 2023.

Mae dyluniad y castell yn anarferol heb unrhyw debygrwydd agos. Yn ei hanfod yn dŷ â thŵr, 'cynllun H' tair uned, gall ei gynllun hefyd ddatgelu dylanwad o ogledd Prydain, neu hyd yn oed Plantagenet Gascony. Mae'r manylion yn dangos dylanwad cestyll Gilbert de Clare. Daeth llawer o'i drefniadau mewnol a'i benodiadau o gynllunio brenhinol. Fodd bynnag, rhanbarthol yn bennaf yw cyflawni'r dyluniad. Trawsnewidiwyd y castell gan waith helaeth yn ystod y ddeunawfed ganrif yn blasty Sioraidd cain, ond ni newidiodd ei strwythur sylfaenol.

Ni chynhaliwyd arolwg strwythuredig nac astudiaeth fanwl hyd yn hyn, felly nod y prosiect oedd llenwi'r bylchau hyn. Ffotograffaidd oedd y recordio yn bennaf; Cynhaliwyd arolwg gan ddefnyddio Leica RTC360 laser scanner, a fydd yn cael ei gyflwyno ar wahân ar wefan Ymddiriedolaeth Astudiaethau Castell.

EXTENDED SUMMARY

Survey, recording and research were undertaken during autumn 2023 at Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, by Neil Ludlow and Philip Poucher of Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology (formerly Dyfed Archaeological Trust). The work was wholly-funded by the Castle Studies Trust.

Picton Castle is well-known for its magnificent Georgian interiors. However, it has origins as a castle established in the early fourteenth century (probably c.1315-20), by Sir John Wogan, an important official in Crown service, and its medieval features survive to a considerable extent. Until 1998, it had been continuously occupied since it was built, and in the hands of Wogan's descendants. But its recorded history is meagre, and there are very few historical references to the castle before the seventeenth century.

The castle is of unusual design with no close parallels. In essence, it is a towered hall-block comprising a central first-floor hall, which is flanked by services and a chamber-block to form a three-unit 'H-plan' house. Here, though, the end units are processed out as D-shaped towers, two on each side wall. A terminal twin-towered gatehouse lies opposite a D-shaped tower formerly at the western apex, possibly housing latrines – seven towers in all. The hall is open to the roof; the towers have polygonal interiors (two of them disguised beneath later fittings), and contain three storeys. The ground floor is mostly rib-vaulted. The gatehouse – unusual in buildings of this kind – led onto an equally unusual 'grand stairway' to the hall; a second ground-floor entry probably led to an external kitchen and bakehouse. The castle's spatial disposition, access and circulation are meticulously planned, while the domestic appointments show a remarkable level of sophistication for the period including what appear to be vertical serving-hatches between the undercrofts and the service rooms above. The integrated suites of residential apartments in the east towers and gatehouse – either side of a chapel – are moreover firmly rooted within royal planning. Other aspects of the layout may reveal some influence from northern Britain, or perhaps even Plantagenet Gascony. Detail shows influence from the castles of Gilbert de Clare, including the form of the spur-buttresses, rib-vaulting and arrow-loops. Execution of the design is however largely regional, showing great 'plasticity' of form and extensive squinching. There is surviving evidence for neither a defensive ditch, nor a surrounding wall until the seventeenth century, though an accompanying enclosure – containing the kitchen and other ancillary buildings – is likely from the first.

Beginning in around 1700, and spanning over 50 years, extensive works transformed the castle into an elegant Georgian country house, with what appears to be only the second circular library to be built in Britain; the Long Gallery that has been suggested is however doubtful. But despite remodelling of its interiors, and the construction of additional wings and ranges, its fundamental structure remained unchanged. Further work, of varying impact, continued well into the twentieth century, including an extensive refurbishment in the early 1960s.

No structured survey nor detailed study of Picton Castle had hitherto been undertaken. Nor had an up-to-date, comprehensive history of the Wogan family been attempted in recent years. The project aimed to fill both these gaps. Recording was primarily photographic; survey was undertaken using a Leica RTC360 laser scanner. This report describes and discusses the results of the recording, and the accompanying research. The laser-scan survey will be presented separately from this report, on the Castle Studies Trust website.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This report describes the results of survey and recording at Picton Castle, near Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire (Dyfed PRN 3605; NGR SN 01074 13429). The work was carried out by Neil Ludlow, and Phil Poucher of Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology (formerly Dyfed Archaeological Trust), during summer-autumn 2023. The work was wholly-funded by the Castle Studies Trust (CST). This report has been prepared by Neil Ludlow; survey work, and presentation of survey results, is by Philip Poucher.

Location map of Picton Castle
(Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 scale Landranger Map with the permission of The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, © Crown Copyright Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology, The Corner House, Carmarthen Street, Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire SA19 6AE. Licence No. 100020930)
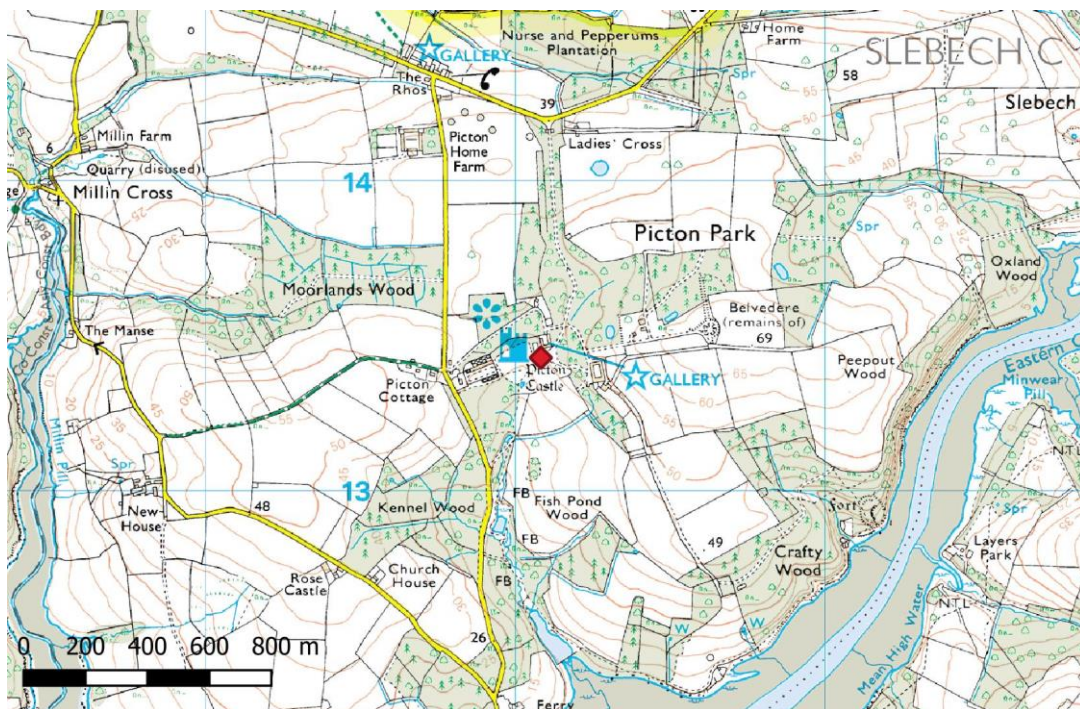
Picton Castle (not scheduled; Grade I listed building no. 6043) is of both national and international significance to architectural history and castle studies. It is of unusual design with no close parallels. In essence, it is a towered, three-unit 'H-plan' house with a layout that may reveal some influence from northern Britain, or perhaps even Plantagenet Gascony. Detail shows influence from the castles of Gilbert de Clare. Many of its internal arrangements and appointments were drawn from royal planning. Execution of the design is however largely regional.

The castle has been continuously in use since its foundation and continually adapted and enlarged to meet the needs of successive generations. However, much medieval work remains, though often it has inevitably been disguised. The castle is a popular visitor attraction, in the heart of Pembrokeshire, which is open to the public daily and has, since 1987, been managed by a charitable trust (Picton Castle Trust). Set within 50 acres of historic gardens, the castle attracts over 50,000 visitors a year. It is an accredited site with 'Visit Wales' (Welsh Government).

1.1 Project commission

Despite its importance to international castle studies, Picton Castle had been little-understood. There had been no systematic archaeological analysis of the building, and no up-to-date survey or recording work. This was recognised in the Conservation Plan for the castle, produced in 2000 by the Garner Southall Partnership of Llandrindod Wells, which noted the significant opportunities for research that it presented (Garner 2000, 4.3.1-4.3.2). A range of remedial and enhancement work was also identified, stressing the need for a full analytical study of the castle before it took place.

The original internal layout, access arrangements, and intended function/actual use of its spaces had yet to be fully analysed. Usage of the spaces at undercroft level, and their articulation with the first floor, were not entirely clear. Not all medieval openings, altered or blocked, had been identified. The function of the undercrofts, and the location of the medieval kitchen, were unknown. Knowledge of the castle's access, latrines and fireplaces was incomplete. Form and function during the medieval period of the spaces west of the hall were uncertain, including the internal layout and organisation of the western towers, while the arrangements, articulation and functions at the east end were speculative only. The overall affinities of the castle's design, and comparanda, had been addressed by a number of authorities and various suggestions put forward, but supporting evidence tended towards the circumstantial. Moreover, the life and career of its builder, John Wogan, was poorly understood.

Neil Ludlow was accordingly invited by the Picton Castle Trust, in 2022, to submit a grant application to the Castle Studies Trust for a full programme of survey and recording, the fieldwork to be carried out by Heneb (then Dyfed Archaeological Trust).

1.2 Scope of the project

The project aimed to answer the above questions through building recording, non-intrusive survey, documentary study and close comparative analysis. A detailed, interpretative investigation, it employed the field data, along with source material and comparative evidence, and underpinned by the latest thinking, to gain a clearer understanding of the form and function of the castle through time. It encompassed all periods of its development but focussed on medieval fabric and features, including evidence for lost or disguised medieval features. Access, both internal and external, was analysed, along with the function and status of the internal spaces. Improved understanding of Picton has implications for castle studies within and beyond Britain and Ireland. It will also aid interpretation at the castle, which is a well-known visitor attraction of west Wales.

The primary aim of the survey was to produce accurate measured plans, elevations and sections of Picton Castle, and to produce a detailed record of the standing fabric showing all medieval features, openings and detail, as well as evidence for the former existence of features, internally and externally. It conformed to Level 4, as defined by Historic England 'Understanding Historic Buildings: A Guide to Good Recording Practice' (Lane 2016, 26-7), ie. 'a comprehensive analytical record, appropriate for buildings of special importance

[drawing] on the full range of sources of information about the building and discuss its significance in terms of architectural, social, regional or economic history. It will also include all drawn and photographic records that may be required to illustrate the building's appearance and structure and to support an historical analysis'.

Among the attributes at Picton Castle that received particular attention were –
- Evidence, entire or fragmentary, for medieval features including (but not limited to) – openings and recesses; stairs; latrines; fireplaces and ovens; wells, cisterns and channels; corbels, sockets and chases; screens and partitions; vaulting, roofing and flooring; liturgical features including stoups, piscinae and bellrope shafts; defensive features including portcullis grooves, chutes and machicolation; evidence for former components eg. the lost West Tower.
- All evidence for architectural detail; dressings and mouldings, including surrounds and chamfer-stops; any other carved detail; vault-rib profiles; form of squinches and offsets; form of spiral stairs.
- All evidence for medieval levels, and access arrangements between them.
- Any evidence for a Long Gallery, above the hall, as suggested in accounts from the 1930s and 1960s.
- Medieval work was thought to belong to a single overall campaign, but evidence for different builds was to be noted eg. joints, and changes in stonework or coursing.

Answers were sought to a number of specific questions, including (but not limited to) –
- Means of access from the main gatehouse entry to the first-floor hall.
- Intended function, actual use and relative status of the internal spaces.
- Access and circulation between these spaces, and between floors.
- Domestic appointments – fireplaces, latrines, ovens and hearths.
- Confirmation of the site of the services, thought to have lain east of the hall beyond a screens passage.
- Origins of the present chapel.
- Arrangements west of the hall, including the lost West Tower.
- Location of kitchen and bakehouse.
- Water-supply and storage.
- More generally, an advancement of our understanding of the castle's affinities.

In general, the study was successful in clarifying these matters, if not always yielding definitive answers.

1.3 Report outline

This report describes and discusses the results of the recording. The laser-scan survey data will be posted on the Castle Studies Trust website separately from this report.

It must be noted that many parts of Picton Castle are busy, working spaces, while others are used for storage; most of the castle, meanwhile, is furnished. This inevitably had implications for the survey and the photography.

1.4 Survey methodology

3D laser scanning is a non-intrusive method of capturing the spatial geometry of a structure in the form of a point cloud to develop an accurate multi-dimensional digital representation of the structure. The scanner works by projecting light onto a surface and capturing the reflection. It measures the time taken for the light to return, determining the distance of each point. These points are represented by XYZ coordinates and are collected digitally to reconstruct the building in three dimensions. A built-in camera allows texture and colour to be added to the point cloud data.

1.4.1 Scanning and registration

A full 3D laser scan of the exterior and interior of Picton Castle was carried out using a Leica RTC360 laser scanner. This measures up to 680 000 points per second on a 360-degree axis, with 13 megapixel cameras to capture high dynamic range (HDR) images. The scanner captures point data to a 4mm accuracy within 10m, with an ultimate range of 45m.

In-field pre-registration and alignment was completed with the accompanying Cyclone Field 360 software. A total of 213 scan set-up points were used within and around the building to ensure intervisibility between set-ups and a sufficient overlap in the scan data to allow for a full and accurate survey of the entire building.

Once on-site survey was complete the point cloud data was registered using Cyclone Register 360 Plus (BLK Edition) software. This software allows the scan data to be checked, cleaned, accurately registered, and saved in multiple formats.

1.4.2 Processing, analysis and presentation

Further interrogation of the point cloud data was undertaken using a suite of Autodesk software, including Autodesk Recap and Autodesk Revit. This software was also used to assist in the production of accurate 2D plans, sections and elevations.

The data will be presented to the client in its raw format (.blk) and as e57 files, which is a common exchange format using by a multitude of 3D CAD software programmes, including Leica and Autodesk. The data will also be presented in .lgs format for visualisation and use in Leica TruView Enterprise.

1.4.3 Photography

To accompany the 3D laser scan a full photographic record of the medieval castle was undertaken, internally and externally. Photographs were be taken using a high resolution digital camera at 20 megapixels + (Canon EOS 200D). Photographic scales were used.

Photographs included general views of the building, elevations at oblique and right angles, overall appearance of internal rooms and circulation areas, and internal medieval detail.

1.5 Abbreviations

All sites recorded on the regional Historic Environment Record (HER) are identified by their Primary Record Number (PRN) and located by their National Grid Reference (NGR). Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM). Listed Building (LB). Altitude is expressed to Ordnance Datum (OD).

1.6 Timeline

The following timeline is used within this report to give date ranges for the various archaeological periods mentioned within the text.

Period	Approximate date	
Palaeolithic –	*c.*450,000 – 10,000 BC	Prehistoric
Mesolithic –	*c.* 10,000 – 4400 BC	
Neolithic –	*c.*4400 – 2300 BC	
Bronze Age –	*c.*2300 – 700 BC	
Iron Age –	*c.*700 BC – AD 43	
Roman (Romano-British) Period –	AD 43 – *c.* AD 410	Historic
Post-Roman / Early Medieval Period –	*c.* AD 410 – AD 1086	
Medieval Period –	1086 – 1536	
Post-Medieval Period –	1536 – 1899	
Modern –	20th century onwards	

1.7 Acknowledgements

2.0 PICTON CASTLE: OVERVIEW

Picton Castle, deservedly, is well-known for the excellent preservation of its magnificent Georgian interiors, with their almost complete suites of contemporary fixtures and fittings. Less well known, perhaps, are its medieval features, which to a considerable extent survive and have undergone little alteration since the castle was first built in the early fourteenth century. It was not until the seventeenth century that any major changes occurred.

In summary, the castle is a towered hall-block, comprising a central first-floor hall flanked by services and a chamber-block, essentially forming a three-unit 'H-plan' house in the fourteenth-century manner. Here, though, the end units are processed out as D-shaped towers, two on each side wall. In addition, a terminal twin-towered gatehouse lies opposite a former D-shaped tower at the western apex, possibly housing latrines – seven towers in all. The hall is open to the roof; the towers have polygonal interiors (two of them disguised beneath later fittings), and contain three storeys. The ground floor is essentially a vaulted undercroft; there appears to have been no internal kitchen. A comprehensive programme of works, beginning around 1700 and spanning over 50 years, transformed the castle into an elegant Georgian country house, with what appears to be only the second circular library to be built in Britain. The fundamental structure however remained unchanged, apart from the addition of an external service block to the southwest, probably during the seventeenth century (now gone), an extra storey in the early eighteenth century, and an external kitchen block against the north wall in the 1750s (also gone). The additional storey has been interpreted, by a number of authorities, as a Long Gallery, but the evidence suggests otherwise. The apical western tower was demolished in 1791 to make way for a new residential block, which lies beyond the scope of this description. Later work was largely superficial, although an additional storey was built over the hall in the 1890s, surviving until the 1960s. The south side of the castle is rendered externally, obscuring evidence for blocked features.

The castle is Grade I listed, but not scheduled. Construction throughout is in irregularly coursed hammer-dressed limestone rubble, recently re-rendered on the south side. The towers have eight-pane sash windows to rooms at first- and second-floor levels. The hall has a slate gable roof; the towers have flat lead roofs. No access to structural timberwork was obtained during the production of this report; it is possible that some floors, where occupying medieval levels, might retain original joists or perhaps re-use them, and this should be a consideration during any remedial work.

It is universally considered that the castle was begun in around 1300, or perhaps a little later, by John Wogan, a senior official in royal administration who was Justiciar of Ireland 1295-1313. This attribution is followed here, on stylistic and historical grounds, although the date has been refined to a period between *c*.1315 and 1320. Until 1998, it had been continuously occupied since it was built, and had remained in the hands of Wogan's descendants. But its recorded history is meagre: as a private, baronial castle, its building accounts have not survived (in contrast to those castles held by the Crown), and it is mentioned only once during the fourteenth century – with some doubt over the identification. It can perhaps be seen as a 'fortified manor house' rather than a castle, though the distinction is both arbitrary and modern: the two concepts elide into one other

and Picton it was certainly regarded as a valid military objective when it was attacked in 1405, and twice in 1645.

There are very few historical references to the castle at Picton before the Civil War of the seventeenth century. A list of Pembrokeshire castles, from 1377, includes a castle at 'Pilton' – probably Picton – while a 'castle called Picot' was attacked in 1405, again probably meaning Picton. As a place-name, however, Picton first enters history in the mid-twelfth century when a chapel was recorded there; it does not reappear until 1302, though documented as a surname from 1291 onwards.

In the absence of documentary records, antique map and print evidence is of prime importance identifying medieval and later features. It is however not always possible to reconcile present openings with those shown in the prints – particularly the Dineley sketch of 1684 and the Buck print of *c*.1740 (Figs. 7 and 8) – with complete confidence, and some of the interpretations in this report are doubtless open to question.

No detailed study of Picton has ever been published. Excellent brief accounts of the castle can however be found in the 'Pevsner' guide to Pembrokeshire (Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 356-64), *Country Life* for 1960 (Girouard 1960) and the *Castle Studies Group Journal* for 2022-23 (Guy 2023), while an exhaustive conservation plan was drawn up in 2000 (Garner 2000).[1] The present study builds on this exemplary work, but does not always follow its interpretations. Nor has an up-to-date, comprehensive history of the Wogans and their estates been attempted in recent years; secondary sources, some over 100 years old and of variable reliability, are still cited in many published accounts. A certain air of mystery around the Wogans and Picton has thus persisted. A detailed history, which hopes to dispel some of this mystery, was therefore thought to be worthwhile reproducing in full in this report, as Appendix 1.

In the following report, the lowest storey of the castle is termed the ground floor, the one above is the first floor, and so on. This avoids confusion: many accounts refer to the second storey as the ground floor, while the lowest storey is the 'basement' or 'undercroft'. Internal spaces have been numbered in a consecutive sequence, according to their present disposition, beginning with the ground floor and progressing east-west at each level. For convenience, however, ground-floor spaces are prefixed G, first-floor spaces F, second floor S, etc. Where subdivision is thought to be post-medieval, the presumed medieval disposition is reflected in the numeration eg. G11a, G11b etc. Openings are numbered accordingly, eg. G1-1, G11a-1 etc. For clarity and ease of description, later alterations will be described in full and contextualised in Sections 6.0 and 7.0, while overall discussion of the medieval castle can be found in Section 5.0.

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[1] Much work on the archival material was undertaken for these studies, but there is doubtless scope for further research on the later constructional history of the castle. The Picton Castle Estate Records are held at the National Library of Wales (MS 23273-6, NLW ex 818, 1940; NLW PG 4210-4275), and include rentals, account books, deeds, estate and family papers from 1700 to 1981; they have been fairly exhaustively studied by Thomas Lloyd among others. Pembrokeshire Record Office houses nearly 900 further items (D/RTM/PIC, D/RTP/PCE and D/RTP/PIC), but few apparently relate to the castle itself. The National Archives at Kew also has copies of wills of the Philippses of Picton from 1697, 1737 and 1764.

Fig. 1: Sketch plans of Picton Castle at ground- and first-floor level

GROUND FLOOR
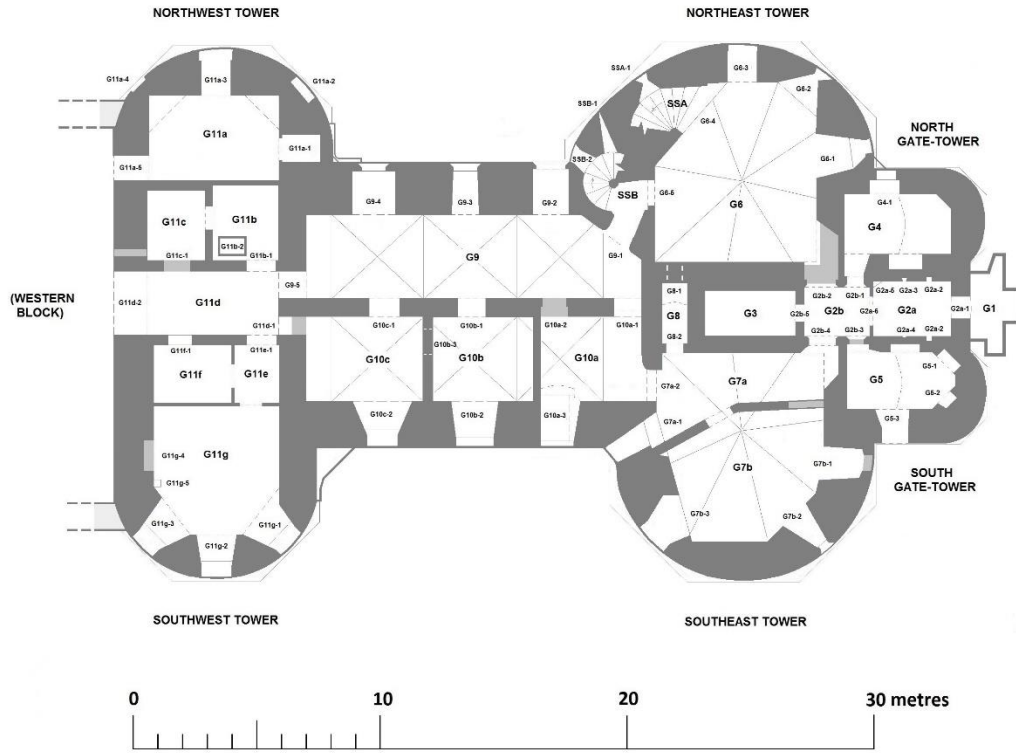
- Blocked in the 1960s or later

FIRST FLOOR
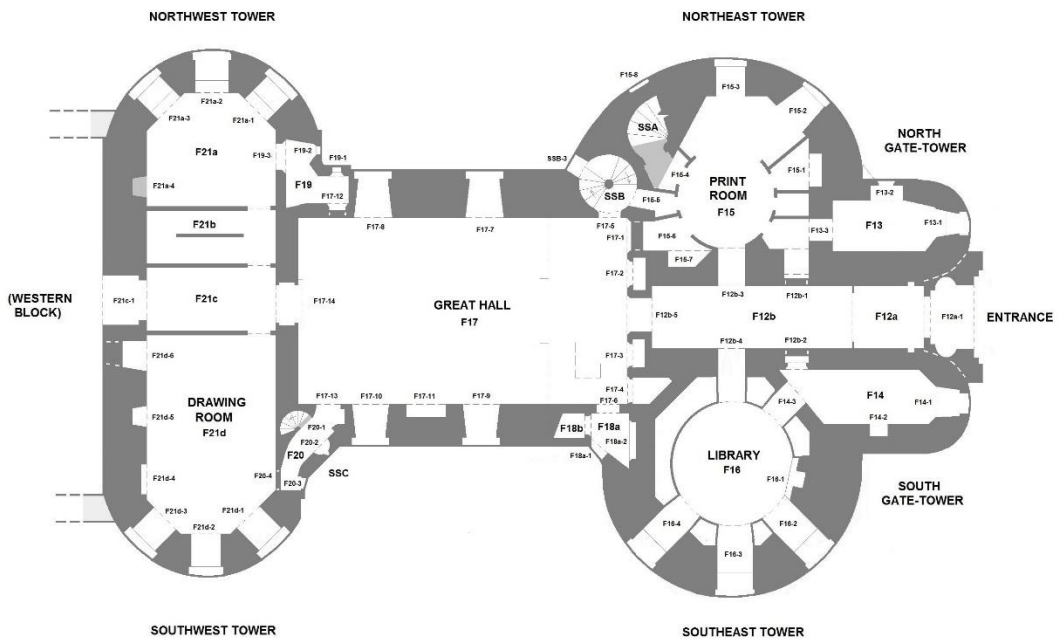
Fig. 2: Sketch plans of Picton Castle at second- and third-floor level

SECOND FLOOR

0   10   20   30 metres

- Blocked in the 1960s or later

THIRD FLOOR

22
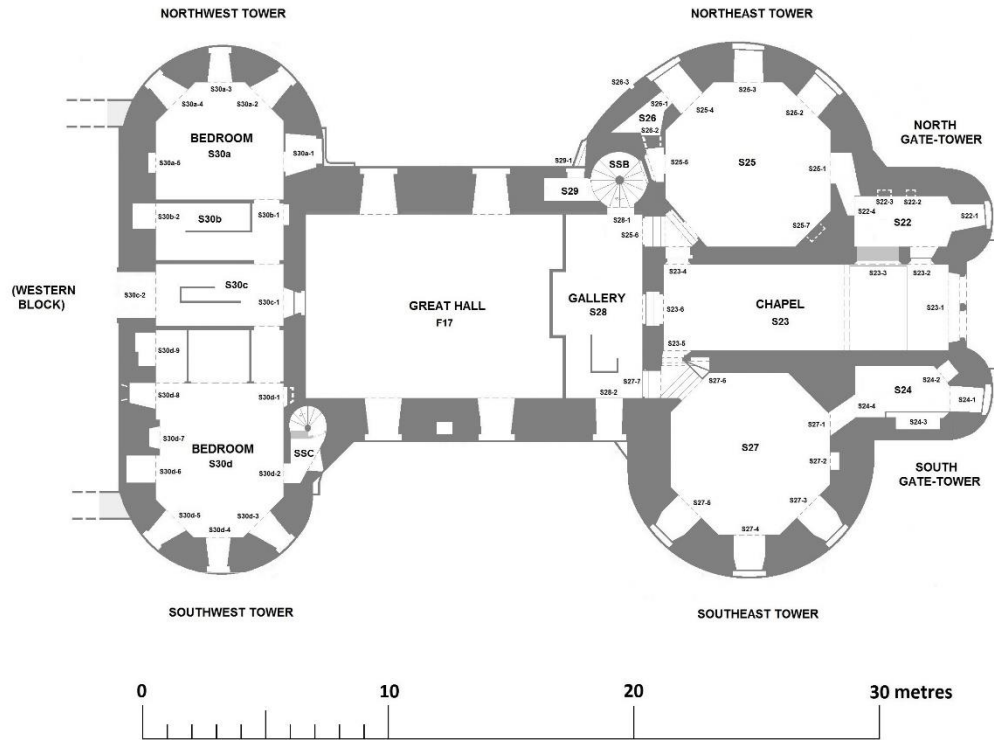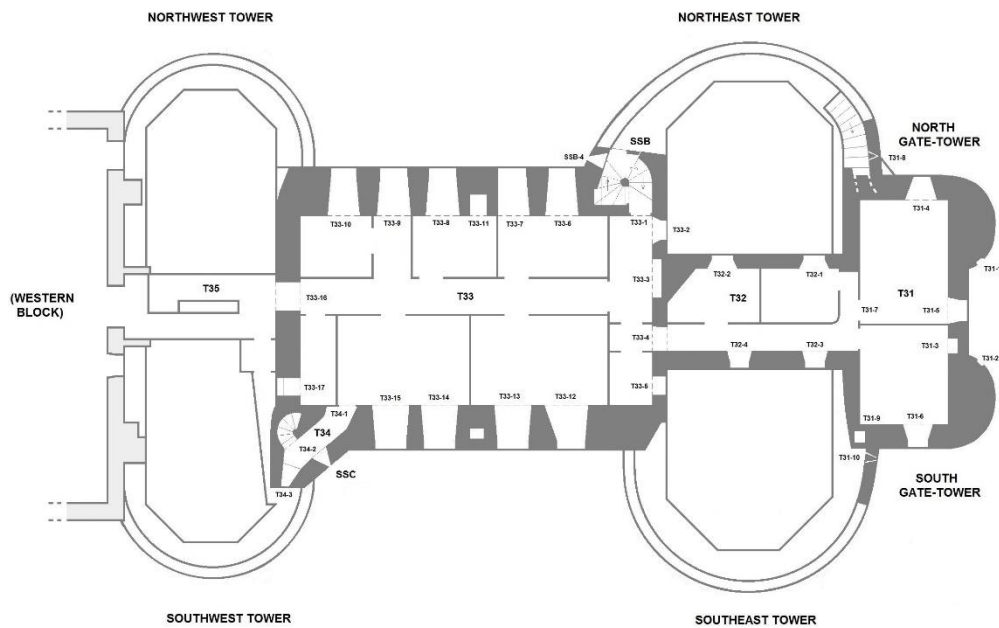
Fig. 3: Longitudinal section through Picton Castle, facing north (roughly along midline)
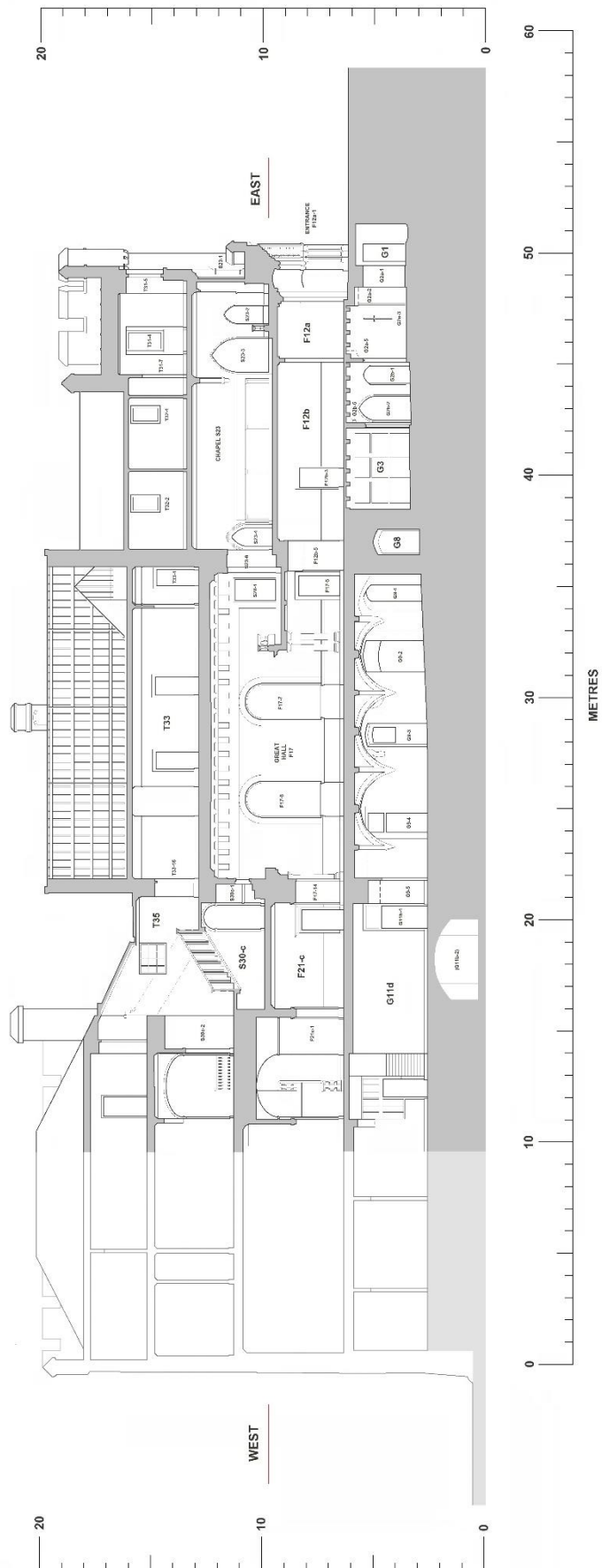
Fig. 4: Transverse section through Picton Castle gatehouse, facing west

Fig. 5: Transverse section through Picton Castle east towers, facing west

Fig. 6: Transverse section through Picton Castle west towers, facing west
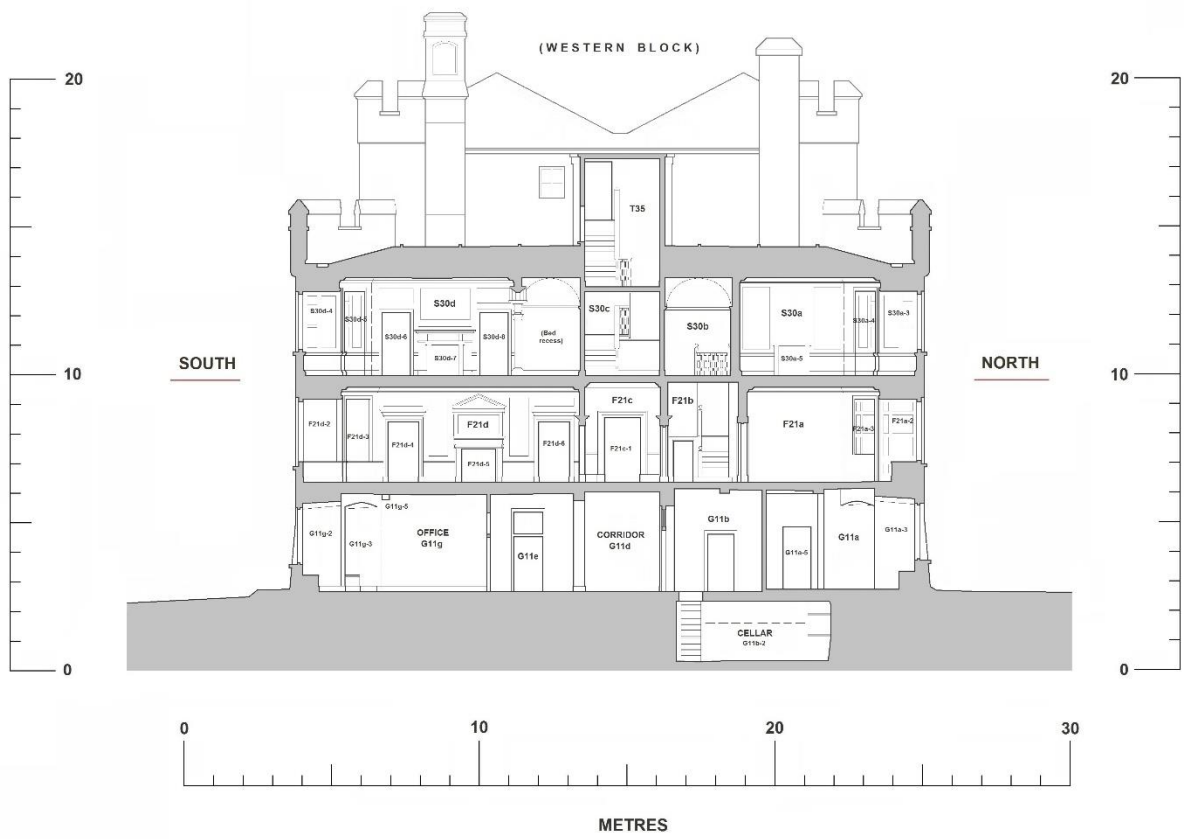
3.0 HISTORICAL TIMELINE

The medieval history of the castle is here summarised in brief; for a detailed history, the reader is referred to Appendix 1 which is fully referenced and includes all sources; for the castle's post-medieval development, see Sections 6.0 and 7.0.

The manor of Picton lay in the lordship of Daugleddau – later the Barony of Wiston – which was part of the larger lordship of Pembroke, held by the earls of Pembroke to whom the Wogans were vassals. Its medieval history is thus intimately associated with that of the barony, Pembroke lordship and Wiston Castle itself.

3.1 The twelfth and thirteenth centuries

A mound around 500 metres east of the castle had long been thought to perhaps represent a twelfth-century motte – this is no longer considered likely, and it is probably best interpreted as a *de novo* eighteenth-century garden feature. However a settlement, with a chapel, was present at Picton by the mid-twelfth century; it cannot be more closely dated. The chapelry, which belonged to Boulston parish, has now disappeared, and neither its site nor that of the settlement is known.

3.2 The thirteenth-fourteenth century

*c.*1270-80 – John Wogan is steward of Pembroke, then steward of Wexford, for William de Valence, lord of Pembroke; based primarily at Pembroke and Wexford Castle.

1286-9 – John Wogan is possibly on campaign in Gascony, with William de Valence. During the period he is knighted.

1292-4 – John Wogan is a royal justice in Northumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland.

1295 – John Wogan is appointed Justiciar of Ireland, primarily based at Dublin Castle**.**

1296 and **1300** – John Wogan is in Scotland; further visits are possible.

1297 onwards – John Wogan's eldest son, Walter, joins him in Ireland where he holds various offices for the Crown.

1301-2 – Half of Wiston barony, including Picton, comes into the possession of John Wogan between September 1301 and May 1302, through the marriage of his son Walter to the heiress of the barony, Margaret de Staunton. The other half of the barony, including Wiston Castle, remains in Staunton hands through another heir. John Wogan issues a grant at Picton in September 1302, the only document that firmly links him with Picton. However no castle is mentioned here until 1377, while Picton is not recorded as a place-name again until 1357.

1309-13 – John Wogan acquires full tenure of extensive lands in Co. Kildare, Ireland. He also holds lands in England, including Somerset, Dorset, Oxfordshire and Yorkshire. Revenues from these lands augment his income of £500 *p.a.* as justiciar, and from wardships, marriages etc.

1312 – John Wogan leaves Ireland, though remains nominal justiciar until 1313. He undertakes a number of commissions for the king, in various parts of England and Wales, during 1312-14.

1314-15 – John Wogan receives permission to stay in Wales, for two years, in October 1314. Taken along with his increased revenues, this may signal the commencement of work Picton Castle, possibly in spring 1315. He continues to undertake crown commissions: he is in Shropshire in March 1315, and is recalled to Ireland 1317-20.

Wogan's castle is essentially the one we see today, but appears to have occupied an enclosure, of uncertain form but almost certainly containing an external kitchen, well and any bakehouse, which were probably accessed from the interior through the north wall.

1321 – John Wogan dies, possibly at Picton Castle which may have been recently completed. His son Walter is absent from Ireland and may have been with him. Walter Wogan succeeds to his father's share of Wiston, including Picton, and the bulk of his lands in Ireland; his younger brother John receives a share of the Irish estates, and other lands in Pembrokeshire.

3.3 The fourteenth century

1324-7 – John Wogan the younger dies without issue; the youngest of the three brothers, Thomas, succeeds to his lands.

1323-31 – Walter Wogan holds offices in Ireland, including escheator, where he seems to have been primarily resident.

1331-4 – Walter Wogan dies. His son Matthew is a minor, his lands being held in ward by the lord of Pembroke. During this period, the reeve of Wiston is leasing '160 acres of demesne land with a capital messuage', which may represent a manor-house built by the Wogans next to the Stauntons' Wiston Castle.

1334-5 – Matthew Wogan comes of age and succeeds to his father Walter Wogan's lands.

1339 – Matthew Wogan exchanges his Irish lands with his uncle, Thomas Wogan, in return for the latter's lands in Pembrokeshire and elsewhere. But he also demises Picton Castle to Thomas, apparently choosing to reside in the manor-house at Wiston. Thomas puts 'a castle in Wales', probably Picton, in a state of readiness against threatened French invasion.

1340-50s – Thomas Wogan retains Picton, but seems to be mainly resident in Ireland and England.

1354 – Picton is returned to Matthew Wogan, who holds it until his death in *c*.1386.

1357 – Thomas Wogan dies; his *Inquisition Post Mortem* is the first record of Picton in any governmental document. He is succeeded by his son John.

1360 – John Wogan may have assisted his kinsman Matthew in Pembrokeshire during a further French invasion threat. Otherwise, his father having relinquished his Pembrokeshire estates, John's activities appear to be confined to Ireland and England.

1370 – John Wogan is succeeded by his son David.

1377 – Picton is probably the castle at 'Pilton' that, like a number of other castles in Pembrokeshire, is ordered to be repaired and garrisoned against yet another French invasion threat. This is the earliest reference to a castle at Picton.

***c*.1386** – Matthew Wogan dies, still in possession of Picton, and his share of Wiston including the manor-house. He is succeeded by his son, another John. The male Staunton lineage appears to have become extinct around this time, and their share of Wiston barony, including the castle, falls to an heiress, Anastasia.

3.4 The fifteenth century

1400 – Anastasia de Staunton marries David Wogan, bringing the entire barony of Wiston into Wogan control, under David and Anastasia at Wiston Castle, and Matthew's son John at Picton Castle and Wiston manor-house. David however is mainly resident in Ireland.

1405 – 'The castle called Picot' yields to a combined Franco-Welsh force of around 12,000, under Owain Glyndŵr, on their way from Haverfordwest to Tenby. It can be fairly confidently identified as Picton. It was returned to Wogan later in the year. No damage from the attack can be firmly identified in the castle fabric.

1409 – David Wogan imports victuals for 'his castle in Wales', presumably Wiston.

1419-22 – Deaths, respectively, of John and David Wogan.

1422-38 – David Wogan was predeceased by his son, leaving his infant granddaughter as heiress. Another exchange of lands takes place, possibly during her minority, with the result that David Wogan's descendants hold Picton Castle, and John Wogan's descendants hold both shares of Wiston ie. the manor house, and the castle which is probably abandoned soon afterwards.

1438 – Katherine, David Wogan's granddaughter, marries Owain Dwnn of Muddlescwm, Carmarthenshire, bringing Picton with her.

***c*.1460** – Owain Dwnn is succeeded at Picton by his son Henry ('Harry Dwnn of Picton').

1469 – Henry Dwnn is killed at the Battle of Edgecote.

1469-91 – Henry Dwnn's daughter and successor, Joan, marries Thomas ap Philip of Cilsant, Carmarthenshire. Thomas anglicises his name to Philipps.

***c*.1491-1521** – Thomas Philipps's tenure is the most likely context for the refenestration, with late-Perpendicular window tracery, of Picton's Great Hall; another Perpendicular window over the main entry may be contemporary, or more likely a little later – but probably before 1520 and within Thomas's tenure (Fig. 8). These windows are the only medieval alterations to John Wogan's building for which there is any evidence; both are now gone.

1521 – Thomas Philipps is succeeded by Morgan Philipps.

3.5 The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

1521-1642 – The castle remains in Philipps hands, held successively by Morgan, William, John – who is created baronet in 1621 – and Richard Philipps (second baronet). Little surviving masonry at the castle can be attributed to this period, but it is apparent that work was undertaken. A two-storeyed service block, probably containing a kitchen, was built against the southwest side of the castle. The castle was part-refenestrated at ground-floor level, the medieval north door was blocked and fireplaces may have been inserted in the gatehouse. The outer wall that formerly surrounded the castle, with the Classical gateway shown in 1684, was built (Fig. 7; see Section 4.6).

1642 (August) – The First Civil War begins. Sir Richard Philipps of Picton Castle, broadly sympathetic to Parliament, is appointed a Commissioner of Militia in Pembrokeshire.

1643 (Autumn) – Royalist garrisons are imposed upon Pembrokeshire castles including Picton.

1644 (Spring) – Picton's Royalist garrison withdraws following Parliamentary successes in west Wales. Sir Richard Philipps is placed under bond of £5000 to garrison the castle for Parliament.

1645 (28 April) – Picton Castle yields to the Royalists after a very brief attack, during Sir Richard Philipps's absence; no associated damage can be identified in the castle fabric. The castle is once again garrisoned by the Royalists.

1645 (20 September) – Picton Castle is recaptured for Parliament after a three-week siege. The Civil War in ends in West Wales shortly afterwards. Picton appears to have played no part in the Second Civil War of 1648.

***c*.1650** – Sir Richard Philipps is succeeded by his eldest son Sir Erasmus Philipps (3rd baronet). He is MP for Pembrokeshire in the First and Third Protectorate Parliaments of 1654 and 1659.

1670 – In the Hearth Tax Roll the castle is assessed at ten hearths, which suggests the number of principal rooms in use.

1684 – Sir Erasmus Philipps entertains the Duke of Beaufort, Lord President of the Council and Lord Warden of the Marches of Wales, to dinner at Picton; the earliest surviving illustration of the castle is made during the visit, in which it occupies a rectangular walled enclosure (Fig. 7). It is uncertain whether a building shown just west of the enclosure might be the medieval chapel of Picton.

3.6 The eighteenth century

1697 – Sir Erasmus Philipps is succeeded by his eldest son Sir John Philipps (4th baronet). Soon after his succession, a long programme of transformation of the castle gets underway, beginning at the east end where the main entrance is raised to first-floor level and a causeway built in front of it (now gone). The family had recently acquired property in the Kilgetty/Saundersfoot area, bringing a huge increase in revenues through coal and iron, which may have helped fund this work.

***c*.1710-20** – Further work at Picton, possibly representing part of the same programme but undertaken incrementally. An extra storey is added over the Great Hall, removing the medieval open roof. This seems to represent further accommodation, and a nursery. Attic bedrooms lie above, beneath the new roof and lit by dormer windows. Floor levels are raised in the gatehouse, which is refenestrated and an additional chamber created at third-floor level, connected to the extra storey by a further, narrow chamber. The west towers are partitioned to create reception rooms on the first floor, and bedrooms on the second, either side of a central stairwell. The east tower second floors are also bedrooms, partly refitted. New entries are created between the eastern undercrofts. The medieval tower roofs are replaced with flat lead roofs. Chimneys are rebuilt or added throughout.

1725-30 – Work continues, moving west to the three western towers. The west tower first-floor rooms are refurbished, while seventeenth-century windows are blocked in the Northwest Tower which receives sash-windows; it is used as a Parlour, with a Drawing Room in the Southwest Tower. The former western tower is furnished as withdrawing room (the 'Damask Room'), with a dressing room over. A detached, L-plan range, NE of the castle (Figs. 9 and 10), is complete by 1729 when it houses the kitchen, brewhouse, dairy, stable and ox-house. Formal gardens are established around the castle, including drives and a belvedere; the medieval settlement and chapel may already have been abandoned.

1737 – Sir John Philipps is succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Erasmus Philipps, as 5th baronet.

***c*.1740** – Picton Castle is depicted by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck (Fig. 8). It catches the castle in the middle of its eighteenth-century transformation into a Georgian country house. At least part of the surrounding enclosure wall still survives.

1743 – Sir Erasmus Philipps is succeeded by his younger brother Sir John Philipps, as 6th baronet.

1749-52 – Sir John Philipps continues the work of John, his father, at Picton. The Great Hall and chapel are refitted in the Palladian manner, possibly under the direction of James Gibbs. Joinery was probably by James Rich. A new gallery, housing an organ, replaces the medieval screens. Contrary to most published accounts, the medieval Great Hall windows are retained. A classical portico is added to the main entry, and a new east window fitted in the chapel; the entrance causeway is given balustrades. Second-floor level is raised in the east towers, to match those in the gatehouse, while both towers are refenestrated to match the west towers, and new doorways are inserted to replace the medieval entries; partitions are inserted at both upper floor levels, making the Southeast Tower circular internally, at first-floor level, and fitted out as a Library. The additional storey is given crenellations. The southwest service block, adjoining the castle, is demolished, allowing refenestration of the Southwest Tower – which may have begun – to be completed. A kitchen wing is built against the north side (now gone). The ground floor is partly refenestrated and the main undercroft receives new dividing walls, associated with the new kitchen.

1764 – Sir John Philipps is succeeded by his son Sir Richard Philipps, as 7th baronet.

1773 – An estate map shows that the sixteenth/seventeenth-century enclosure wall, which had survived in part until the 1740s, had been entirely removed (Fig. 10).

1776 – Sir Richard Philipps is created 1st Baron Milford in the Irish peerage.

1779 – Picton Castle is depicted in a watercolour by Paul Sandby (Fig. 11). Refenestration is complete, apart from the Great Hall which retains its late fifteenth-century windows.

1791-*c*.1800 – Picton Castle's apical western tower is demolished, and a new four-storey Western Block added in a Regency 'Gothick' style, possibly by the local architect Griffith Watkins, of Haverfordwest (1745-1822). Access to the new bock includes widening entries and the creation of a ground-floor corridor in the west towers, and a link at third-floor level with the early eighteenth-century additional storey. Print evidence clearly shows that it is now that the Great Hall is refenestrated, with windows identical to those in the new block. The east towers are refurbished, the Southeast Tower becoming a breakfasting room.

1797 – Construction begins on the walled gardens and park enclosure wall.

3.7 The nineteenth century

1823 – Sir Richard Philipps dies without surviving issue. He is succeeded in the baronetcy by a distant relative, but Picton Castle passes to his cousin Richard Grant who assumes the surname Philipps.

1824-30 – Richard Grant Philipps undertakes major alterations to Picton Castle, mainly in 1827 and concentrating on the entry. The classical portico is replaced by a neo-Romanesque porch and the Venetian window above it is replaced in a similar manner. The chapel is renovated, with a recess to house the organ which is moved here from the hall gallery. A new entry is created at ground-floor level, in the Northeast Tower. A broad, semicircular carriage sweep replaces the entrance causeway. North and west ranges added to northeast service yard. The architect is Thomas Rowlands of Haverfordwest (1803-83). Two more ranges are added to the service buildings to the NE, to form a complete quadrangle.

1828-47 – Richard Grant Philipps created baronet in 1828, and in 1847 became Baron Milford of Picton Castle, in a revival of the barony which had become extinct in 1823.

1857 – Sir Richard Philipps dies without issue. The peerage and baronetcy become extinct, but Picton Castle and estates pass to his half-brother, the Rev. James Henry Alexander Gwyther, who assumes the surname Philipps.

Mid-19th century – An 'elegant conservatory with gothic windows' (now gone) is built against the north side of the Western Block. The Northwest Tower is given dividing walls at ground-floor level.

1875 – James Henry Alexander Philipps is succeeded at Picton by his son-in-law, Charles Edward Gregg, who similarly assumes the surname Philipps.

1884-97 – Sir Charles Edward Philipps remodels the service buildings to the NE, and builds a two-storey corridor (now gone) to link them with the castle. The architects are Trollope and Sons of Pimlico, in association with T. P. Reynolds of Haverfordwest. An additional attic storey is built over the Great Hall. The chapel is renovated. Windows are modified in the 1790s Western Block and the Southwest Tower. A brick partition wall is inserted in the former gatehouse passage, a glass screen in the entrance hall, while other minor ground-floor alterations are undertaken. Many chimneys are restored/remodelled.

1887 – Sir Charles Edward Philipps is created baronet, of Picton.

3.8 The twentieth century

Early C20 – Central heating is installed. The 1750s kitchen is replaced (or augmented) by a kitchen in the 1790s Western Block, connected to the Northwest Tower.

1928 – Sir Charles Edward Philipps dies. Succeeded by his son Sir Henry Erasmus Edward Philipps, 2nd baronet.

1934 – A fire at Picton Castle destroys the rooms above the Great Hall and the Hall's plaster ceiling. They are rebuilt by Sir Reginald Blomfield and Son, though the fourth storey was subsequently removed.

1938 – Sir Henry Erasmus Edward Philipps dies. Succeeded by his brother Sir John Erasmus Gwynne Alexander Philipps, 3rd baronet.

1940-5 – The castle is requisitioned by Army during World War II. Later, a hospital for American servicemen is established in the castle.

1948 – Sir John Erasmus Gwynne Alexander Philipps dies. Picton Castle is sold to a distant cousin Laurence Richard Philipps, for whom the barony of Milford had been created for a third time in 1939.

1954 – Laurence Richard Philipps's son, Richard Hanning Philipps, takes over Picton Castle.

1960-3 – Richard Hanning Philipps and his wife, Lady Marion, engage the architect Donald Insall, of Belgrave Square, to undertake remedial work at the castle. Much of this work is superficial; more intrusive work includes the removal of the mid-eighteenth-century kitchen block from the north wall which is given new window-surrounds; removal of the late nineteenth-century corridor to the service range to the NE; removal of the fourth storey over the Great Hall, remodelling the underlying third-floor rooms once again and replacing the roof structure; the re-fitting of the NE Tower at first-floor level; installing a boiler in the north gatehouse tower ground floor. The organ is returned to the Hall gallery and its recess in the chapel is blocked. New surrounds are inserted in several openings, mainly at the east end. A number of medieval doorways are blocked at ground-floor level.

1982-3 – A staircase is inserted between first and second floors of NW Tower, removing the early eighteenth century bed recess. At first-floor level, the remainder is fitted out as a kitchen/dining room. This is the last major work during residential occupation of the castle.

1987 – Richard and Marion Philipps establish the Picton Castle Trust, to manage the castle and environs.

1998 – Richard Hanning Philipps dies, predeceased by Lady Marion, bringing residential occupation of the castle to an end.

Fig. 7: East view of Picton Castle in 1684, by Thomas Dineley
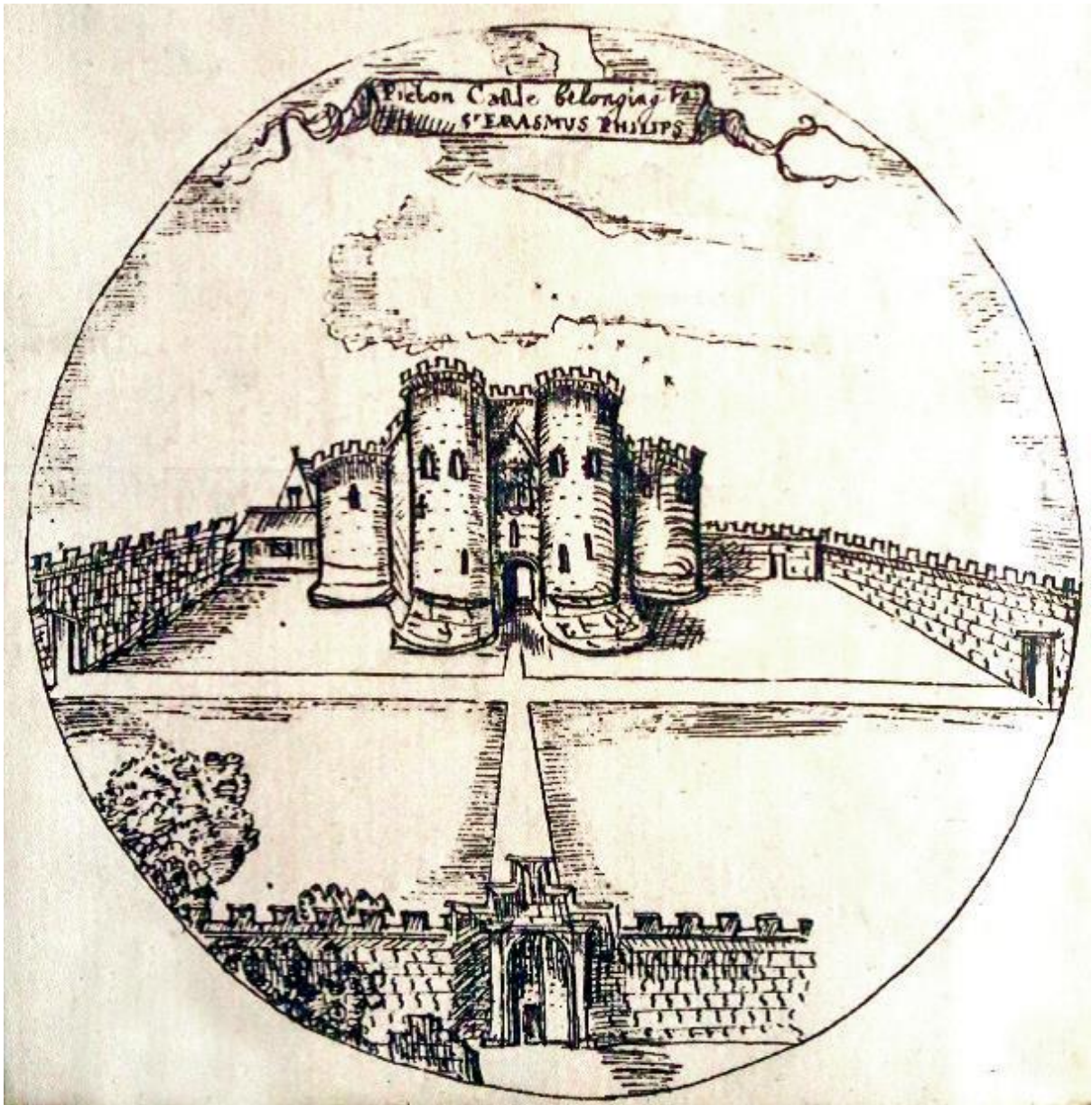
Fig. 8: North view of Picton Castle in c.*1740, by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck (cropped)*

Fig. 9: Picton Castle estate map from 1746 (detail)

Fig. 10: Picton Castle estate map from 1773, by Thomas Lewis (detail)

Fig. 11: South view of Picton Castle in 1779, by Paul Sandby (detail)

Fig. 12: North view of Picton Castle in c.1794, by John 'Warwick' Smith

Fig. 13: Northeast view of Picton Castle in 1805, by John Carter

Fig. 14: Southeast view of Picton Castle in 1829, by S. Porter

Fig. 15: Copy of Picton Castle estate map from 1829, by H. P. Goode (detail)

Belvedere
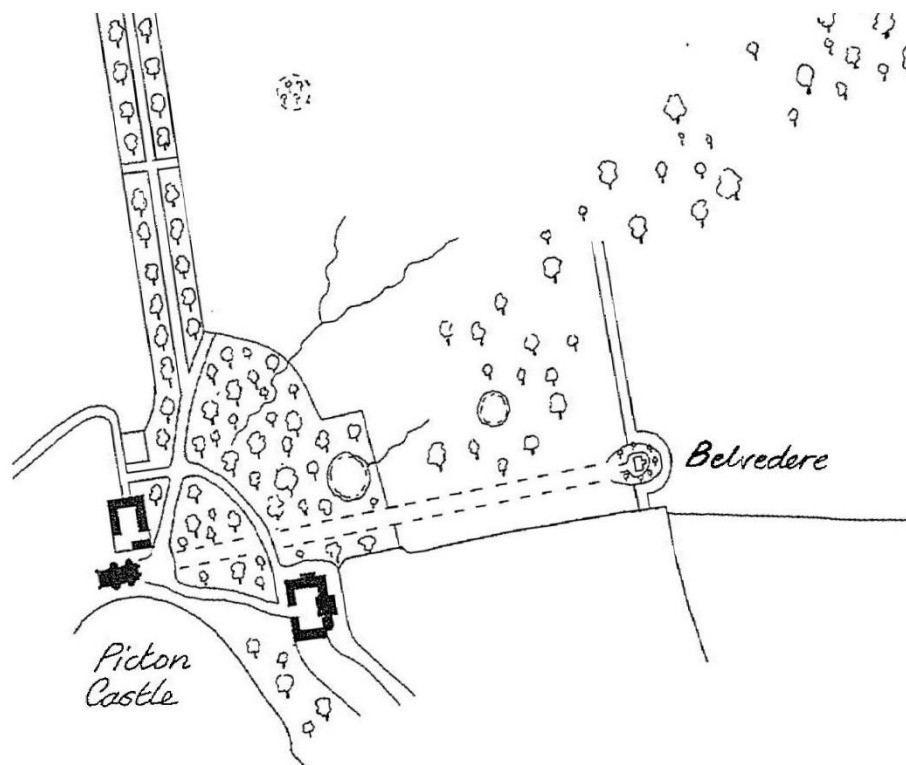
Picton
Castle

Fig. 16: Detail from the Tithe Map of 1846
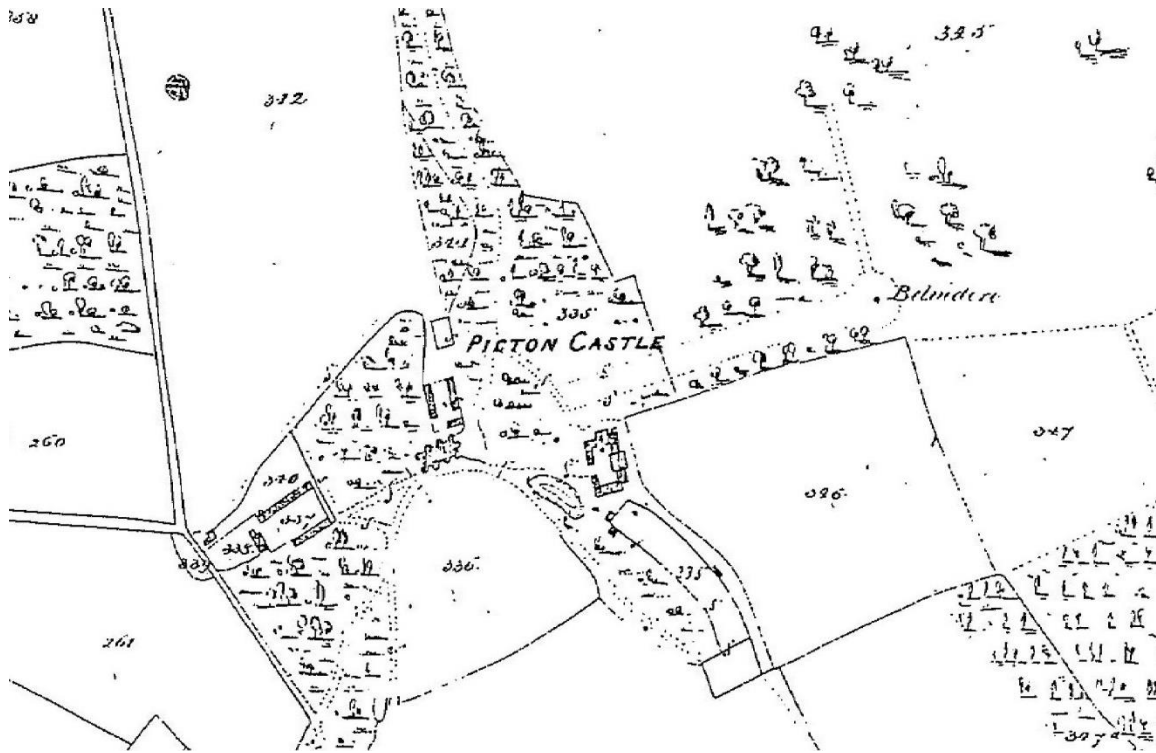
Fig. 17: Southeast view of Picton Castle in 1880, by W. Mackenzie

Fig. 18: Ground- and second-floor plans of Picton Castle, by Donald Insall, architect, c.1960

GROUND FLOOR
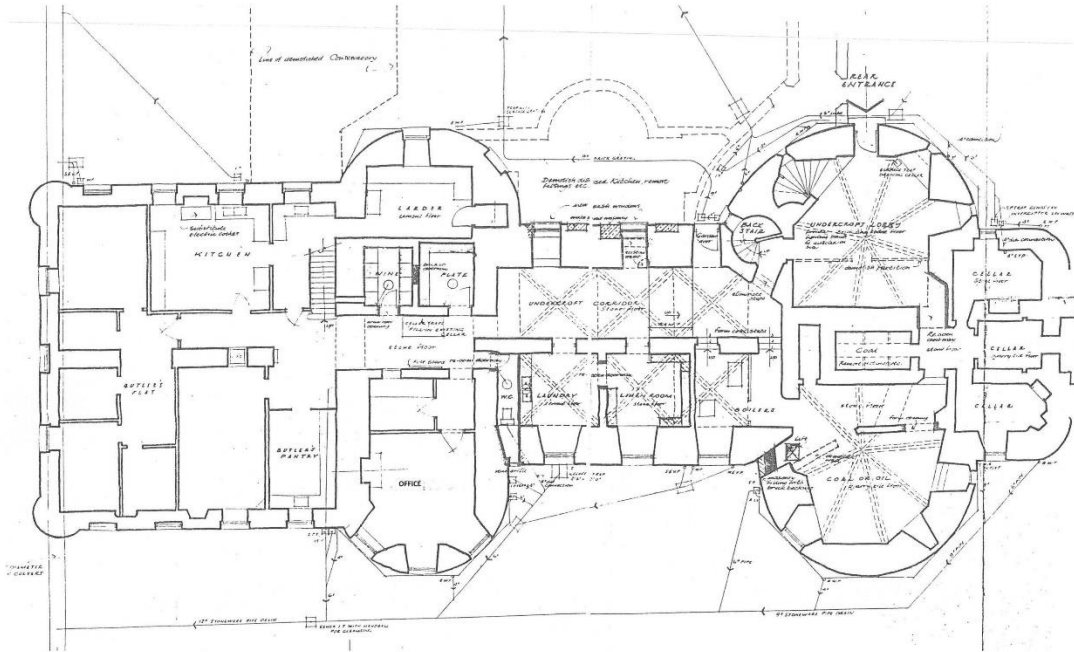
SECOND FLOOR
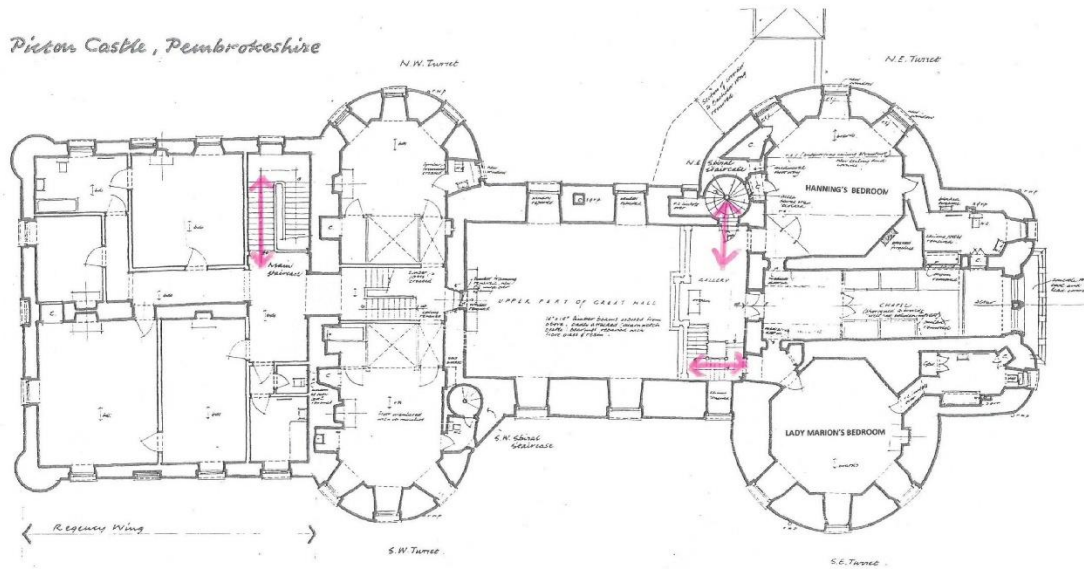
Fig. 19: Ground-floor plan of Picton Castle, by D. J. C. King (from King 1988, 123; adapted from Girouard 1960, 20 Fig. 6)
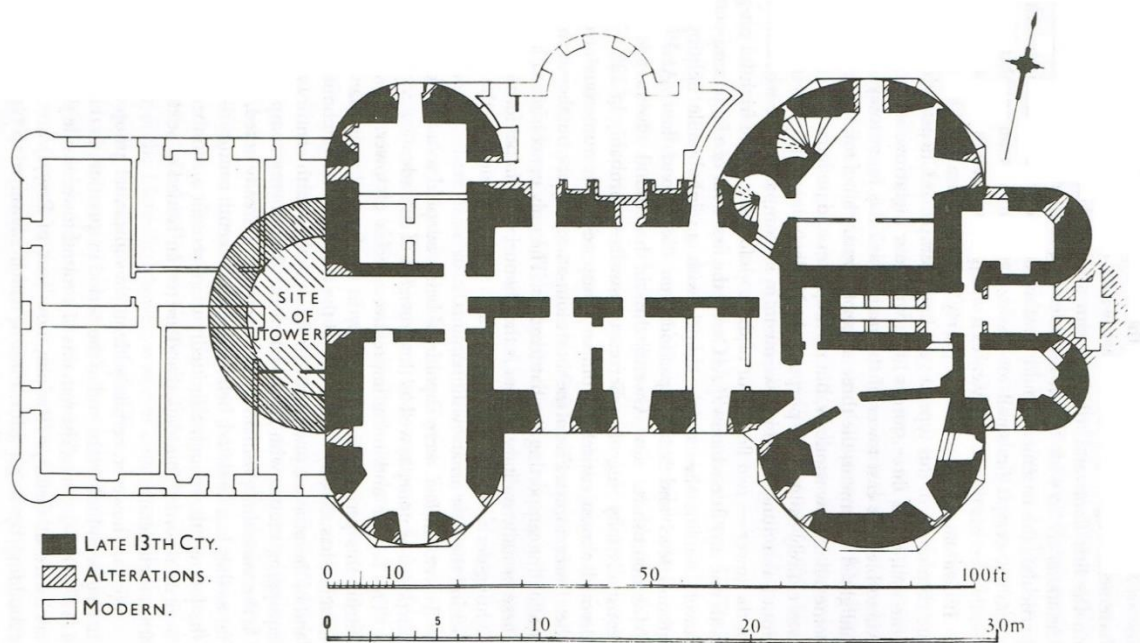
Fig. 21: Photo of Picton Castle gatehouse and Northeast Tower from east-north-east (June 2023)

*Fig. 22: Photo of Picton Castle Northeast Tower from the northeast
(June 2023)*

Fig. 23: Photo of Picton Castle Northeast Tower from the northwest, also showing Great Hall (June 2023)

Fig. 24: Photo of Picton Castle central block, including the Great Hall and central undercroft openings, from the north (June 2023)

*Fig. 27: Photo of Picton Castle Northwest Tower from the northwest
(June 2023)*

Fig. 28: Photo of Picton Castle from the southwest, showing (L-R) the Southwest Tower, Great Hall and Southeast Tower (June 2023)

Fig. 29: Photo of Picton Castle from the southeast, showing (L-R) the Southwest Tower, Great Hall, Southeast Tower and gatehouse (June 2023)

4.0 THE MEDIEVAL CASTLE: DESCRIPTION

The medieval castle, which was probably begun around 1315 and complete by *c.*1320, comprises a detached towered hall-block. We cannot be certain whether it occupied an enclosure, or was ditched: this is discussed in Sections 4.6 and 5.0.

We have seen that the castle is, in essence, an early fourteenth-century towered hall-block, comprising a central first-floor hall flanked by services and a chamber-block, essentially forming a three-unit 'H-plan' house in the fourteenth-century manner. Here, though, the end units are processed out as D-shaped towers, two on each side wall. There is also a terminal twin-towered gatehouse, opposite a fifth D-shaped tower which formerly at the western apex, and possibly housed latrines. The castle contained three storeys throughout, although the first-floor hall rose through the second floor and was open to the roof, while the gatehouse towers and apical western tower seem to have risen an extra storey, but with open backs so that they were roofed at the same level as the rest of the castle. The ground floor is largely vaulted as undercroft space. Overall, the medieval castle has maximum measurements of 21.5 metres north-south by 36 metres east-west; the towers are 12.5 metres tall, the gatehouse oversailing them by a further 3.5 metres. The towers are rounded externally, rising from semi-octagonal bases which form clasping, quoined, pyramidal spur-buttresses, dying back at first-floor level; internally, the towers are semi-octagonal in plan. The castle is markedly symmetrical either side of an east-west midline, broken only by the presence of two spiral stairs within the wall-thickness of the Northeast Tower, which bulges around them. A third spiral stair in the southwest corner is squinched out from first-floor level; none occupy projecting turrets. Only one stair is still open for use.

At ground-floor level, the central vessel and eastern towers are rib-vaulted, the gatehouse towers barrel-vaulted as, possibly, was the gate-passage, while the western towers appear always to have been unvaulted and have thinner walls. The upper levels have suspended timber floors, while roofs were likewise of timber. The vaults, and altogether more substantial construction of the east and central sections of the castle may be one reason why surviving medieval detail is concentrated in these areas.

Its great stylistic unity – and remarkably meticulous planning in terms of spatial disposition, access and circulation – seems to confirm that the castle was built in one campaign. Construction is in local limestone throughout, including a number of dressed surrounds which show simple chamfers; an ogival corbel may also be medieval. Where they survive, surrounds are mainly confined to doorways, some of which show chamfer-stops. Window-surrounds have fared less well, though partially surviving in a blocked window and two blocked slit-lights in the gatehouse. Only one draw-bar socket survives, associated with an iron pintle. There are the remains of several loops, mainly at parapet level where they are plain, though lower down two cruciform fishtail loops survive in the gate-passage (ie. with basal oillets shaped like an inverted triangle), and a truncated fishtail loop in the Northwest Tower. The crenellated parapets are carried on plain corbel-tables.

Medieval arrangements survive reasonably well in the central vessel and eastern towers. The western towers however have undergone rather more alteration (one has been lost) and arrangements are uncertain. Internal circulation changed during the post-medieval

period, and not easy to reconstruct, but is the key to understanding how the internal spaces functioned relative to each other, and to their intended use. Overall, the disposition of space suggests the first-floor hall was flanked, at the west end, by service rooms in the two eastern towers, overlain by a private suite comprising two chambers flanking a chapel; one appears to have been served by a latrine(s), now much-altered. The Northwest and Southwest towers may have been united to form a residential chamber-block (retainers' accommodation?). The purpose of the lost apical West Tower is not clear, but it is suggested to have been a latrine block serving this accommodation. At least some of the undercrofts seem to have been associated with the storage of comestibles, and to have communicated with first-floor service rooms via vertical shafts or hatches.

The main entry was at ground-floor level, between the gatehouse towers, and seems to have led to a stairway rising to enter the Great Hall at its low end. It is clear, however, that another ground-floor entry must have existed for 'service' use, directly accessing the undercroft, and what appears to be a blocked doorway lies in the north wall of the central block. No internal space can be identified as a kitchen or bakehouse, so these facilities presumably lay externally, to the north, was they were to do in the eighteenth century. The entry through the gatehouse was probably for restricted use only. It was blocked in the late seventeenth century when a new entry was created over it, at first-floor level.

It will be clear from the above that the domestic appointments at Picton show a remarkable level of sophistication for the period, while its fully-developed H-plan appears hitherto to have been unknown in Wales (see Section 5.0). The integrated suites of residential apartments in the east towers and gatehouse, either side of a chapel, are moreover firmly rooted within the patterns established in royal planning. Nevertheless we cannot speculate as to the identity of its designer, and other design attributes may have been influenced by buildings in northern Britain or perhaps even Plantagenet Gascony,[2] and by the castles of Gilbert de Clare. Execution is however largely regional. This will be discussed in Section 5.2.

4.1 The ground floor

At ground floor level were at least 10 discrete spaces, separated by solid walls. They largely correspond to the spatial divisions on the main, first floor: a central vessel beneath the Great Hall; the Northeast and Southeast Towers; the entrance passage; the two gate-towers; and the western towers. Some of these spaces were later subdivided, as discussed below. All surviving medieval openings at ground-floor level appear to be primary, belonging to the early fourteenth century. Many were altered during the post-medieval period, when some were blocked and a number of new openings were inserted; there was, originally, no communication between the main central undercroft beneath the Great Hall, and those beneath the east towers and gatehouse, which formed a self-contained unit (as noted in Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 360-1; Garner 2000, 3.1.2.8).

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[2] Influence from buildings in Ireland is favoured in most published accounts, and is discussed in Section 5.2 where it is considered less likely.

Fig. 30: Ground-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern and conjectured medieval

GROUND FLOOR - MODERN

- Blocked in the 1960s or later

0   10   20   30 metres
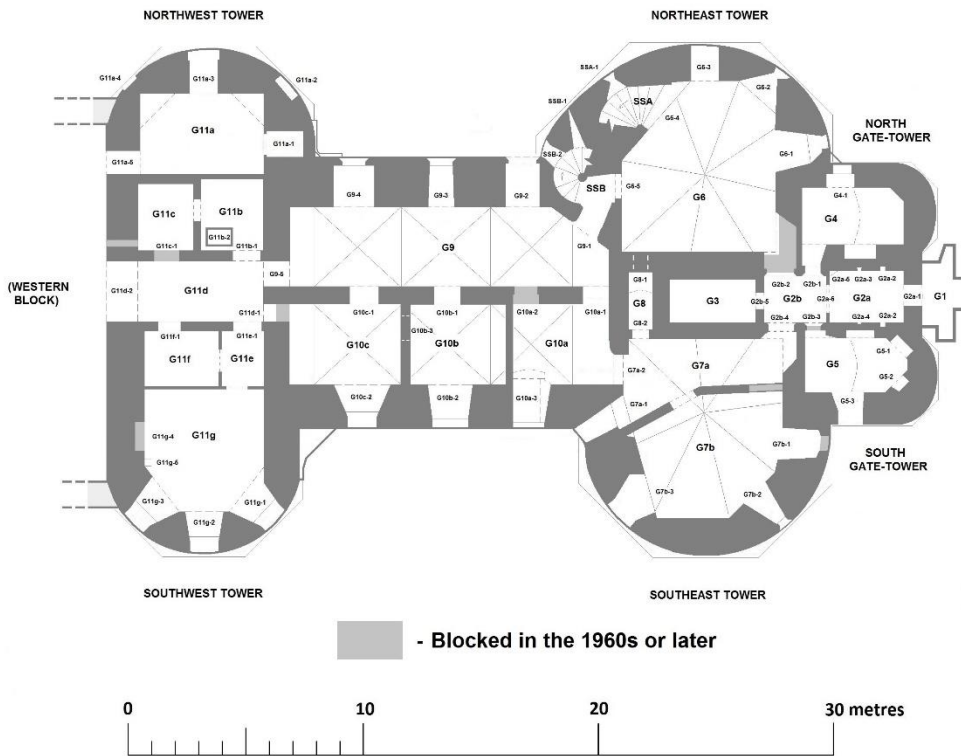
GROUND FLOOR - RECONSTRUCTED MEDIEVAL
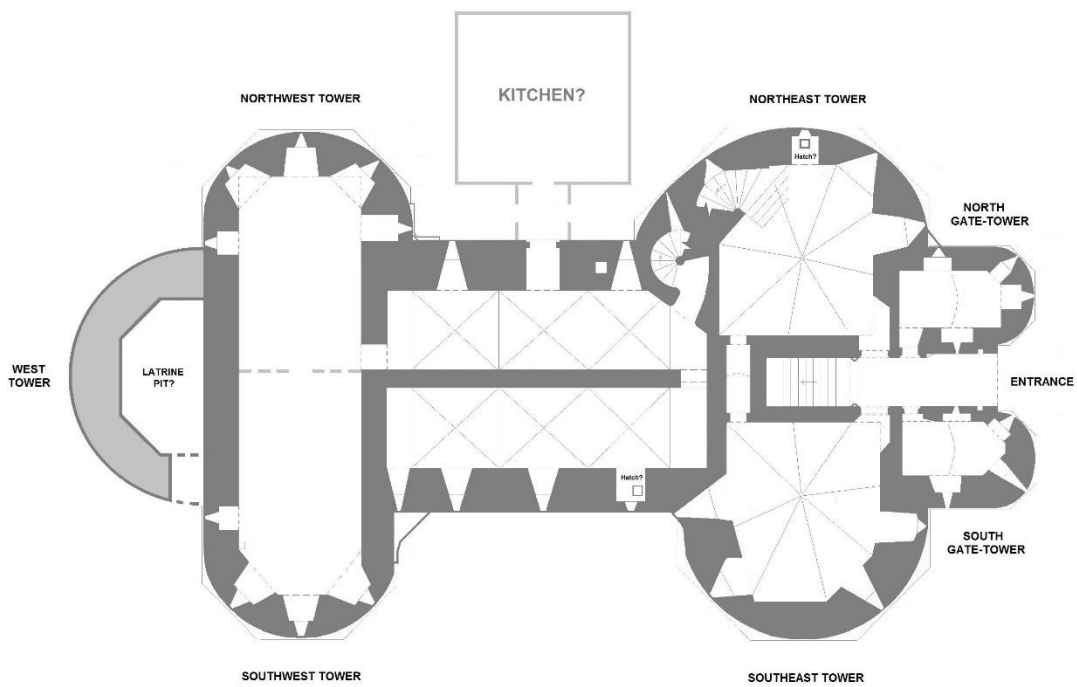
Although the main entry during the medieval period was at ground-floor level, it appears to have led onto a stair to the first-floor Great Hall, which can be regarded as the entrance floor. The ground floor might then be best regarded collectively as a basement or undercroft, with a separate 'service' door in the north wall.

Access to and from the upper floors was by two spiral stairs (SSA and SSB), both located in the wall-thickness of the Northeast Tower, though only one SSA appears to have originally been accessed from the tower itself; the other was accessed solely from the central vessel beneath the Great Hall. Further stairs, internal and of timber, may have occupied the western towers, though this is far from certain; they too may have been accessed solely from the central vessel. The east towers, entrance passage and gatehouse towers intercommunicated with each other, with circular access around the stairwell to the first floor made possible by an additional passage.

Floor surfaces slope uphill from west to east, but where door-sill level is known, through the survival of detail such as chamfer stops, they appear to reflect medieval levels.

There is no evidence for fireplaces or bread-ovens in the undercroft, which appears never to have housed a kitchen. Nor is there evidence for a well. Possible functions for the ground-floor spaces will be discussed in Section 5.1.

4.1.1 Entrance passage G2

The main entrance was originally via a passage G2 between the two gate towers. The entrance itself was blocked around 1700, when a raised causeway was built against it (see Section 6.1) – now subsumed beneath the present, early nineteenth-century carriage-sweep – which incorporates a cellar, G1, accessed through a doorway G2a-1 in the blocking (Fig. 31). T-shaped in plan, the cellar reflects the shape of the early nineteenth-century porch above it (see Sections 4.2.1 and 6.1), but it may have been a pre-existing feature into which the porch foundations intruded.

Nothing of the medieval entrance arch can now be seen, and it appears to have been the same width as the passage and thus defined by its side walls. Its head probably lay above present roof/ceiling level, at the same level as arch G2b-5 opposite (see below). The entrance arch is shown in Thomas Dineley's sketch of 1684, but not in any great detail (Fig. 7); it is depicted as round-headed, which is possible, though comparison with work elsewhere in the castle suggests it may have been a low pointed arch, or segmental-pointed. Consistent with the physical evidence, the arch appears to span the gap between the side-walls, and to show dressed voussoirs, probably in two or more chamfered orders.

The passage is 6 metres long, averages 2 metres in width and is 2.6 metres high (probably around 3 metres high in the Middle Ages; see Figs. 3 and 4). It is now subdivided into two spaces G2a and G2b by a brick wall, probably late nineteenth-century, containing a plain lintelled entry G2a-6. The wall coincides with a kink in the passage north wall, forming a dog-leg over which the wall-face is squinched (G2a-5; Fig. 32), and narrowing the passage from 2.2 metres in its outer (east) half to 1.9 metres in its inner half. This is clearly a medieval feature and is discussed below in Section 5.2.

Fig. 31: Wall of cellar G1, blocking medieval main entry, looking east

Fig. 32: Nineteenth- century wall and doorway G2a-6, looking west, showing medieval dog-leg and squinch G2a-5 in passage north wall
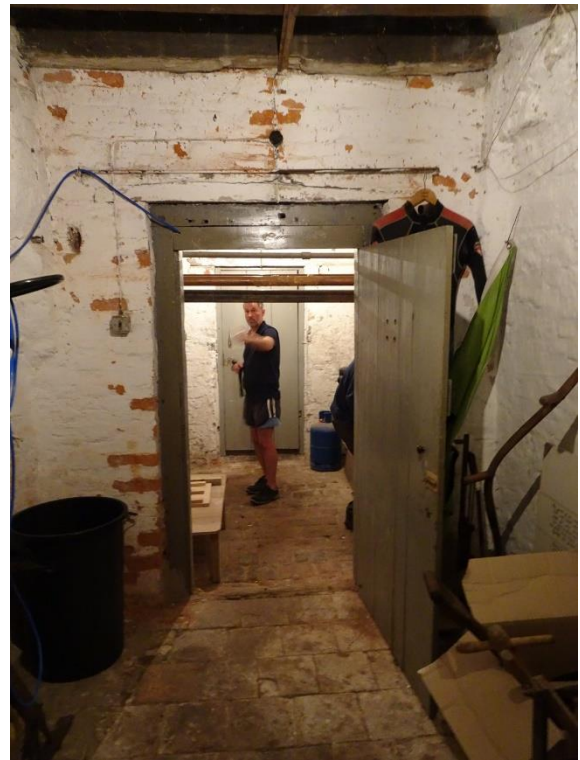
Fig. 33: Portcullis groove G2a-2 in passage south wall

Towards the outer end of the passage, the portcullis groove (G2a-2) survives in both side walls: it is square in section, 0.15 metres wide and 0.14 metres deep, and descends to floor level (Fig. 33). No trace of any jambs for the entrance doors is now visible, but this is by no means unusual and, as in many other gatehouses, it is likely that the doors merely closed against the head of the entrance arch – which was itself removed during post-medieval modification of the passage.

Figs. 34 and 35: Cruciform arrowloops G2a-3 (north) and G2a-4 (south), former showing fishtail base

Lying 0.57 metres behind the groove are a pair of arrowloops from the flanking gatehouse chambers, G2a-3 and G2a-4. The open as plain cross-loops (ie. cruciform), 1.3 metres tall, both apparently with fishtail bases though now only visible in northern loop G2a-3 (Figs. 34 and 35). Their embrasures are wide and tall, with stepped sills and segmental heads (see Fig. 4).

To the west of the brick partition, in G2b, the passage features two medieval entries in each side wall, side-by-side and opposite each other (Figs. 36 and 37). They are of differing design. The two western doorways G2b-2 and G2b-4, which lead to the Northeast and Northwest Towers, are larger, 2.3 metres tall and 1.2 metres wide; they have dressed surrounds forming two-centred arches, showing plain chamfers towards the gate-passage, with simple run-out chamfer stops. The northern doorway was blocked in the 1960s, while the southern doorway's surround is rebated for a door on the south side (ie. closing against the passage). The two eastern doorways, G2b-1 and G2b-3, lead to the flanking chambers in the gate-towers. They are smaller, 1.8 metres tall by 0.8 metres wide, and have chamfered jambs towards the passage, with pyramidal chamfer-stops (Fig. 38); the low, segmental-pointed heads are however formed from undressed voussoirs. The southern doorway was also blocked in the 1960s.

Fig. 36: Medieval doorways G2b-1 and G2b-2 on the north side of the passage, looking north

Fig. 37: Medieval doorways G2b-3 and G2b-4 on the south side of the passage, looking south

Fig. 38: Pyramidal chamfer-stop in passage doorway G2b-1, looking north

Fig. 39: Springers for medieval arch G2b-5, now infilled by post-medieval walling, looking west

Hard against the western doorways, the west end of the passage is now closed off by a masonry wall. This is demonstrably a later insertion, presumably from *c*.1700, and contains a plain lintelled doorway while blocking what was apparently a tall, open arch G2b-5, spanning the width of the passage, whose springers can be seen high up on its east face (Fig. 39). Assuming it to have been a two-centred arch like the passage side-doors, its head would lie some 0.20 metres above present passage ceiling level (possibly reflecting the form and height of the outer entrance arch). Each springer comprises one block of dressed stone, chamfered towards the passage like the side-doors.

The gate passage is roofed in timber, possibly from *c*.1700 (see Section 6.1); the form of the original roof is not known, but the remains of arch G2b-5 described above show that it lay at a higher level than today. It was most probably a barrel-vault (shown in Fig. 4). At the opposite (east) end, the passage is now spanned by a wide brick arch supporting the early nineteenth-century porch above (Fig. 31). Flooring is in regularly-laid stone flags, also possibly from *c*.1700. It lies roughly 0.30 metres above floor level in the Northeast and Northwest Towers, with steps down, reflecting the medieval levels and slope.

4.1.2 Stairwell G3

The former arch at the inner (west) end of the gate-passage led on to a rectangular space G3, of roughly the same width as the passage and defined by masonry walls to the north, south and west. We have seen that the east wall is a later insertion. The space was until recently a wine-cellar, but originally it clearly represented a continuation of the gate-passage. However, it is blind, extending only 4 metres westwards before its termination, where the west wall is demonstrably medieval.

It has been recognised since at least the 1960s that this space must have housed a stairway leading up to first floor level (Girouard 1960, 19; Hague 1964, 341). The side walls are both now lined with brick wine-bottle racks, obscuring any physical evidence for stairs, but the fact that they occupied a well or void, rather than a solid ramp, suggests they were of timber. They rose 3 metres at an angle of around 40°, towards a landing, 1.5 metres deep (east-west), overlying vaulted passage G8 (see Fig. 3).

4.1.3 The gate-towers G4 and G5

Externally, the gate-towers both form blunted D-shapes in plan, rising from pyramidal spur-buttresses; internally, they house rectangular, segmentally barrel-vaulted chambers each measuring just over 2 metres north-south by 4.8 metres east-west, and nearly 3 metres high, and each with at least one diagonal wall at the west end. They are not quite mirror-images of each other. Their outside walls are 1.2 metres thick.

Always entered solely from the gate-passage, the northern flanking tower G4 now houses a boiler, pit and flue that were originally installed in the early 1960s and obscure much of the interior (Fig. 40). The passage arrowloop G2a-2 and entry G2b-1 have been described above; the door closed against the passage. In the north wall, in the angle with the Northeast Tower, is a modern, square window G4-1 (Fig. 41), converted from a slit-light or loop shown in *c*.1740 which was blocked in 1710-20 and later reopened (see Figs. 8 and 13). An area of blocking, visible internally in the east wall (Fig. 40), marks the site of a further medieval light

or loop, shown in 1684 (Fig. 7); externally this is now concealed by the raised carriage-sweep. A diagonal wall forms a chord across the northeast corner, which appears to be original; though the masonry is featureless, a further loop or light appears to be shown here in 1684, at a slightly higher level (Fig. 7). The modern concrete floor lies at a slightly lower level than the gate passage, though largely occupied by the boiler pit (see Fig. 4).

Fig. 40: Interior of north gate-tower room G4, looking northeast, with modern boiler apparatus

Fig. 41: Exterior of north gate-tower, looking south, showing ground-floor window G4-1, first-floor light F13-2, blocked second-floor light S22-2 and third-floor window T31-4

The doorway G2b-3 leading from the gate-passage into southern gate-tower G5 received breeze-block infill during the 1960s, although the internal reveals are unobscured and show that this door too must have closed against the passage; there is a shallow diagonal 'cut-out' in the internal wall to the east, apparently original (Fig. 42). The tower is now entered from the exterior, via a post-medieval breach G5-3 in the south wall, enlarged from a medieval loop or light with a full-height niche and a slightly pointed segmental head (Fig. 43): part of its outer sill survives in the western reveal.[3] This breach is arguably early eighteenth-century (see Section 6.2.1). In this tower, both western corners show diagonal walls, both of which appear to be original. That to the north incorporates a full-height recess G5-1, again with a slightly pointed segmental head (Fig. 44); a loop or slit-light is shown here in 1684 (Fig. 7), the outer part of which was apparently blocked (concealed externally by the raised carriage-sweep). The walling across the other corner may similarly house a medieval opening, which was retained as a void G5-2 but closed off with masonry, flush with the wall-face, before being patched with brickwork (Fig. 45). It may have been adapted as a flue at some point.

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[3] That is, the higher sill in the outer part of a loop or light. There seems to be no specific term in English; in France it is called the *allège* (Mesqui 1993, 280-1).

The passage loop G2a-3 is described above. The floor, which has a modern concrete skim, lies at external ground level and just below gate-passage level (see Fig. 4).

Fig. 42: Interior of south gate-tower room G5, looking northwest showing passage doorway G2b-3

Fig. 43: Interior of south gate-tower room G5, looking southwest showing external entry G5-3, enlarged from a medieval loop or light

Fig. 44: Interior of south gate-tower room G5, looking northeast showing blocked opening G5-1

Fig. 45: Interior of south gate-tower room G5, looking southeast showing possible blocked opening G5-2

4.1.4 Eastern towers G6 and G7 (Figs. 46-59)

Although they are both D-shaped externally, the two eastern towers show very different footprints due to the presence of two spiral stairs in the west flank of the Northeast Tower, around which the face of the tower curves as a wider arc than in the Southeast Tower. In the latter tower meanwhile, there is an external chord across the angle with the central block at ground- and first-floor levels, primarily to accommodate a first-floor mural chamber (F18, see Section 4.2.6 below). In other respects, however, the towers are very similar. Both rise from pyramidal spur-buttresses. Internally, the two towers are more-or-less symmetrical with each other: they are square in plan towards the interior, and irregularly polygonal towards the field. Average internal dimensions are 8 metres north-south by 7 metres east-west; walls average 1.6 metres thick. Both towers show low-pitched rib-vaults at ground-floor level, with eight radial ribs meeting centrally. The vaults are altogether very low, averaging 2.3m above floor level at the centre and springing from a point less than 1.5 metres above floor level. The ribs, which are plain and square in section, are broad and deep while the extrados of each rib is built up for some distance before the springing of the vault cells, making the ribs very deep indeed where they join the wall-face; there are no defined springers. Both towers feature several openings to the exterior, the heads of which are formed by a continuation of the arched vault-cells into the embrasures, and not separately defined; these arches are very acute. The Southeast Tower is rendered externally, obscuring evidence for blocked features.

There are now five openings in the Northeast Tower G6. Two of them are lights, facing east and northeast, both with medieval origins. Eastern light G6-1 has a full-height embrasure with rather crude reveals, only slightly splayed (Fig. 46); the low outer sill forms a shallow step and may have been cut down during the post-medieval period. A short slit-light is shown here in *c.*1740 (Fig. 8); externally, the opening has since been widened and was given a dressed surround in the 1960s (Figs. 21-2). Northeastern light G6-2 has pronounced splays and retains a very high sill (Figs. 46-7); the light itself also lies at a higher level than its partner G6-1. Although not shown in c.1740, its embrasure is convincingly medieval and so may have been blocked; it too has been widened, but shortened and given a similar surround in the 1960s.

In the northern 'nose' of the Northeast Tower is a doorway G6-3, of early nineteenth-century date (Figs. 22 and 47). Internally and externally, the opening shows nothing of medieval character, but a tall lancet with a dressed, trefoil-headed surround is shown here in *c.*1740 (Fig. 8). In the arch-head is a blocked, square shaft apparently leading from the first floor and of probable medieval date (Fig. 51). There may have been a similar shaft in the south wall of the central vessel (see G10a-3 below); both will be discussed in Section 5.1. Entry G6-4 gives onto the northwest spiral stair SSA and will be discussed below (Fig. 48). It is medieval, but doorway G6-5 immediately to the south, leading to the western spiral stair SSB, is a later insertion (Fig. 49): it is of the lintelled form characteristic of post-medieval entries in the castle, and arguably early eighteenth-century (see Section 6.2.1); a matching entry G7a-2 in the Southeast Tower is probably contemporary. In the southeast corner of room G6 is a recess with a segmental-pointed head (Fig. 50). It formerly led onto a short passage, now blocked, leading to the gate-passage doorway G2b-2. These entries and passage partly occupy the thickness of the tower's east wall: there was consequently a chamfered cut-out in the south end of this wall, to accommodate the passage and the two

doorways. The passage was blocked during the early 1960s, when the cut-out was built up as a low sill.

Fig. 46: Northeast Tower room G6, looking east, showing lights G6-1 (centre) and G6-2 (left)

Fig. 47: Northeast Tower room G6, looking north, showing doorway G6-3 (centre), spiral stair SSA (left) and light G6-2 (right)

Fig. 48: Northeast Tower room G6, looking northwest, showing entry G6-4 onto spiral stair SSA

Fig. 49: Northeast Tower room G6, looking southwest, showing post-medieval entry G6-5 onto spiral stair SSB

Fig. 50: Northeast Tower room G6, looking southeast, showing blocked gate-passage doorway G2b-2 (behind carriage)

Fig. 51: Head of Northeast Tower doorway G6-3, showing blocked shaft

The inserted east-west cross-wall in the Southeast Tower is probably nineteenth- or early twentieth-century (see Section 7.3) and formed no part of the original design. In the northeast corner of the tower is doorway G2b-4, leading from the gate-passage (Fig. 52); a cut-out in the east wall, for ease of access, matches that in the Northeast Tower. Four lights opened to the exterior, three of them still open. Facing east, the embrasure for light G7b-1 is only slightly splayed but appears to be medieval (Fig. 53); the low sill may be original, while the light itself is blocked, probably in the 1960s. Light G7b-2 faces southeast. Its embrasure is narrower, with more pronounced splays and a steeply sloping sill up to the light itself – clearly medieval, it is of a form seen nowhere else in the castle (Fig. 54). The light has an external surround like those in the Northeast Tower, from the 1960s (Fig. 55). There is no evidence for an opening in the southern 'nose' of the tower. Embrasure G7b-3, facing southwest, which has a mid-height sill (Fig. 56), has been enlarged and now houses a square-headed window from the mid-eighteenth-century; the northern reveal is however canted, suggesting medieval origins. Embrasure G7a-1 lies in the angle with the south wall of the central vessel. The partition wall butts against its splayed southern reveal, and in its present form it is post-medieval: a concrete lintel now spans the vault soffit, while the unsplayed northern reveal appears to have been crudely cut through the walling (Fig. 57). Possibly a window, it later became a doorway before being restored as a window in the 1960s (see Sections 7.3 and 7.5). It may, however, have been enlarged from a medieval light in the broad external chord carried across this angle (see above; Fig. 58). The tower is now open to the central undercroft via a rather crude, wide, lintelled breach in its northwest corner G7a-2 (Fig. 59); this is clearly a later insertion, and most likely contemporary with Northeast Tower entry G6-5 described above.

The tiled floor surface in the Northeast Tower (Figs. 46-50), which lies just above external ground level (one shallow step up), is twentieth-century but, as elsewhere on the ground floor, appears to respect medieval levels. The Southeast Tower floor has a modern concrete skim; there are two steps up to the gate-passage, in front of doorway G2b-4 (Fig. 52). The steps themselves are modern but must reflect fourteenth-century arrangements.

Fig. 52: Southeast Tower room G7a, looking northeast, showing gate-passage doorway G2b-4

Fig. 53: Southeast Tower room G7b, looking east, showing blocked light G7b-1

Fig. 54: Southeast Tower room G7b, looking
southeast, showing light G7b-2

Fig. 55: Southeast Tower light G7b-2 from the
exterior, showing modern surround

Fig. 56: Southeast Tower room G7b, looking
southwest, showing light G7b-3

Fig. 57: Southeast Tower room G7a, looking west,
showing northern reveal of window G7a-1

Fig. 58: Southeast Tower exterior showing
windows G7a-1, F18a-1 and S28-2, looking
northeast

Fig. 59: Southeast Tower room G7a, looking west,
showing post-medieval entry G7a-2 into the
central undercroft

4.1.5 Spiral stair SSA

A very wide spiral stair occupies the wall thickness in northwest arc of the Northeast Tower, which is thicker here to accommodate giving the tower an asymmetric D-shaped plan. The stair terminates within the tower at first-floor level, never rising any higher or accessing any other space, and lies wholly within the wall-thickness despite its internal radius of 1.6 metres; its newel more-or-less occupies the tower's internal wall-face. The stair is entrred from the ground floor through a plain opening G6-4, with jambs formed by the stair shaft itself, and whose head is, like the embrasures, a continuation of the vault soffit (Figs. 47-8); headroom is consequently very low at the entry, and further obstructed by one of the radial vault ribs. The bottom tread moreover lies 0.3 metres above the floor-level and further steps must formerly have led onto it. The stair rises in an anticlockwise direction, *cf*. clockwise stair SSB. The risers, which are around 0.18 metres deep, appear to be original: they are not suspended, having solid walling beneath them in the thickness of the wall. One complete turn gave onto the first floor, but the stair is blocked with rather crude masonry three-quarters of the way up (Fig. 60); this blocking appears to belong to the early 1960s. It was lit by a narrow slit SSA-1, shown in *c*.1740 (Fig. 8), towards the bottom of the stair and facing northwest; it still shows pronounced splays but externally has been widened into a window with a similar surround to others in the Northeast Tower, from the 1960s (Figs. 23 and 61).

Fig. 60: Spiral stair SSA – the blocking at first-floor level, seen from below	*Fig. 61: The Northeast Tower from the northwest, showing openings (some blocked) including spiral stair window SSA1, with modern surround (left of centre), and two windows plus a slit-light in stair SSB (to the right).*

4.1.6 Spiral stair SSB

Spiral stair SSB occupies the junction between the thicker west side of the Northeast Tower and the north wall of the central vessel. It rises the full height of the building, from ground-floor to parapet level, with a summit caphouse later incorporated into the early eighteenth-century additional storey. The circular shaft is not particularly wide, measuring 2.2 metres in diameter internally; leading as it does from the undercroft to the roof, the stair was evidently used in part as a service stair although it was also used by occupants of higher status (see Section 4.3.4); unsegregated usage perhaps accounts for its relative narrowness. It is now lit by windows SSB-2 and SSB-3, at ground- and first-floor level, inserted through the west wall of the Northeast Tower (and subject to later alteration, see Section 7.3), but a medieval slit-light SSB-1, with a very narrow splay, survives between them (Figs. 23, 61 and 62). One other light survives, in the caphouse (Fig. 23; see Section 4.4.2 below).

At ground-floor level, the stair was entered solely from central undercroft G9 through a plain doorway G9-1 (Figs. 66 and 68); we have seen that the present entry from the Northeast Tower undercroft G6-5 is post-medieval. Medieval entry G9-1 is somewhat 'amorphous': 2.5 metres high and 1.3 metres wide, it has a rounded two-centred head, while the reveals have curved corners in what may seem superficially to be a rather crude design, but which is characteristic of the regional tradition in medieval west Wales, as discussed in Section 5.2. There is no surround, nor jambs for a door, the entry being permanently open. From it, the stair rises in a clockwise direction, its pitch showing that the floor at its threshold reflects medieval levels. The stair is of cut-slab form, rather than vaulted, but instead of comprising single slabs the risers are formed from a complex arrangement of tiered slabs, that interlock in a 'crow's foot' pattern (Fig. 64); this too is a feature of the west Wales tradition and also seen at Pembroke and Carew castles. There is a segmental-arched vault over the uppermost turn (Fig. 165). The risers are around 1.8 metres deep; the worn treads have been replaced in timber.

Fig. 62: Spiral stair SSB – internal view of slit-light SSB-1, between ground- and first-floor levels

Fig. 63: Spiral stair SSB, looking up at the 'crow's foot' risers

4.1.7 Passage G8

The rear section of the rectangular space formed by stairwell G3 is walled off to form a passage, running north-south between the stairwell and the central block, to connect the two eastern towers. The passage is 2.5 metres long, 1.2 metres wide and 2 metres high beneath a segmental-pointed barrel-vault. The north end has been blocked, probably during the early eighteenth century (see Section 6.2.1), but the outline of its former entry G8-1 is visible from within the passage (Fig. 65); the southern entry G8-2 is still open (Fig. 64). Both are plain medieval openings without dressings, 1.8 metres high, with narrow jambs and segmental-pointed heads. Neither shows evidence for a door. The passage appears to represent informal communication between the two towers, which avoided crossing the more 'formal' space represented by the gate-passage G2.

Fig. 64: Passage doorway G8-2, looking northwest

Fig. 65: Passage G8, looking north showing blocked doorway G8-1
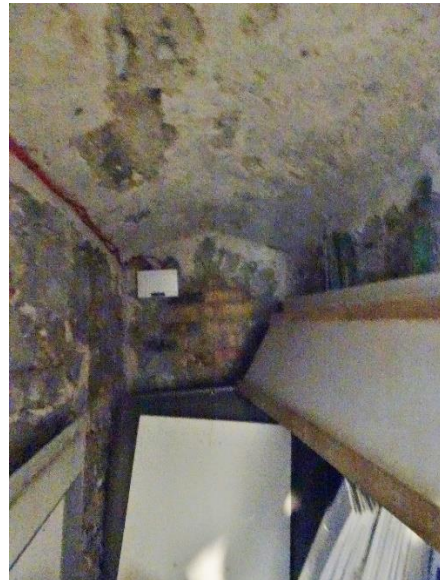
4.1.8 Central undercrofts G9 and G10

The main ground-floor vessel, beneath the Great Hall, comprises two parallel, rectangular rib-vaulted undercrofts G9 and G10, each measuring 13.5 metres east-west by 3.2 metres north-south, separated by a longitudinal spine-wall 0.8 metres thick. They do not appear originally to have communicated with the eastern towers, but there may have been an entry into the western towers. The two undercrofts are more-or-less identical, comprising three cross-vaulted bays in each, divided by transverse ribs, and an unribbed half-bay at each end. The ribs, which spring from unmoulded, ill-defined 'corbels' about halfway up the side walls (averaging 1.4 metres from floor-level), are plain and robust, square in section and without adornment (some show chamfers which appear to have been secondarily cut). A number were repaired in concrete during the twentieth century. The undercrofts average 3.2 metres in height at the vault apex. The external north and south walls are around 2 metres thick, and notwithstanding the vaults, are unbuttressed. We have seen that the sloping floor appears to follow medieval levels; both undercrofts show nineteenth-century tiled surfaces, perhaps from 1884-97.

The northern undercroft G9 is still a long, narrow undivided space (Figs. 66-7). The southern undercroft G10 is now divided into three spaces by cross-walls (G10a – G10c); these walls are demonstrably later insertions, probably from *c*.1750 (see Section 6.4.1), and interrupt the vaulting pattern (Fig. 74). Three, formerly four doorways through the spine-wall connect the two undercrofts, but only the easternmost G10a-1 is medieval; the remainder relate to the later divisions with which they are contemporary. The medieval door, between G9 and G10a, is 2.1 metres high and 1.2 metres wide (Fig. 69). Like the spiral stair doorway it is in the regional tradition, being somewhat amorphous. There is no surround, and no jambs as such, but the segmental rear-arch is rebated around a lower, rounded two-centred head, against which a door could have closed; it would have closed from the north, ie. against the southwern undercroft. Like all medieval ground-floor features, it appears to be primary, belonging to the early fourteenth century. The other two doorways are large, plain lintelled openings, probably of mid-eighteenth-century date; a third doorway into the eastern bay G10a, blocked in the 1960s, was similar. A further blocked doorway G10b-3, between the two western bays, is shown in a plan of *c*.1960 (Fig. 18).

There are two further entries into the northern undercroft, at either end. Medieval doorway G9-1, leading onto spiral stair SSB, has been described above; the northeast corner in which it is set is a diagonal chord to accommodate the stair shaft (Figs. 66 and 68). It is doubtless the presence of this doorway that accounts for the absence of diagonal ribs in the eastern half-bay, to provide sufficient clearance for the door itself to open. The second doorway G9-5 occupies the southwest corner and communicates with the western towers. It is a tall, plain opening with a semicircular head (Fig. 70), like other openings in the castle which can be dated to the 1790s; a lintel, possibly inserted, forms a tympanum. However, the absence of diagonal ribs in this half-bay, mirroring the west end, suggests that this doorway was enlarged from a medieval entry giving access to the West Tower ground floors.

A third entry G9-3 appears formerly to have occupied the central bay, leading to the exterior through the north wall. Two arcs of stonework, projecting internally from the wall-face, appear to represent the remains of the head of a door surround (Fig. 71). Its western limb is better-defined, though rather amorphous; the eastern limb is hard up against the vault-soffit and less distinguishable. Internally, the doorway so formed would be around 3 metres high and just under 2 metres wide. It appears to have been a service door, providing direct access to the undercrofts from the exterior, and from the kitchen and bakehouse (and well) which I suggest were external (see Section 5.1). This door had been blocked by 1740 (Fig. 8), and replaced by a small square window of probable seventeenth-century date; the present window is from the 1960s, when the entire wall was refaced at this level (Fig. 24). It is flanked by a doorway G9-2 to the east (Fig. 72) and a large window embrasure G9-4 to the west (now housing a WC; Fig. 73), on the site of two more small square windows shown in *c*.1740. Both were converted into doorways in *c*.1750, the western of which G9-4 led to the new kitchen wing adjoining the north wall (see Sections 4.5 and 6.4.1). All three openings have external surrounds which follow the pattern, from the 1960s, seen in the Northwest Tower. However, they lie between segmental relieving arches which may be medieval: an external offset of medieval date is carried over the western arch (see passage F19 below), showing that an opening lay here (Fig. 24). It is assumed therefore that the relieving arch for the eastern opening G9-2 is also medieval, though it must originally have had a fairly narrow embrasure to avoid the shaft descending from the latrine S29 overhead (see Section 4.3.5).

Fig. 66: Northern undercroft G9, looking northeast; entry G9-1 at far end

Fig. 67: Northern undercroft G9, looking southwest

Fig. 68: Entry G9-1, onto spiral stair SSB, looking northeast

Fig. 69: Entry G10a-1, between north and south undercrofts, looking south

Fig. 70: Entry G9-5, at west end of northern undercroft, looking west

Fig. 71: North wall opening G9-3, looking north showing remains of ?surround

Fig. 72: North wall east opening G9-2, looking north

Fig. 73: North wall west opening G9-4, looking north

The southern undercroft may originally have been accessed solely from the medieval doorway G10a-1 in the spine-wall; we have seen that the present entry G7a-2 from the Southeast Tower is later, as perhaps was a third entry G11d-1 at the west end, now blocked, which is described below. As in the northern undercroft, there is an opening through the south wall in each bay. All are now occupied by sash-windows from the mid-eighteenth-century. The western light G10c-2 has very pronounced splays of outwardly medieval form, and a low segmental-pointed head, though it is a very wide opening of a nature unlikely to be original (Fig. 77); the central light G10b-2 has narrower splays, and semicircular rear-arches characteristic of the 1790s at Picton (Fig. 76). Both may have been converted from smaller medieval lights. The easternmost embrasure G10a-3 has a very high intrados of very irregular construction, showing evidence of rebuilding, patching and infill (Fig. 75): it is suggested here that a shaft originally descended through it, leading to the embrasure from mural chamber F18 above, with a possible light at this level.

Fig. 74: Southern undercroft eastern bay G10a, looking west to show partition wall interrupting medieval vaulting
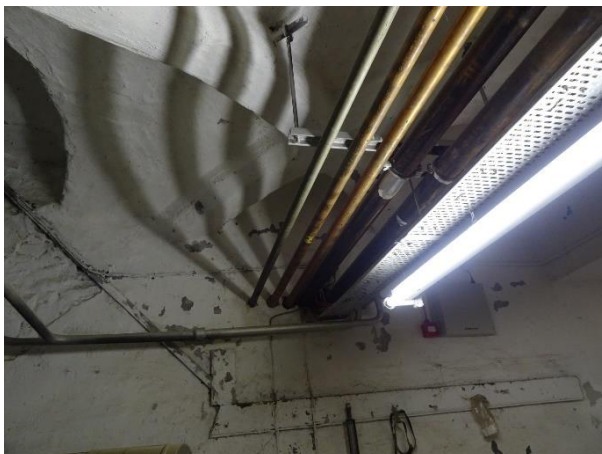
Fig. 75: Southern undercroft eastern bay G10a looking southwest, up into the head of altered embrasure G10a-3

4.1.9 West towers G11

There are no substantial internal walls of medieval character within the west tower ground floors. They are currently divided into seven rooms by partitions of varying form and construction, but none of them has demonstrable medieval origins and the possibility exists that the two towers were originally united as an open space. Alternatively, a medieval division of some form existed, but was removed during post-medieval alteration. Overall, this space measures just under 18 metres north-south by 5 metres east-west.

Externally, both towers exhibit the pyramidal spur-buttresses seen in the other towers (Figs. 25-9). The bulk of the west side of both towers is largely obscured by the Western Block added in 1791, when the apical western tower was removed. The Southwest Tower is rendered externally. Internally, unlike the rest of the castle, there is no evidence for vaulting at this level; accordingly, the walls are noticeably thinner with no vaulting to support, averaging only 1 metre in thickness,. A surviving joist corbel may be original: if so this may confirm that the overlying first floor was of timber, and mean that non-supporting timber partitions may have existed during the medieval period. Otherwise – again unlike the rest of the castle – surviving medieval features are sparse above ground-floor level.

The present disposition of internal space belongs to the 1790s and later, and will be discussed further below (Sections 6.5 and 7.3). Briefly, it comprises a central corridor G11d running east-west between the towers. Its north and south walls are apparently of masonry but relatively slender, 0.4 metres thick (Fig. 78). Similar walls define three spaces in the Northwest Tower: a rectangular northern room G11a, and two rooms side-by-side between it and the corridor G11b and G11c. The Southwest Tower is occupied by one large room, divided by modern stud walls into three spaces G11e-G11g.

An entry to the ground floor of the former apical tower may have existed at this level (depending on its function, see below); the present wide entry G11d-2 into the Western Block is however a continuation of the corridor, open to ceiling level, and from the 1790s (Fig. 78). There is no evidence for an external entry, and difficult to imagine where one might have been located. Doorway G9-5 from the central vessel, described above, has

possible medieval origins; if not, then internal access to the western towers at this level would necessarily have been by timber stair(s), from the first floor above.

There is some evidence for medieval openings in the Northwest Tower room G11a. In the east wall is a large mural chamber G11a-1, modified from a doorway inserted in the 1890s, but blocked during the twentieth century (Sections 7.3 and 7.4); its southern jamb can still be discerned externally (Fig. 80). Its location suggests it may have been modified from a loop which, though not shown in *c*.1740, may have been overlooked or blocked. Now rectangular internally, both northern corners are moreover spanned by diagonal, segmental arches to form squinches, springing 2.7 metres above floor level (Fig. 79). These are primarily to support the diagonal corner-walling of the first floor above, where the tower is semi-octagonal internally. But they may also have housed embrasures. The northwestern squinch corresponds with a small, square window G11a-4, now blocked (Figs. 27 and 81), with a simple chamfered external surround of probable seventeenth-century date (see Section 4.5, and *cf*. the Great Hall undercroft windows shown in *c*.1740); it may have been modified from a medieval opening. Its partner in the northeastern corner, meanwhile, corresponds with an irregular area of external infill G11a-2 (Fig. 27), again at the same level, which is shown as a slight recess in the architect's plan from *c*.1960. No window is shown here in *c*.1740 (Fig. 8), when however a similar square window was shown in the northern 'nose' of the tower; the latter was subsequently enlarged as a square window of eighteenth-century form, in *c*.1750 or more likely the 1790s. It is set at a noticeably lower level than the other features here, but its embrasure G11a-3 has a segmental head and medieval origins cannot be entirely ruled out (Figs. 26 and 82). The tower now communicates with the Western Block through a plain, lintelled doorway G11a-5, modified from a fireplace in the early twentieth century (Section 7.4), but it is possible that these features began as a loop enfilading the former western apical tower: there was possibly a matching loop in the Southwest Tower (G11g-4 below). This would give a total of five lights/loops in the Northwest Tower, but given the number of openings in the eastern towers at ground-floor level, it is not impossible that the western towers were similarly pierced.

Fig. 78: Corridor G11d between the Western Towers, looking west into the 1790s Western Block	*Fig. 79: Northeast corner of Northwest Tower room G11a, showing diagonal squinch*

Fig. 80: Northeast face of the Northwest Tower, showing evidence of blocked entry G11a-1

Fig. 81: Northwest face of the Northwest Tower, showing blocked window G11a-4

Fig. 82: Northwest Tower room G11a, looking at northern window G11a-3
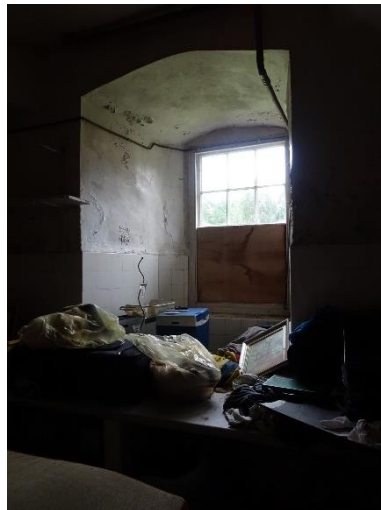
Unlike its partner to the north, the outer face of the Southwest Tower room G11g forms a semi-octagon at ground-floor level as well as in the upper floors. It features three windows G11g1-3, now of eighteenth-century form and probably from *c*.1750. However, they occupy embrasures, now full-height, with fairly pronounced splays, segmental heads and outer sills; different angles in the eastern reveal of the eastern embrasure G11g-1, meanwhile, necessitate a chamfered offset between them, of broadly medieval character (Fig. 83). Given the symmetry that characterises the rest of the castle, one might expect a group of loops or slit-lights to match those in the Northwest Tower, and all three may have been modified from medieval openings. A post-medieval fireplace G11g-4 moreover formerly occupied the west wall and its impression can still be discerned (Fig. 84); it is shown on David King's plan as a blocked loop, matching the suggested loop G11a-5 in the Northwest Tower and similarly enfilading the former West Tower.

Three other features in the western towers are worthy of note. A cellar lies beneath room G11b north of the central corridor (Figs. 3, 6 and 85). It has a segmental barrel-vault, but this was a form with a long history in Pembrokeshire and need not indicate medieval origins; other features and fixtures in the cellar suggest a nineteenth-century date. It is now reached through a square hatch G11b-2 in the floor of room G11b. South of doorway G9-5, the east wall of the central corridor is pierced by a tall wall-cupboard (Fig. 86), which was modified in the 1960s from an earlier lintelled entry G11d-1 into central undercroft G10 (see Fig. 18). Only 0.8 metres wide, the doorway may have represented post-medieval convenience rather than medieval access to and from G10, which appears to have been restricted, perhaps deliberately. Nevertheless medieval origins cannot be entirely ruled out, and twin entries here may have straddled a medieval partition, indicating its line.

Fig. 83: Southwest Tower room G11g, looking at southeast window G11g-1

Fig. 84: Southwest Tower room G11g, looking southeast showing ceiling corbel G11g-5 and outline of blocked fireplace G11g-4
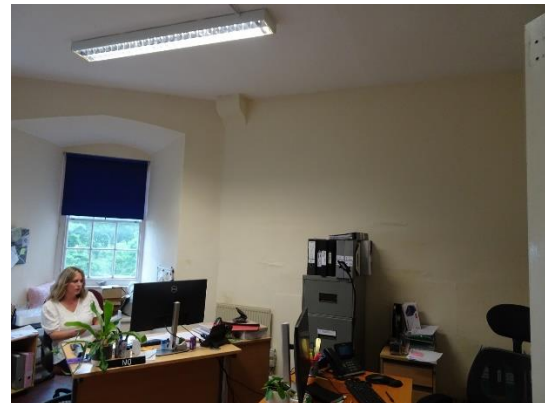
Fig. 85: The cellar beneath Northwest Tower room G11b, facing north

Fig. 86: Cupboard (former entry) G11d-1 at the east end of corridor G11d, facing east

The corridor and southern rooms G11e-g have nineteenth-century tiled floors; north of the corridor floors are stone-flagged (of similar date?), with a concrete skim in northern room G11a. It is impossible to discern whether they respect earlier levels in the absence of unaltered medieval entries, with detail such as chamfer-stops. Ceilings are of timber, and as elsewhere in the castle, medieval timbers may survive or be re-used. In the west wall of the Southwest Tower, the ceiling still lies upon a corbel G11g-5 (Fig. 83). It forms an ogee in profile (specifically, a reverse cyma) consistent with an early C14 date, though may perhaps

be a replacement; it is painted, and is of unknown material. If original – and/or *in situ* – it shows that first-floor level is more-or-less unchanged in the western towers, unlike the eastern towers where it has been raised. No other internal corbels exist in the castle.

4.1.10 Former apical West Tower

A D-shaped tower is shown at the western apex of the castle on the 1746 and 1773 estate maps, and in prints from c.1740 and 1779 (Figs. 8-11).[4] It seems to have measured around 11 metres north-south by 5 metres east-west, and rose an extra storey to oversail the parapets. It was swept away when the Western Block was commenced in 1791, beneath which all evidence is now entirely subsumed. It is suggested in Section 5.1 that the tower represented a latrine block to serve residential accommodation in the west tower upper floors, which otherwise show no evidence for former latrines; the ground floor may then have represented the latrine pit, and its associated outfall. Moreover, a service block, probably including a new kitchen, was built in the angle between the West Tower and the Southwest Tower around the mid-seventeenth century, with an entry into the castle (see Figs. 7 and 9, and Section 4.5); no persuasive evidence for such an entry exists in the Southwest Tower, so it may have been adapted from an opening in the West Tower – possibly a latrine outfall? If so, the tower had changed function – and the first floor was apparently used for accommodation before 1729 (see Section 6.2 and Appendix 3).

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[4] It is remarked upon in a number of published accounts eg. Girouard 1960, 19; Guy 2023, 106; King 1983, 396; King 1988, 123; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358.

Fig. 87: First-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern and conjectured medieval

FIRST FLOOR - MODERN

- Blocked in the 1960s or later

0   10   20   30 metres
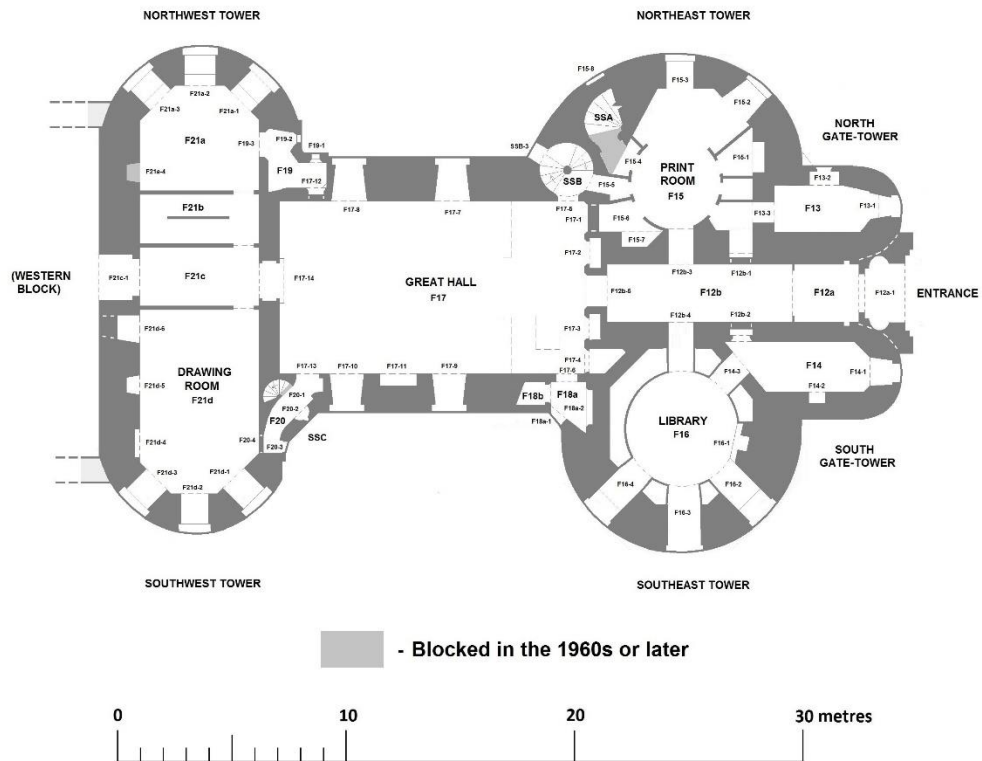
FIRST FLOOR - RECONSTRUCTED MEDIEVAL
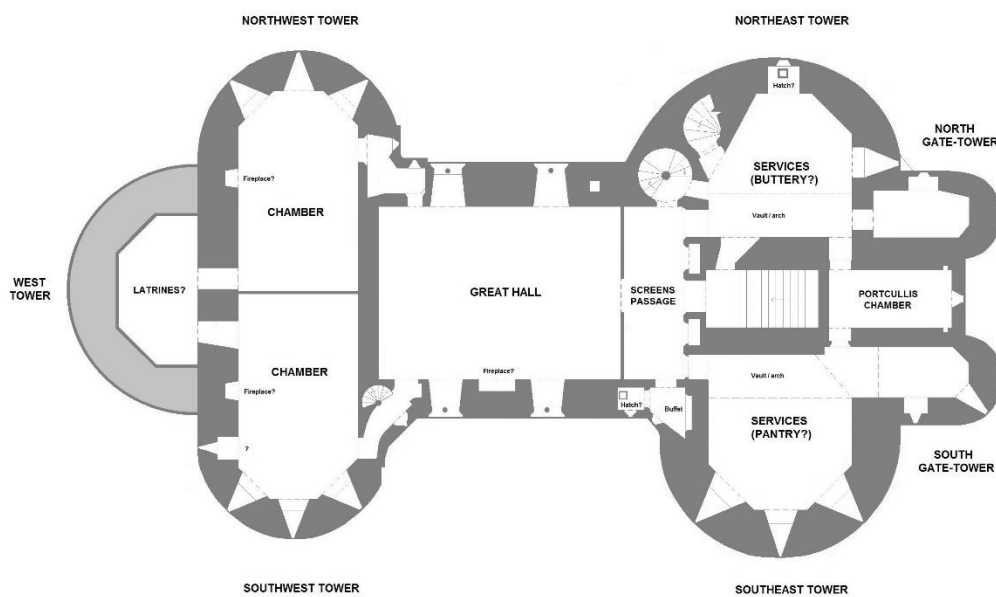
4.2 The first floor

The first floor represented hall level, and included services to the east, in the eastern towers, and residential accommodation in the west towers. The Hall was open to the roof; the towers were storeyed, with a third floor overlying. The entrance stairway rose between the service rooms to enter the great hall at its east end; this was replaced by the present first-floor entry and hallway in *c*.1700. This level was also accessed from three spiral stairs: SSA from the Northeast Tower undercroft, which terminated at first-floor level; SSB from the central undercroft which led on to both the Hall and the Northeast Tower, and rose to parapet level; and SSC at the southwest corner from which the West Tower upper floors and parapets were accessed. The west towers were accessed via two mural passages, one incorporating stair SSC.

There was no vaulting at this level, or above. Floor levels appear to respect medieval levels. However, two interiors that are crucial to understanding the form of the building, those in the eastern towers, are obscured by later partitions and panelling, and by the raising of the overlying second-floor level in the eighteenth century. And the hall roof was removed when an additional storey was built over it in the early eighteenth century.

It is uncertain whether the hall was heated by a central hearth, or by a lateral fireplace in the south wall as today. The accommodation in the west towers probably contained fireplaces, but as on the ground floor it is not known whether they were partitioned from one another: the present stud-walls are all eighteenth-century and their introduction suggests that no internal walls, of masonry, were ever present. However, the dual access to their first floors suggest that they may have been divided, in timber, into two chambers.

First-floor level was extensively remodelled during the eighteenth century and less medieval detail survives here than at ground-floor level, or in the second floor above. However, the hall east wall – formerly in the screens passage – features a sequence of medieval doorways and alcoves, while at the southeast corner is a mural chamber F18 containing a shelf or buffet probably associated with food service.

4.2.1 Hallway F12 (former gatehouse chamber and stairway)

The castle is now entered between the gate-towers at first-floor level, though a new entry created in 1697-1700 in what had been a solid wall over the medieval entry arch (F12a-1). The new entry was rebuilt in its present form in 1824-30. It now gives on to a long hallway passage F12 (Figs. 88 and 89), leading towards the Great Hall, that was similarly created in c.1700 from two discrete medieval spaces. The eastern end was later screened off as a lobby by a pair of glass doors; this is doubtless contemporary with the insertion of brick wall G2a-6 at ground-floor level, directly beneath it, and both may belong to the 1890s refurbishment described in Section 7.3.

The eastern half was originally occupied by a chamber overlying the medieval gate-passage G2 below, within the present side-walls to the north and south, and presumably defined at its west end by a solid wall carried on stairwell arch G2b-5 below. Its east (external) wall is shown in 1684, pierced by a lancet or slit light (Fig. 7). The chamber thus formed, measuring

around 2.3 metres north-south by 6 metres east-west, appears to have housed the winding-gear for a side-operated portcullis, and the ceiling in this chamber was around 0.5 metres higher than in the gatehouse chambers either side (present chapel floor-level), to accommodate the portcullis in the raised position (see below, Sections 4.3.1-3); we have seen that the gate-passage below was probably barrel-vaulted until *c*.1700, taking the weight of this apparatus. The medieval floor-level would then have been around 0.25 metres higher than at present, level with the flanking gate-tower floors. See Figs. 3 and 4, 176 and 177.

Fig. 88: Hallway F12, looking east
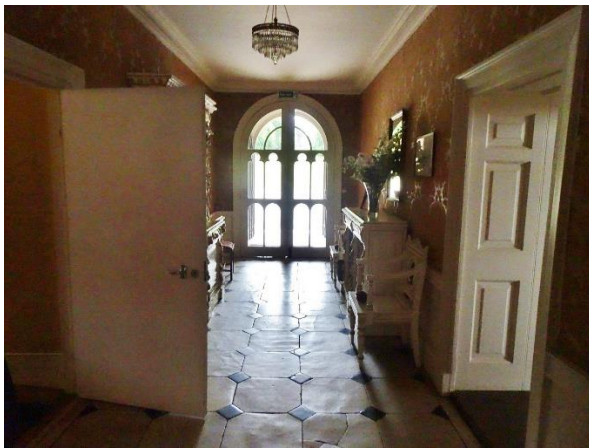
Fig. 89: Hallway F12, looking west showing Great Hall entry F12b-5

Fig. 90: Former northern doorway to the portcullis chamber F12b-1, looking southeast

Fig. 91: Former southern doorway to the portcullis chamber F12b-2, looking northwest

The portcullis groove has been infilled at this level but is shown as open on architect's plans from *c*.1960 (Fig. 18). The chamber was formerly accessed via two doorways, to the north and south, leading from the Northwest and Southeast Towers (rather than the gatehouse

towers); they were blocked flush with the passage side-walls in *c.*1750 (see Section 6.4.2). Doorway F12b-1, to the north, preserves its rear-arches (Fig. 90), but any dressed surround facing the passage is obscured by the blocking. The rear-arch occupied a slightly larger embrasure to house the door, which closed against the passage; both show rounded segmental-pointed heads. Southern doorway F12b-2, directly opposite, is more ornate. Now forming a wall-cupboard, it has a chamfered surround to the south (any chamfer-stops are now obscured) – suggesting, curiously, that here the door closed against the *tower* rather than the passage (Fig. 91). The north side is obscured by the blocking. The different treatment of the two doorways may relate to usage rather than status, as both lie at the service end of the first floor. The hallway passage is tiled throughout, with a black-and-white design originally from *c.*1700, but possibly relaid in *c.*1750 (Garner 2000, 3.3.19); the plaster ceiling may be contemporary.

The western half of the hallway passage, beyond the former arch G2b-5, was originally open to the ground floor and occupied by the upper part of the main entrance stairway. This gave directly onto the Great Hall; the present entrance doorway here F12b-5 is mid-eighteenth-century (Figs. 89 and 98), but clearly remodelled from a grand medieval entry. The two present side-doors (F12b-3 and F12b-4), to the eastern towers, are however new insertions of *c.*1750. Nevertheless, a possible medieval entry to the Northeast Tower lay close to the Great Hall entrance. Evidence for this entry survives in the south wall of the tower where a recess F15-7, with a segmentally-arched head, shows a diagonal eastern reveal skewed towards the west (Fig. 96), as if belonging to a former doorway giving onto the landing at the top of the entrance stairway (see Section 4.1.2 above). The suggested doorway, like the two further east, was presumably blocked *c.*1750. There is now no evidence of any access to this landing from the Southeast Tower.

4.2.2 Gatehouse towers F13 and F14

The two gatehouse towers were accessed solely from the eastern towers. They housed chambers that, as in most of the towers at Picton, were polygonal to the field. The northern tower F13, now a bathroom, was entered at its west end via a wide, very deep, plain segmental-headed opening F13-3 with evidence for neither jambs nor surround (Fig. 92). In the north wall is a window F13-2 with an external surround like those on the ground floor, from the 1960s (Fig. 41), but a loop or slit-light is shown here in *c.*1740, which had been blocked by 1805 (Figs. 8 and 13) but subsequently reopened. The window in the eastern apex F13-1 is of eighteenth-century form, from *c.*1750 (Fig. 20), and no opening is shown here in either 1684 or *c.*1740.

The interior of the south gatehouse tower is now a different shape than the northern tower, with a diagonal rear wall pierced by a doorway F14-3 into the Southeast Tower. While this may be a mid-eighteenth century insertion, associated with the Library fittings in the Southeast Tower, it is possible that it is mid-seventeenth-century in date (discussed in Section 4.5.3). At any rate, the wall is considered here to be secondary: given the castle's symmetry, and the width and depth of the north tower entry F13-3, it is likely that the south tower was open to the Southeast Tower at this level, without a rear wall and instead spanned by an open arch; this is discussed further in Section 4.2.4. The two gatehouse tower interiors would then be roughly symmetrical, with matching entries onto the former

portcullis chamber F12 between them. The present entry F14-3 into the Southeast Tower is of eighteenth-century character. There is now just one light F14-1, in the eastern 'nose' of the tower; like its counterpart F13-1 in the north gatehouse tower it is from *c*.1750, and no opening is shown here in either 1684 or *c*.1740 (Figs. 7, 8 and 20). The 1684 sketch however shows a cruciform loop in the southeast corner, facing southeast (possibly fully-oilleted?) – the only first-floor opening depicted by Dineley – for which there is now no physical evidence either internally or externally. In the south wall is a former fireplace F14-2 (Fig. 93), perhaps originally of seventeenth-century date, which may occupy a former embrasure.

Fig. 92: Entry F13-3 between the north gatehouse tower and Northeast Tower, looking west
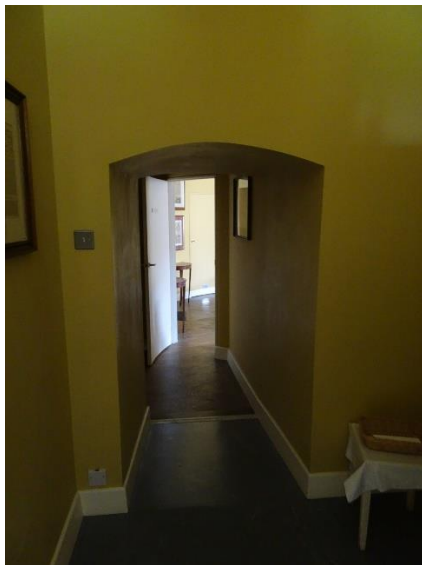
Fig. 93: South gatehouse tower, looking east showing south wall fireplace F14-2

Both tower floors are boarded over the ground-floor vaults, at the same level as the Great Hall and eastern towers; all appear to follow medieval levels and medieval flagged surfaces are possible. The chambers were however formerly much lower, around 2.6 metres high (present height averages 3 metres); the present plaster ceilings relate to the raising of second-floor level, in the eastern towers and gate-towers by 0.4 metres, in the eighteenth century, as discussed below. See Figs. 3 and 4, 176 and 177.

4.2.3 Northeast Tower F15

The two eastern towers have received differing treatment historically, and will be separately described. As built, however, both were semi-octagonal internally, but at different periods were partitioned to create circular internal spaces – obscuring two areas that are crucial to understanding the building. The plaster ceilings, as in the gatehouse towers, are 0.4 metres higher than their medieval predecessors. The towers show parquet floors, overlying the vaults below; again, medieval flagged surfaces are possible.

Different use of the towers may be implicit in the difference in their layouts, access arrangements, and treatment of doorways F12b-1 and F12b-2 into the central portcullis chamber (see above). Generally thought to have been service rooms, they can probably be identified with the Buttery and Pantry mentioned in an inventory of 1729; evidence from

the ground floor suggests that the Northeast Tower was the Buttery (see Sections 4.1.4 and 5.1, and Appendix 3), with the Pantry in the opposite tower.

Northeast Tower chamber F15 is an asymmetrical semi-octagon, 6.5 metres north-south by 6.5 metres east-west, with a long northwest wall lying at a steeper angle than the northeast wall, to accommodate the two spiral stairs. Radial stud partitions however define a circular central space, open to the north; behind this, and between the radial partitions, are cupboards and doorways. This layout dates from the early 1960s, along with the floor and ceiling. It almost completely conceals the original internal arrangements, of which only a few clues are evident. However, it seems that the south end of chamber F15 was spanned by a broad, segmental-headed arch, 2 metres wide, which rose almost to ceiling level and effectively formed a barrel-vault over southern quarter. Its springer F15-6, and part of its soffit, can be seen in the southwest corner cupboard (Figs. 96 and 178); the remainder lies behind the 1960s partitions and appears to have been truncated at its east end. The main purpose of this arch was to support the diagonal fireplace-breast S25-7 in the second-floor chamber above; clues that a similar arch existed in the Southeast Tower are discussed below.

Fig. 94: General view of Northeast Tower room F15, looking west showing blocked opening F15-4 (in cupboard), and doorway F15-5 to left

Fig. 95: General view of Northeast Tower room F15, looking northeast towards windows F15-2 and F15-3

Fig. 96: The springer and soffit of vault arch F15-6, looking southwest. Western reveal of and head of former entry F15-7, between the Northeast Tower and passage, to left

Fig. 97: Northeast Tower room F15, looking east to show blocked embrasure F15-1
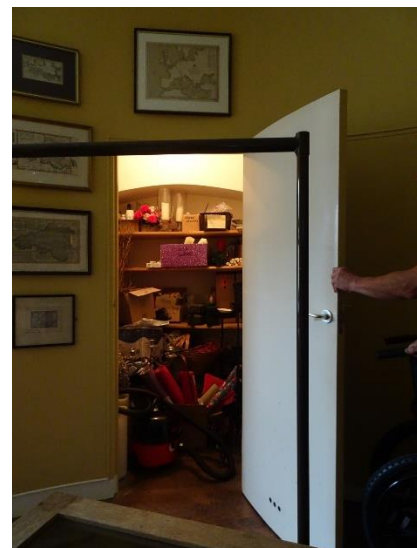
There have been eleven openings altogether, seven or eight of them medieval in origin – five entries and two or three lights – of which six are now blocked. The entries/former entries into the hallway passage and gatehouse tower have been described above (F12b-1, F12b-3, F13-3 and F15-7). On the east side, a broad recess with a plain segmental head F15-1 represents a blocked embrasure, its infill being detectable externally (Figs. 21 and 97). It is shown as a slit-light or loop in *c*.1740 (Fig. 8), but was blocked in *c*.1750. To the northeast is a large unsplayed embrasure F15-2, floor to ceiling, with a square window; no light is shown here in *c*.1740, so unless a medieval opening had been blocked, this is a new window from *c*.1750 (Fig. 95). A very similar embrasure faces north F15-3, also with a mid-eighteenth-century window (Fig. 95); this was converted from a medieval opening housing a lancet with a dressed, square-headed surround, shown in c.1740 (Fig. 8). The soffit of opening G6-3 below is pierced by a shaft apparently descending from its embrasure (Fig. 51), which may have been a service hatch allowing supplies to be brought up from the undercroft below (a similar feature possibly served the Great Hall: see F18 below). A further blocked window F15-8, facing northwest (Figs. 23 and 61), was new in the eighteenth century and is not described here.

Spiral stair SSA, from the tower undercroft, emerged into this chamber on the west side, but the entry F15-4 has been entirely blocked and is now featureless (Fig. 94). Neighbouring stair SSB is also entered from this chamber through a doorway F15-5 (Fig. 94); it has a plain lintelled head, but is presumably medieval in origin as the stair has a wide landing at its threshold. Immediately to the south however is a second blocked entry, through which the Northeast tower was formerly accessed from the Great Hall. It preserves a medieval surround F17-1 towards the Great Hall (Fig. 100); towards the tower, it is obscured behind shelving and no features are visible (Fig. 96).

4.2.4 Southeast Tower F16

The internal wall-faces in the Southeast Tower are entirely concealed behind panelling and shelving from the mid-eighteenth century when the tower was fitted out as a Library, and are nowhere visible (see Section 6.4.2 and Fig. 220). I suggest however that the tower was polygonal internally, and that the eighteenth-century timberwork is built out from the wall-faces (possibly confirmed by field observation, albeit restricted; and *cf*. the similar, 1960s treatment of the Northeast Tower). On this assumption, the interior may originally have formed a fairly regular semi-octagon, as in the Northeast Tower and similarly measuring 6.5 metres north-south by 6.5 metres east-west (see plan, Fig. 87). The north end must, as in the Northeast Tower, carried a broad arch or vault to support a fireplace-breast in the second-floor chamber above (see Section 4.3.6), which is again either concealed by the Library shelving, or was removed when second-floor level was raised in *c*.1750. Nevertheless, further confirmation may be present in the form of the suggested wide entry F14-3 into the adjoining gatehouse chamber, discussed above, which appears to have been the same width and part of the same composition. The arch seems also to have influenced arrangements in the northwest corner of the overlying second-floor room S27 (discussed in Section 4.3.6).

Entries F12b-1 and F14-3 have been described above. In the east wall, fireplace F16-1 was a *de novo* insertion of the mid-eighteenth century, and follows the arc of the panelling. The

three large, south-facing windows F16-2 – F16-4 are contemporary (Figs. 28-9), but may occupy the site of medieval windows similar to those shown in the Northeast Tower in *c*.1740. The parquet floor, and plaster ceiling, are also from the mid-eighteenth century.

4.2.5 Great Hall F17

The Great Hall has retained little of its medieval flavour, although enough features survive to confirm its identification as a medieval hall. It is still a large undivided space, 14 metres north-south by 8 metres east-west, rising through the second floor (Figs. 98-9); it is however no longer open to the roof, with a mid-eighteenth-century plaster ceiling, replaced in the 1930s, 6 metres above floor level. The black-and-white tile floor overlies the undercroft vaults below and, as in the eastern towers, a medieval flagged surface is possible.

Fig. 98: General view of the Great Hall, looking east showing eastern openings and gallery

Fig. 99: General view of the Great Hall, looking west showing entry F17-14 and oculus S30c-1

Fig. 100: L-R – Great Hall north and east wall openings F17-5, F17-1, F17-2 and F12b-5

Fig. 101: L-R – Great Hall east and south wall openings F12b-5, F17-3, F17-4 and F17-6
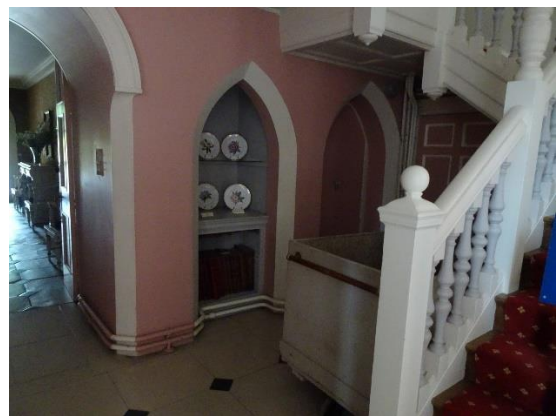
The hall has always been entered from the east, through doorway F12b-5 described above (Figs. 89, 98 and 100). The eastern quarter is overlain by a mid-eighteenth-century timber gallery, at mezzanine level, which clearly superseded a medieval screens gallery (Fig. 98). In the east wall, and within the screens passage so formed, are four further openings: two doorways into the eastern towers, that were blocked *c*.1750, while the other two were apparently always blind. In the northeast corner is blocked Northeast Tower doorway F17-1,

mentioned above, which shows a two-centred, chamfered medieval surround without stops (Fig. 100), indicating that the door itself closed against the hall. To the south, and either side of the entry, are two openings F17-2 and F17-3, with surrounds that are identical, in dimensions and detail, to this door; they are however blind, and appear to represent cupboards, 0.5 metres deep (Figs. 100-101). A fourth opening F17-4, at the southeast corner (Fig. 101), is again identical and is the entry into the Southeast Tower mentioned above; here the door similarly closed against the hall, showing that access from the tower to the Northeast Tower and stair, across the former central chamber F12 over the gate-passage, must always have existed.

In the north and south walls, hard against the east wall and also accessed from the screens passage, are two further doorways. Northern doorway F17-5 gave onto spiral stair SSB; towards the hall, its original features are concealed behind a mid-eighteenth-century timber doorcase, but a two-centred medieval surround survives on the north side, with a chamfer that broadens laterally with the curve of the stair shaft (Figs. 100 and 102). There are no chamfer-stops. The door closed against the stair, which here features a broad landing approached by a step up from the hall. Doorway F17-6 lies directly opposite, in the south wall, and similarly shows an eighteenth-century doorcase (Fig. 101). It leads into a mural chamber F18, in the angle with the Southeast Tower, which is described below.

Fig. 102: Doorway F17-5 between the Great Hall and spiral stair SSB, looking south into the Hall

Fig. 103: Great Hall south wall, showing windows F17-9 and F17-10, and fireplace F17-11

West of the screens passage, the hall proper is lit by a two tall windows in each of the side walls (F17-7 – F17-10; Fig. 103). From the 1790s in their present form (see Sections 6.4 and 6.5.3), they were adapted from late fifteenth-century windows shown in c.1740, 1779 and c.1794 (Figs. 8, 11 and 12) and described in Section 4.5.1 below. Two-centred (relieving) arches are visible externally, above the two north wall windows (Fig. 24), but while windows were clearly part of the early fourteenth century design, the shape and size of these arches suggest they may relate to the fifteenth-century refenestration. They presumably replaced windows in the same location, which may have been somewhat smaller; there is no evidence for any further Hall windows in the fabric.

Between the two southern windows is a fireplace F17-11, with a mid-eighteenth-century chimneypiece (Fig. 103). We cannot be certain that it replaces a medieval original; the

ground-floor vault makes it more than possible that the hall was heated by a central hearth, with an open louvre in the roof (discussed in Section 5.1).

Access to the western towers F21 was originally via two medieval passages F19 and F20, at the west end of each of the Hall side walls, which are described below; the central doorway in the west wall F17-14 leads onto the eighteenth-century corridor/stairwell between the western towers, and may have formed no part of the original arrangement. The present doorway is entirely mid-eighteenth century, lintelled and with a contemporary doorcase facing the hall (Fig. 99). Doorway F17-12, into the medieval passage F19 at the northwest corner, is blocked (see Sections 6.3 and 7.5), although a chamfered surround, with a rounded, two-centred head, can be seen on the passage side (Fig. 108); its lower half is concealed behind cupboards, and the whole is now plastered. The door closed against the hall. Doorway F17-13 lies opposite in the south wall. Also blocked in the eighteenth century (see Section 6.4.2), and re-opened before 1960, the original surround lies beneath panelling (Fig. 112).

4.2.6 Mural chamber F18

A mural chamber lies at the southeast corner of the hall, in the angle with the Southeast Tower. It is divided into two parts by a doorway. The main chamber to the east, F18a, was entered from the hall screens passage through doorway F17-6 described above. It has a somewhat depressed segmental barrel vault, and is floored at the same level as the hall. In plan, it is an irregular quadrangle roughly 1.5 metres square, and 2.8 metres high, but the south wall is diagonal and a continuation upwards of the broad chord across the external angle between the Hall and the Southeast Tower, described above (Section 4.1.4). The main purpose of the chord appears to have been to accommodate this mural chamber which must, then, have been part of the castle design from the first. It is pierced by a square window F18a-1, now of mid-eighteenth-century form (Figs. 58 and 105), but a light source will always have been a requirement. The chord terminates above this window, where it is coped back into the western flank of the tower beneath hall second-floor window S28-2 (Fig. 58).

Fig. 104: Mural chamber F18a showing recess/buffet F18a-2, looking southeast

Fig. 105: Mural chamber F18a showing (L-R) window F18a-1 and medieval doorway F18a-3, looking southwest

Fig. 106: Doorway F18a-3 showing pyramidal chamfer-stop, looking west

Fig. 107: Looking west from mural chamber F18a into chamber F18b

In the east wall of the chamber is a wide recess F18a-2, apparently always blind, with a waist-high sill and a fairly elaborate chamfered surround forming a very low, segmental-pointed arch (Fig. 104). Though it has a somewhat 'Perpendicular' flavour, its detail is consistent with early fourteenth-century work elsewhere in the castle and would not be out of place *c.*1315-20.

A subsidiary chamber F18b, lies to the west in the thickness of the Hall south wall. Subrectangular in plan, averaging a metre square, its west wall appears always to have formed a slight diagonal. The two chambers communicate via a doorway F18a-3 showing a two-centred chamfered surround, with pyramidal stops, towards the east (Figs. 105-6); the door opened into the western chamber. The lintelled roof of this subsidiary chamber slopes down towards the west, where it is only just over a metre in height, suggesting standing room in the whole length of the chamber was unnecessary (Fig. 107). The floor is now featureless, but the head of ground-floor window embrasure G10a-3, below, appears to have contained some kind of shaft from first-floor level (see Section 4.1.8 and Fig. 75): it is suggested that it may have been another service hatch allowing supplies to be brought up from the undercroft below, as suggested in the Northeast Tower (G6-3 and F15-3). An arched light, now blocked and concealed beneath external render, is shown in the south wall in 1779 (Fig. 11), and appears to belong to subsidiary chamber F18b.

Taken together, then, the features in mural chamber F18 appear to represent a service hatch and an accompanying 'buffet' or broad shelf F18a-2 associated with food service – consistent with the location of this chamber at the end of the screens passage. This will be discussed further in Section 5.1 below. The doorway between F18a and F18b may suggest restricted access to the hatch, but might have been more practical, merely acting as a 'draught-excluder' when the hatch was not in use.

4.2.7 Northwest passage F19

Leading from the northwest corner of the hall, passage F19 incorporates three dog-legs to emerge through the northeast wall of the Northwest Tower.[5] To accommodate its width (1.5 metres), the external face of both hall and tower walls are jettied out *c.*0.30 metres, on plain offsets which sit on two roughly roll-moulded corbel consoles at the junction of the two walls (Figs. 24-5 and 80). There is a cut-out in the north wall offset where it is carried over ground-floor opening G9-4. This jettied area is coped back to both wall faces at second-floor level, and slated against the Northwest Tower.

The passage is barrel-vaulted, with a segmental profile. The floor lies beneath a modern concrete skim, and is now one step higher than both the Northwest Tower floor and the Great Hall floor, which lie at the same level; it is not known if this follows original floor-level.

Eastern entry F17-12 from the Great Hall, now blocked, has been described above (Fig. 108). Doorway F19-3 from the tower has a similar two-centred, chamfered surround to the eastern entry, and like it is chamfered towards the passage (Fig. 109); the door closed against the tower, on which side the surround is obscured by a modern doorcase. The passage is now lit by two openings, one in each limb. Externally, both are plain rectangular windows of eighteenth-century form, F19-1 and F19-2, which are insertions of 1725-30 and shown in *c.*1740 (Fig. 8); east-facing window F19-2 however truncates a medieval loop with a 'fishtail' base, which survives externally (Figs. 24-5 and 194).

Fig. 108: Northwest passage F19 – blocked doorway F17-12 into the Great Hall, looking southeast

Fig. 109: Northwest passage F19 – doorway F19-3 into the Northwest Tower, looking northwest

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[5] The passage never incorporated a spiral stair, *contra* Garner 2000, 3.1.2.9.

4.2.8 Southwest passage F20

The southwest passage similarly unites the Great Hall with the Southwest Tower but, unlike its partner, is a straight passage lying diagonally to the hall. It also gives on to a spiral stair SSC, also lying in the angle between hall and tower, which links the first floor with the parapet.

The passage is 4 metres long, averaging 1 metre in width and 2 metres in height (Fig. 111). Externally, it lies on an offset, with apical corbelling, very like that beneath the northwest passage F19; here, however, a further pair of larger rounded corbels carry the diagonal external wall across the angle between hall and tower (Figs. 29 and 110). This diagonal wall ascends to summit level to carry the spiral stair; the jettied external faces at the south end of passage F20 itself, however, slope back into the east side of the Southwest Tower at second-floor level. The whole shows the great 'plasticity' of form that is characteristic of medieval Pembrokeshire.

The passage now features three openings, formerly five. The entry F17-13 from the Great Hall has been described above (Fig. 112); that leading into the Southwest Tower F20-4 was completely blocked during the mid-eighteenth-century and lies behind Georgian panelling (see Fig. 115). A third doorway F20-1, in the northwest flank of the passage, gave onto the spiral stair SSC, which turns to overlie the passage as it rises. This too was entirely blocked, in the early 1960s, and cannot now be discerned. The external wall is pierced by two lights, both still open – a rectangular window of eighteenth-century form to the south F20-3, and a medieval slit-light with a splayed embrasure to the north F20-2 (Fig. 110). The passage is barrel-vaulted and spanned by a concrete lintel halfway along. The floor, which lies at hall floor-level, has a concrete skim.

Fig. 110: External view of corbelling between the Southwest Tower and the Great Hall, carrying passage F20 and spiral stair SSC, looking northwest

Fig. 111: Interior of southwest passage F20, looking southwest

Fig. 112: Doorway F17-13 from the Great Hall into southwest passage F20, looking south

4.2.9 Southwest spiral stair SSC

The stair is housed in the diagonal chord between the Great Hall and Southwest Tower described above. It rises in an anticlockwise direction to tower parapet level, which it oversails as a caphouse/turret (Fig. 110). It might therefore have functioned on occasion as a service stair, and indeed it is relatively narrow – the shaft is only 1.6 metres in diameter – narrower than northeast stair SSB. Nevertheless, it may also have been the only access to the upper floors in the western towers, which were almost certainly residential. It is cut-slab in form, with risers 0.2 metres deep (Fig. 113). The stair-shaft itself, curiously, is unlit; the only lights are in the passages from which it is accessed, suggesting that doors were never present between the passages and the stair. There are entries to the Southwest Tower second floor, and onto the parapet, described below.

Fig. 113: Spiral stair SSC, looking down from third-floor level towards second-floor level

4.2.10 West towers F21

As at ground-floor level, all present internal divisions in the west towers appear to be post-medieval. At first-floor level, they are even slighter: all appear to be narrow stud-walls – none of them load-bearing – probably belonging to the eighteenth century. That these new divisions were built suggests moreover that no internal walls, of masonry, had been present. However, the fact that the towers were originally entered via two separate passages suggests some form of partition must have existed during the medieval period, perhaps defining residential space for two separate households, as discussed below in Section 5.1. The nature and form of any partition(s) is however unknown.

Fig. 114: Doorway F21c-1 between central corridor F21c and the Western Block, looking west

Fig. 115: Southwest Tower room F21 (now Drawing Room), looking southeast towards blocked doorway F20-4 of passage F20

Fig. 116: Southwest Tower Drawing Room F21, looking southwest towards (L-R) recess F21d-4 and fireplace F21d-5

Fig. 117: Southwest Tower Drawing Room F21, recess F21d-6 looking west

The towers, which altogether measure 18 metres by 5 metres internally, are currently divided into four discrete spaces: a central corridor (and former stair) F21c, echoing the ground-floor arrangement and with origins in the early eighteenth century; a Drawing Room to the south F21d, also created in the early eighteenth century, but with mid-eighteenth-

century fittings; and a kitchen/dining room F21a and staircase F21b to the north, converted in 1982-3 from an early eighteenth-century Parlour.

With the exception of the northwest passage entry F19-3 described above, moreover, none of the openings shows evidence for medieval origins in its present form. The Northwest Tower was completely refenestrated with large, rectangular windows in 1725-30, as shown in *c.*1740 (Figs. 8, and 25-7). The windows in the Southwest Tower are similar (Figs. 28, 29 and 110), but may be later insertions after the former southwestern service block, which abutted here, was demolished in *c.*1750 (see Sections 4.5 and 6.4); altered in the 1890s, they were restored in the 1990s. No other features are visible externally. Internally, there were matching fireplaces in the west walls of both towers, from the early eighteenth century and associated with contemporary chimneys shown in *c.*1740 and 1779 (Figs. 8 and 11); that in the Southwest Tower retains a mid-eighteenth century chimneypiece F21d-5 (Fig. 116) while the fireplace in the Northwest Tower F21a-4 is blocked, and concealed behind 1980s kitchen fittings. One or both of them may have medieval origins: the first floor would need to be heated, and use of braziers can be ruled out in the absence of vaulted ground floors, or the kind of flagged surface which the estimated floor thicknesses would not allow.

The wide doorway F21c-1 from the central corridor into the present Western Block is from the 1790s (Fig. 114) It may replace an earlier, narrower entry into the former West Tower. A deep, square recess F21d-6 in the west wall of the Southwest Tower coincides with the interior of the former tower, while a plan from c.1960 suggests that it formerly ran though the wall (Fig. 18), and so it may represent a second, blocked entry; it is now obscured by an eighteenth-century doorcase and internal panelling (Fig. 117). A shallower recess to the south F21d-4, behind a similar doorcase, is of unknown nature but, given its location, might possibly be a blocked loop flanking the former West Tower.

The suspended timber floors – parquet in the towers, boarded in the corridor – are eighteenth-century but appear to occupy medieval levels, meaning some original joists may survive (see ground-floor corbel G11g-5 above). The decorative plaster ceilings are originally eighteenth-century, and similarly appear to occupy medieval levels: an entry in spiral stair SSC shows that there was an overlying third-floor storey, with current floor levels.

Fig. 118: Second-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern and conjectured medieval

SECOND FLOOR - MODERN

- Blocked in the 1960s or later

0   10   20   30 metres
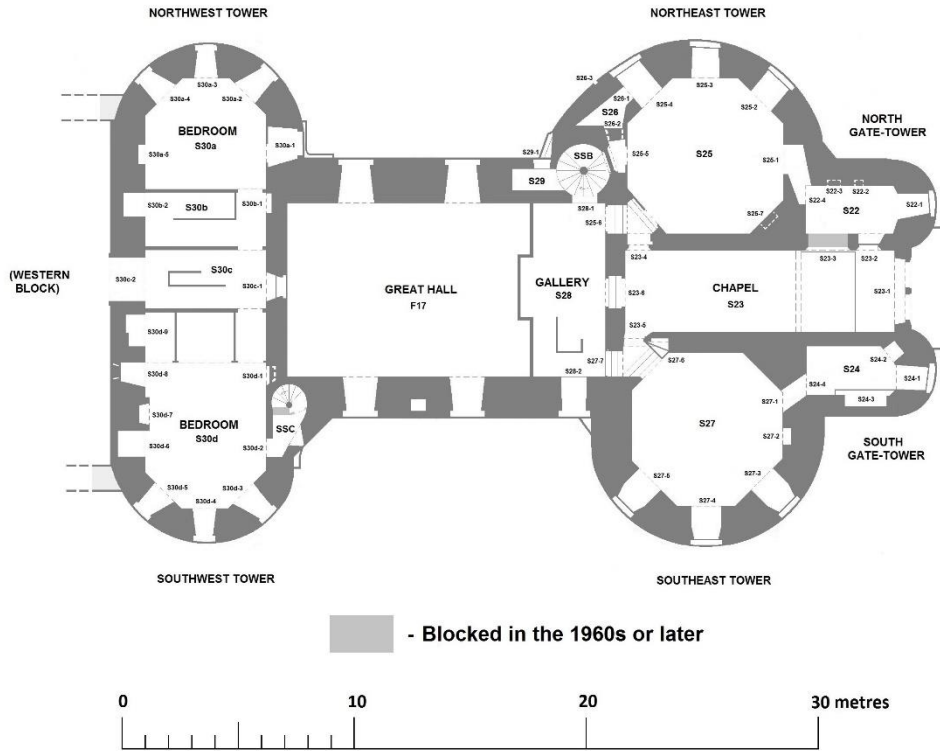
SECOND FLOOR - RECONSTRUCTED MEDIEVAL
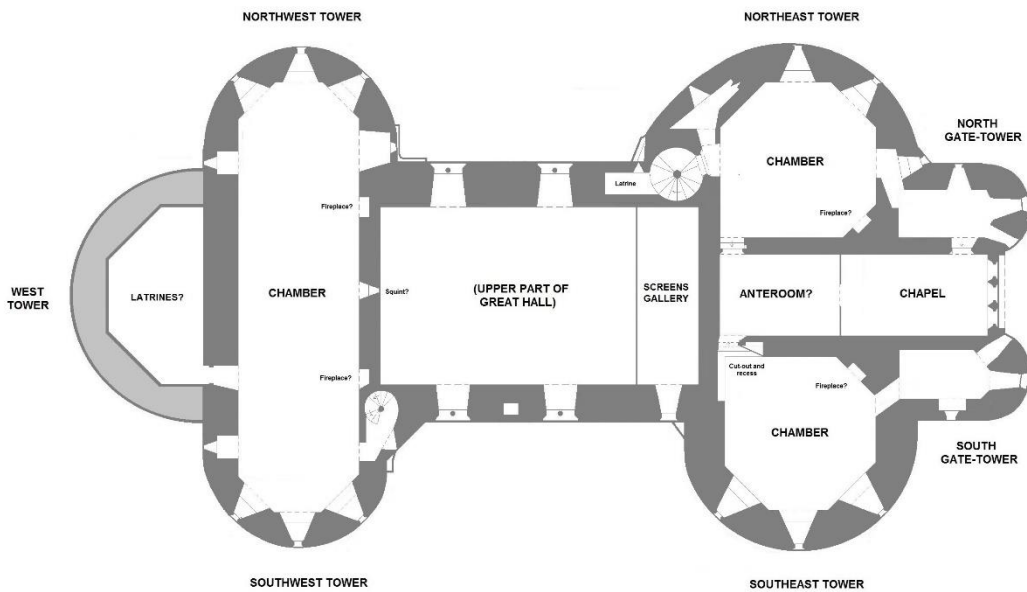
4.3 The second floor

The second floor appears to have comprised residential accommodation either side of the Great Hall. The east towers were large chambers, both apparently with fireplaces, either side of the chapel which almost certainly has medieval origins: it overlay the portcullis chamber as in a number of gatehouses of the period, royal and baronial. The towers formed well-appointed, integrated suites, which appear to have incorporated the gatehouse towers via skew passages, lit by lancet windows shown in *c.*1740 in the Northeast Tower. They were served by at least one latrine – the only plausible latrine in the castle – while another mural passage S26 may have housed another serving hatch. Access to these chambers, and the chapel, appears to have been solely via spiral stair SSB until the eighteenth century.

Blocked medieval openings show that floor levels at the east end were raised by 0.4 metres in the eighteenth century, firstly in the gatehouse and then the east towers; medieval floor-level was however maintained in the chapel. Levels in the west towers, by contrast, appear to have remained unaltered. The west towers were accessed solely via spiral stair SSC and may therefore have represented an open chamber, used for communal accommodation; fireplaces are likely to have been located in the party-wall with the Hall, either side of a possible squint.

A good amount of medieval detail survives at the east end, including the communicating doors between the chapel and the gatehouse and east towers, while the only remains of a medieval window surround survive in the gatehouse. In addition, the doorways contain the only drawbar-socket that can now be seen, along with an iron door-pintle.

4.3.1 North gatehouse tower S22

Internally, both second-floor chambers in the gate-tower are semi-octagonal towards the field (east), as at first-floor level – and in most other towers in the castle. Formerly mirror-images of each other, they measure 4 metres east-west by 2 metres north-south. We saw above that the first-floor chambers in both towers were heightened by 0.4 metres when they were refitted during the early eighteenth century, raising second-floor levels accordingly. All present openings relate to this new floor level. Evidence for medieval openings is extensive, but mainly at a lower level, with the exception of doorway S23-2. This led into the chapel, which was always floored at a higher level (see below), and must accordingly have featured steps.

The original levels are clearly shown in the north wall of northern gate-tower S22, where a blocked light S22-2 is visible externally at a level where it would coincide with the current floor. Externally, the infill defines a rectangular window, rather than a lancet, beneath a segmental head of undressed voussoirs; a line of thin slabs marks sill level (Figs. 21 and 41). It is shown in c.1740 it had yet to receive external blocking (Fig. 8); it had been blocked by 1805 (Fig. 13). Its embrasure was still partly open as a recess in 1960, when it was blocked (Fig. 18). The tower is entered from the Northeast Tower via a 'skew' passage in the wall-thickness between them, incorporating two dog-legs; this is post-medieval in its present form, with a lintelled ceiling and plain, square-headed entries S22-4 and S25-1 at either end, but was heightened from a medieval passage: it is carried across the external angle between

the two towers in a diagonal squinch, at medieval floor-level (Figs. 21-2 and 41). The squinch is supported on a segmental arch, and is coped back into the towers at third-floor level. The passage was lit by a lancet, now blocked, in the squinch (shown in *c*.1740, Fig. 8); its sill is marked by a line of thin slabs, like window S22-2 and at the same level.

In the eastern apex of the tower is a square window S22-1 of eighteenth-century form, in a full-height embrasure that respects present floor-level (Figs. 20 and 119); it is from *c*.1710-20 and is shown in *c*.1740, proving that levels had been raised before its insertion. However, two large lights are shown here in 1684, side-by-side (Fig. 7), and the polygonal plan at the east end of the tower probably reflects these openings, suggesting they had medieval origins. A blocked fireplace S22-3 in the north wall, shown in *c*.1960 (Fig. 18), is probably eighteenth-century.

Fig. 119: North gate-tower room S22, looking east showing window S22-1 and doorway S23-2

Fig. 120: South gate-tower room S24, looking east showing window S22-4, and cupboard to left

Fig. 121: South gate-tower room S24, looking northeast showing cupboard with medieval embrasure S24-2

Fig. 122: External view of south gate-tower, showing blocked second-floor light S24-3 with medieval surround

4.3.2 South gatehouse tower S24

The raised floor level is apparent in this tower, too. In the northeast corner is a deep recess S24-2 (now a cupboard), with a segmental head just 1.2 metres above current floor level (Figs. 121 and 122). It is clearly the embrasure for the northern of the two lights shown in 1684 (Fig. 7), matching the two in the north tower. Light S24-2 was angled to the northeast, while the second light seems to have faced east, like the present east window S24-1 which was inserted in *c*.1710-20 (Figs. 20 and 121); the same may be assumed in the northern tower. The lights were shown at a rather high level in 1684, higher than the head of recess S24-2, but still well below the level of the parapet level, and the present third floor chamber; it seems that Dineley was trying to show perspective, but exaggerating it somewhat.

In the south wall was a third light S24-3, again matching the arrangement in the north tower. It is of similar dimensions to north tower light S22-2 and like it is blocked (and not shown in 1779, Fig. 11). Unlike the north tower light, however, it has retained its external surround which is two-centred, chamfered and with sunk-cusps forming a trefoil head (Figs. 29 and 122); if the northern light was similarly treated, the surround has been robbed. This is the only surviving medieval window surround at Picton. Internally, the blocked embrasure has been widened and heightened to take a bathtub, apparently before 1960. Both gatehouse tower chambers were clearly well-appointed and well-lit, each – if the 1684 print is correct – with three substantial lights.

The southern tower is accessed from the Southeast Tower by a similar skew passage to that in its northern partner, but here the passage, though diagonal, is straight and accommodated wholly within the wall thickness (Fig. 122). As in the north tower, it was raised in the early eighteenth century, when both entries were remodelled.

4.3.3 Chapel S23

Lying centrally between the gatehouse and eastern towers is a long rectangular chamber measuring 3.5 metres north-south by 12 metres east-west (Fig. 123). Since at least the mid-eighteenth century, it has been used as a chapel, which probably reflects medieval usage; a bellcote was present on the summit of the east wall by 1740, together with a large window of 'ecclesiastical' character at the liturgical east end (Fig. 8).

Unlike the towers either side, floor-level in this chamber appears to be more-or-less unchanged since the Middle Ages, always having been higher over the first-floor central chamber F12a. It may now be fractionally higher than its medieval level (perhaps obscuring chamfer-stops, see below), and in the body of the chapel is about 0.4 metres higher than medieval floor level in the east towers; it is now concealed beneath carpeting.

In the north wall is a doorway S23-2 into the north gatehouse tower, 0.7 metres wide and 1.9 metres high, with a chamfered medieval surround like those elsewhere in the castle – partly concealed beneath plaster and panelling – but showing simple run-out stops to the south (Figs. 124-6). It now incorporates a step down into the chapel but, like doorways S23-4 and S23-5 further west, originally featured two steps up (see Fig. 177). The wide arched

opening S23-3, immediately west, was inserted in 1824-30 to house the organ now occupying the Hall gallery; partly blocked in the early 1960s when the organ was removed, it has a plain two-centred 'Gothic' head with a chamfer towards the chapel (Fig. 127). No openings from the chapel into the south gatehouse tower are known.

The east wall is pierced by a large twin-light neo-Romanesque window from 1824-30 (Figs. 123 and 128), but a large, three-light window from around 1500 is shown in 1684 and *c*.1740 (Figs. 7 and 8); this is discussed in Section 4.5.2 below. The nineteenth-century work infills a large, two-centred arch spanning the width of the wall between the flanking towers, which formerly projected from the wall-face; still visible externally (Figs. 20, 128 and 176), it is also shown in 1684 and *c*.1740. High outer arches like these, oversailing the entry, were a frequent feature of castle gatehouses from around the 1280s onwards (see Section 5.2) and sometimes contained a machicolation slot, any evidence for which has, at Picton, been lost. However, they were normally chamfered; Picton's is plain.

Fig. 123: View of chapel S23, looking east
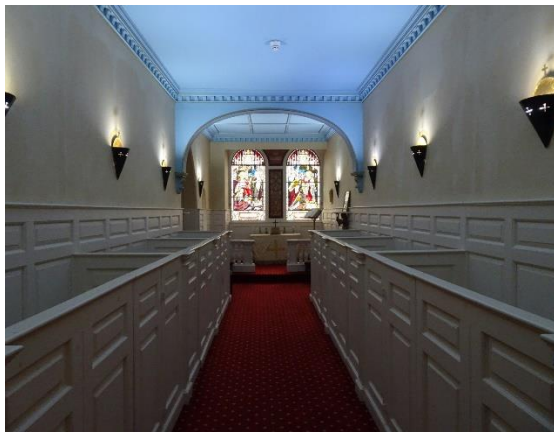
Fig. 124: Medieval doorway S23-2, between chapel S23 and north gate-tower, looking north

Fig. 125: Medieval doorway S23-2 looking southeast, from the north gate-tower

Fig. 126: Medieval doorway S23-2 showing run-out chamfer-stops, looking north
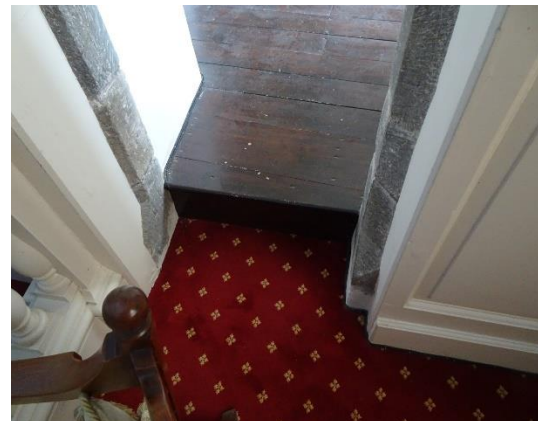
Fig. 127: Early nineteenth-century organ recess S23-3, looking northeast

Fig. 128: External view of chapel east window within infilled medieval outer gate arch, looking west

There are opposing entries at the west end, communicating with the eastern towers. Both appear to be *in situ*, are each 0.7 metres wide and 1.7 metres high, and retain medieval two-centred surrounds within segmental-pointed rear-arches. They are not, however, identical. Doorway S23-4, in the north wall, has a chamfered surround in the fashion seen elsewhere in the castle (Figs. 129-30). It is chamfered towards the chapel, against which the door closed; there are no chamfer stops (beneath current floor-level?). Uniquely at Picton the reveals, beneath a plain segmental-pointed rear-arch, show the remains of both an iron door-pintle and a drawbar-socket (at mid-height; Figs. 131-2). Its partner in the south wall S23-5, unusually, is not chamfered but is instead rebated on both faces (Figs. 133-4). Here too, however, the door closed against the chapel. Both doorways lie 0.4 metres above medieval floor-level in the eastern towers and, as in doorway S23-2, two steps up to the chapel must have existed in each entry (Fig. 178), now concealed beneath the present floors.

Fig. 129: Medieval doorway S23-4, between chapel S23 and Northeast Tower, looking north

Fig. 130: Medieval doorway S23-4, between chapel S23 and Northeast Tower, looking southwest

Fig. 131: Medieval doorway S23-4: iron pintle in west reveal, looking northwest
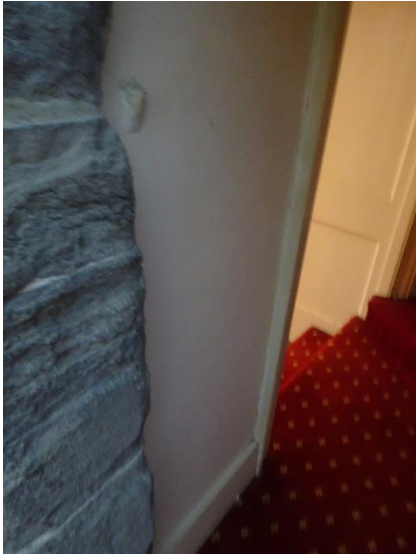
Fig. 132: Medieval doorway S23-4: drawbar-socket in east reveal, looking northeast
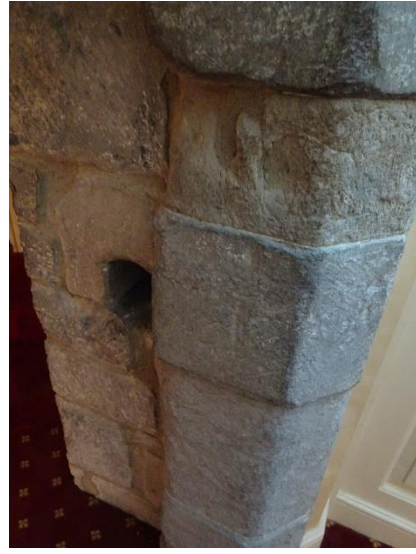
Fig. 133: Medieval doorway S23-5, between chapel S23 and Southeast Tower, looking southwest

Fig. 134: Medieval doorway S23-5, between chapel S23 and Southeast Tower, looking northwest

The present wide, double-doored entry in the chapel west wall S23-6, which leads onto the Great Hall gallery, is entirely mid-eighteenth century in character, with a moulded doorcase (Figs. 147 and 224), and may have been a new insertion from that period. The present ceiling is from 1884-97; the level of the medieval east window S23-1 relative to the outer arch, on the Buck print of *c*.1740 (Fig. 8), suggests that the chapel may always have been ceiled at this level, higher than the roofs in the gatehouse towers and east towers, and respecting its higher floor-level (Figs. 176 and 178).

4.3.4 Northeast Tower S25

Both eastern towers are now octagonal within, but the diagonal walls at their southwest and northwest corners are post-medieval stud-walls: they form lobbies around steps that were made necessary when floor levels were raised, in the mid-eighteenth century, to correspond with those in the gatehouse (Figs. 138 and 144). They also serve to make the towers symmetrical. The towers were however always similar in layout, and more regular in plan than at lower levels; the diagonal walls at the eastern corners of both towers appear to have housed medieval fireplaces. Each tower measures 6.5 x 6.5 metres internally. As noted, the suspended board floors are 0.4 metres higher than the medieval floors, but may re-use timbers. The present ceilings in both towers belong to an early nineteenth century refurbishment (Garner 2000, 3.3.30; Girouard 1960, 69)**.** However finishes in the Northeast Tower – and apparently the diagonal stud-wall, which is not shown in a plan of *c*.1960 (Fig. 18) – were replaced in the 1960s when the room was redecorated and re-wallpapered (Rhiannon Talbot-English, pers. comm.).

The northeast tower was primarily entered from the west, via the spiral stair SSB. However, we have seen that it also communicated with the chapel while a passage also led, through a squinched section of the east wall, to the north gatehouse tower (Figs. 21-2 and 41). This rather tortuous access was necessitated by the diagonal wall across the southeast corner, which prohibited more direct access here and must therefore have been a primary feature (Fig. 118). It formerly contained a fireplace S25-7, shown as blocked on the plan of *c*.1960 (Fig. 18), and this was presumably its purpose from the beginning. The fireplace is mentioned in 1729 when this room was called either the Round Chamber or the Blue Room – probably the former (see Sections 6.2 and 6.3, and Appendix 3).

The chamber is now lit by three large windows, facing northeast S25-2, north S25-3 and northwest S25-4, all of mid-eighteenth-century date and respecting the higher floor level (Figs. 21-3 and 135). The first two however occupy the locations of earlier openings, if at a somewhat higher level, where two tall trefoil-headed lancets are shown in *c*.1740 (Fig. 8). A smaller, blocked slit-light S26-3 further to the northwest is also shown, lighting a passage or chamber S26, which is described separately below.

Fig. 135: Northeast Tower room S25, looking north towards windows S25-3 and S25-4

Fig. 136: Blocked medieval doorway S25-5 between spiral stair SSB and room S25, looking northeast from stair

The entry from the spiral stair SSB was blocked in *c*.1750. Its two-centred chamfered surround, without stops, is however preserved in the east side of the stair shaft (Fig. 136), where there appears however to have been no landing from which it was accessed – an unusual lapse in the very precise planning otherwise seen at Picton. Inside the tower, its rear arch and reveals now form a cupboard S25-5 and, unusually, the surround is chamfered on this side as well (Fig. 137). The head is now very low, due to the raised floor level; the character of the rear arch is obscured by the present door-frame. The door closed against the stair.

The chamber is now entered from the gallery, via the small lobby formed by the diagonal stud-wall in the southwest corner (Fig. 138). The doorway S25-6 onto the gallery itself is of mid-eighteenth century character, with a door-case (Fig. 146), and may not represent a medieval entry. The current raised floor-level necessitates four steps up to the chamber, in the entry threshold and lobby. Present ceiling height relative to medieval floor level – 3.7 metres – is probably excessively high, suggesting that the medieval roofs were set some distance beneath parapet level.

4.3.5 Passage/chamber S26

The northern reveal of northeast spiral stair doorway S25-5 shows a blocked doorway, which has retained its surround S26-2. This has a rounded (or elliptical) head of plain voussoirs which, like the jambs, are unchamfered (Fig. 139). It is the only surround in this style in the castle. Its head is about 1.5 metres above present floor level, reflecting medieval levels.

The doorway formerly led into a mural passage (or chamber), that runs northeast for 2 metres, as far as the eighteenth-century northwest window S25-4; it widens towards the southwest, reaching a maximum of 1.7 metres (Fig. 118). It was lit by a plain slit-light S26-3 opening to the northwest, now blocked but still visible in the external facework (Figs. 23 and 140). The passage now opens into the west reveal of window S25-4 as a lintelled doorway

S26-1, obscured by a door-frame, with a head around 2m above floor level (Fig. 141); the passage itself is the same height and is similarly lintelled. It is possible that this doorway is spurious, resulting from a blind passage being broken into by the eighteenth-century window.

Fig. 139: The head of blocked medieval passage doorway S26-2, now in a cupboard in room S25, looking northwest

Fig. 140: Blocked slit-light of passage S26-3, from exterior (top centre), looking southeast

Fig. 141: Passage S26, where it opens into window reveal S25-4, looking southwest

Interpretation of this passage is difficult, and much depends on whether it was originally open at both ends. If accessed solely from the spiral stair doorway, the most obvious solution is that it was a latrine passage, although a latrine S29 leading off the spiral stair SSB at this level appears to have served the second-floor chamber S25 (see below). Nor, realistically, is there room for (or evidence of) a latrine shaft alongside the two spiral stairs SSA and SSB. Could the passage instead have housed another hatch, from the service room below? (*cf*. first-floor features in F15-3 and F18b). A hatch from a Buttery to serve a private chamber is conceivable. Nevertheless, there is now no evidence at all for a corresponding chamber at first-floor level below. Certain anomalies – the differences in height, the unusual

door surround – moreover raise questions about dating, although in essence it was presumably a primary feature. It may have been kept open, when the eighteenth-century windows were inserted, to serve as a cupboard.

4.3.6 Southeast Tower S27

Otherwise very similar to Northeast Tower chamber S25, it is possible that chamber S27 in the Southeast Tower was originally accessed solely from the north (via the Northeast Tower and chapel). An entry S27-1 in the east wall, now mid-eighteenth-century in character (Fig. 142), also gives on to the medieval skew passage leading to the south gatehouse tower, which was described above. As in the Northeast Tower, its course seems to have been tailored to avoid the diagonal wall in the northeast corner (Fig. 118): it is therefore suggested that another medieval fireplace may have existed here. This room can moreover be identified with the either the Round Chamber or the Blew Room of the 1729 inventory – probably the latter – both of which already contained fireplaces (see Sections 6.2 and 6.3, and Appendix 3). The present fireplace S27-2, further south in the east wall, was an entirely new insertion of *c*.1750 (see Section 6.4.3).

Fig. 142: Southeast Tower room S27, looking east towards entry S27-1

Fig. 143: Southeast Tower room S27, looking south towards windows S27-3, S27-4 and S23-5

Fig. 144: Southeast Tower room S27, looking northwest towards diagonal stud-wall and doorway

Fig. 145: Lobby of Southeast Tower room S27, looking northeast at recess S27-6 (in cupboard); chapel doorway S23-5 to left

Three mid-eighteenth-century windows in the south wall S27-3 – S27-5 match those in the Northeast Tower (Fig. 143). As in the Northeast Tower, too, a diagonal stud-wall across the northwest corner defines a lobby with stairs up from the Great Hall gallery (Fig. 144). The entry from the gallery itself S27-7 is entirely of mid-eighteenth century character, with a door-case (Fig. 148), and as in the Northeast Tower it may not represent a medieval entry. This means that the tower may have been accessed solely through the southwest door S23-5 in the chapel. We can therefore envisage the four eastern towers and chapel as an integrated suite of apartments, during the Middle Ages, perhaps with a discrete vestibule or anteroom between them in the western half of the present chapel (discussed in Section 5.1).

Two curious features appear to be related to the wide arch or vault in first-floor chamber F16 below (see Section 4.2.4). The internal face of the west wall is staggered, being somewhat wider south of the diagonal stud wall than it is to the north: the junction between the two would coincide with the end of the first-floor vault (Figs. 118 and 178), and is in turn reflected in the width of the former opening between F16 and the south gatehouse tower. This change probably relates to the 'cut-out' above doorway S23-5 into the chapel (seen in Fig. 144), which may have progressed along the west wall. It is possible then that the northwest corner of chamber S27 was divided off for a particular purpose. Moreover, a cupboard behind the later stud-wall conceals a recess S27-6, immediately east of the chapel doorway, with a plain segmental-pointed head at a somewhat lower level than the chapel door-head (Fig. 145). Only the upper part can be seen: the bulk of the feature is concealed behind shelving. It is possible that it represents a liturgical recess, for a stoup for example, though it seems too large while we cannot be sure how the western half of the chapel was originally used. It is also worth pointing out that the head would lie at door-head level within chamber S27 itself.

Fig. 146: Doorway S25-6 from Great Hall gallery to Northeast Tower, looking east	*Fig. 147: Doorway S23-6 from Great Hall gallery to Chapel, looking southeast*	*Fig. 148: Doorway S27-7 from Great Hall gallery to Southeast Tower, looking east*

4.3.7 Great Hall gallery S28

Ground-floor features clearly show that the mid-eighteenth-century gallery at the east end of the Hall superseded a medieval screens passage. It may not have been as wide as the

present gallery, which takes up nearly a quarter of the hall but is supported on columns rather than a solid screen. Gallery floor-level is not particularly convenient to the eighteenth-century layout in the eastern towers, where floor-levels were higher, necessitating steps: it seems to have been dictated by the height of the organ, clearly planned from the first and still occupying the gallery. Nevertheless, it may also imply that existing medieval joist-sockets were re-used.

We have seen that the current entries from the gallery into the eastern towers and chapel are entirely eighteenth-century in character, when they may have been new insertions (Figs. 146-8). Doorway S28-1 onto the northeast spiral stair SSB is also an eighteenth-century insertion: it is lintelled, while its threshold does not correspond to the pitch of the stair (Fig. 149). There may therefore have been no entries leading from the medieval screens gallery.

However, the present gallery is lit by a window S28-2 in the south wall. It now has a 'Classical' semicircular head like the Great Hall windows from the 1790s (Figs. 28 and 58); the rear-arch is concealed behind panelling. But it is shown with a two-centred head in 1779 (Fig. 11), suggesting that a light was here from the first and therefore that the medieval screens gallery saw active use (by musicians etc.?).

Fig. 149: Doorway S28-1 between spiral stair SSB and the Great Hall gallery, looking southeast from the stair

Fig. 150: Mural chamber S29, looking west from spiral stair SSB

4.3.8 Mural chamber S29

At second-floor level a short, rectangular chamber leads westwards from northeast spiral stair SSB, in the thickness of the Great Hall north wall (Fig. 50). It is 2 metres long, 0.8 metres wide and 2 metres high. The roof is a segmental barrel-vault; the floor is currently boarded. The chamber is now lit by a single-light window S29-1 in the angle with the Northeast Tower; this has a segmental-headed, dressed surround like those lower down in

the Northeast Tower and also from the 1960s (Figs. 23-4). The segmental rear-arch is however probably medieval: there is a cut-out around the light in the flank of the Northeast Tower, where it is occupied by stair SSB, showing that it was part of the original design, while a slit-light is shown here in *c.*1740 (Fig. 8).

Lying opposite the medieval entry to the Northeast Tower, and at a slightly higher level, the chamber – which is clearly medieval – might best be interpreted as a latrine, serving the second-floor chamber in the tower. Its shaft (now blocked) would descend just west of ground-floor window G9-2. Although there is no evidence for a door, a dressed surround may not necessarily be envisaged for this kind of purpose – a timber door-frame, of a kind that leaves scant evidence, may have been used.

4.3.9 West towers S30

As in the lower floors, there is no evidence for medieval divisions within the two western towers and all partitions are stud walls from the eighteenth century and later. They define four spaces, as at first-floor level: a central stairwell S30c with subsidiary staircase to the north S30b (created in the 1980s), flanked by two bedrooms S30a and S30d. All present fenestration is from 1725-30. The towers appear to have been accessed solely from southwest spiral stair SSC during the medieval period; this is now entered from the Southwest Tower via a doorway S30d-2 leading to a short passage in the diagonal chord-wall between the tower and the Great Hall (Fig. 151); any door surround is obscured by eighteenth-century panelling. The descending limb of the stair has been blocked, presumably in the 1960s. The passage has a flat ceiling, probably inserted, and a planked floor at the same level as the tower floor. A medieval slit-light in the passage, piercing the chord-wall, has a splayed, segmental-headed embrasure at floor level (Figs. 110 and 151). However, the spiral-stair risers coincide with the present floor (Fig. 152), suggesting that levels in the west towers are unaltered (Figs. 176 and 179) – confirming that corbel G11g-5 in the ground-floor may be medieval.

Fig. 151: Southwest Tower room S30d: passage to spiral stair SSC, looking northeast

Fig. 152: Southwest Tower room S30d: spiral stair SSC, looking north

As on the first floor, the west tower interiors are polygonal to the field. Accordingly, the Northwest Tower shows the trio of eighteenth-century windows typical of the castle S30a-2 – S30a-4, from 1725-30, for which origins as medieval lights cannot be ruled out (Figs. 25-7). There is also a fourth window of similar date S30a-1, facing east. It occupies a very large embrasure, now fitted out as a bathroom (Fig. 153), and might represent a medieval mural chamber. All four windows are shown in *c.*1740 (Fig. 8). A fireplace S30a-5 lies in the west wall of this northern bedroom (Fig. 154), where two chimneys are shown *c.*1740 (ie. including a flue from first-floor fireplace F21a-4; Fig. 8), and so could conceivably occupy the site of a medieval fireplace. However, it may be more likely that this fireplace was converted, during the early eighteenth-century works in the west towers, from a medieval embrasure that formerly housed a loop flanking the medieval West Tower; a light may have occupied the same location in the Southwest Tower (S30d-6). Moreover the Buck print also shows a chimney in the east wall, where a blind recess S30b-1, shown on a plan of *c.*1960 (Fig. 18), was infilled during the 1980s, and may represent a medieval fireplace.

Fig. 153: Northwest Tower room S30: embrasure of window S30a-1, now fitted out as a bathroom, looking southeast

Fig. 154: Northwest Tower room S30: fireplace S30a-5, looking northwest

Fenestration is similar in the Southwest Tower, with three large early eighteenth-century windows (Figs. 28-9). Here, too, a large square recess S30d-6, in the west wall, may represent the embrasure for a medieval light, blocked in the 1790s when the present Western Block was built. It is full-height, now timber-lined with a flat ceiling and door-frame, and fitted out as a bathroom (Fig. 155). A recess S30d-1 in the east wall, now fitted with shelves, corresponds with the possible Northwest Tower fireplace S30b-1 and like it is shown as the location of a chimney in *c.*1740 (Fig. 8); the present fireplace S30d-7 in the east wall may, as in the Northwest Tower, be an insertion of the early eighteenth century.

Central stairwell S30c gives on to the 1790s Western Block through a contemporary double-doorway S30c-2, with a Classical, arched door-case, accessed via the stair and at a higher floor level (Figs. 3, 157 and 176); medieval origins are unlikely. As on the lower floors, there is no evidence for medieval partitions. An eighteenth-century feature may however provide a clue: a central oculus S30c-1, in the east wall of the stairwell, which looks down into the Hall. It occupies a much larger embrasure, which is not quite central to the stairwell while

showing a stepped profile more typical of the medieval period than the eighteenth century, with a sill at floor-level (Figs. 99 and 158). So, although its head is lintelled, the embrasure might be medieval, perhaps formerly housing a squint through which activity in the hall could be observed (see Section 5.1.5). Such an arrangement would allow for a central doorway to the former West Tower.

It is also possible that a deep recess S30d-8 in the Southwest Tower west wall, now lined with panelling (Fig. 156), might be a conversion from an entry to the former West Tower: its southern reveal is angled to the northwest, while a plan of c.1960 suggests that it formerly ran through the wall (Fig. 18). Two large recesses S30b-2 and S30d-9 in the west wall, either side of the present double-doorway, may however be new creations of the eighteenth century, associated with the contemporary 'vaulted' bays in both rooms: the former coincides with the north wall of the former tower and would therefore have been blind.

Fig. 155: Southwest Tower west wall recess S30d-6, looking west

Fig. 156: Southwest Tower west wall recess S30d-8, looking west

Fig. 157: Entry S30c-2 from the central stairwell into the later Western Block, looking southeast from the Western Block

Fig. 158: Oculus S30c-1, from the central stairwell onto the Great Hall, looking east

Fig. 159: Third-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern and conjectured medieval

THIRD FLOOR - MODERN

- Blocked in the 1960s or later
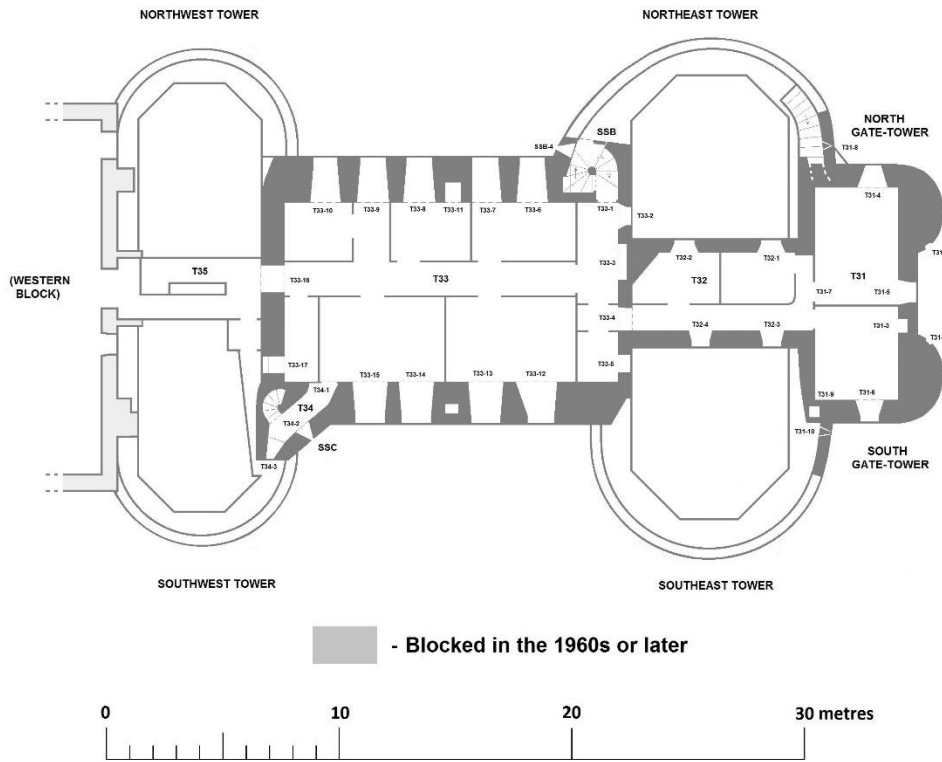
THIRD FLOOR - RECONSTRUCTED MEDIEVAL
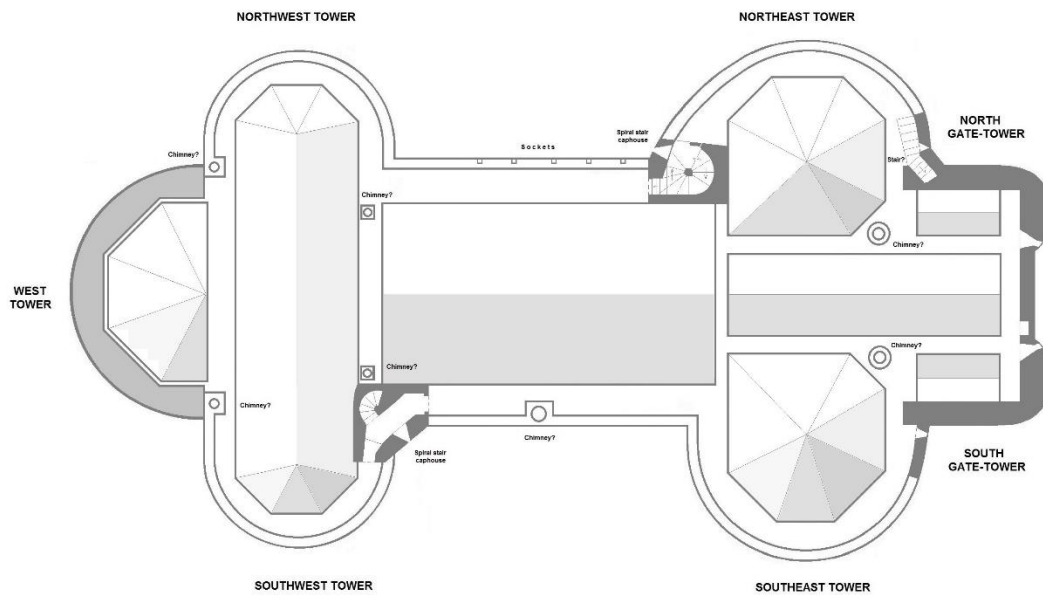
4.4 The third floor and parapet

Third-floor level, as such, did not exist during the Middle Ages: it was a creation of the early eighteenth century when an additional storey – with an attic in the roof space – was built over the Great Hall, a chamber was formed within the oversailing gatehouse towers, which hitherto appear to have been open-backed and without a roof, and a linking chamber was built between these new rooms. This work is described in Section 6.2 below. The lost West Tower appears to have similarly risen above the other towers, again roofless and with an open back, as shown in *c*.1740. In addition, spiral stairs SSB and SSC, which accessed the parapets, rose above them as caphouses; they represent the only medieval access to the parapets.

Otherwise, the Great Hall and towers appear to have been roofed at the same level, with continuous parapets at the same height. It is likely – but uncertain – that the medieval roofs were set some way below parapet level (see Section 4.3.4), but this may not have been the case in the west towers where second-floor level appears to be unchanged.

4.4.1 Gatehouse T31

The gatehouse oversails the east towers to form an additional storey, containing a rectangular chamber T31, now subdivided into two rooms, measuring 10.3 metres north-south by 3.5 metres east-west and 3 metres in height. There is no internal demarcation between the flanking towers and central section; while the outer faces of the towers continue their external projection, the east wall of the chamber is straight, with corners occupying the wall-thickness as it exists at lower levels (Fig. 159). It has a flat lead roof, running over any former wall-walk up to the crenellated parapet, which lies on an external corbel table (Figs. 20, 160 and 172). It has been suggested that only the flanking towers rose this high during the medieval period, and that the central section was roofed at second-floor level until it was heightened around 1700 (Garner 2000, 3.1.4.1). Externally, however, the fabric appears all of one build, while the high outer arch fossilised on the east face of the central section rises to this level (Figs. 128 and 161; see Section 4.3.3 above). Moreover four storeys are shown throughout, as today, in 1684 (Fig. 7).

Medieval arrangements at this level are however uncertain. A third-floor chamber existed by *c*.1740, probably created in *c*.1710-20 and lit by the present square windows T31-4 – T31-6 in the north, south and east walls – which were clearly new insertions, interrupting the corbel table and not shown in 1684 (Figs. 8, 11 and 20); the present internal stud-wall partition is from the early 1960s when a 'flat' was created at this level (see Section 7.5). But there is reason to believe that the gatehouse may have been open-backed at this level during the Middle Ages, and probably not roofed. The argument hinges on access. Access to medieval summit/parapet level was limited to the spiral stairs SSB and SSC at the NE and SW corners of the hall, from which access to the entire castle at parapet level was obtained; this access is blocked by the gatehouse. An open back would however facilitate continuous, circular access throughout (Fig. 159). The former apical West Tower, which appears similarly to have oversailed the surviving pair of western towers, is moreover shown with an open back in *c*.1740 (see below).

The present rear wall is finished on both faces, with little to indicate its date. However, it is not crenelated (Fig. 160), and the only feature is entry T31-7 from early eighteenth-century 'corridor' T32, via which is was accessed from the third-floor space constructed over the Great Hall in 1710-20 (T33). A chimney T31-9, at the southwest corner (Fig. 160), serves eighteenth-century fireplaces at first- and second-floor levels (F16-1 and S27-2).

Earlier features include a pair of blocked, wide square-headed loops T31-1 and T31-2, low down on the east face of each flanking tower and angled towards the entry (Figs. 20 and 161). They have plain, unchamfered freestone surrounds of a kind not seen elsewhere in the castle, and are not shown in 1684 (Fig. 7). This may however be an omission: they had evidently been blocked by *c.*1740, while they are not entirely dissimilar to second-floor slit-light S26-3 in the Northeast Tower, and they are here regarded as medieval. Internally, their embrasures are now entirely infilled, and lie beneath a modern finish. A small internal recess T31-3, at mid-height in the same wall, has a low two-centred head and may be medieval (Fig. 162), but is of unknown function; was it associated with the medieval bell(cote) in some way?

Fig. 160: Summit of gatehouse, looking southwest showing roof, parapet and chimney T31-9

Fig. 161: Gatehouse frontage, looking west showing infilled outer arch, and blocked loops T31-1 and T31-2 either side

Fig. 162: Gatehouse southern third-floor room showing east wall recess T31-3, looking northeast

Fig. 163: Steps up from Northeast Tower parapet to gatehouse parapet, looking southeast

The parapet has been subject to various episodes of renovation and the present coping is probably nineteenth-century (Fig. 160); entirely lost is the plain, central bellcote shown in c.1740 but gone by 1805 (Figs. 8 and 13). Many more embrasures are shown in c.1740, but this may be artistic license: the merlons were all formerly looped – all, bar one, now blocked – which respect the present rhythm. The loops are plain, with neither cross-slits nor oillets. The corbel-tabling is typical of southwest Wales, showing plain consoles that are unmoulded, but have rounded undersides. The eastern tower parapets are stepped up to meet the gatehouse parapet (Figs. 20-21), again reflecting medieval arrangements and shown in 1684 (Fig. 7); that to the north now incorporates a flight of steps (Fig. 163), which cannot be medieval as they block a loop embrasure T31-8 in the Northeast Tower parapet. However, steps may have existed in some form during the Middle Ages, as the angle between the gatehouse and Northeast Tower is squinched out as a diagonal chord (Fig. 21); they may have continued over the loop in timber.

4.4.2 Spiral stairs SSB and SSC

The two spiral stairs represented the only medieval access to parapet level. Both rose above the adjoining parapets as quadrangular caphouses or turrets; that of the southwest stair SSC has survived more-or-less unchanged, but the northwest stair caphouse SSB was altered when the additional storey T33 was built over the Great Hall in c.1700; rectangular in plan, it now lies beneath an east-west gabled slate roof from the 1960s (Fig. 23), replacing an earlier north-south roof (Figs. 8 and 213). However, it retains the medieval squinch via which its west wall is carried over light S29-1, in the angle between the Northeast Tower and the Great Hall (with a gap in the corbel-table to accommodate it; Fig. 23).

Fig. 164: Post-medieval doorway T33-1 from the additional storey onto spiral stair SSB, looking north

Fig. 165: Looking down at spiral stair SSB from inserted doorway T33-1, showing vaulted roof

Fig. 166: Spiral stair SSB caphouse, looking west at: (L-R) recess of former entry onto Great Hall north parapet; slit-light SSB-4; modern entry onto Northeast Tower parapet

Fig. 167: Continuation of spiral stair SSB towards attic, looking southeast

At this level, the stair now features an inserted entry T33-1 from the eighteenth-century additional storey (Fig. 164), above which it continues for half a turn towards the Northeast Tower parapet; the risers have been replaced in timber (Figs. 166-7). Midway up is an internal recess in the west wall of the caphouse, representing the blocked medieval doorway onto the Great Hall north wall parapet (Fig. 166); the parapets appear to have occupied the same level throughout the castle, meaning the doorway must have incorporated three steps up. A small slit-light SSB-4 in the same wall, with a splayed, segmental-headed embrasure, appears to be medieval (Figs. 23 and 166). The stair emerges onto the Northeast Tower parapet through a plain doorway in the north wall (Fig. 166); this wall is thin, and entirely modern (twentieth century?), but presumably replaces a medieval predecessor. The stair now continues upwards towards the later attic, with timber risers (Figs. 166-7).

Fig. 168: Post-medieval doorway T34-1 from the additional storey onto spiral stair SSC, looking southwest into stair passage T34

Fig. 169: Spiral stair SSC caphouse, external view looking northeast from Southwest Tower parapet

Fig. 170: Looking east, from spiral stair SSC, through hatch into passage T34
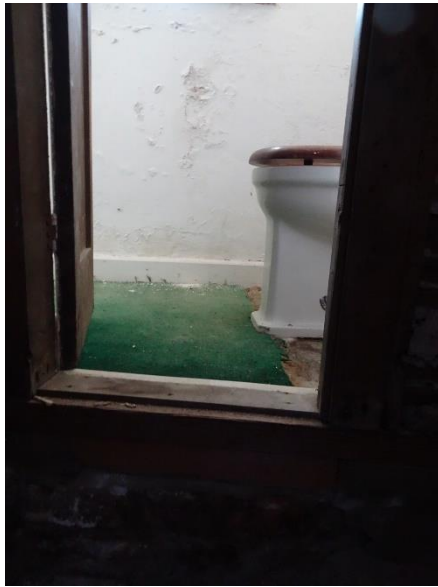
Fig. 171: Passage T34 looking southwest; slit-light T34-2 on left
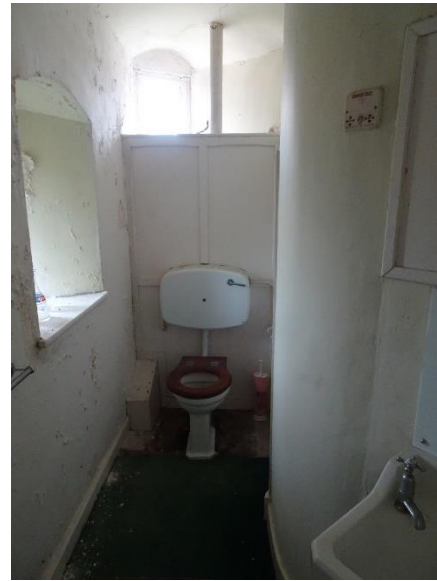
The southwest stair caphouse SSC has an irregular square plan, with a diagonal wall to the southeast housing a passage T34 from which the stair is accessed, as in its lower levels (Fig. 110). The passage has been considerably altered, both before and during its conversion into a WC. It now opens to the north, via an early eighteenth-century entry T34-1 through which the additional storey over the Great Hall was accessed (Fig. 168). Though direct evidence is absent, it is suggested here that an entry formerly existed in its east wall, leading onto the Great Hall south wall parapet (Fig. 159); both faces of this wall lie beneath finishes obscuring any trace of former openings. The entry onto the Southwest Tower parapet T34-3, through the south wall, has been blocked and replaced by a small square window (Fig. 169). The entry onto the stair itself has also been blocked, apart from a small 'hatch' at floor-level (Fig. 170); it is not clear why this was left open. The passage is barrel-vaulted, and lit by a medieval slit-light T34-2 with a splayed, segmental-headed embrasure, in the southeast wall (Fig. 171). The floor lies around a metre below present roof level in the Southwest Tower which, though overlying the medieval wall-walk, was probably not a great deal lower implying that additional steps occupied both former entries. The caphouse itself has a crenellated 'parapet' (Figs. 110 and 169), as the northeast caphouse may well have done during the medieval period.

4.4.3 The former West Tower

Like the gatehouse, the apical West Tower rose an additional storey to oversail the adjoining parapets, as clearly shown in *c.*1740 and *c.*1794 (Figs. 8 and 12). This may have been primarily for aesthetic effect, balancing the elevation at both ends, while the higher stair caphouses will also have played a part in creating an interesting skyline. The West Tower too was open-backed at this level, although the Buck print shows a flat-roofed, rectangular structure, of unknown nature, lying within the tower (Fig. 8). It appears to be free-standing within the body of the tower interior, and to be of slight construction. Nothing in the

sources gives a clue to date and function, but it does not appear to be medieval. Like the gatehouse, the tower is shown with a crenellated parapet, with pierced merlons.

4.4.4 Medieval parapets, roofs and chimneys

Parapets furnish the surviving east and west towers, of similar type and lying on corbel-tables like those in the gatehouse. They have similarly been restored but the corbel-tabling, which is clearly medieval (if doubtless also somewhat restored), shows that they respect medieval parapet level, which always at the same height throughout the castle (Figs. 176-9). John 'Warwick' Smith's view of *c*.1794 shows the east tower parapets at a higher level than in the west towers – and the gatehouse correspondingly taller than the apical West Tower (Fig. 12) – but this is contradicted by the surviving evidence, which is confirmed by the prints of *c*.1740 and 1779 (Figs. 8 and 11).

While the parapets appear to respect the medieval pattern, there is now no evidence for the loops shown in *c*.1740 apart from an open gatehouse loop, to the east, and two blocked, plain loops T31-8 and T31-10 at the junction of the east towers with the gatehouse (Figs. 20, 21 and 172). The Great Hall parapets apparently lay at the same level as those in the adjoining towers, but along with any corbel tabling they were swept away when the extra storey was added *c*.1710-20; no crenellations are fossilised within its masonry. However, medieval features do survive here in the form of small, square recesses, equally-spaced, just beneath corbel-table level. They are visible in the north face where there are four, and possible traces of a fifth; they are obscured on the south face which has been rendered (Fig. 24 and 173). Lying just below the tower corbel-tables, and medieval parapet level, they may represent blocked rainwater chutes from the Hall roof eaves. However, they may instead have been joist-sockets for an overhanging timber gallery or *hourd*. Either way, they confirm that Hall parapet level corresponded with the towers, but may suggest no corbel-tabling was present in this part of the castle – no such sockets are visible in the towers, where corbelling may take their place.

Fig. 172: Gatehouse roof looking southeast, showing open parapet loop

Fig. 173: North wall of central block, looking south, showing blocked chutes/sockets (beneath upper floor windows)

The height of the tower parapets suggests medieval wall-walk level lay just beneath the present flat lead roofing. However, the level at which the towers were roofed during the medieval period is uncertain. Normally, the eaves would be recessed, to lie some distance beneath wall-walk level, in the Great Hall and the towers alike, and irrespective of whether the roofs were slated or lead-covered. But in the absence of visible sockets for roof-timbers – or conclusive evidence for drainage – we cannot be sure at Picton. Nevertheless, we have seen that medieval second-floor level lay some 0.4 metres below current floor level in the eastern towers, which would make for uncharacteristically high chambers unless the roofs were recessed in this way. Things are different in the west towers, where floor levels appear to be more-or-less unchanged, and where in fact the roof-level may have corresponded fairly closely with present level. All roofs may however have been fairly low-pitched and leaded, including the Great Hall (Figs. 176-9) – *cf.* the slightly earlier halls at the Valences' Goodrich and Pembroke. The shape of the chambers means that tower roofs would be polygonal in plan, or show polygonal hips in the west towers (Fig. 195). The chapel, with its higher floor-level, was probably roofed at a higher level than the towers either side.

We have seen that the gatehouse, and former West Tower, were probably roofed at the same level as the adjoining towers during the medieval period. By 1740, all towers had received flat roofs (Figs. 8 and 11), possibly reflecting present arrangements fairly closely.

Twelve chimney-stacks are shown in *c.*1740. Ten of them show a similar classical design and therefore must have been rebuilt or installed shortly before the Bucks visited (also shown in 1779; Figs. 8 and 11). These ten chimneys can mostly be matched with contemporary fireplaces, and probably none of them are dummies. In the above account, up to seven medieval fireplaces have been suggested as possible, based on the physical evidence, residential needs and the Buck print itself – four in the western towers, one in the Great Hall, and two in the eastern towers (shown on the reconstructed plan, Fig. 159). Two chimneys in the gatehouse, of different design, may have been seventeenth-century additions (see Section 4.5.3 below).

4.5 Late medieval/early modern alterations

The castle as built in the early fourteenth century appears to have undergone only slight alteration before *c.*1700. Although it is of course possible that evidence has been lost through later work, it is likely that any major refurbishment would have left some trace in the surviving medieval fabric, whereas surviving medieval detail is markedly uniform in style. Some of the features mentioned above diverge slightly from this uniformity, and the possibility exists that they may be somewhat later, but they are impossible to date closely and in any case are not inconsistent with early fourteenth-century patterns.

It must again be stressed that there is no documentary source for any work at the castle before the late 1690s. [6] There is however evidence in both the fabric, and in pictorial sources, for work between the late fifteenth century and the mid-seventeenth century. Most importantly, the medieval kitchen (and any bakehouse) appears to have become

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[6] And Picton appears not to have been visited by the Tudor antiquary John Leland during the 1530s (see Smith 1906).

disused around in the early to mid-seventeenth century, and was replaced by a kitchen in a new service block that was built in the angle between the West Tower and the Southwest Tower, when the service doorway in the north wall G9-3 was converted into a window. The southwest block was itself swept away in the major works of *c*.1750 (see Section 6.4). Otherwise, new work appears to have been mainly confined to refenestration: new windows were inserted in the Great Hall, probably around the 1490s, and a new east window inserted in the gatehouse second floor east wall (chapel) a decade or so later. This work was piecemeal; what appears to have been a more extensive campaign in the early/mid-seventeenth century saw the insertion of new windows in the Great Hall and Northwest Tower undercrofts, and possibly elsewhere. In addition, at least one of the gatehouse tower chambers may have been converted to domestic use with the insertion of a fireplace.

4.5.1 The Great Hall windows (late fifteenth century?)

In the Buck print of *c*.1740, the Great Hall north wall shows two tall windows, mullioned and transomed, with multi-cusped Perpendicular tracery (Fig. 8); a slightly later print shows they were rather narrow (Fig. 12). They have fairly sharp two-centred heads, and the tracery cells in the spandrels above the main lights are divided by vertical sub-mullions. The heads are shown fitting snugly beneath the relieving arches, which probably therefore relate these windows rather than their predecessors (or their successors). The voussoirs of these arches still survive above the present windows F17-7 and F17-8, and can be clearly seen in Fig. 24. Interestingly, no hood-moulds are shown by the Bucks; the diamond-pane glazing is very distinct from that in the early seventeenth-century windows but may have been secondary. Paul Sandby's south view of the castle, from 1779 (Fig. 11), is less detailed but shows that the Hall south windows were similar in shape and size, and although transoms appear to be absent, it is a more distant view and the windows are likely to have been similar to those in the north wall.

The window tracery, as shown by the Bucks, is representative of a long-lived design persisting from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century. In certain specifics, however, it is more characteristic of the latter part of this period, from the mid-fifteenth to the early sixteenth century – particularly the combination of multiple cusping with strong verticals in the spandrels – with well-known dated comparisons at for example King's College, Cambridge (1446-1515), Oxford University St Mary (*c*.1490) and the Henry VII Chapel at Westminster Abbey (1503-9), and in numerous Tudor gatehouses. Such a date may accord best with the tenure of Thomas Philipps, whose tenure as lord of Picton began sometime prior to 1491 and ended with his death in 1521 (Griffiths 2002, 260; Isaacson 1917, 625).[7] He had the resources, being among Pembrokeshire's wealthier elite with an annual income of over £300 (Turvey 2002b, 375), as well as the prestige which would warrant this kind of embellishment – he served as Henry VII's esquire (Hull 2005, 183). Some idea of his lifestyle may be gained from the poet Lewis Glyn Cothi, for whom he was

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[7] It has been suggested by a number of authorities that the former Hall windows may represent repair work following an attack on the castle, in 1405, by a combined Franco-Welsh force led Owain Glyndŵr (Davis 2000, 109; Emery 2000, 626; Guy 2021, 104; Hague 1964, 341). But there is no suggestion that the castle was damaged – the attacking force was around 12,000 strong (see Appendix 1), and the castle probably surrendered very quickly.

something of an epicure with an extensive cellar of imported wine (Girouard 1960, 20; Jones 1965, 53).

4.5.2 The chapel window (early sixteenth century?)

Stylistically different from the Great Hall windows is the former chapel east window, which is shown in both 1684 and c.1740 (Figs. 7, 8 and 174).[8] It was replaced with a Classical window in the 1750s (Fig. 13), and in turn by the present neo-Romanesque windows S23-1 in 1824-30 (Fig. 20). The Dineley view of 1684 is very sketchy and the Buck view is oblique, but they agree on the fundamentals, both showing a wide, rectangular surround with three lights. In the Buck print each light is trefoil-cusped, with a further piercing in the spandrel above its head; these appear to resolve as a plain oculus over the central light, flanked by quatrefoils of unusual distended form. Again, there is no hoodmould, but the medieval outer arch overhead will have fulfilled this purpose; diamond-pane glazing is again shown.

Assuming the Buck print to be a reasonably accurate depiction this is, stylistically, a very refined and rather unusual design. Coupled with the square head, it suggests a somewhat later date, and in both overall form and detail it can be compared with the main windows in Layer Marney Tower, Essex, dated c.1510-20 (Goodall 2011, 417; Thompson 1987, 128; Fig. 174). However, like the Great Hall windows it too may belong to Thomas Philipps's tenure, perhaps shortly before his death in 1521, while he was among those wealthy Pembrokeshire patrons who employed their own chaplains, as well as attorneys and stewards (Turvey 2002**b**, 395).

Fig. 174: a) early sixteenth-century windows at Layer Marney Tower, Essex (central tier); b) Picton Castle gatehouse in c.1740.

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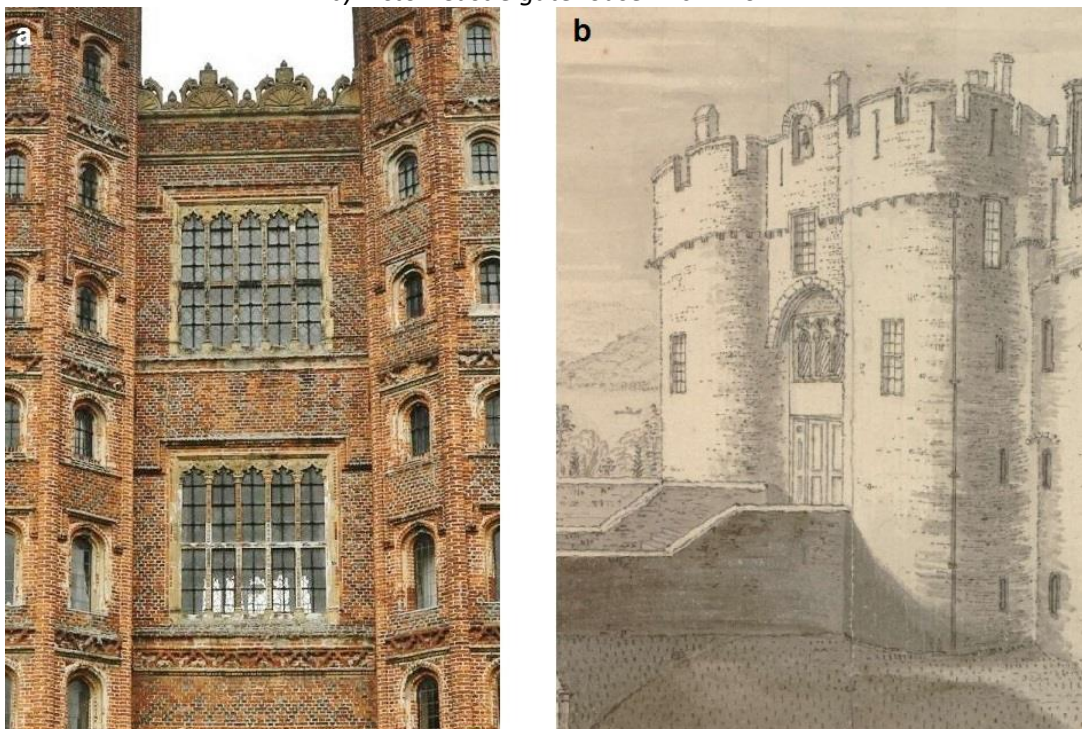
[8] Incorrectly interpreted as a decorative plaque or coat of arms by Davis 2000, 109, and Guy 2021, 104**.**

4.5.3 The southwest service block and other works (early/mid-seventeenth century?)

At some period before 1684, a new service block was built in the angle between the West Tower and the Southwest Tower (Figs. 175 and 205). Probably the single-storey building nearest the castle in Dineley's view of that year (Fig. 7), it is clearly shown as a square attached building on the estate map of 1746 (Fig. 9; also see Garner 2000, 3.1.4.3), and cannot have formed any part of the medieval design. In 1729, it housed a brew-house and coal-house, with a room and passage overlying (see Section 6.3 and Appendix 3), so an additional storey appears to have been added. The kitchen, at that time, was located in the new detached range of ancillary buildings northeast of the castle, but it seems that it had previously formed part of this southwest block. The reasoning is thus: by *c.*1740, the north doorway G9-3 to the Great Hall undercroft, leading from the suggested medieval kitchen (and any bakehouse), had been blocked and replaced by a window of early to mid-seventeenth-century character (as discussed below; see Fig. 8). The detached northeast range appears not to have been commenced until the early eighteenth century (see Section 6.3). The kitchen must therefore have been somewhere else, with access to the castle, between the mid-seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century; and as the new block abutted the castle, access between them – probably via an entry in the former West Tower (see Section 4.1.10 above) – is implicit. If all this is so, the new block must be contemporary with (or earlier than) the new window in the Great Hall undercroft (ie. early to mid-seventeenth-century), and housed the kitchen until the early eighteenth century. This work probably accords best with the tenure of Sir Richard Philipps, second baronet, between around 1630 and 1650, but with a probable interruption in any construction during the Civil War, 1642-45 (see Appendix 2). His southwestern block was swept away in the major works of *c.*1750 and is not shown in the estate map of 1773 (Fig. 10).

Evidence for further refenestration under Sir Richard is physical as well as pictorial. In the external face of the northwest flank of the Northwest Tower, at ground-floor level, is a blocked square light G11a-4 with a simple, chamfered square surround (Figs. 27 and 81). While square lights with surrounds like this were in use from the later thirteenth century onwards (discussed in Ludlow forthcoming), they are also characteristic of the early to mid-seventeenth century; the location of this light at ground-floor level rather than higher up, and its stylistic differences from other fourteenth-century work at the castle, suggest the latter date might be more likely. This may be confirmed by the Buck print which shows a similar window in the tower north wall, and three more in the north wall of Great Hall undercroft G9, including the window mentioned above (Fig. 8), probably all adapted from medieval openings. All four are shown with central mullions, possibly of timber, of characteristic seventeenth-century form.[9]

Anecdotal evidence moreover suggests that windows had replaced slit-lights at ground-floor level by 1645: it is related that, during the Civil War siege of the castle that year, Sir Richard Philipps's son was snatched through a window by one of the attackers (see Appendix 2). While this story must be treated with caution, the windows shown by the Bucks may represent part of a wider programme of seventeenth-century refenestration at ground-floor level, taking in the Southwest Tower and Great Hall south wall; sadly, the Sandby print of

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[9] *Contra* Garner 2000, 3.3.3, where they were regarded as 1720s work.

1779 does not show ground-floor level (Fig. 11). Further work during this period is suggested by the apparent blocking of Northeast Tower ground-floor light G6-2 and possible Northwest Tower eastern loop/light G11a-1; it is all shown in red on Figs. 175 and 205.

It is possible that this work was accompanied by the conversion of one, or perhaps two of the gatehouse tower chambers to residential use. Two chimneys, of different design from the others, are shown by the Bucks in the gatehouse (Figs. 8 and 174); they have gabled cowls and look to be of earlier date, but probably not medieval. They had possibly been retained because they were comparatively recent additions, bringing the seven medieval fireplaces closer to the ten that were recorded at Picton Castle in the Hearth Tax Roll of 1670 (Jones 1965, 51). In the south tower, first-floor fireplace F14-2 has a plain, lintelled surround and may be seventeenth-century (Fig. 93; see Section 4.2.2 above); it is therefore possible that, if this chamber was to be heated, the diagonal wall separating it from the Southeast Tower was inserted at the same time. Meanwhile the blocked second-floor fireplace S22-3 in the north tower, while apparently respecting the raised, eighteenth-century floor-level, may have re-used an earlier flue: it had an 'old iron grate' in 1729 (see Appendix 3). The tenth fireplace may have occupied the southwest service block, ie. in the suggested kitchen.

4.6 The former enclosure

Firm evidence for an enclosure is confined to a sketch from 1678, by Thomas Dineley, in which a small rectangular area around the castle is shown surrounded by a crenellated wall (Fig. 7). The wall is of indeterminate date, but is probably somewhat late (Davis 2000, 109; Garner 2000, 3.1.2.7; Guy 2021, 106; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 359).[10] Nevertheless, circumstantial evidence suggests an enclosure of some form must have existed from the first, containing the kitchen and any bakehouse mentioned above, a well, possibly a chapel for the general household, and other necessary buildings. So there is no doubt that the immediate environs of the castle would benefit greatly from further investigation, including topographical and geophysical survey. However, later garden features will have doubtless disturbed the medieval archaeology, and the few very slight earthwork features that can still be defined may relate to gardening.

The enclosure shown in 1678 may be best seen as a post-medieval walled garden (Fig. 175). It forms a very regular rectangle that fits snugly and symmetrically around the castle. There is no indication of any ditch. The boundary wall is very low and slender – and without a parapet? – and appears more ornamental then defensive, while the entries are of post-medieval form and associated with a formal arrangement of paths. Four entries are shown, to the north, south, east and west. Those in the north and south walls – connected by a straight path running just east of the gatehouse – are large square-headed, lintelled openings. That in the west wall is a small doorway with another lintelled head. The main entry is through a grand, Renaissance gateway in the east wall, giving onto a straight drive leading to the gatehouse and crossing the north-south path: the drawing shows a semicircular-headed arch with a Classical surround, while columns either side support an architrave, over which the crenellations are crow-stepped. While this ensemble of features

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[10] Although RCAHM(W) suggests a medieval date (Coflein, NPRN 103578).

might suggest a fairly early date – it is somewhat redolent of the central pavilion at Burghley House near Stamford, from the 1580s – gateways of similar style continued to be built well into the seventeenth century. In summary, unless the gateway was a secondary insertion, the enclosure wall might be late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century – though could possibly be a little later.

Fig. 175: Sketch plan of Picton Castle showing former enclosure (conjectured), and detail of 1746 estate map with the remains of the enclosure wall (and causeway) highlighted in red

Reconstructed plan of Picton Castle and enclosure, 1680s
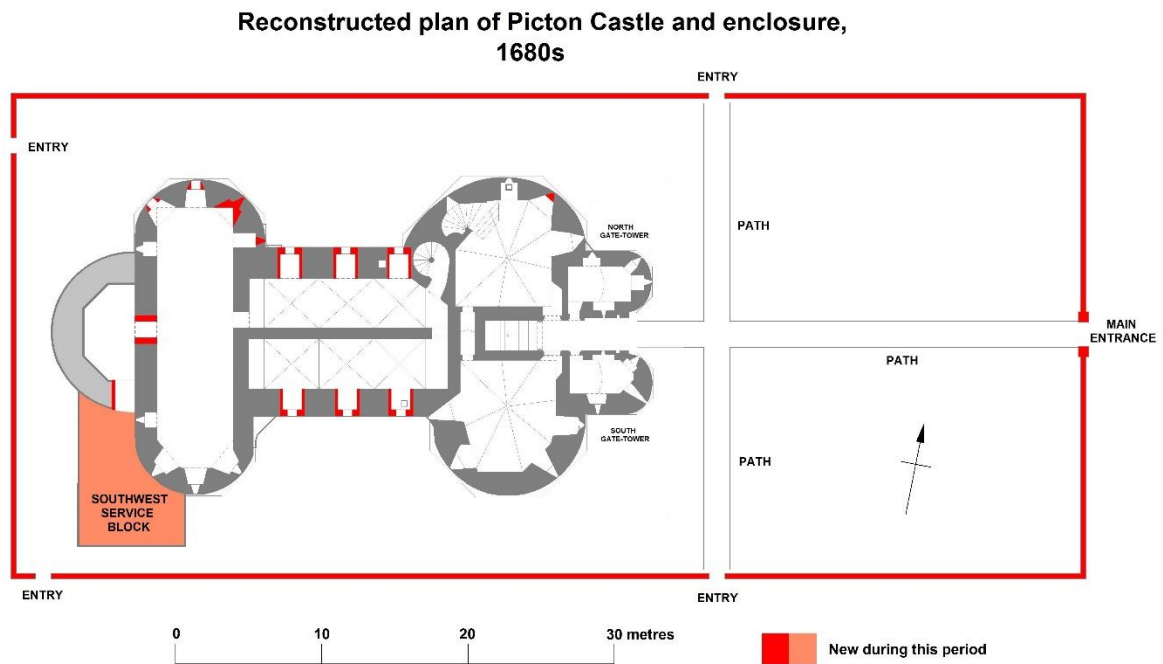
Detail from the estate map of 1746
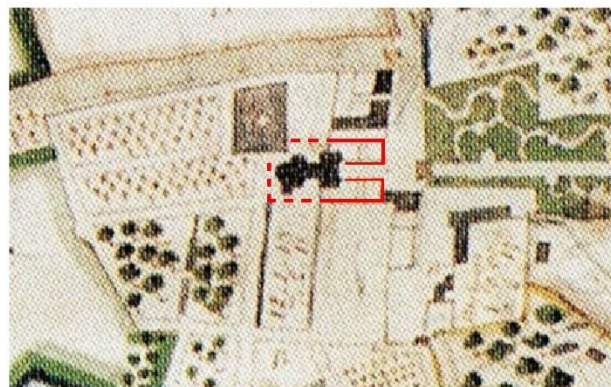
Two buildings are shown southwest of the castle in 1684. One lies within the enclosure and is clearly the service block that formerly abutted the castle, described above in Section 4.5.3, which was probably built in the early/mid-seventeenth century and might therefore even be contemporary with the enclosure wall. The other appears to lie beyond the enclosure and has been speculated to be the chapel associated with the former settlement at Picton (Davis 2000, 109; Guy 2021, 106; see Appendix 1). No other structures are shown.

Removal of the enclosure boundary was piecemeal. The north, south and east walls were still standing, in part, in 1746 and are shown on the estate map of that year (Figs. 9 and 175); they can be seen either side of the entrance causeway, the north wall lying between it and the newly-built northeast service buildings.[11] The map shows just how small the enclosure was – around 33 metres north-south by 75 metres east-west – with its south wall nearly abutting the southwest block, as confirmed by Dineley's sketch. The south wall is also shown in the Buck print of *c*.1740, though bereft of its crenellations, and can be seen east and west of the castle (Fig. 8); another doorway is shown at its west end. The west wall had by that time been largely removed, to make way for a large rectangular pond (also shown in 1746 and 1773) – although a short stretch remained as a low wall. The western half of both the north and south walls appear to have gone by 1746, while no trace of the enclosure appears on the estate map of 1773 (Fig. 10). The low wall shown by Paul Sandby, in 1779 (Fig. 11), is too far to the south to belong to this enclosure and probably represents the east-west boundary that still survives some 100 metres south of the castle. A cluster of structures just within it appear to include a Classical grotto or a similar building.

No trace of the enclosure now remains, nor of any surrounding feature that can be assigned a medieval date. Tradition states that the castle was moated (Girouard 1960, 19; Jones 1965, 50), while Richard Fenton was firmly of the opinion that it had been 'moated round and approached by a drawbridge' (Fenton 1811, 279). However, it is very unlikely that he could have seen any features that might belong to a ditch or moat, and it is likely that he was deceived by the later raised entrance and causeway (see below, Section 6.1), as he adds that the place of the drawbridge is 'now supplied by a raised flagged terrace between low parapets' ie. the causeway. And while the site is certainly capable of being ditched (Garner 2000, 3.1.2.7, 5.4.2), it is likely that any such feature would have embraced the entire medieval assemblage, not just the surviving castle – if it was present at all. *Cf*. similar sites of comparable date at Edlingham (Northumberland; late 1290s), Tulliallan (Clackmannan; *c*.1304-10), Mulgrave (Yorks.; 1320s?) and Blanquefort (Gironde; 1270-95), which are discussed in Section 5.2. The moated hall-block at Nunney (Somerset) is of rather different design and much later, from the 1370s (Rigold 1957, 3).

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[11] Therefore no part of this enclosure wall can have been incorporated within these service buildings, as had been speculated in a number of sources (eg. Garner 2000, 4.2.1; Listed Building website, LB 17389; Cadw/ICOMOS).

Fig. 176a: Longitudinal section through Picton Castle, facing north (roughly along midline) – modern
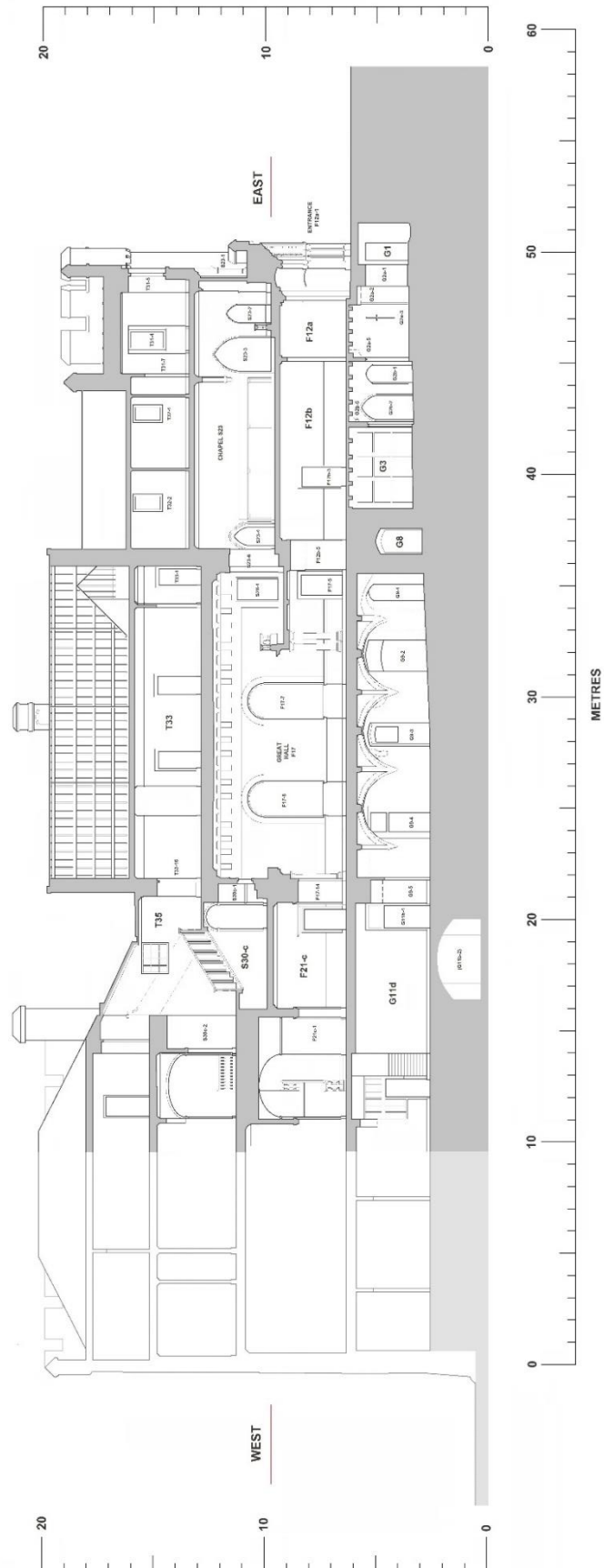
Fig. 176b: Longitudinal section through Picton Castle, facing north (roughly along midline) – conjectured medieval
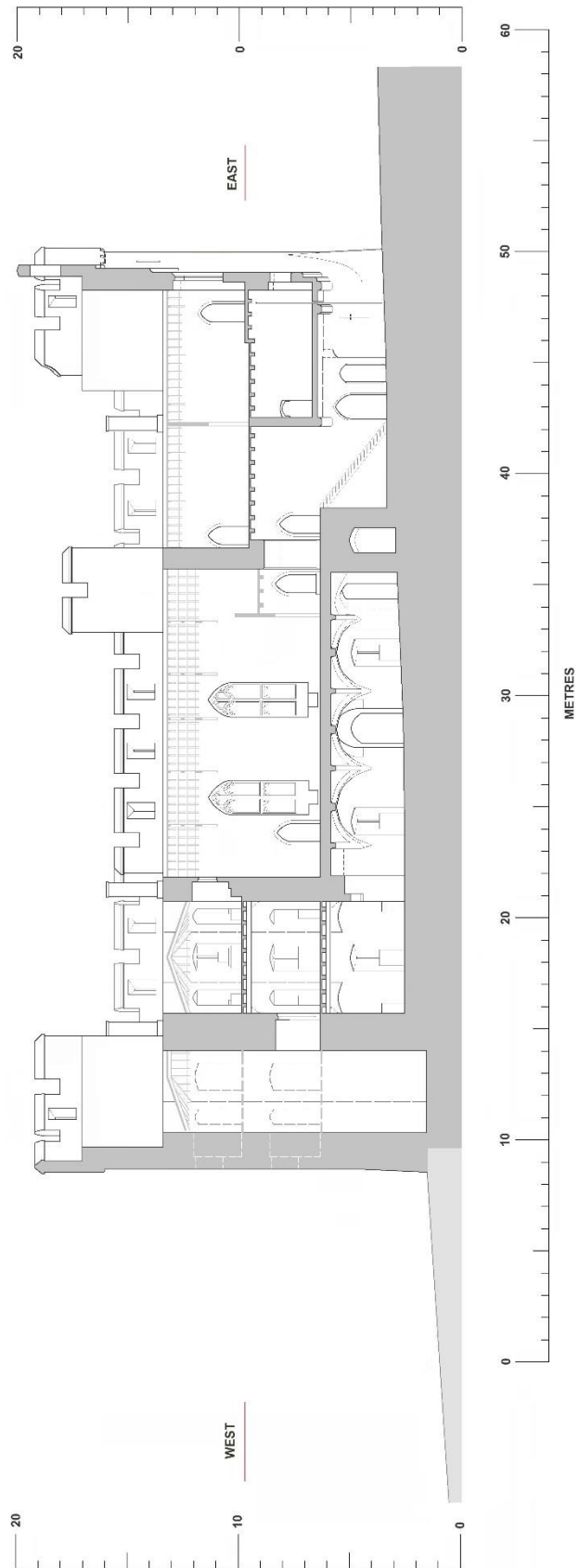
Fig. 177a: Transverse section through Picton Castle gatehouse, facing west – modern
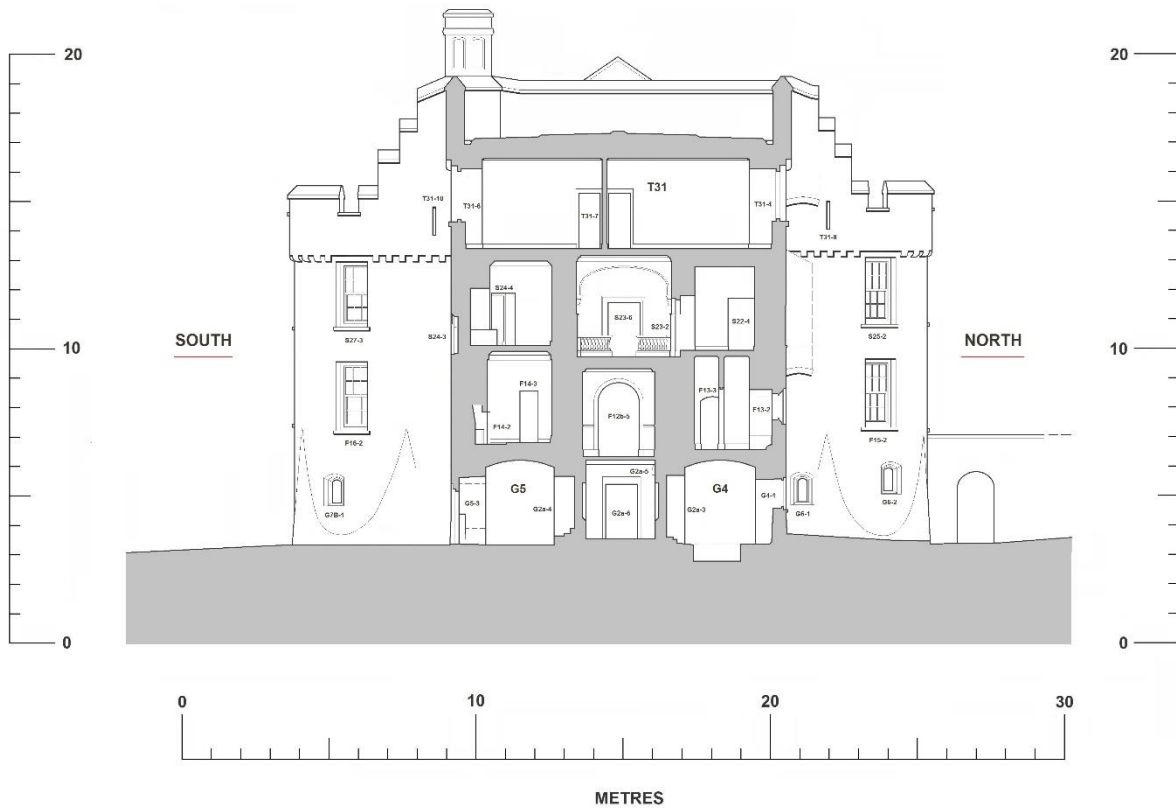
Fig. 177b: Transverse section through Picton Castle gatehouse, facing west – conjectured medieval
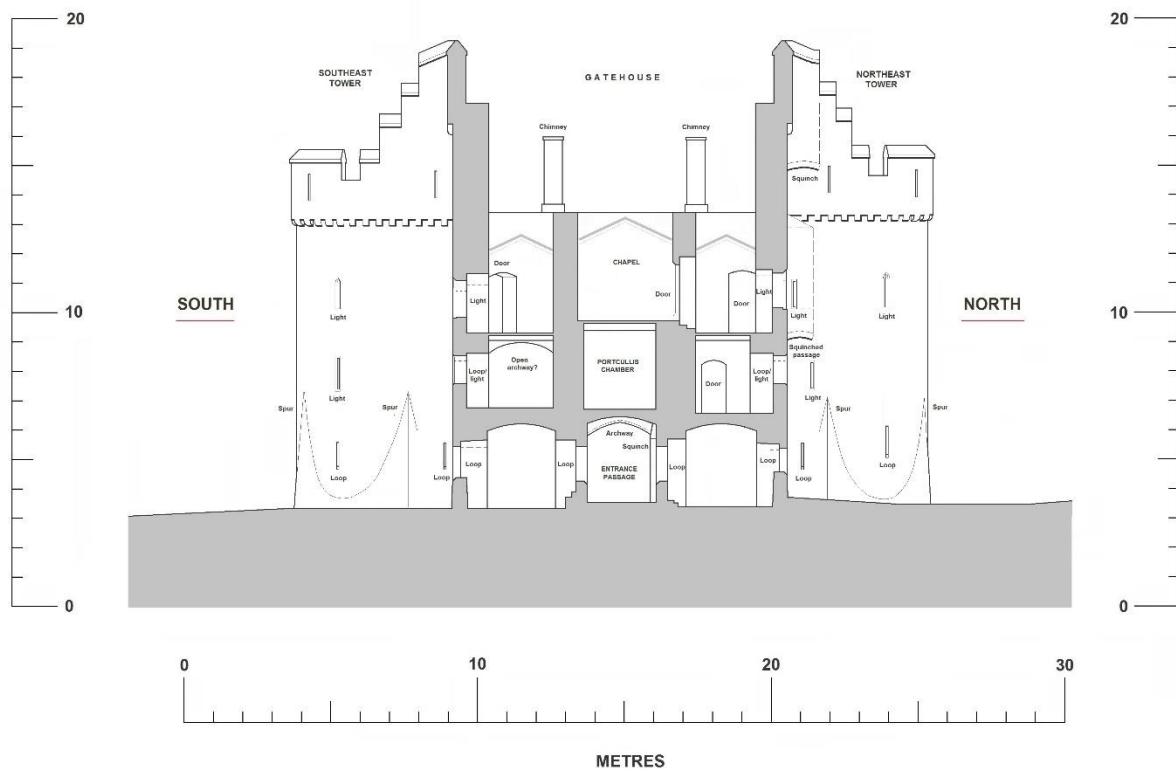
Fig. 178a: Transverse section through Picton Castle east towers, facing west – modern

Fig. 178b: Transverse section through Picton Castle east towers, facing west – conjectured medieval

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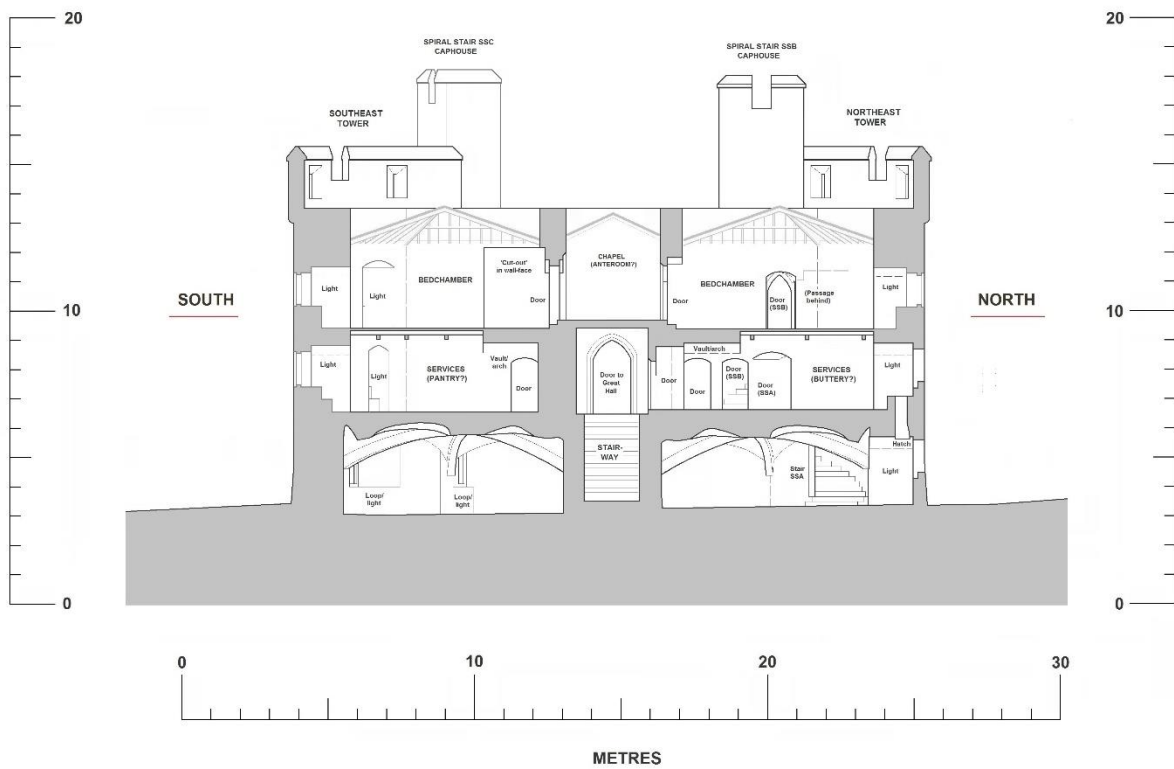
Fig. 179a: Transverse section through Picton Castle west towers, facing west – modern
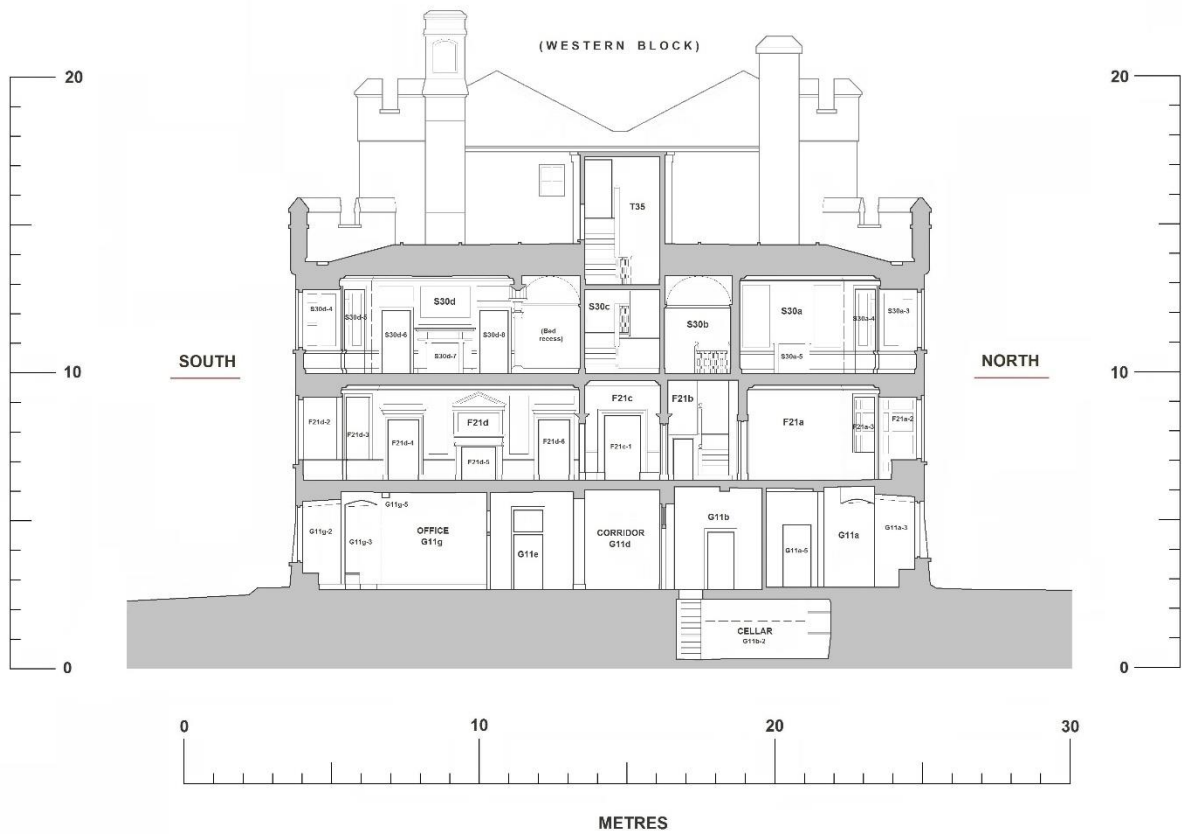
Fig. 179b: Transverse section through Picton Castle west towers, facing west – conjectured medieval

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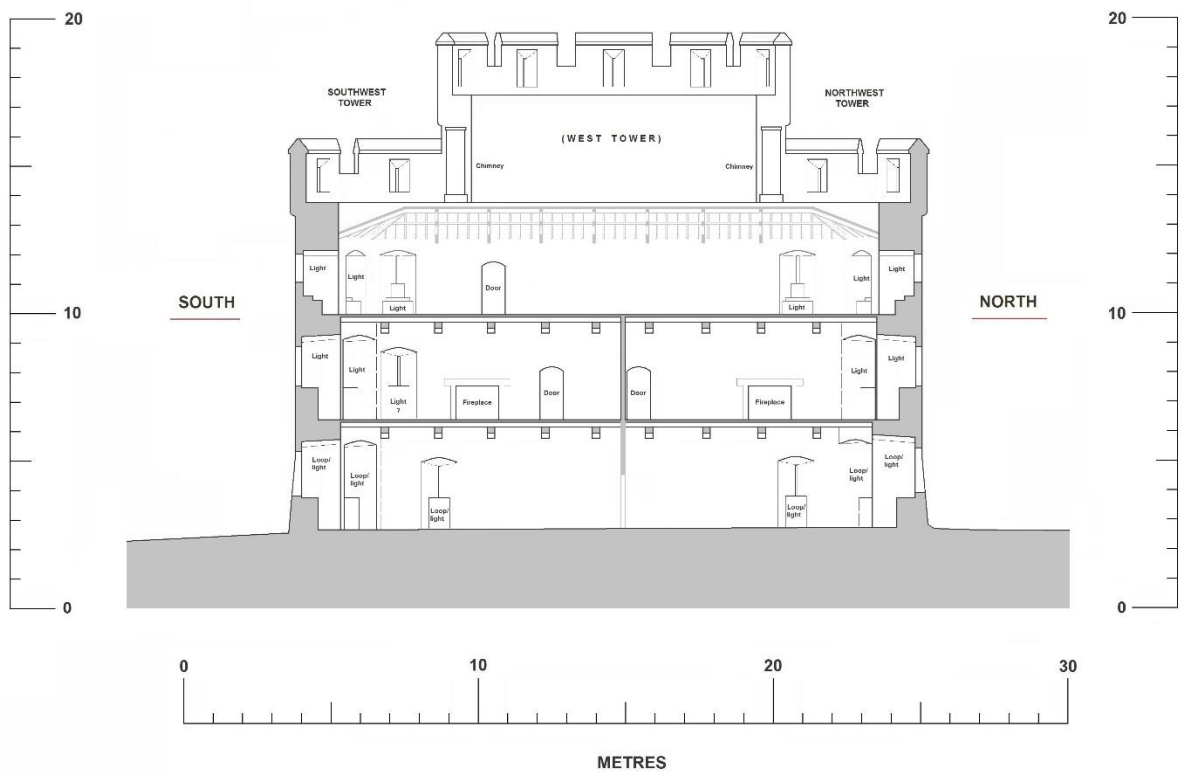
5.0 THE MEDIEVAL CASTLE: FUNCTION, CONTEXT AND COMPARISON

Most authorities have suggested a date around 1300 for the construction of Picton Castle, but there are fairly wide variations: mid-thirteenth century (Fry 1980, 374); late thirteenth century (Garner 2000, 3.2); 'probably Edwardian' (King 1988, 122); late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (King 1983, 396); 1295-1308 (Hull 2005, 182); 1298-1309 (Davis 2000, 108; Guy 2021, 104); 1298-1313 (Listed Building website, LB 6043); *c.*1300 (Lloyd et al. 2004, 359; RCAHM(W) Coflein); 1300-1310 (Emery 2000, 702); fourteenth century (Garner 2000, 5.4.3). It is argued in Appendix 1 below that a start-date in 1315 is most likely, as its builder John Wogan had been licenced to spend time in Wales, while revenues from his lands had recently undergone a considerable increase. It may only have been just complete when he died in 1321.

The medieval castle was clearly not the product of incremental development: it follows a single design of great unity which shows highly formalised planning, a strong degree of stylistic consistency, remarkable symmetry and persuasive evidence of patronal control, which was seen through in its entirety. In this it can be compared with such late-medieval castles as Bodiam, Sussex, Bolton, Yorks., and Shirburn, Oxon., from the 1370s-80s, which like Picton were subsequently little-altered before the modern period (Goodall 2011, 314-17, 327-8). And while physical evidence for later medieval alteration at Picton may have been lost, pictorial evidence suggests that it was largely confined to the replacement of some of the windows in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Derek Renn's formula, in which construction averaged 10 to 12 feet per season (Renn 1973, 25-6), would suggest that the castle was probably built over a five-year period, which fits in with proposed construction between 1315 and 1320.

No surviving contemporary building in any castle in southwest Wales is on quite such a grand scale, nor as well-appointed – neither at the comital caput at Pembroke, nor other highly-developed castles such as Carew. It is an extremely formalised and refined building for its time. However, other small, baronial castles could show refined and highly innovative designs, and design features – sometimes more refined than their larger and more influential counterparts. They include such well-known sites as Berkeley (Gloucs.), Barnwell (Northants.) and Stokesay (Shrops.). But like Picton, they were permanent residences, and in this can be contrasted with castles like Pembroke which were among a number of castles held by their patrons, who might visit them just once or twice – if at all. These smaller castles had to be planned for sustained, long-term occupation while at the same time displaying all the trappings appropriate to their lord's perception of his status. One might expect their design to reveal close attention from the patron.

Patronal instruction probably lies behind Picton's unusual design, which will be discussed in comparison with other sites below (Section 5.2). Also notable are the integrated suites of residential apartments in the east towers, either side of a chapel – to which Wogan appears to have had separate access for his own private devotions – that are firmly rooted within the patterns seen in royal planning. The castle's symmetry is seen at all floor levels: with the exception of the spiral stair arrangements, the north and south sides are mirror-images of each other. There is rather more dressed stone than in most castles of the region. The domestic appointments show a remarkable level of sophistication for the period, even

compared with those in royal castles; close patronal attention to these arrangements is revealed by a number of innovative features such as the probable serving hatches (see Sections 4.1.4 and 4.2.6), discussed further below. Most of all it is the highly formalised planning – the textbook arrangement of hall, chamber and services, and the rigid control of communication between internal spaces – that marks Picton out, along with the unusual 'processional' stair from the main entrance.

Its size, too, may be remarked upon. Although the Great Hall, at 14 x 8 metres, does not quite compare with its close contemporaries at eg. Ludlow (1280s, 18.5 x 10 metres; Fig. 181) and Goodrich (1270s-90s, 20 x 8 metres) – which were accommodating larger households – the eastern towers are notably large. Their internal diameter, of 6.5 metres, is not far short of such grand cylindrical donjons as Angevin Orford and Conisbrough (8.5 metres and 7.5 metres respectively), while closely matching the Chamberlain and Well Towers at Edward I's Caernarfon (6-7 metres). In summary, design at Picton appears to have been making the kind of allusion – which may go beyond mere influence – to the castles of Wogan's peers and superiors, including the Crown: it possibly represents deliberate reference to, and identification with, his perceived affinities, as is discussed below (Section 5.2.4).

Fig. 180: Sketch plans of Picton Castle: conjectured medieval arrangements
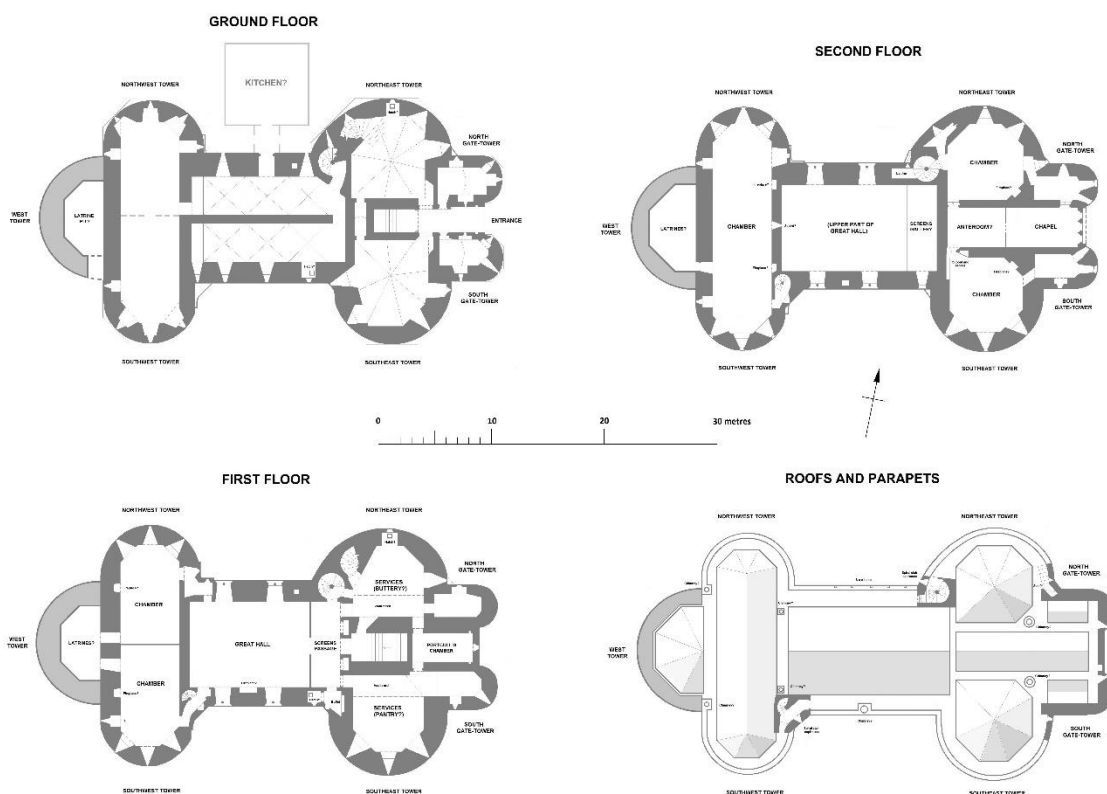
What does this tell us about John Wogan's aims and aspirations at Picton? How was it intended to be used – and perceived? Wogan's long experience of administration, and administrative buildings, may lie behind its meticulous planning – and its grandeur. His entire adult life had been spent in administrative positions of increasing seniority, within a

highly-regulated and formal environment (see Appendix 1). He was clearly ambitious, and well-aware of his status – his latter years were spent acting within the relative autonomy of the Irish judicial system, while he showed himself more than willing to use his authority against his social superiors. And more Irish parliaments were held by Wogan between 1295 and 1312 than in the previous 30 years (Hand 2008). This kind of background may well have informed Picton's design and appointments, as a reminder to all of his former authority; the 'processional stair' may be particularly revealing in this context. The Great Hall that it led into may have been influenced by his experience of stately administrative spaces, and was perhaps partly intended as a grand audience and reception chamber.

Nevertheless, it is not entirely certain who Wogan's visitors and guests might have been, and for whom this 'theatre' was intended. His status within the lordship of Pembroke was that of tenant to the Valences, and he appears to have had no notable sub-tenants. And he will have known that, by the time Picton was complete, he will have retired – the castle will not have been used in any professional capacity. Nevertheless, visits by his peers, for example from the Pembrokeshire families to whom he was connected through networks of service and marriage, might be envisaged.

Picton will have been expensive to build: a reasonable comparison might be a season's work at an Edwardian castle/town wall complex like Caernarfon, ie. around £2000 (Taylor 2004, 10). Wogan's fee as Justiciar of Ireland was £500 a year, out of which he had however to maintain 20 men-at-arms and 'armoured horses' (Sweetman 1881, 117-18 and *passim*), and finance his official functions. Nevertheless, £500 a year was a considerable sum and equivalent to the revenue from a minor lordship. For comparison, William de Valence's Pembrokeshire lands were valued at £705 p.a. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1364-67,* 266-75), while his total annual income was around £2,500 (Ridgeway 1992, 242). More important were revenues from Wogan's lands, in Ireland and England, as well as Wales. No valuation for these lands is known, but by 1317 he held least 13 manors in Ireland, which in that year were made into inheritable grants, held fully (see Appendix 1).

We also have to consider how old Wogan was when he began Picton. He was probably nearing 70 (see Appendix 1), and though still undertaking commissions elsewhere, he will doubtless have been anticipating settling there as his permanent residence, to be occupied throughout the year. The castle will naturally have been lavished upon. Given his age, it may also have been intended as a lasting monument once he had died – a permanent reminder of his former authority, to be maintained by his heirs and their offspring. But this also means that actual use of the castle, after his death, may have diverged widely from its intended use.

It is also worth considering why the site was chosen, rather than another of the Wogan manors in the Barony of Wiston. It lies 2 kilometres south of the main medieval routeway between Carmarthen and Haverfordwest – not close enough to have really been an important consideration. Similarly, while there is a sheltered anchorage in a pill on the River Cleddau, to the south, the distance of around 1 kilometre may rule it out as a factor. The site is low-lying, within a fertile part of the county, and seems ultimately to have been dictated by a pre-existing vill, with a chapel and, more importantly, a manor-house of some kind; Wogan issued grants from Picton in 1302 (see Davey 1898, 228-31), presupposing the

existence of a residence here before the castle was built. The castle was clearly not intended primarily for serious defence, and the so-called 'motte' to the east is now thought to be entirely post-medieval and purpose-built to support a belvedere (see Appendix 1).

5.1 Layout and function

In essence, Picton is a first-floor hall, a type characteristic of south Wales and the southern Marches, northern England and Scotland; elsewhere, the ground-floor predominated (Dunbar 2002, 56; Emery 2000, 683-5; Smith 1988, 33). And it essentially follows a conventional services-hall-chamber layout, arranged horizontally in the the classic medieval 'three-unit house' plan of the 1220s-30s onwards (see eg. Blair 1993, 15; Wood 1983, 68-6). But the emphasis in published accounts on a suggested relationship with Irish 'towered keeps' and related buildings – as discussed below – has masked Picton's true nature: in essence, it is an early example of the 'H-plan' house.

Use of internal space will be broadly interpreted here, but is discussed in more detail in the following sections. We can be fairly certain, through the disposition of entries, the spiral stair SSB and a mural chamber F18, that the screens passage and services lay at the east end of the Great Hall, meaning it is likely that the west towers formed a residential range at the high end of the Hall; the Northeast and Southeast Towers, moreover, are recorded as a Pantry and Buttery in 1729 (see Appendix 3). Their appointments however suggest the second-floor rooms overlying the services were private apartments, probably intended for Wogan and his wife. The provision of private chambers over the services, at the low end of the hall, had become increasingly widespread during the thirteenth century, to augment the solar/chamber-block at the high end (Wood 1983, 72). The earl's private chamber at Chepstow Castle, Mon., from the 1280s, overlay the services (Turner and Johnson 2006, 137-41), while storeyed private apartments, from the 1280s-90s, flanked both ends of the hall at Stokesay Castle, Shrops. (and perhaps were not associated with services: Summerson 2012, 8-18).

This planning was taken further, eg. at Ludlow Castle where the Great Hall, also 1280s, is flanked by a storeyed service/solar block at the low end, while a storeyed 'Great Chamber Block' was added at the high end during the 1320s (Thompson 2006, 167-74). Both blocks project into the bailey, as wings (Fig. 181) – by the mid-fourteenth century, a projecting two-storeyed block at each end of the hall had become widely adopted, ie. the 'H-plan house' (Wood 1983, 74-5). This is, in essence, what we see at Picton, with the projecting east and west towers representing the wings.

The association of seigneurial accommodation with the gatehouse had become a feature of Edwardian planning in north Wales, where it was sometimes located – like the chapel – within the gatehouse itself, eg. at Harlech, and possibly Aberystwyth (Ashbee 2021, 223). The private apartments in the east towers at Picton seem to have formed suites which incorporated the gate-towers, and lay either side of a chapel. The chapel appears to have lain above the portcullis chamber, which probably occupied the first floor; in the gatehouse at Harlech, chapels lay at both first- and second-floor level (ibid. ie. Ashbee 2021, 200; Fig. 182), sharing space with the winding gear and the portcullis itself.

Fig. 181: Plan of the inner ward at Ludlow Castle, Shrops., showing the winged hall and chamber block on the north side, the latrine block and the detached kitchen
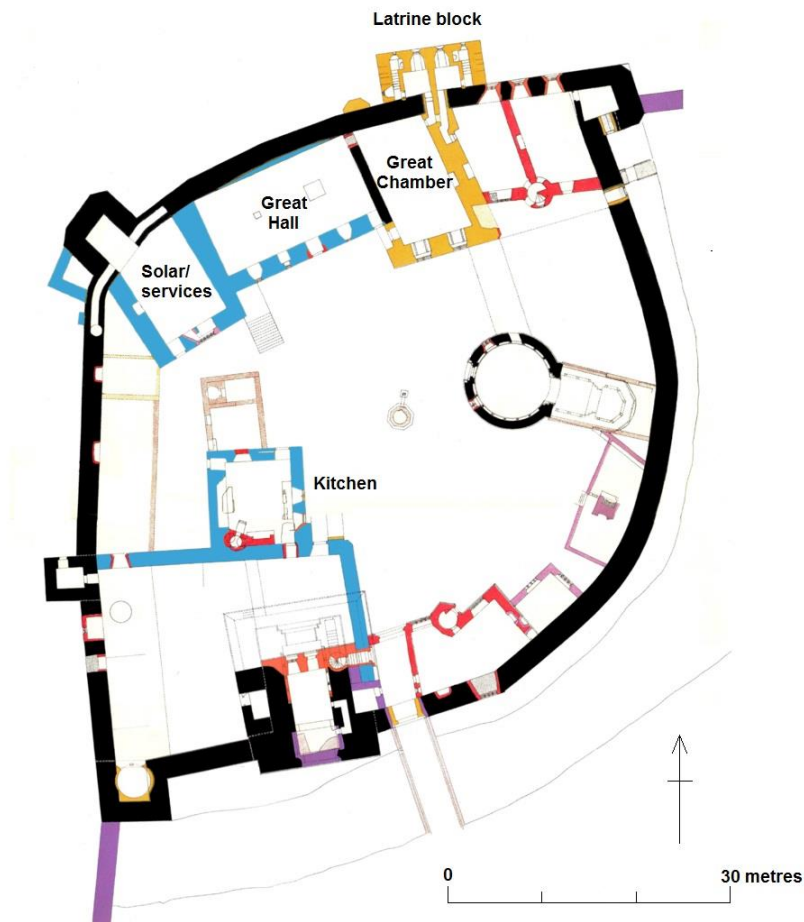
Fig. 182: First-floor plan of the gatehouse at Harlech Castle, Merioneth, showing the central chapel/portcullis chamber
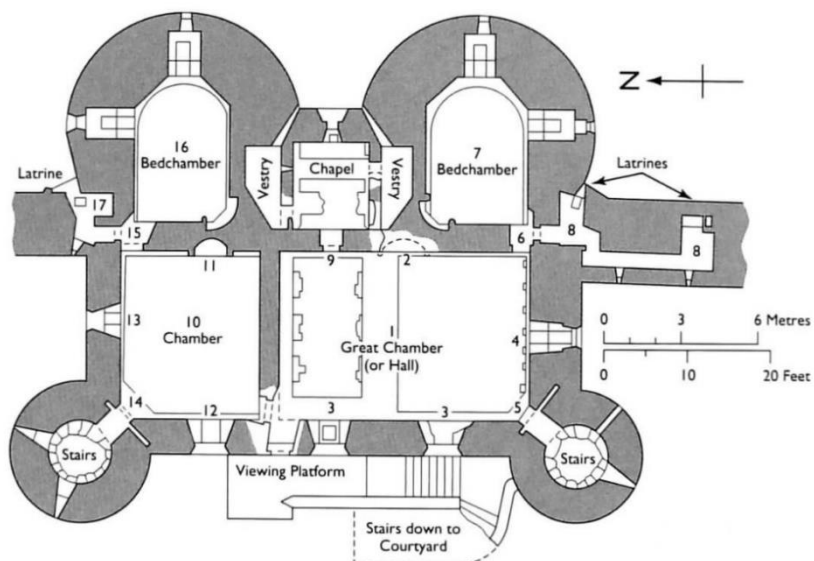
It is argued below that the west towers at Picton – which seem to have open to one another, with partitions of timber, if divided at all – may represent retainers' accommodation. Access arrangements suggest the first floor was divided into two separate chambers – for steward and constable? – with more communal accommodation at second floor level, perhaps for less senior members of Wogan's household. The lost West Tower may have been a latrine turret to serve these chambers.

The undercrofts are more problematic. As a general rule, it is clear at most castles that undercroft space could be put to a variety of uses, at different times or concurrently. At Picton, however, the design appears to be deliberate, and specific to particular uses which may have extended beyond mere cellarage. Except in the west towers, they are vaulted and thus fireproof, while in the east towers they were accessible from the services via the wide spiral stair SSA. However, there is no evidence for either fireplaces or bread-ovens, and indeed nowhere where they could plausibly have been accommodated. So it is unlikely that any food preparation that involved heating or cooking was undertaken in the undercrofts – which unlike most kitchens, moreover, are very low-ceilinged.

Given Wogan's status, the Great Hall can be assumed to have served the entire household and all retainers, and is unlikely to have been reserved for purely ceremonial use. Which means we probably need not envisage a 'common' ground-floor hall lying externally to the castle, in the kind of separate hall/chamber-block layout that persisted into the fourteenth century eg. at Little Wenham Hall (Suffolk), Old Soar Manor (Kent), Lyddington Bede House (Rutland) and many others (Blair 1993, 2; Emery 2006, 381-2; Goodall 2011, 233; Harris and Impey 2002, 251; Woodfield and Woodfield 2011, 4). There is, moreover, probably ample space within the castle that we see today to meet Wogan's residential needs.

However, in the absence of any internal evidence, the kitchen must have been external to the castle (*contra* Garner 2000, *passim*). This was by no means an infrequent arrangement and we find separate, detached kitchens *inter alia* at Ludlow (late thirteenth-century; Fig. 181), Caerphilly, Glam. (1317-26), Caernarfon (*c*.1300) and at William de Valence's Kidwelly, Carms., from the 1290s (Kenyon 2007, 42; Taylor 2004, 24; Thompson 2006, 169-70; Turner 2016, 42-3). The need for ventilation also meant early bakehouses were usually sited in the open;[12] the solution in the donjon at Orford, Suffolk (1165-73), was to build the ovens into one of the turret caphouses at parapet level (Brindle 2018, 22-3), But there is no evidence for such an arrangement at Picton where the ovens, like the kitchen, were probably separate and detached (*cf*. Kidwelly, Barnard Castle and many others). I suggest these buildings lay immediately north of the castle, along with the well, and were probably associated with the blocked north door G9-3 in the central undercroft, from which the Hall could be accessed via spiral stair SSB. External facilities like these presuppose the existence of some kind of enclosure – within which other buildings possibly included a household chapel – but on current evidence neither its form, location nor extent can be suggested. It may not necessarily have been fortified, either by a ditch or a crenellated wall, but some

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[12] A large, domed space within the ground floor of the donjon at Dover (1180s) has been interpreted as an oven, but there is no associated hearth (Brindle 2015, 21; Pattison, Brindle and Robinson 2020, 172).

kind of hard boundary can be envisaged. It may not, however, have borne any relationship with the post-medieval walled area discussed in Section 4.6.

5.1.1 The main entrance

Though little remains of the entrance arrangements – the archways were truncated when first-floor level here was lowered in *c*.1700 (see Section 6.1 above) – the evidence for a stairway leading from the gatehouse passage to the Great Hall is compelling. The suggestion was first made in 1960 (Girouard 1960, 19; also see Hague 1964, 341), and is probably incontrovertible. But it seems likely, in the light of current thinking, that the stair was not intended for everyday access, a suggestion that may receive confirmation from the blocked ground-floor doorway in the north wall. This was doubtless the everyday, service doorway, the main entrance being reserved for 'ceremonial' use – or at least with restricted access, perhaps normally embracing only Wogan, his family and his guests. It is significant that the doorways flanking the entrance passage all have dressed surrounds, with chamfer-stops – the only (surviving) door-surrounds at ground-floor level. Nevertheless, external access to the east tower undercrofts appears to have been solely via this entry; it is speculated below that they may have been used as a wine and beer store, so occasional service use is possible.

This second, ground-floor entry also means that kitchens and other ancillary structures could be located well away from the main entrance which, unobstructed by buildings, would form a highly-visible, bold introduction to Wogan's castle for all who visited.

Use of the main entry was probably therefore occasional, and limited; it may normally have been kept closed. And the entrance passage defences – the portcullis, the flanking arrowloops – were probably intended more for display than as any serious deterrent: when open, the doors would in fact block the loops (Fig. 176b). And while all published sources that mention them call the flanking chambers 'guard-rooms', can they really have functioned in this way if use of the entry was episodic and short-lived? Were they even porter's lodges? All users of the entry are likely to have been escorted. Nevertheless all side-doors close against the gate-passage, in conventional fashion.

The stair was very steep, the space that it occupies indicating that it rose at a gradient of 40° towards a broad landing at the summit, overlying narrow passage G8 below and featuring a probable doorway into the service-room to the north (Fig. 176b). Normal tread height would suggest a flight of 20 steps.

5.1.2 The undercrofts

Picton's rib-vaulting, infrequent in west Wales during the early fourteenth century (see Section 5.2 below), could be taken to imply that the ground floors were intended to be something more than mere storage space. However, the communicating doorways do not have dressed surrounds – except in the main entry – allowing for more mundane usage. Nevertheless, the north 'service' doorway G9-3 may have seen everyday use from all social levels, perhaps even by Wogan himself, so a certain amount of embellishment like the vaulting would be appropriate.

Lying at ground level, and vaulted over, the undercrofts could plausibly have been heated by braziers, but the absence of any evidence for latrines at this level[13] may rule out the kind of residential use seen at eg. Ludlow and Acton Burnell (both Shrops.), Aydon (Northumberland) and Pembroke, where first-floor halls from the 1280s-90s are thought to have overlain retainers' accommodation (Emery 2000, 502-4; Day and Ludlow 2016, 74; Radford 1973, 5; Summerson 2004, 16; Thompson 2006, 168; Wood 1983, 180). All four were castles with which Wogan may have been familiar, and possibly influenced other aspects of his design, as we will see. Nevertheless Picton Castle seems to have been well-equipped with accommodation at first- and second-floor level which, it is suggested, included retainers' quarters. Nor, as we have seen, are the undercrofts likely to have housed a kitchen or bakehouse.

It is possible, in practice even if not as intended, that they saw multiple uses – like most spaces of this kind. But it is probably best to avoid 'default' thinking, and the attempt to assign practical utility to all basement spaces: it is quite possible that distinct functions were not always planned. In first-floor halls, basements may primarily have served to raise the main apartments to first-floor level, expressing their status through height. Nevertheless, there are clues that the Picton undercrofts may have been designed for use in a service capacity.

It is clear that the northern central undercroft G9 was first and foremost an access 'corridor' between the north doorway G9-3, spiral stair SSA, southern undercroft G10 and the west towers. It would have been a busy space, in more-or-less constant use – the castle's everyday access, which also linked it to the external kitchen, bakehouse and well.

The southern central undercroft G10 was, in contrast, a restricted space. Door G10a-1 closed against it, and as it may have been the only entrance means that it could not be made secure from within – possibly furnishing another argument against residential use. A clue to its use lies at first-floor level, in mural chamber F18 at the southern end of the Great Hall screens passage. This overlies ground-floor window embrasure G10a-3, which appears to have been broken through a vertical shaft leading down from chamber F18b (see Section 4.1.8). The association of this shaft with a wide shelf F18a-2 at first-floor level – and its proximity to the service rooms – militates it being a latrine shaft. Instead, it may represent a service hatch, via which supplies could be conveyed to the first floor. Chamber F18, then, appears to have been a servery, in which the shelf F18a-2 was probably a 'buffet' where food and drink could be placed during meal service. A very similar arrangement of serving-hatch and buffet – though much later, from the fifteenth century – survives unaltered at Dirleton Castle, East Lothian in Scotland (Tabraham 2007, 13, 17; Richardson 1950, 19; Fig. 183). Here, the hatch conveyed bread from ground-floor ovens to the Great Hall buffet above. At Picton, however, we have seen that there is no evidence for ovens, nor any space where they could have been be realistically located. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that some other comestibles were stored in the southern undercroft, for use in the Great Hall. Chamber F18 was still being used as a servery in 1729 (see Appendix 3).

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[13] Apart from a possible latrine *pit* in the former West Tower – see Section 4.1.10 above.

The hatch is just one of the innovative features at Wogan's Picton. It seems to be replicated in the Northeast Tower G6, where the early nineteenth-century north door G6-3 seems to have been modified from another mural chamber containing a shaft from first-floor level (see Section 4.1.4). A hatch here, combined with the very wide stair SSA – which terminates at first-floor level – may confirm suggestions that the eastern towers were used as a wine and beer store (see eg. Guy 2023, 109): barrels could be manoeuvred up the stair, while flagons and costrels went up via the hatch. Wine is recorded at Picton in *c.*1500 when, according to the poet Lewis Glyn Cothi, Thomas Philipps's cellar contained wines from Bayonne, Normandy, Bordeaux, Roselle, Speyer, Spain, and two kinds of Muscatel (Girouard 1960, 20; Jones 1965, 53). Following this reasoning, the Northeast Tower first floor would be the Buttery, with the Pantry in the Southeast Tower.

However, barrels would need to be conveyed to the tower via the main entrance, being the only ground-floor entry that communicated with its undercroft. A wide stair moreover is normally a sign of status (Guy 2012, 116), and it is worth noting that the undercroft represents another route from the main entry to the first floor, via doorway G2b-2 from the entrance passage. It could then be speculated that the undercroft might have been the kind of 'waiting area' seen in earlier donjons, but also in castles closer in date such as Knaresborough, Yorks. (see eg. Dixon 1998, 50, 55; Marshall 2002a, 142-9; Marshall 2002b, 28-9), in which visitors would stay before being conveyed to the first floor and into the presence of Picton's lord. However, threshold levels and chamfer-stops confirm that the vault-ribs were always very low, obstructing the stair SSA somewhat, which may imply more

prosaic usage – while any visitor would end up in the Buttery rather than a more appropriate chamber.[14]

The degree of communication between the east tower undercrofts, via both the gate-passage G2 and a second passage G8, behind the entrance stair to the west, suggests moreover that they saw similar types of use. They formed a self-contained unit, and are mirror-images of each other. However, use of one or other of the east tower undercrofts – or perhaps the gatehouse towers – as a treasury or muniments room cannot be ruled out: they were often located at basement level, for example in the gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle (Kenyon 2007, 27). A second line of communication between the towers, via passage G8, will have become necessary during those occasions when the gate-passage was seeing formal use. However, it is worth pointing out that the very steep stairway to the first floor could have been a lot shallower were it not for the presence of passage G8, and the wide landing over it (see Fig. 176b).

Although differing uses are speculated, the counter-rotation of the spiral stairs – clockwise in the main stair SSB, anticlockwise in stair SSA – seems to have resulted from purely practical considerations, causing the shaft for the latter to lie in the widest section of the tower, at its junction with the central vessel.

5.1.3 The Great Hall

The Great Hall follows a fairly conventional layout with a screens passage at the low (east) end and, presumably, a dais at the high end. The screens gallery was lit by a window S28-2 in the south wall, but does not appear to have been used to access the second-floor rooms in the east towers. The conventional arrangement of three doors at the low end gave access to the Buttery and Pantry, though the central door represented the main entry rather than access to the kitchen; the design of the castle, around a terminal gatehouse, prohibited employment of the more typical lateral entry in the Hall's side-wall.

The central door is flanked by two alcoves F17-2 and F17-3 that appear to have always been blind, and seem to be cupboards (Figs. 100 and 101). It is likely, given their location, that they were for displaying plate or similar items, rather than strictly utilitarian. Along with the three doors, the impression would have been that of a rather grand arcade. The buffet and hatch in mural chamber F18 have been described above.

It is not altogether certain how the Hall was heated. The central hearth and roof-louvre remained the norm in halls right through to the close of the Middle Ages, and the ground-floor vault at Picton makes such an arrangement more than possible. The south wall fireplace F17-11 was present by 1729 (see Appendix 3),[15] but might have been an entirely new insertion from the post-medieval period. Nevertheless, lateral fireplaces in the side-wall, as at Picton – long seen in chamber-blocks – were becoming fairly frequent in halls by

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[14] With a width of nearly 2 metres, the stair treads would be wide enough for two persons to walk up abreast, which in any other context might be seen as another reflection of royal planning.

[15] An architect's plan from *c*.1960 also shows what appears to be a flue in the *north* wall (Fig. 18). Nothing more of this is known, nor of how its presence could have been known, while there is no suggestion in any other source that a second fireplace was located here.

the early fourteenth century (Wood 1983, 53), for instance at Goodrich, built by Wogan's patron William de Valence, at nearby Haverfordwest Castle, and at royal Conwy; end-wall fireplaces were much less frequent (ibid.). The Picton fireplace may then be an original feature from the early fourteenth century.

It is possible that the sockets at Hall parapet level, described in Section 4.4.4 (Fig. 173), may have carried an overhanging timber gallery or *hourd* (Garner 2000, 3.1.4.1). There is some debate over how these galleries were used: no longer seen as necessarily defensive, they may have formed roofed 'balconies' from which views of the host's demesne could be enjoyed by guests (Marshall 2002b, 33-4; McNeill 2006, 123-6). Such usage has status implications for both the main spiral stairs SSB and SSC.

5.1.4 The east towers, gate-towers and chapel

The suggestion that the east towers housed the services, at first-floor level (see Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 360), is confirmed by close reading of an inventory from 1729 which clearly locates the Pantry and Buttery within them (see Appendix 3); it was noted above that the width of spiral stair SSA suggests the Buttery lay in the Northeast Tower. They were converted into reception rooms in *c*.1750 (ibid., 362), when the ceiling level was raised by 0.4 metres, before which both would have been fairly low rooms around 2.5 metres high (Fig. 178). By 1729, the Pantry in the Southeast Tower had been partitioned into an 'inner' and 'outer' pantry, possibly following medieval precedent. Its eighteenth-century conversion into a Library created a circular interior, defined by panelling and shelving, but the strict symmetry that characterises the rest of the castle suggests that, like the Northeast Tower, it was in fact polygonal. Published plans all show it as round, but it is unlikely that this is based on observation and that any panelling has ever been removed. The second floor of the Northeast Tower, also polygonal, was described as the 'Round Chamber' in 1729 (Section 6.2 and Appendix 3), and had presumably received similar panelling; the Northeast Tower, moreover, was partitioned in the 1960s to create a part-circular interior.

At second-floor level, the east towers clearly formed an integrated, well-appointed arrangement of residential apartments. It comprised two symmetrical suites, incorporating the gatehouse chambers. They were accessed solely from spiral stair SSB, via the Northeast Tower: the present entries from the Hall gallery are eighteenth-century (see Sections 4.3.3-4.3.7 above). It therefore appears that, as in royal planning, one suite was intended for Wogan and the other for his wife, either side of a private chapel.

There can be no doubt that the central chamber was a chapel by the early sixteenth century, when the east window shown by the Bucks was inserted (Fig. 8; see Section 4.5), and its location relative to the private chambers and gate suggests that it had been from the first. It is moreover correctly oriented, while the Bucks also show a bellcote of possible medieval date.[16] It is however very long – 12 metres – while the two private chambers are entered from side-doors at its west end, suggesting that a partition may have formed an anteroom

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[16] It has been suggested that the roof above the chapel was raised after 1684, incorporating a parapet and bell (Garner 2000, 3.1.4.1). But it is clear from the 1684 sketch that the gatehouse was always its present height, while the omission of the bellcote may have been accidental. A chamber was created over the chapel, but within the existing walling, in the early eighteenth century.

here. The doorway S23-4 into the Northeast Tower (the master-bedroom?) has a chamfered surround (Figs. 129-32), and privacy was ensured through the provision of a drawbar – the only surviving drawbar-socket in the castle – but any evidence for a drawbar against the spiral stair has been lost through later work. Doorway S23-5 into the Southeast Tower has a plainer surround (Figs. 133-4), without a chamfer. The door was closed from the chapel side, while there is no evidence for a latrine: this chamber may not necessarily have been used for sleeping. The Northeast Tower on the other hand does show a possible latrine, represented by mural chamber S29, which was accessed across spiral stair SSB; this separation of the latrine from the private chamber is by no means unusual, and may have been deliberate. Another mural chamber S26, accessed from the stair lobby, might also represent a latrine, but there is no obvious route for its shaft and it may instead have housed another service hatch from the Buttery below – although evidence for this is now absent at first-floor level. According to the Buck print, the chamber was well-lit, with three lights (including one to the passage into the gate-tower), though all were single, rather narrow lancets; the Southeast Tower was probably similarly-equipped. The remains of large windows S22-3 and S24-3 moreover survive in the associated gate-towers, which each appear to have been lit by two further lights; they may have served as dressing-rooms, or in a similar kind of role. We have seen that both private chambers were large, with in internal diameter of 6.5 metres. Both appear to have been heated by fireplaces in their eastern corners (see Sections 4.3.4 and 4.3.6). The north tower also communicated with the chapel, via doorway S23-2, directly at the altar; the tower was clearly not a priest's room, showing that the doorway permitted Wogan to perform his own private devotions outside of the liturgical timetable – again following royal models.

Until second-floor level was raised *c.*1750, the chapel must have been approached from the east towers by two or three steps, of which no evidence remains: floor-level was higher in the chapel to accommodate the raised portcullis within the chamber below. This layout, with a higher central chamber, was characteristic of mid-/late thirteenth-century gatehouses, and is seen at William de Valence's Pembroke (1250s), but by *c.*1300 was becoming superseded by a chamber or chambers on one level; nevertheless, it persisted into the 1290s at Tonbridge, Kent (Ludlow 2022, 222), and possibly as late as 1313-20 at Dunstanburgh, Northumberland (although the original levels are difficult to determine here: Jeremy Ashbee, pers. comm.).

5.1.5 The west towers

It appears then that Wogan's private chambers occupied the east towers, above the services. How were the west towers used? Lying at the high end of the hall, they can be assumed to have provided further residential accommodation.[17] Being storeyed, with timber floors, they can only have been heated by fireplaces, but we have seen that the physical evidence, taken alongside antique prints, allows for up to four fireplaces (see Sections 4.2.10 and 4.3.9 above). Residential use means latrines must have been present, and it will be argued that they occupied the lost West Tower. But accommodation for whom?

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[17] They have been described as forming a solar or Great Chamber (Garner 2000, 3.1.2.9; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358).

We saw in Section 4 that the Northwest and Southwest Towers seem to have been united, at all floor levels: there is no evidence for internal walls of masonry, from any period. It is moreover highly unlikely that masonry walls would have been deliberately removed in the eighteenth century to make way for the present stud walls. So, while it is possible that internal divisions did exist, they were probably of timber – raising the intriguing possibility that flexibility in the use of this space, and in the number and status of its occupants, may have been built into the design from the first.

Nevertheless, the two separate entries from the Hall, at first-floor level, implies use of this space by two separate households, so an internal division may be assumed. It is possible then that this level was reserved for Wogan's steward and his constable: the gatehouse towers are not commodious enough by themselves to have provided accommodation for the latter, as they frequently did elsewhere, and in any case appear to have acted as adjuncts to the adjacent east towers. Both spaces may have been served by a trio of lights in their end walls (to the north and south), like the east towers, while both may have been heated by a fireplace in the west wall, F21a-4 and F21d-5, but altered in the eighteenth century. There is scope for possible separate entries to the lost West Tower in the later double-doorway F21c-1, and a deep recess (blocked opening?) F21d-6.

Second-floor level is more problematical. It was accessed from southwest spiral stair SSC, which is very narrow in a manner normally associated with lower status – much narrower than the two northeast spiral stairs. The stair moreover appears to have represented its only access.[18] A corridor is difficult to fit into the surviving arrangements – how would it be lit? – while the east wall against which it would have had to run may have contained two fireplaces (see Section 4.3.9). There may moreover only have been one entry into the lost West Tower, represented by recess S30d-8 in the west wall (Fig. 156). So I suggest that this level was intended as communal accommodation – probably for Wogan's other senior retainers, rather than guests. It can perhaps be seen in the context of a transition between the earlier Middle Ages, when personal servants slept in their master's rooms, and the more private sleeping arrangements for the more senior members of the household that characterised the fifteenth century. There is evidence elsewhere for non-monastic 'dormitories' by *c.*1500, eg. the long attic at Layer Marney in Essex (Wood 1983, 67). Use by senior retainers might confirm that the eighteenth-century oculus S30c-1 began as a medieval squint, of the kind through which activity in the hall could be monitored (see Emery 2006, 116, 579; Wood 1983, 55, 137). Two eighteenth-century recesses S30b-1 and S30d-1 either side may have been modified from fireplaces: chimneys, which do not correspond with any later fireplaces, are shown here in *c.*1740 (Fig. 8; see Section 4.3.9), while the party-wall between Hall and chamber was a favoured location for fireplaces by the later Middle Ages (Wood 1983, 75). Later fireplace S30a-5 and recess S30d-6, in the west wall, may have been converted from medieval loops flanking the lost West Tower.

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[18] Additional internal stairs, of timber, have been mooted (Garner 2000, 3.1.2.9; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358), but would be difficult to reconcile with either medieval practice or the arrangements that survive.

The west towers represent the only unvaulted spaces at Picton at ground-floor level, and there is no physical evidence to suggest they ever were.[19] They are unlikely to have been removed, continuous occupation means they will never have collapsed through dereliction and decay, while it is debatable whether the side and end walls are robust enough to have supported them. And, as on the upper floors, there is no evidence for medieval internal divisions of masonry. Access from the central undercroft through doorway G9-5 is speculated in Section 4.1.8, and is perhaps more likely than a timber stair from the chambers above, particularly in a castle otherwise so well-supplied with spiral stairs (eg. two in the Northeast Tower); the arrangement of vault ribs moreover appears to allow for a door to open here. As in the main undercrofts, usage is uncertain. An arrowloop G11a-1 survives in the Northwest Tower (Fig. 80), and enfiladed the Hall north wall; later recesses G11a-5 and G11g-4 may have been formed from similar loops in the west wall, flanking the lost West Tower as on the second floor.

Fig. 184: Late thirteenth-century square latrine turrets: Pembroke Castle (top left), Llawhaden Castle, Pembs. (top right), Laugharne Castle, Carms. (bottom left) and Carreg Cennen Castle, Carms. (bottom right).

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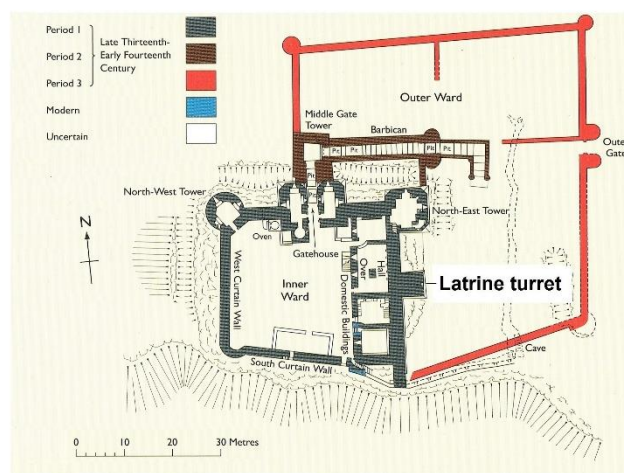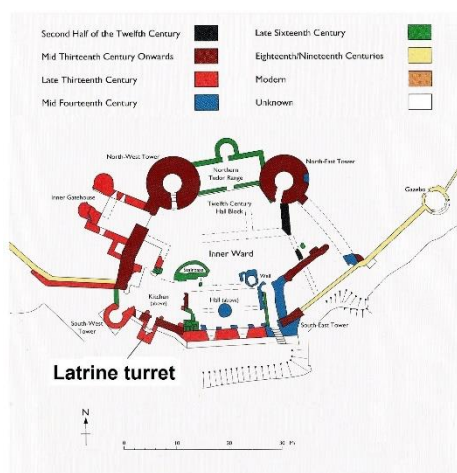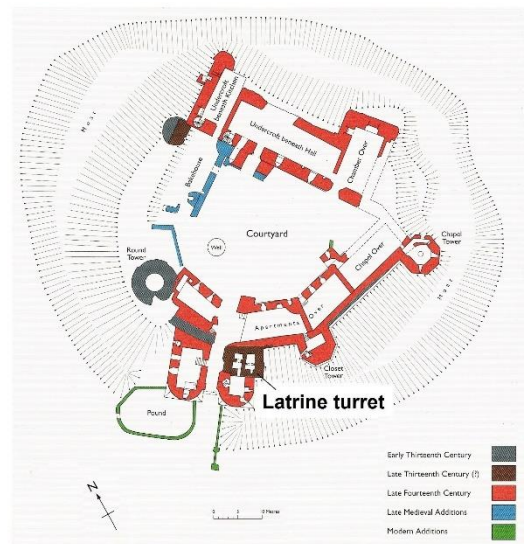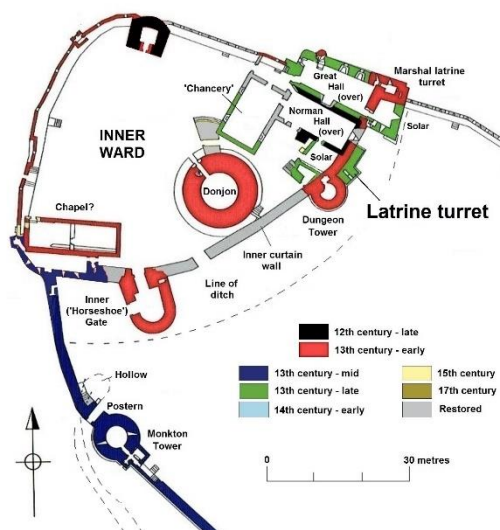
[19] Vaults have however been speculated (Garner 2000, 3.1.2.10).

Given that the west towers are likely to have been residential, latrines will have been essential: I suggest they were contained within the lost West Tower, which may then have been a large, purpose-built latrine turret.[20] Dedicated, multiple-shafted latrine turrets had become a feature of castles in west Wales by the late thirteenth century, and were being adopted further afield, notably at Goodrich (Herefs.), Caerphilly (Glam.) and Ludlow (discussed in Ludlow 2018, 268-9; Fig. 184). The Ludlow latrine turret is a substantial block attached to and contemporary with the residential Great Chamber Block, in the manner of the West Tower at Picton (Fig. 184); at each level however it was partitioned into two small chambers, perhaps bedrooms, each with a latrine (Thompson 2006, 160-1, 173-4). The Goodrich turret was non-residential, instead containing communal latrines (Ashbee 2009, 15), and may be a closer parallel to Picton; it was perhaps built in the late thirteenth century by Wogan's patron William de Valence, and therefore familiar to him.

It is possible then that the West Tower ground floor represented a latrine pit, accessed from the exterior for periodic cleaning. This opening may have been adapted into an entry when the southwest service block was built against the tower, in the mid-seventeenth century, as no other communication between the new block and the castle is detectable in the fabric (see Section 4.5).

5.2 Affinities and influences

The early fourteenth century saw a renewed interest in the 'donjon' concept, giving rise to considerable variations in form which, in turn, influenced the design of hall-blocks and related structures. But no other building in Britain and Ireland is quite like Picton: its plan is unique. And while one must never lose sight of the fact that it is primarily a first-floor hall, of a type characteristic of Wales and the North, it is here developed into something entirely new. It must nevertheless be stressed that the published sources describe its plan incorrectly – Picton does not have circular corner towers, as all authorities maintain. Instead it shows D-shaped towers that flank the side walls. Moreover, the towers terminate the cross-wings housing services and chambers. It is therefore essentially an early example of the H-plan house, but developed into a novel form in which the ends of the wings are D-shaped rather than square. All discussion of the influences upon Picton must take this into account.

Fig. 185: The late-medieval H-plan house at Hafoty, Anglesey
(from Smith 1988, 51)

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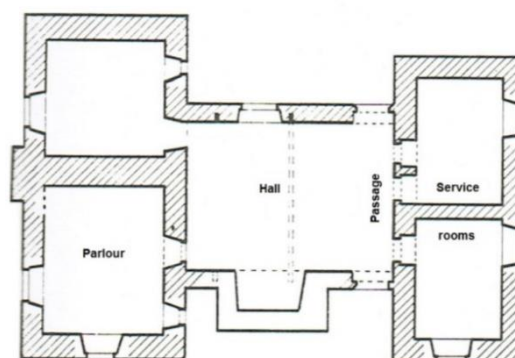
[20] It was mentioned by David King (King 1983, 396), and was described as a 'solar tower' in the 'Pevsner' guide (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358), but is otherwise noted by very few authorities.

We saw a stage in the development towards the H-plan house at Ludlow Castle, where the solar and chamber blocks project on one side only (ie. 'U-plan'; Fig. 181); a similar plan was employed at Donington-le-Heath, Leics., also from around 1280 (Pevsner and Williamson 1984, 146). But the H-plan had developed by the late thirteenth century, with an early example at Swalcliffe Manor House, Oxon. (Emery 2006, 178-80), and by the mid-fourteenth century had become widespread (ibid., Emery 2006 165-70; Wood 1983, 75). In Wales however the H-plan tends to be later, with few surviving examples before the fifteenth century, which are moreover concentrated in the timber-building zone of northeast Wales (Emery 2000, 666-7; Smith 1988, 42, 109, 120-1; Fig. 185). So in this, as in many other respects, Picton was highly innovative.

Other aspects of Picton's design may be more closely associated with John Wogan's career, and what this may tell us of his experience of other buildings. The castle that he will have seen the most of, before beginning work at Picton, is Dublin where he was based, as Justiciar of Ireland for the Crown, between 1295 and 1312 (Fig. 187; see Appendix 1). Prior to this, he was based firstly at Pembroke Castle, as steward for William de Valence *c.*1270-73 (Ridgeway 1992, 251, 256; Fig. 186), and then at Wexford Castle in Ireland, as Valence's steward *c.*1273-80 (Hand 1967, 22; Hand 2008; Ridgeway 1992, 251 n. 79; Fig. 189); he will doubtless also have had experience of Ferns Castle, Co. Wexford, which was Valence's other main Irish castle (Fig. 188). He was subtenant of Clonmore Castle, Co. Carlow, around 1301 (O'Keeffe 2001, 171), while his son and successor Walter had custody of the castles at Kildare, Roscommon and Rindown (Co. Roscommon) between 1301 and *c.*1307 (O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 10; Sweetman 1881, 380; Sweetman and Handcock 1886, 33). It is uncertain whether Wogan built any other castles apart from Picton; the castle on his Irish estate at Rathcoffey, Co. Kildare, is late-medieval and no earlier masonry survives (Girouard 1960, 19).

Fig. 186: Plan of Pembroke Castle   *Fig. 187: Plan of Dublin Castle*
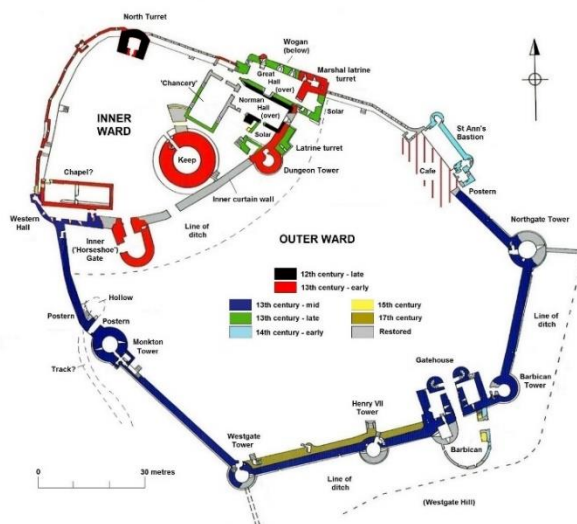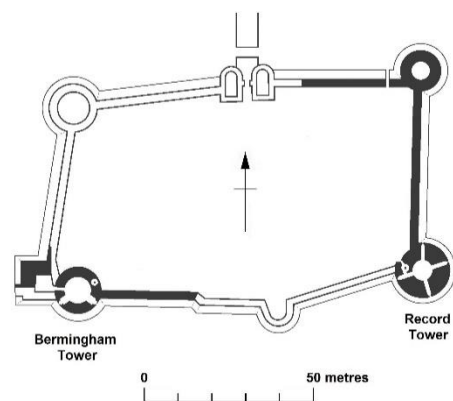
Dublin Castle has undergone considerable alteration, and its internal arrangements are unknown, while Wexford Castle has gone and little survives at Kildare. Otherwise, few of these castles now show design features that can have influenced Picton. So it may be more instructive to look at Wogan's other appointments and where they took him, and to

examine his wider network of patronage and affinities. But firstly we will look at ideas that have been put forward in the published accounts.

5.2.1 The 'towered keep'

The most frequent suggestion, influenced by Wogan's Irish career, is that Picton derived its plan from the 'towered keep', a design employed in southeastern Ireland during the thirteenth century (see eg. Davis 2000, 109; Garner 2000, 3.1.2.6; Girouard 1960, 19; Guy 2023, 104; Hague 1964, 341; Hull 2005, 183; Kenyon 2004, 49; King 1988, 157; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 359). The towered keep was essentially a rectangular donjon of two or three storeys, with a cylindrical tower at each corner. Examples survive at Carlow Castle, Lea Castle (Co. Laois) and Terryglass Castle (Co. Tipperary), while Ferns Castle (Co. Wexford; Figs. 188 and 190) appears to be a related structure (O'Conor 1997, 15-16; Dempsey 2017, 247; McNeill 1997, 118-19, 144; O'Keeffe and Coughlan 2003, 144-8; Fig. 190). The lost castle at Wexford itself possibly featured another towered keep (Colfer 2013, 52; Fig. 189); it was 'ruinous' by 1323 (ibid.), by which time it may have been succeeded, as the Valences' caput in Leinster, by Ferns.

Fig. 188: Ferns Castle, Co, Wexford

Fig. 189: Detail from a seventeenth-century map showing Wexford Castle, now gone, to left; schematic (from Colfer 2013, 53 Fig. 24)

Fig. 190: Plans of surviving Irish 'towered keeps' and related structures
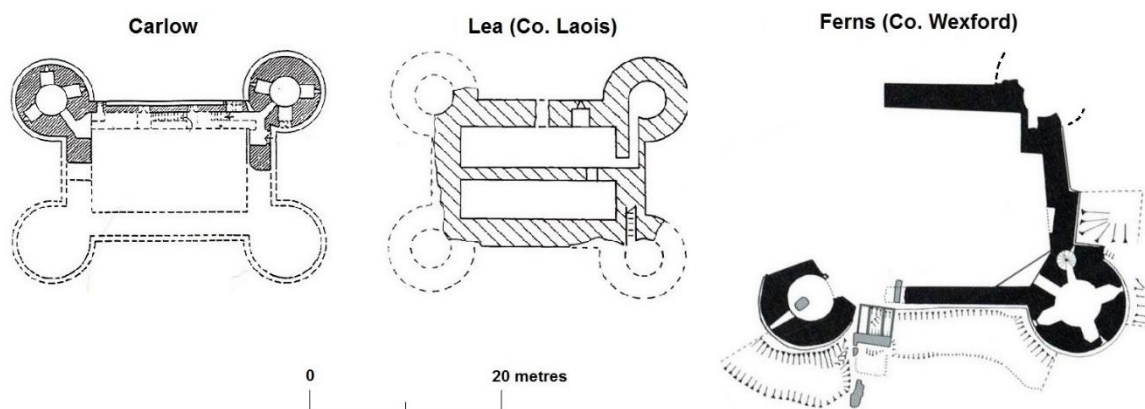
But while a connection with Wogan exists, through Ferns and possibly Wexford, it is unlikely that the towered keep played a significant role in Picton's design. We have seen that Picton's towers are D-shaped, and project from the flanks – they are not cylindrical corner towers. Nor does the towered keep layout follow the three-unit plan of services-hall-chamber seen at Picton. And it is possible that the present castle at Ferns had yet to be built during Wogan's stewardship,[21] while it is not certain that Wexford was a towered keep.

Comparisons have also been made with 'towered keeps' in the castles at Stafford, Dudley (Staffs.) and Nunney in Somerset (eg. King 1988, 157), but these too have towers at the four corners; Stafford and Nunney, moreover, are both later, begun in 1348 and 1373 respectively (Goodall 2011, 263-4; Rigold 1957, 3), and can have had no influence at Picton. And while Dudley may be closely contemporary with Picton, probably from 1308-21 (Emery 2000, 378-9; Willis-Bund 1913, 92),[22] its internal arrangements differ markedly, being vertically-stacked over a ground-floor kitchen (Emery 2000, 378-80; Fig. 191).

5.2.2 The towered hall-blocks of northern Britain

The first-floor hall was not confined to Wales and the Marches: it was also characteristic of Scotland and the North (Dunbar 2002, 56), where Wogan spent a great deal of time on Crown service from the 1290s onwards. He is recorded in various administrative posts in Northumbria in the early 1290s (Bain 1884, 149-51; *Cal. Close Rolls 1288-96*, 374; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 507), and specifically at Newcastle in 1292 (see above), while as Justiciar he had cause to join the King in Scotland in 1296 and 1301, with further visits a possibility (Mackay 2009; Thomas 1900, 287).[23] He also held land in Yorkshire by 1300 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1296-1302*, 382). Opportunities for Wogan to see what was being built in northern Britain are implicit.

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[21] A start-date in the late 1280s or early 1290s has been argued at Ferns (Ludlow 2019, 272 n. 101; Ludlow forthcoming), ie. after Wogan left Valence's service there.

[22] But see Hislop 2010 for a suggested date in the 1260s.

[23] And his patron, Aymer de Valence, was prominent in the English administration there from 1298 until 1307 (Phillips 1972, 24-5).

Fig. 191: Ground-floor plans of towered hall-blocks and other towered structures

a: Dudley Castle (Staffs.)

b: Edlingham Castle (Northumberland)

c: Mulgrave Castle (Yorks.)

d: Blanquefort Castle (Gironde)

e: Tulliallan Castle (Clackmannan)

f: Picton Castle (Pembs.)

g: Upton Castle (Pembs.)

0   30 metres
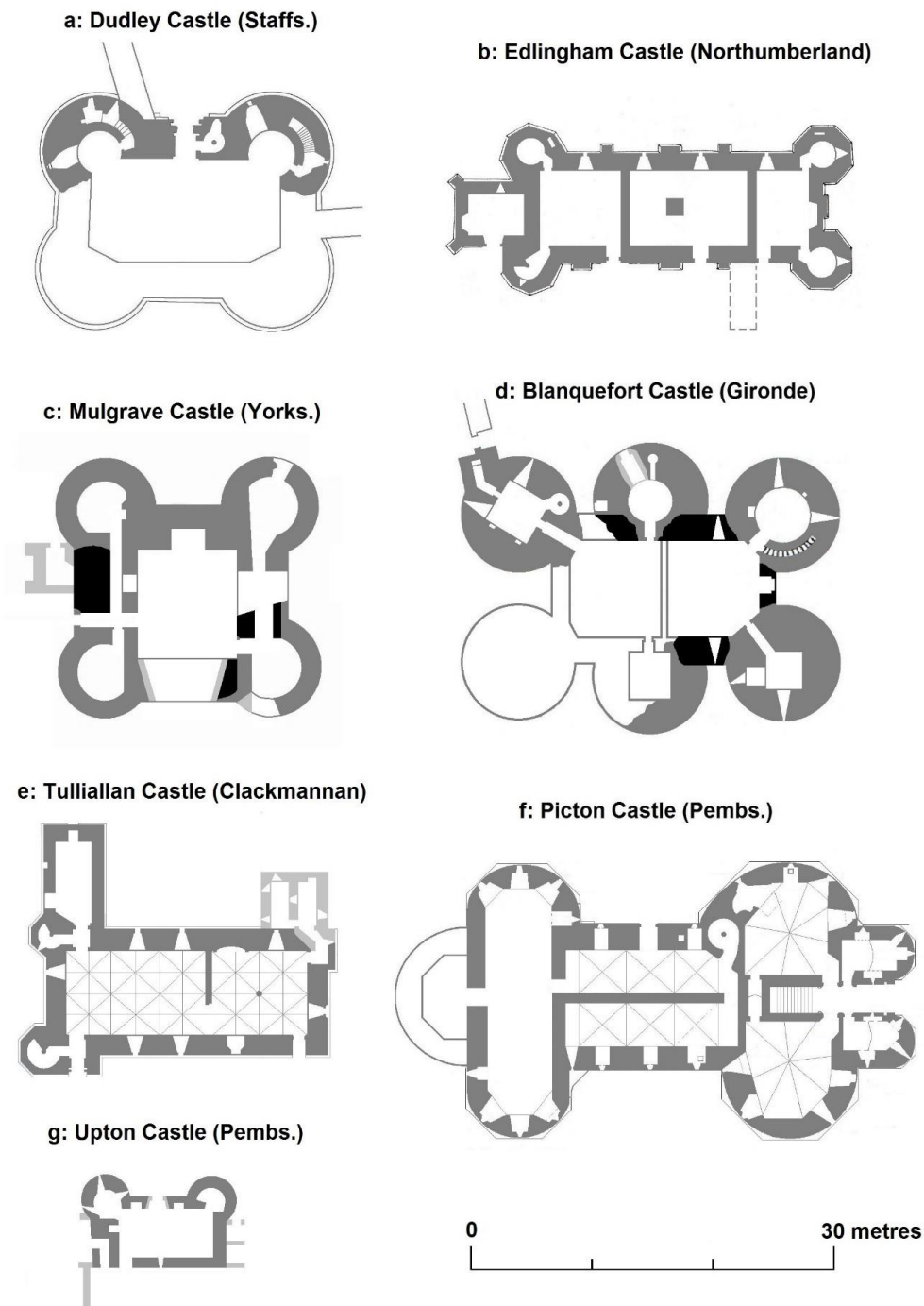
A characteristic building of Northumbria during this period was the towered hall-block, which was essentially a two- or three-unit house with corner towers. The earliest had square towers, of slight projection, as at Chirdon and Haughton (Northumberland) from the 1230s-70s (Dixon 1992, 89, 94; Hislop 2010, 219). The mid-thirteenth-century hall-block at Burgh-by-Sands (Cumbria), however featured a round tower at one corner (Dixon 1992, 103), and the same plan forms the basis of Scottish castles at Rait (Nairnshire) from around 1300 (Hislop 2020, 207; Rutherford 1998, 227), and Morton (Dumfriesshire), tentatively dated 1290-1320 (Dixon 1992, 91; Hislop 2020, 202-7). By this time, hall-blocks with

polygonal corner stair-turrets had been built – on all four corners in the first-floor hall-block at Edlingham, Northumberland (late 1290s; Fig. 191), and on two corners in the one at Tulliallan, Clackmannan (*c.*1304-10: Dixon 1992, 89; Hislop 2020, 213-14; Fig. 191), while cylindrical corner-towers were added to a twelfth-century donjon at Mulgrave (Yorks.) soon after 1326 (Page 1923, 391-3; Fig. 191).

Like Picton, and other contemporary Northern hall-houses, Edlingham is arranged horizontally in a formal sequence of services-hall-chamber – unlike the vertical arrangement of these spaces seen in the towered keeps – although the kitchen appears to have been internal. As at Picton, too, it shows service doorways at ground-floor level, in addition to the main first-floor entry (Fig. 191). Tulliallan meanwhile is the only building of this kind in which Picton's extensive ground-floor rib-vaulting is closely paralleled (Fig. 191).

While Wogan may have seen some of these buildings – perhaps under construction – during his time in the north, they have corner towers as in Ireland, and in this they differ fundamentally from Picton. None moreover is strictly an H-plan house. However, their overall aesthetic might conceivably have been an influence. Further afield, Acton Burnell Castle in Shropshire, built by Edward I's chancellor Bishop Robert Burnell in the mid-late 1280s (Emery 2000, 502-3; Radford 1973, 3), is a rectangular first-floor hall/chamber block with square turrets, as in the north of England; its basement is divided by a spine-wall in very much the same manner as at Picton. Wogan was acting for the Crown in Shropshire in 1315 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313-17*, 312), but spine-walls are also characteristic of the larger twelfth-century donjons, any one of which may have been influential; Acton Burnell moreover does not follow a three-unit plan.

5.2.3 Blanquefort Castle

Picton's layout might also be compared with the castle at Blanquefort in Gascony (Gironde). Here, as at Mulgrave, an earlier rectangular donjon was later given cylindrical towers. However, there are six of them – one at each corner, and a D-shaped tower on each flank, in a pattern perhaps analagous to Picton (Fig. 191). These works cannot be closely dated – they are not mentioned in the Gascon Rolls of the 1270s-90s (Bémont 1900 and 1901) – but are considered to be from 1270-95, under King Edward I as Duke of Gascony, and perhaps before 1277 (Mesqui 1997, 63-4; Prestwich 2010, 4; *et al.*):[24] Arnold Taylor felt the cylindrical towers to be similar to those at Edward I's Rhuddlan (Taylor 1989, 303). The presence of a Caernarfon head, if original, may however suggest a date a little later in the range. Wogan's overlord William de Valence was in Gascony with King Edward, 1286-89 (Ridgeway 2007), and may therefore been acquainted with Blanquefort. Accompanying Valence moreover were his *mesne* knights Robert de Creppings and William de Boleville (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 238-41), both of whom – like Wogan – held office at Pembroke (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 373; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1327-41*, 214; Lyte 1900, 434; Owen 1918, 6). Wogan is not recorded in Britain or Ireland during this period, during which moreover appears to have been knighted – a frequent practice on campaign (see Appendix 1). It is

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[24] The castle had been in the hands of the English Crown since the 1250s (Bémont 1896, 30; Studd 1971, 269-70).

therefore possible that he, too, was in Gascony, perhaps even while Blanquefort was going up.

5.2.4 The Clares and the Valences

Other influences, from much closer to home, were more demonstrably at play, with much of the detail at Picton suggesting further Valence associations. Influence from the work of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and lord of Glamorgan 1262-95, is notable – but Valence may have been its conduit (as discussed in Ludlow 2022, 210, 228-9, 241-2). All towers, including in the gatehouse, show pyramidal spur-buttresses which, unusually, rise from semi-octagonal bases – a design otherwise only seen in the gatehouses at St Briavels, Gloucs., completed in 1293 (Brown *et al.* 1963, 822; Curnow and Johnson 1985, 99) and Gilbert de Clare's Tonbridge, Kent, probably also from the 1290s (Ludlow 2022; Fig. 192).[25] Unusually, though, the Picton spurs are of slight projection and near-perpendicular, so it has been suggested that they may have been secondarily cut back (Guy 2021, 106). However, they retain their quoins and clearly follow their original form.

Fig. 192: Spurred towers rising from octagonal bases at a) St Briavels gatehouse (early 1290s); b) Tonbridge gatehouse (mid-1290s?); c) Picton Castle, northwest tower (c.1315-20)

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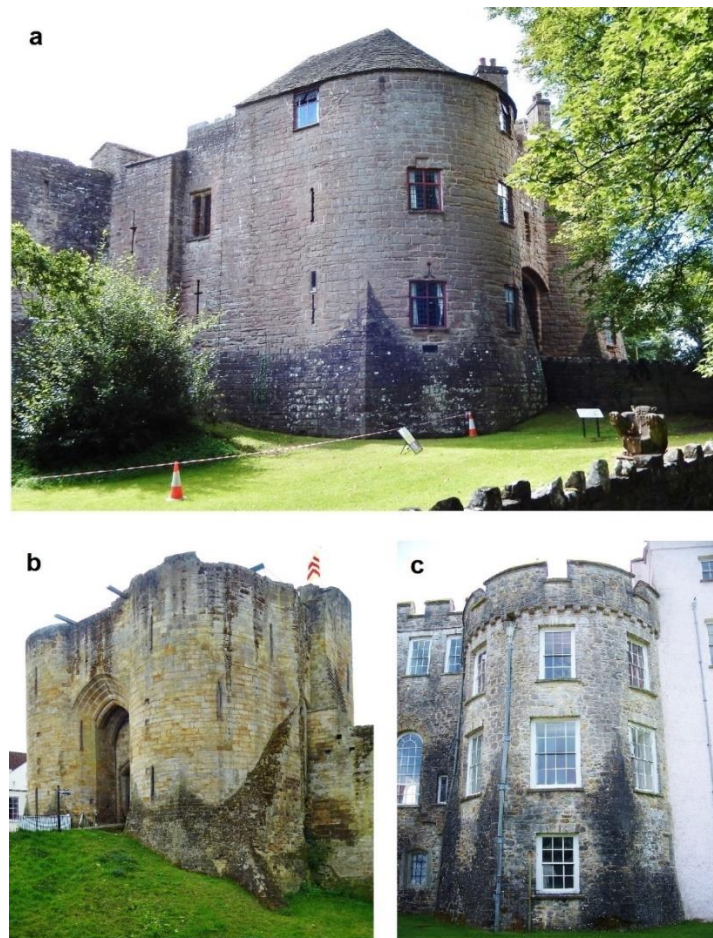
[25] Inspiration may also have been drawn more generally from the 'keep-gatehouse' aesthetic, as developed at these castles and elsewhere: one might conceivably envisage Picton's plan as two keep-gatehouses placed back-to-back.

Fig. 193: Trefoil-headed loops/lights at a) Tonbridge Castle gatehouse (Kent), mid 1290s?;
b) Neath Castle gatehouse (Glam.), possibly 1307-14; c) Picton Castle northeast tower
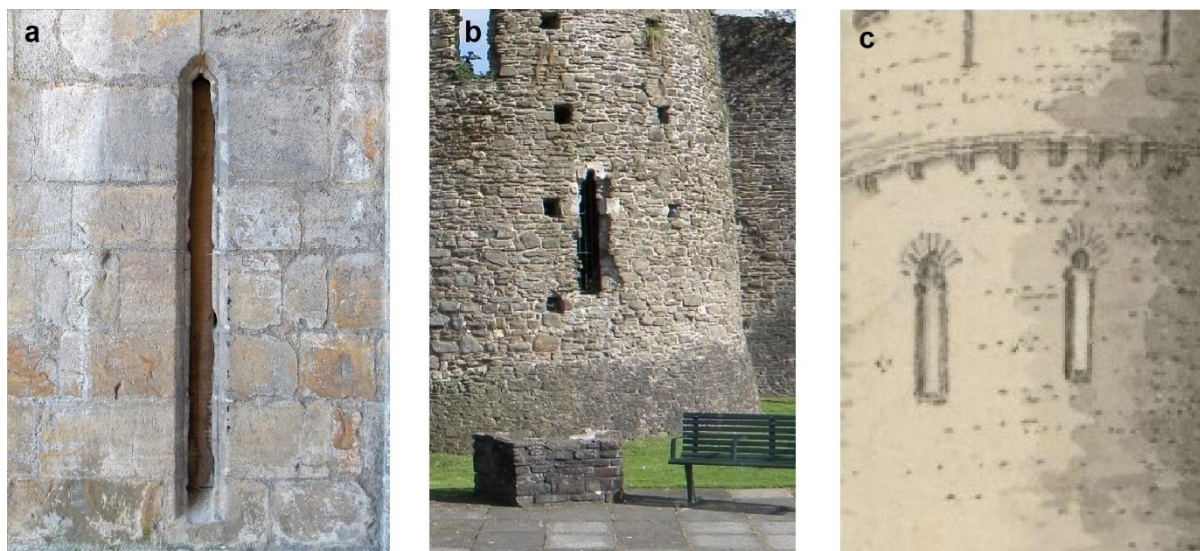
Fig. 194: Fishtail loops at a) Caerphilly Castle (Glam.), 1270s (photo Neil Guy);
b) Picton Castle, Northwest Tower east face (beneath sill of centre window F19-2)

Picton's lancets, at least in the east towers, had trefoiled heads, again as at Clare Tonbridge (Ludlow 2022, 204), and the gatehouse at Neath Castle, Glam., which was possibly built by Gilbert de Clare the Younger 1307-14 (Priestley and Turner 2003, 38; Fig. 193).[26] Three of the few surviving loops show fishtail bases, an embellishment which, perhaps significantly, was characteristic of northern England *c*.1290-1330 (eg. Alnwick, Prudhoe and Warkworth in Northumberland) – but it is also seen in slightly earlier work, by the Clares, at Caerphilly (Fig. 194).[27] The entrance passage is meanwhile flanked by cruciform arrowloops, of a form

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[26] Though perhaps from the early 1320s (RCAHM(W) 2000, 232).

[27] The parapet loops appear to have all been plain, judging from those that survive and the Buck print.

which enjoyed renewed popularity from *c.*1280 onwards and similar to those used by Aymer de Valence in his castles at Pembroke (St Ann's Bastion) and Bothwell, Lanarks. in Scotland, *c.*1300-10 (see Day and Ludlow 2016, 90; Ludlow 2018, 257; Fig. 195). The Dineley sketch of 1684 appears to show a cruciform loop with four terminal oillets in the south gatehouse tower (Fig. 7); if this is an accurate depiction, then it shows a loop design that had, by 1300, become something of a personal motif of the Clares, which was adopted by their wider affinity in Wales (discussed in Ludlow 2022, 204, 239).

Fig. 195: Cruciform loops in Aymer de Valence's castles at a) Pembroke (St Ann's Bastion);
b) Bothwell, Lanarks. (donjon). Both c.1300-10

The closest comparanda for the low undercroft vaults in Picton's east towers are at Gilbert de Clare's Castell Coch, Glam., from the late 1260s-70s (Davis 2000, 213; McLees 2005, 9). The Kitchen Tower there shows a low quadripartite vault with robust, square-sectioned ribs, as at Picton, while in both castles the extrados of each rib is built up for some distance before the springing of the vault panel (Fig. 196). Broadly comparable vaulting was also employed by Clare in the inner west gatehouse at Caerphilly, Glam., perhaps from *c.*1271 when the castle was started anew (Renn 2018, 229). Rib-vaulting, during this period, was otherwise very infrequent in west Wales – an exception is work from *c.*1300-10 at Newport, Pembs. (Fig. 197) – and where employed could sometimes take the form of superficial, 'bastard ribs', as in the Chapel Tower at Carew Castle, from *c.*1300 (discussed in Ludlow, forthcoming).

Despite similarities to other sites, however, it must be observed that the Picton east tower vaults, like the chambers themselves, are unusually low for the period (Figs. 178 and 196). They bear a resemblance to the kind of low vaulted chambers seen in fifteenth-century castles in France, such as Rambures and Ham, both Somme, and Hunaudaye, Côtes-d'Armor in Brittany – which were perhaps associated with the increasing use of artillery (Thompson 1987, 29-30, 40-2) – or even Henrician artillery forts such as Deal and Walmer, Kent, from the late 1530s. This resemblance, however, must surely be purely incidental.

Fig. 196: Low rib-vaults with a deep extrados at a) Castell Coch (Glam.), late 1260s-70s;
b) Picton Castle northeast tower

Picton's west towers, which appear to have been united as a single internal space, evoke the oval gate-towers employed by Henry III *c.*1220-50 at Dover and Scarborough castles (see Goodall 2011, 173-5; Hislop 2020, 188). Significantly, similar gate-towers had also been built at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the 1220s-40s (the 'Black Gate'; ibid.), which was visited by Wogan, and in the barbican at Carreg Cennen (Carms.), where it was the work of a tenant of Gilbert de Clare, from 1300+ (Hislop 2020, 184-5; Ludlow, forthcoming). While this may be purely circumstantial, the possibility of further Clare influence cannot be ruled out. The relationship of the west towers with the lost apical tower can be seen alongside the 'clustered towers' of the mid-late thirteenth century, like those at Abergavenny (Mon.), Barnwell (Northants.), Clifford (Herefs.) and Crickhowell (Brecs.), but the resemblance may be merely superficial and result from convergence.

Fig. 197: Newport Castle (Pembs.), c.1300-10: a) rib-vaulted undercroft; nb. pier apparently rebuilt; b) external view of gatehouse (photos Neil Guy)

All surviving towers at Picton seem to have been semi-octagonal internally, at all floor-levels, referencing a fashion for the polygon which, although its origins lay within the royal works (Hislop 2020, 241-2, 253-5), had been adopted and promoted by Gilbert de Clare (discussed in Ludlow forthcoming). Polygonal interiors within circular towers, as at Picton, are a distinctive feature of Edward I's gatehouses at Harlech and St Briavels, but also at Clare's Tonbridge (Ludlow 2022, 206), while a similar plan was chosen by Aymer de Valence for his donjon at Bothwell, from *c*.1301-10 (Ludlow 2018, 238-45; see Figs. 182 and 201).

5.2.5 Other possible influences: the entrance

Picton's gatehouse is however unparalleled in buildings of this type: to my certain knowledge, no other surviving hall/chamber block in western Europe – nor any donjon – is entered through a twin-towered gatehouse. It appears then to be another Wogan innovation. Some *shell*-keeps show twin-towered gatehouses, for instance at Avrilly in Normandy (Orne), from the 1190s (Corvisier 1998, 44-5) – while the very small inner ward at Bungay (Suffolk), which is little more than a chemise wall around the square donjon, shows a similar gatehouse from the 1290s (Goodall 2011, 206-8; Renn 1973, 122-3) – but it is doubtful whether they can be regarded as genuinely related in concept. Perhaps the closest analogue to Picton is the twin-towered gatehouse at Nenagh Castle (Co. Tipperary), built after 1221, which gives directly onto the Great Hall (McNeill 1997, 28-31, 93-4; Fig. 198).

The internal stairway is also unique in buildings of this type. Superficially, at least, it echoes the forebuildings of twelfth-century donjons, with their long flights of processional stairs that often incorporated partly-overhanging spaces – like Picton's portcullis chamber – along with chapels. And although over a century had elapsed since the last was built, many appear to have been in regular use, if not always in the form that had been intended. Among the more spectacular is the stair in the donjon at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, built in the 1170s, which rises through two storeys (Pattison, Brindle and Robinson 2020, 168-9; Fig. 199). Although administrative functions had probably largely been assumed by the thirteenth-

century Great Hall in the bailey, the donjon at Newcastle was still a roofed building when Wogan was recorded at the castle in 1292 (Hand 2008; Mackay 2009); other visits, in an official capacity, are suggested by documents that were issued at Newcastle under Wogan's own seal (Bain 1884, 555; see Appendix 1).

Fig. 198: Plan of Nenagh Castle, Co. Tipperary (1221+), showing gatehouse giving directly onto the Great Hall (from Sweetman 1999, Fig. 42)
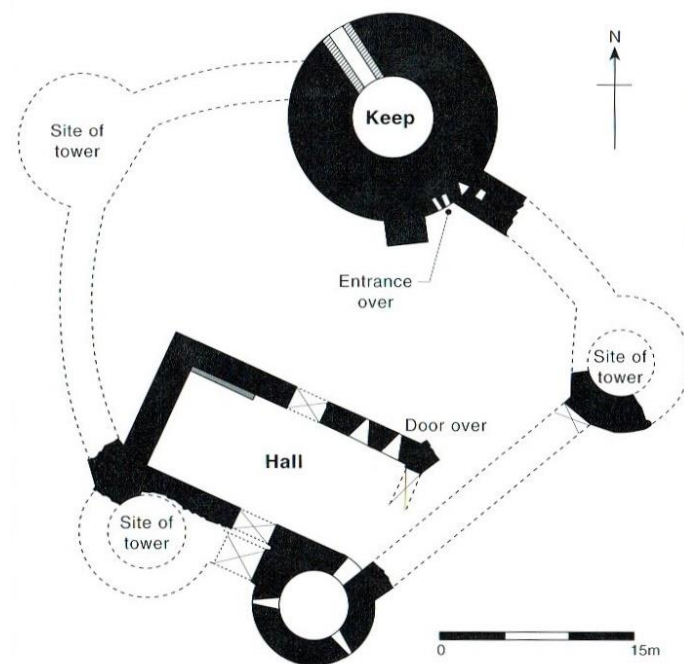
Fig. 199: The donjon at Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1170s), showing entrance stairway (plan from Toy 1963, 97)
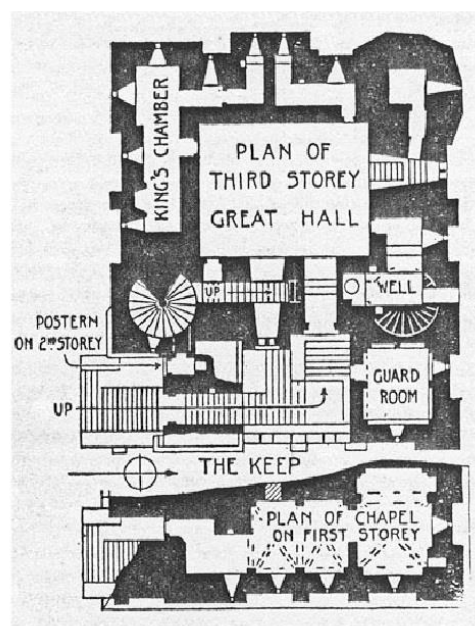
A similar stairway arrangement, with additional refinement and 'theatre', was employed in Picton's near-contemporary great tower at Knaresborough, Yorks. (Fig. 200) – which, like Newcastle-upon-Tyne, may have been a castle with which Wogan was familiar through royal service for Edward II, both in the North and in Ireland. It was built 1307-12 by the king's favourite Piers Gaveston (Dixon 1990, 126-7), with whom Wogan served in Ireland during 1308 (Hand 2008; Mackay 2009). Unlike all these stairs, however, the Picton stair appears to have been of timber.

Access to other first-floor halls and towered blocks was achieved through a variety of means – external stairs of masonry at eg. Edlingham,[28] spiral stairs in the main entrance lobby at Tulliallan and Dudley, while Acton Burnell probably featured an internal stair, but of timber (Radford 1973, 6; see Fig. 191).

Fig. 200: Reconstruction drawing of the great tower at Knaresborough, Yorks. (1307-12), showing 'processional' entrance and stairway behind (from Goodall 2011, 254)

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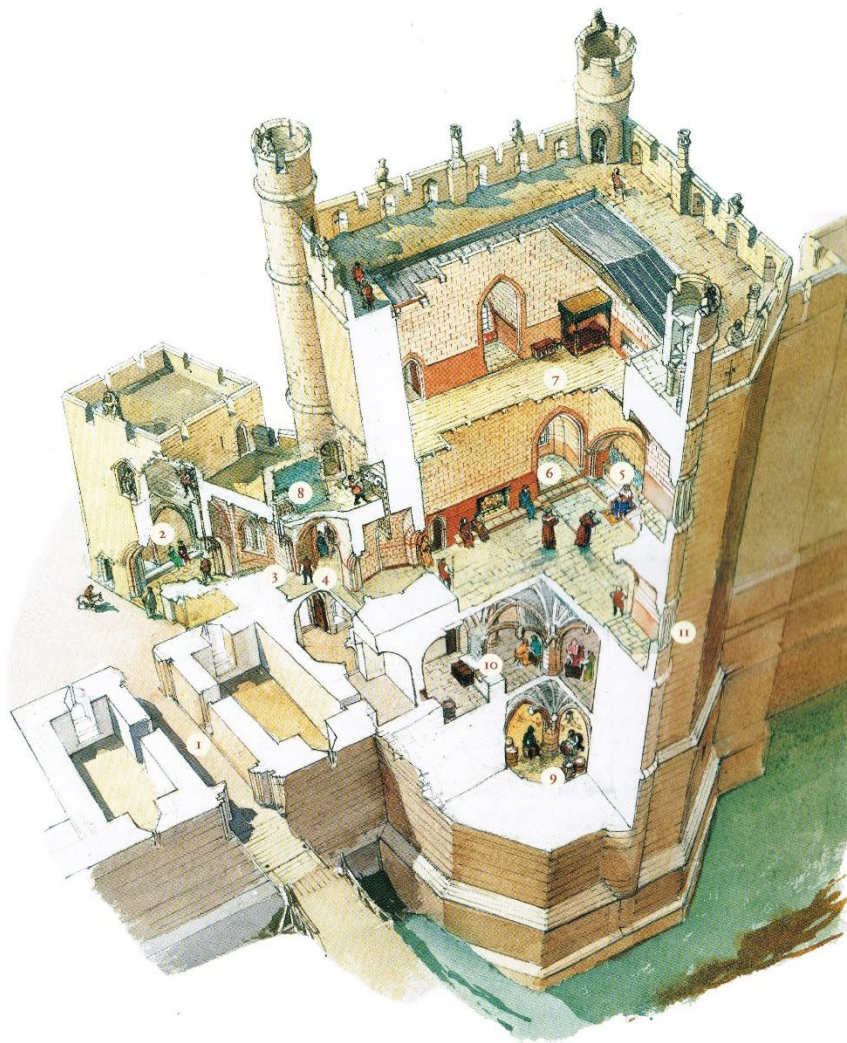
[28] *Cf.* the external masonry stair in the late thirteenth-century towered hall-block at Armentières-sur-Ourcq, Aisne in Picardy (Mesqui 1997, 33).

The narrowing of the gate passage, via a kink in the north wall, can perhaps be compared with the tapered or 'funnel-shaped' entrance passages in the Upper Gate in Conwy's town wall, and the Broad Gate in Ludlow's town wall. The former, from the mid-1280s, is associated with the royal designer Master James of St George, and may well have influenced the latter, which was built 1285+ (Guy 2018, 224-9). The passage at Picton might also be compared with the diagonally-linked passages in the main gatehouse at Powis Castle (Mont.), begun 1312-16 (Stephenson 2007, 18, 20), and perhaps more significantly the similar entrance passage in Aymer de Valence's donjon at Bothwell Castle (Fig. 201).

Fig. 201: Plans of the kinked entrance passages in the donjon at Bothwell Castle, Lanarks. (c.1300-10) and the main gatehouse at Powis Castle, Mont. (1312+)
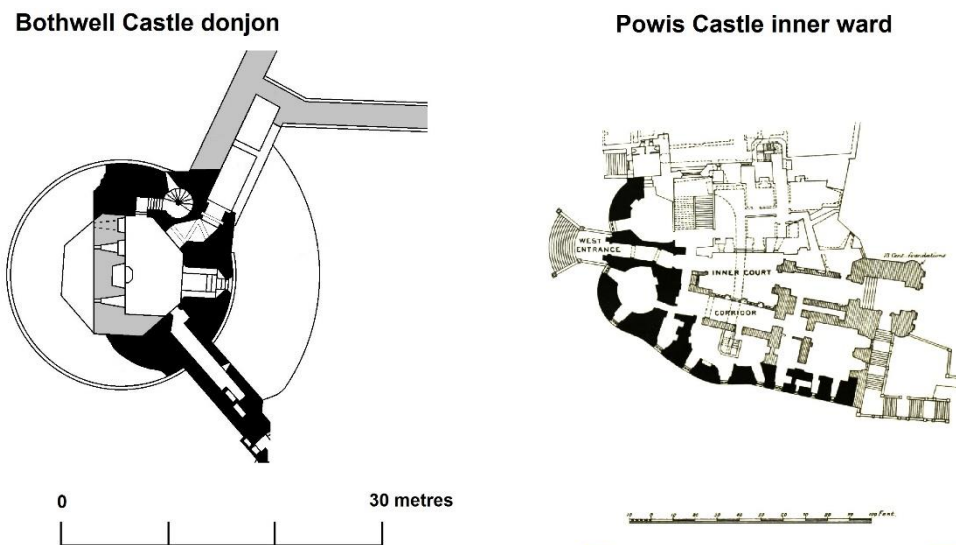
The 1684 sketch shows Picton's entrance arch with a rounded head (Fig. 7). Though probably due to artistic licence, it is a possibility that cannot be entirely dismissed: royal design had re-popularised the rounded arch (Taylor 1977, 267), as boldly exhibited in the main entry at Chirk Castle in Denbighshire (Fig. 202), which is fairly close in date to Picton – probably begun *c.*1295 (Hislop 2020, 163-4) – and the overall scale and shape of Picton's east towers might be seen to echo the towers at Chirk.[29] But no close affiliation between their patrons is known. Picton's higher outer arch is moreover two-centred (Figs. 20 and 128), a shape likely to have been repeated in the entrance arch. The high outer arch is a feature that became fairly widespread in gatehouses during the 1290s, primarily in order to increase upper-floor space (Ludlow 2022, 210-14).

The second-floor spaces in Picton's gatehouse were not united as single chambers, as in many contemporary gatehouses, instead being functionally part of the residential suites in the east towers; their small size prohibited them from being apartments by themselves. The suggested open back at third-floor level was matched in the lost West Tower (Fig. 8); while open-backed towers were commonly used at ground-floor level in the early fourteenth

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[29] In addition, the gate-passage at Chirk is tapered, but at both ends. Comparisons that have been made between the overall ground plans and layouts at Chirk and Picton are less convincing (see Davis 2000, 109; RCAHM(W) 1925, 383).

century, no precise comparisons for this arrangement are known to me, but it would make for a dramatic, yet symmetrical skyline when approached from the north or south. It is however possible that third-floor chambers were planned at both ends, but were either never built or left incomplete, as for example in the King's Gate and Queen's Gates at Caernarfon Castle, where only the outer walls were built. The four gatehouse storeys will have made for a tall, slender structure before the causeway was built in *c.*1700, a conformation which is paralleled locally at Newport Castle, Pembs., in the gatehouse – also spurred, and with equally narrow towers – of 1270-1300 (Browne and Percival 1992, 8-13; Fig. 197).

Another attribute worth noting is the 'twinning' of spiral stairs SSA and SSB within the flank of the Northeast Tower. Spirals in flanks are unusual during this period, while their location side-by-side is without any close parallels – and perhaps an eccentric choice at Picton where symmetry was otherwise so rigorously maintained.

Fig. 202: The main entry at Chirk Castle, Denbighs. (begun c.*1295), looking southeast*

5.2.6 Regionality at Picton

While aspects of Picton's plan-form and layout may be the result of influence from other sites, much of its detailing, and constructional features, are typical of a strong regional tradition that persisted in west Wales from the 1220s into the seventeenth century (discussed in Ludlow forthcoming). This suggests that, irrespective of the designer, local masons were responsible for its execution – possibly those who had been employed at other castles in Pembrokeshire, perhaps at Pembroke itself, in work from *c.*1307-1320 by Wogan's patron Aymer de Valence (see Day and Ludlow 2016, 70).

In particular, the generous use of squinching and the general 'plasticity' of form, with rounded or sinuous angles and overhangs, are firmly within the west Wales tradition and are also extensively employed at Pembroke Castle (Fig. 203). The latter attribute is particularly notable at Picton in the projecting southwest spiral stair SSC (Fig. 110), and in

the main undercroft doorways G9-1 and G10a-1 (Figs. 68-9). Also regional are the square portcullis grooves, employed in west Wales long after the widespread adoption of semicircular grooves during the mid-thirteenth century (see Guy 2016, 174-6), doubtless due in part to the paucity of good freestone.[30] To the list might be added the extensive corbel-tabling, the absence of string-courses, and of buttressing – even in rib-vaulted spaces – and the form of the spiral-stair risers, in which the slabs form an interlocking 'crow's-foot' pattern rather than being formed from discrete single pieces, as in mid-late thirteenth-century stairs at Carew and Pembroke (see Section 4.1.6; Fig. 204).

Fig. 203: Sinuous angles and squinching in work from the 1250s at Pembroke Castle

Fig. 204: 'Crow's-foot' spiral stair risers in a) the east front at Carew Castle (Pembs.), from the 1270s; b) Picton (stair SSB)

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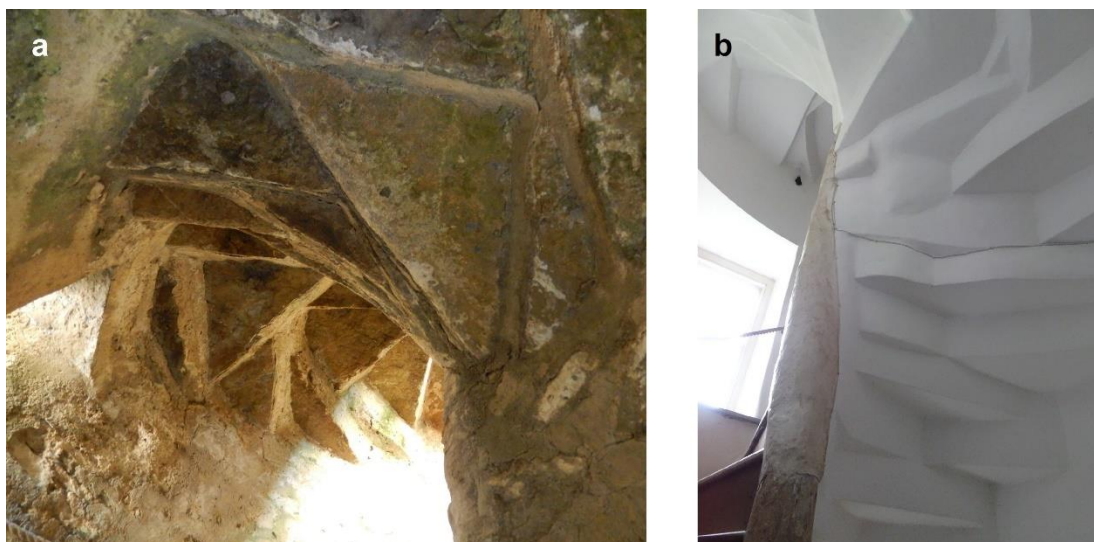
[30] But nb. square portcullis grooves were also used by James of St George, in those castles of Edward I in north Wales in which he had direct influence (Hislop 2020, 149).

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There is rather more dressed stone at Picton than in most castles of the region, but it became more widely used in west Wales after *c*.1300 when, as in Ireland, techniques for dressing the hard, local Carboniferous limestone were developed (see Leask 1986, 34). Until then, stone for fine dressing and carving was imported, generally from the West Country. Where original surrounds survive at Picton they are in local Carboniferous limestone and have plain chamfers.

This overall regionality is also seen at nearby Upton Castle, which appears in addition to have been of similar plan-form but on a much smaller scale, and with towers confined to one side. It is probably fairly closely contemporary with Picton, but has undergone much alteration and is poorly-understood.

In summary, Picton Castle is fundamentally an H-plan house – pioneeering in Wales – that shows a number of highly individual design attributes. Some of these may have been influenced by buildings in northern Britain or perhaps even Plantagenet Gascony, others by the castles of Gilbert de Clare. We cannot speculate as to the identity of its designer, but many of its internal arrangements and appointments were drawn from royal planning. Execution of the design is however largely regional.

Fig. 205: Ground-floor plans of Picton Castle showing post-medieval development (1680s plan conjectural).
New work at each period is shown in red
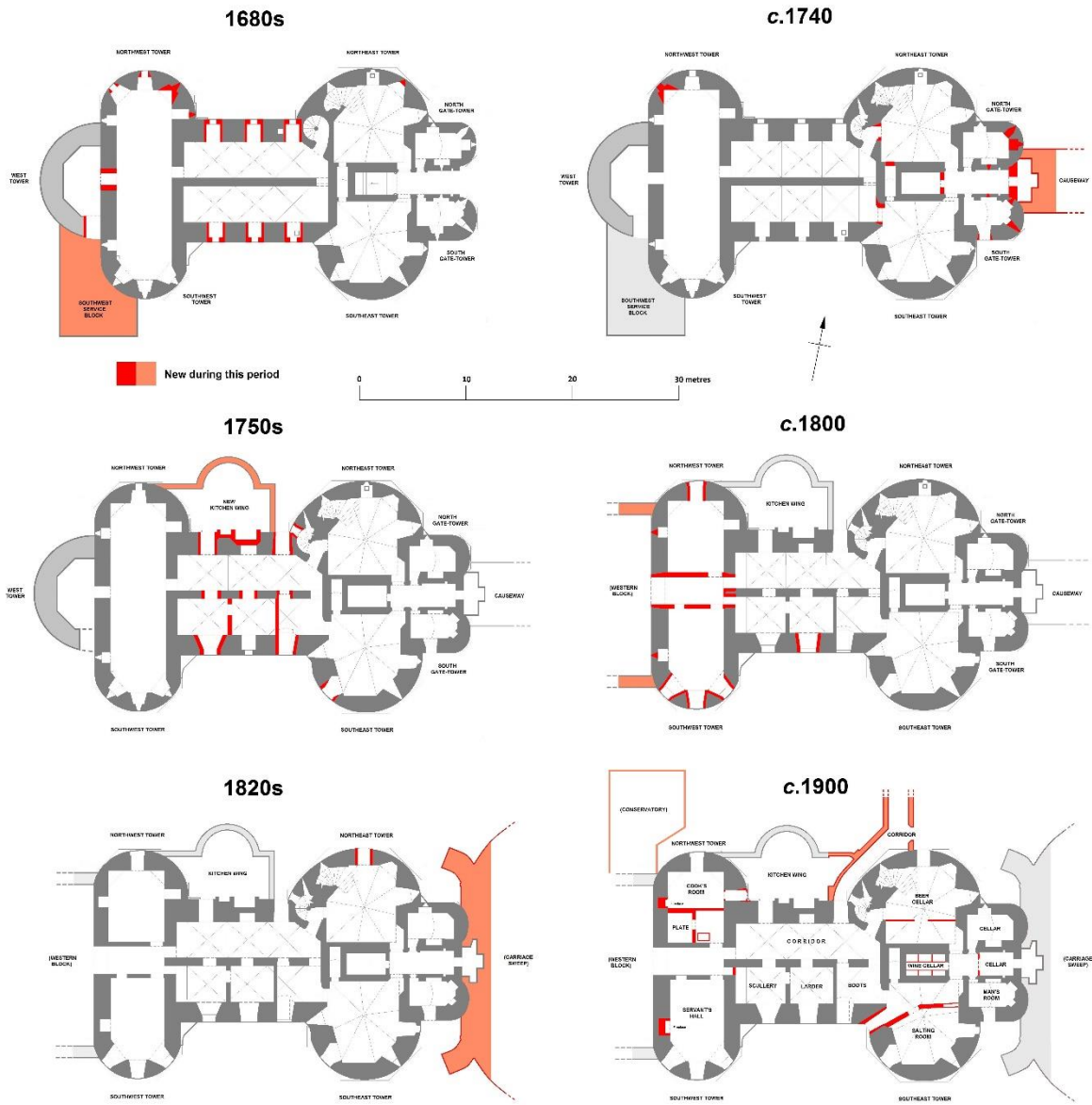
Fig. 206: First-floor plans of Picton Castle showing post-medieval development
(1680s plan conjectural).
New work at each period is shown in red
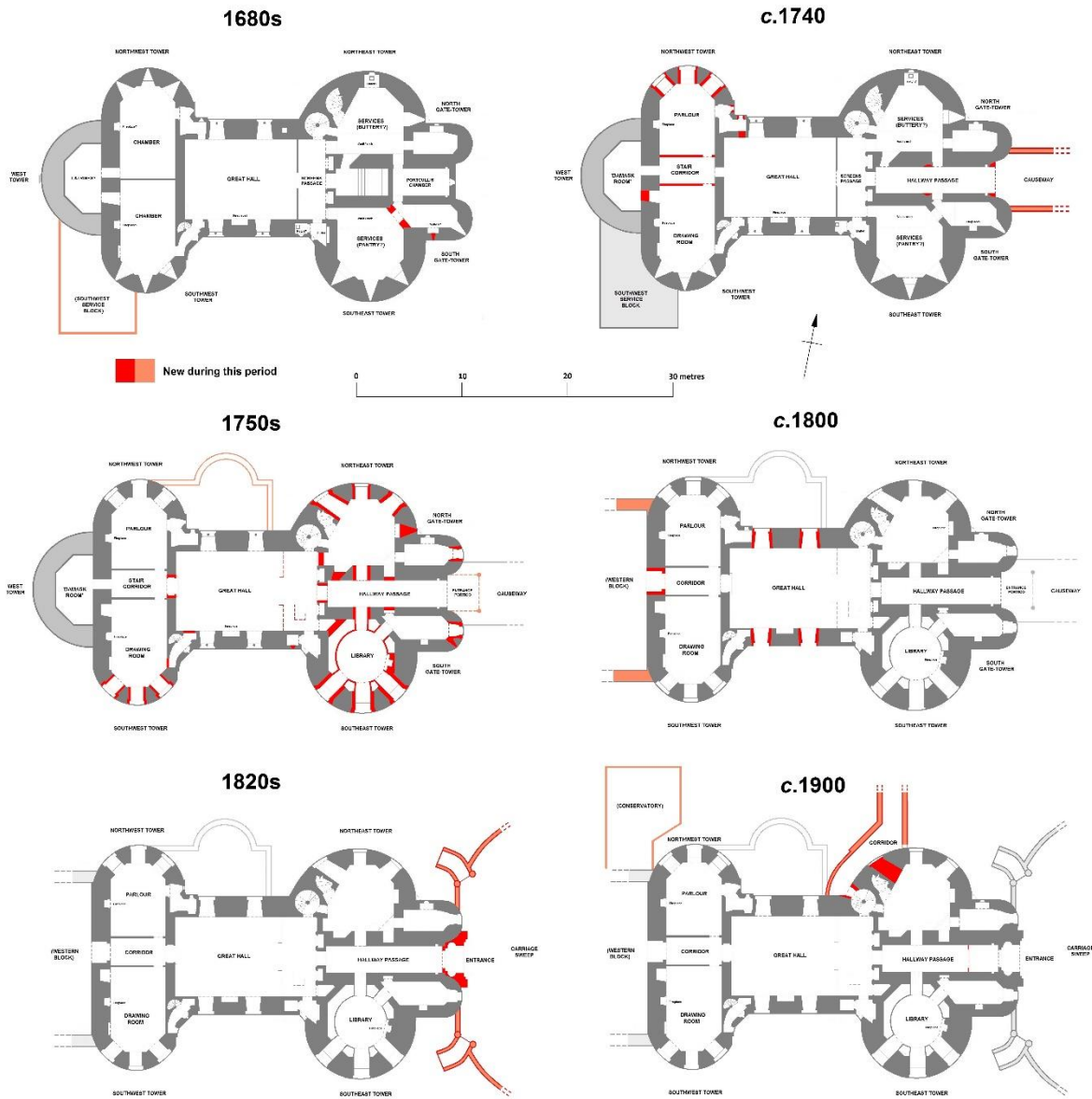
Fig. 207: Second-floor plans of Picton Castle showing post-medieval development (1680s plan conjectural).
New work at each period is shown in red

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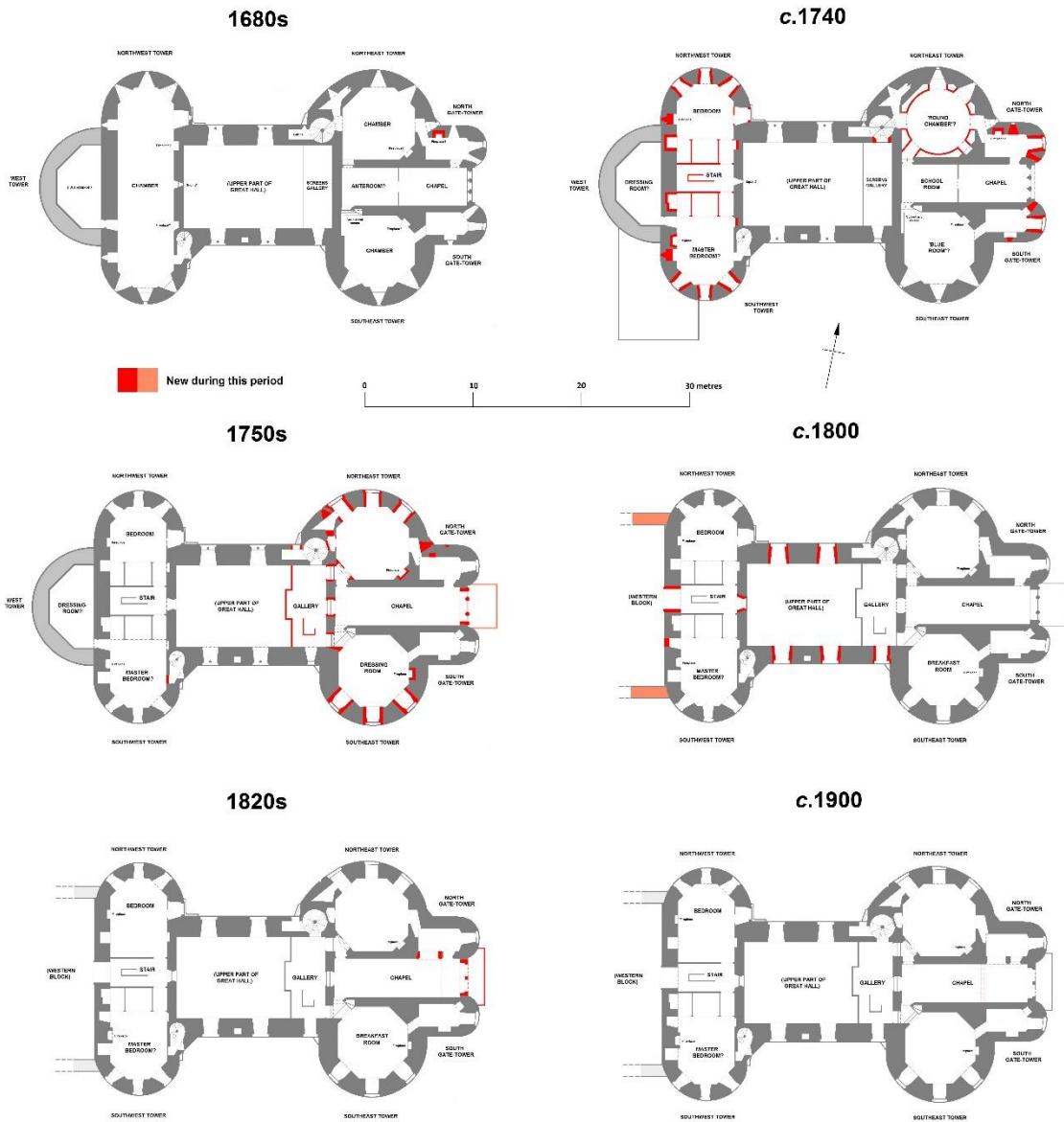
Fig. 208: Third-floor plans of Picton Castle showing post-medieval development (1680s plan conjectural).
New work at each period is shown in red

161
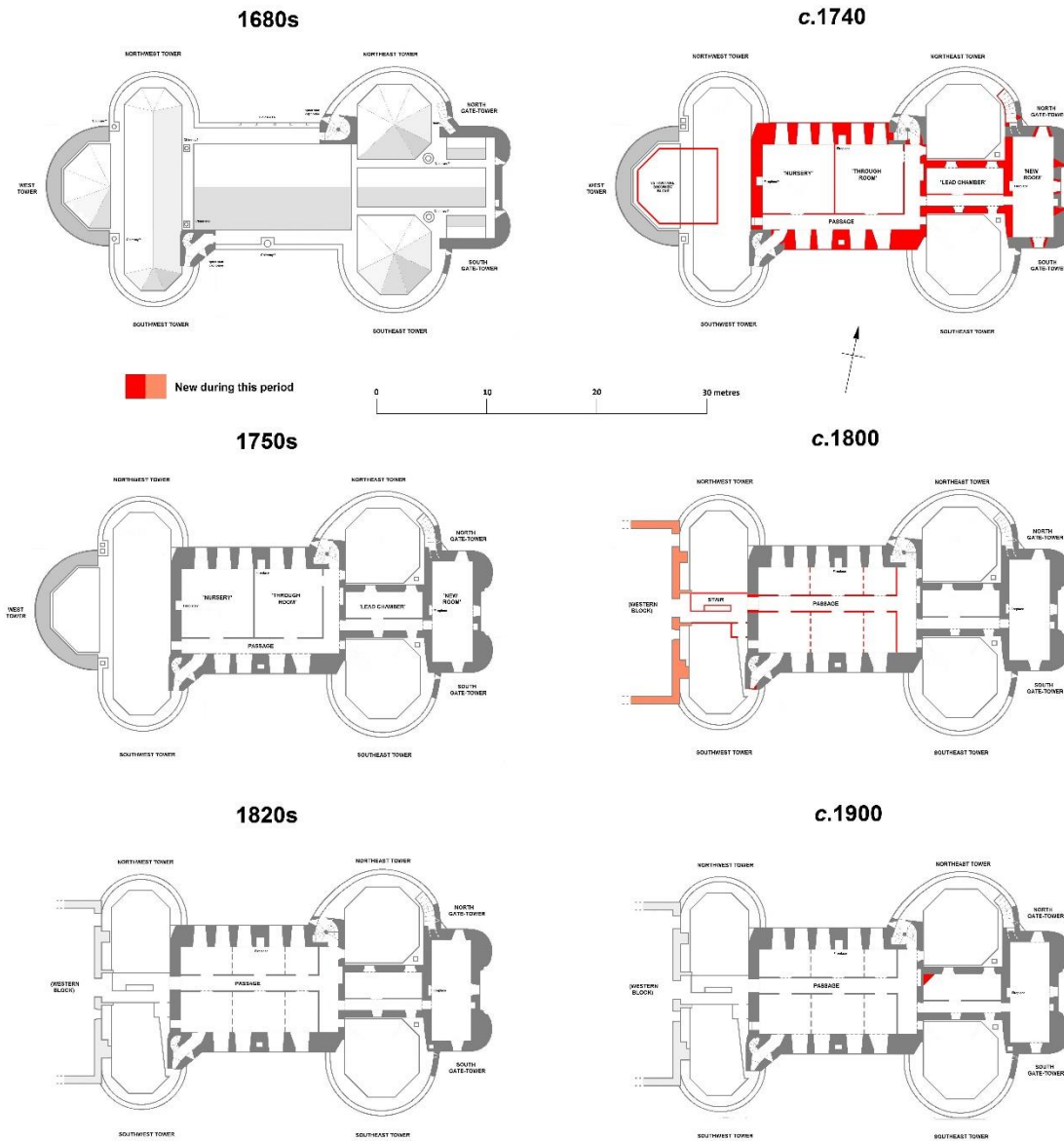
6.0 PICTON TRANSFORMED: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Picton Castle fell to Sir Richard Philipps's grandson John, as fourth baronet, in 1697, ushering in a major programme of modernisation. Beginning in that year, and completed in 1752, it was a rolling programme that appears to have proceeded incrementally, in response to changing needs and fashions over the fifty-year period. It saw Picton transformed from a medieval castle into a Georgian gentry-house of considerable quality, with perhaps only the second circular library to be built in Britain after the Radcliffe Camera in Oxford. The Philipps family had recently acquired property in the Kilgetty/Saundersfoot area, bringing a huge increase in revenues through coal and iron, which along with their investment in a successful herring fishery may have helped fund this work (Girouard 1960, 170; Stickings 1972, 116).

The work can be broken down into four main campaigns, not all of which can be closely dated and not all of which may have been entirely separate – the first three may overlap somewhat. But for convenience of description, they will be treated separately here. Under Sir John Philipps, between 1697 and c.1700, the main entry was raised to first-floor level – the level of the principal rooms – and a causeway was built in front of it. In the second phase, also under Sir John between around 1710 and 1720, a gabled extra storey was added over the Great Hall, removing the medieval open roof. The gatehouse was remodelled, with the introduction of new floor levels and an extra chamber at third-floor level, while the medieval roofs in the towers may have been replaced by flat roofs, as today, during this phase. Work continued in 1725-30, concentrating on the west end and taking in the three western towers. The fourth and final campaign was undertaken by Sir John's younger son, another Sir John (sixth baronet), between 1749 and 1752, taking in the Great Hall and the eastern towers and completing the modernisation programme. In each phase, new windows were inserted, internal access was modified, and the interiors fitted out in the height of contemporary style. In addition some floor levels were altered, and new chimneys (and some new fireplaces) fitted throughout.

Finally, as an entirely separate campaign 40 years later, the medieval Western Tower was demolished and a large residential block was built in its place. Beginning in 1791, it was the work of Sir John's son Sir Richard Philipps, seventh baronet, who had been created Baron Milford (in the Irish peerage) in 1776. He also replaced the formal early eighteenth-century garden with more picturesque landscaping, while the walled gardens and park enclosure wall were begun (Cadw/ICOMOS; Garner 2000, 3.2).

This eighteenth century is the earliest period for which we have reliable source material for work at Picton. The north view by the Buck Brothers, from c.1740, is invaluable in charting its progress, capturing the castle in a lull between the third and fourth campaigns (Fig. 8): the castle has been heightened with an extra storey, the gatehouse has been remodelled and the Northwest Tower refenestrated, but the Great Hall and eastern towers retain their medieval openings. In addition are prints from 1779 (from the south; Fig. 11), and 1805 (from the northeast; Fig. 13), as well as views from *c.*1794 and 1829 (Figs. 12 and 14). Two estate maps, from 1746 and 1773 (Figs. 9 and 10), show the castle and its environs in some detail, mapping the progress of eighteenth-century work. A great deal of correspondence

survives in the family papers (Picton MSS at the National Library of Wales), while we have the accounts of contemporary travellers like Richard Fenton (Fenton 1811, 277-84).

Among the most valuable resources is an inventory of the castle taken in 1729, now at the National Library of Wales, which like the Buck print is a snapshot taken during the transformation of the castle (Jones 1965, 54-9); it is reproduced here as Appendix 3. The rooms are named, and a fairly clear indication of how most of them were used is given. The only named spaces which can be confidently placed at ground-floor level are the larder, and the laundry which was associated with a 'vault'. Cellarage is not specifically mentioned, and whilst it might seem an obvious interpretation of ground-floor space, the medieval Buttery remained in use until *c.*1750 and presumably continued its role as a wine and beer store. At first-floor level, the refurbished western towers were already partitioned off to form a drawing room and parlour – as they were to remain – separated by a central corridor with a timber stair to the first floor; a 'Damask Room' may have occupied the lost West Tower. The Great Hall was still furnished for communal dining, as in the Middle Ages – separate dining rooms had yet to become fashionable in Wales (Jones 1965, 52) – while the two eastern towers contained the Pantry and Buttery, as they had done since the fourteenth century. All three were remodelled in c.1750, the Great Hall being fitted out as a grand reception room and the Southeast Tower becoming a library (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 362). Bedrooms occupied all four towers at second-floor level. The master-bedroom was in one of the western towers, communicating with a dressing-room that may have occupied the lost West Tower. The bedrooms in the east towers were named 'Blue Room' and 'Round Chamber', the latter sobriquet showing that the polygonal interior must have been panelled, like the mid-eighteenth century library, to form a circular space. The chapel between them is not mentioned, but at least part of it seems to be the 'school-room' of the account, while a bellcote is shown here in c.1740.

The additional storey, with the tall windows shown in c.1740, has long been assumed to have housed a 'Long Gallery' (see eg. Garner 2000, 3.1.7.10, 3.1.8.2, 3.2); this was a space for communal leisure, recreation, conversation and connoisseurship characteristic of gentry-houses from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, in which artworks were often displayed (Coope 1986, 43-8). It is clear however from the inventory that, while it did contain an L-shaped corridor, connecting the two spiral stairs from which it was accessed, it was divided into a bedroom and a nursery; the name 'Through Room' applied to the bedroom may just refer to its corner location, with doorways to both limbs of the corridor. Moreover, the 1729 inventory locates no paintings here (Jones 1965, 56). Attic rooms, with dormer windows shown in *c.*1740 and 1779, lay over this storey. Third-floor level in the gatehouse, which appears to have hitherto been open (see Section 4.4.1), had been given a rear wall and roof, and was called the 'New Room'. It was connected to the added storey by a narrow room (the 'Lead Chamber'). Most domestic spaces in the castle had 'closets', either modified from medieval mural chambers and passages, or partitioned off. Only two medieval latrines have been identified, and these closets normally either contained close stools, or were not apparently used as toilets. Evidence for fireplaces will be discussed in detail in the following.

The 1729 inventory confirms that the kitchen was external to the castle, as it probably always had been. To begin with, the seventeenth-century block attached to the southwest side of the castle was retained, and had evidently received an upper storey: it contained the

'old brew-house' with overlying rooms in 1729,[31] and it is likely that the kitchen had formerly been located here (see Section 4.5.3 above; Fig. 9). But a new service yard was built to the northeast of the castle (now occupied by the café and offices), perhaps during the third phase and beginning around 1725 as part of the recorded work on the gardens (Garner 2000, 3.1.4.2; Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 357). It was complete by 1729, when the sequence given in the inventory makes it clear that it contained a kitchen, as well as a new brew-house and other ancillary buildings, ranged as an L-shaped block around the yard as shown in the estate maps of 1746 and 1773 (see below and Appendix 3; Figs. 9 and 10). This kitchen was presumably found to be inconvenient, as a new kitchen was built against the north wall of the castle in c.1750 (Garner 2000, 3.2). The seventeenth-century southwest block was demolished around the same time, as it is not shown on the map of 1773 (Fig. 10).

Formal gardens and drives were established around the castle, probably in 1725-30 when work on gardens is recorded, while the belvedere was begun by Sir John Philipps in 1728 (Garner 2000, 3.1.4.2; Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 357). This probably means that the medieval settlement and chapel were by now already abandoned. The sixteenth/seventeenth-century wall of the enclosure around the castle, which had survived in part until the 1740s, had been entirely removed by 1773 (see Section 4.6 and Fig. 10); no trace of the enclosure now remains.

The following accounts attempt to assign the eighteenth-century alterations throughout the castle to one or other of these four phases, based on their physical properties and how they might logically fit in with the principles behind each campaign of work. It is inevitable that some identifications will be speculative, but the reasoning will be fully laid-out in each case.

6.1 Phase 1: the new entrance, 1697-*c.*1700 (Figs. 205-212)

This phase, beginning in 1697, appears to have taken in the blocking of the medieval main entry in the gatehouse and the creation of a new entrance above it, at first-floor level. The new entry was approached from a contemporary causeway, which is now subsumed beneath the early nineteenth-century carriage sweep. The 1746 map shows that the causeway was accessed from the east (Figs. 9 and 175), through a wide entry in the walled enclosure described above – possibly the same Classical gateway that was shown in 1684 (Fig. 7; see Section 4.6) – from which ground level gradually falls towards the west.

This work began the long, incremental campaign by Sir John Philipps, fourth baronet (d.1737), MP for Pembrokeshire in 1695 and 1698, and MP for Haverfordwest in 1718. A philanthropist, and a pioneer of education and religious activities in west Wales, he was an early member of the SPCK, and a friend of the preachers John Wesley and Griffith Jones (Girouard 1960, 66; Jones 1965, 52). From 1711, he was one of the Commissioners for the 50 new churches in London, through which he became acquainted with leading London architects and craftsmen like John James (Garner 2000, 3.1.5.2; Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 357).

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[31] *Contra* Garner 2000, 3.3.20, which places this in the castle.

Having succeeded his father Sir Erasmus in 1697, Sir John began operations more-or-less straight away: they were undertaken by an architect named Hancock, otherwise unknown, whose work was already underway that year (Garner 2000, 3.1.3.4; Girouard 1960, 68; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 357). The medieval entrance arch was blocked by a masonry wall, a metre thick, incorporating a plain segmental-headed doorway G2a-1 into a cellar G1. The cellar lies within the body of the causeway, and was therefore probably created at this time, though altered in the 1820s (see Section 7.1). It is now of irregular plan, masonry-walled and has a vaulted roof. The remainder of the causeway was probably earth-filled.

A long entrance hallway F12 was created from the medieval portcullis chamber and the upper part of the entrance stairway, and the probable vault over the former entrance passage was replaced by a timber ceiling, the joists for which, if not the planking, may still survive (Garner 2000, 3.3.13); the present flagged ground-floor surface here may be contemporary (ibid.). The medieval stairway to the first floor was removed, and its archway G2b-5 truncated; the space beneath it was infilled by a masonry wall, containing a plain lintelled doorway, while the stairwell itself was also ceiled in timber to form another cellar; we have seen however that cellars are not specifically mentioned in the 1729 inventory.

The remaining ground-floor arrangements in the gatehouse appear to have been left unaltered during this phase, and the medieval doorways F12b-1 and F12b-2 between the gate-towers and former portcullis chamber were retained. It was at first-floor level that the greatest change occurred, with the removal of the solid east wall and its replacement with new, wide entrance, and the provision of a long hallway leading to the Great Hall, in what had formerly been the central (portcullis?) chamber and the upper part of the stair. The new entrance is shown on the Buck print of c.1740, as occupying the entire space between the gate-towers; it was lintelled, and housed a pair of doors flanked by a single door for 'everyday' use (Fig. 8). Nothing now remains of this entry, which was swept away in the 1820s for the present porch. The entrance hallway F12 (now with a later glazed partition) has a flat ceiling and a black-and-white tiled floor, apparently from *c*.1700 but possibly relaid in *c*.1750 (Garner 2000, 3.3.19). No work within in the gatehouse towers can be firmly assigned to this phase.

The new causeway is also shown in c.1740. Of masonry, with a probable earthen fill, it led from the higher ground to the east as a straight, level roadway with low parapets either side, each incorporating a flight of steps to ground level. The parapets were plain: contrary to most published accounts (eg. Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 357), balustrades were not added until c.1750.

Fig. 209: Ground-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern-day and as in c.1740: all new work undertaken between 1697 and c.1730 is shown, in red

GROUND FLOOR - MODERN

- Blocked in the 1960s or later

0   10   20   30 metres
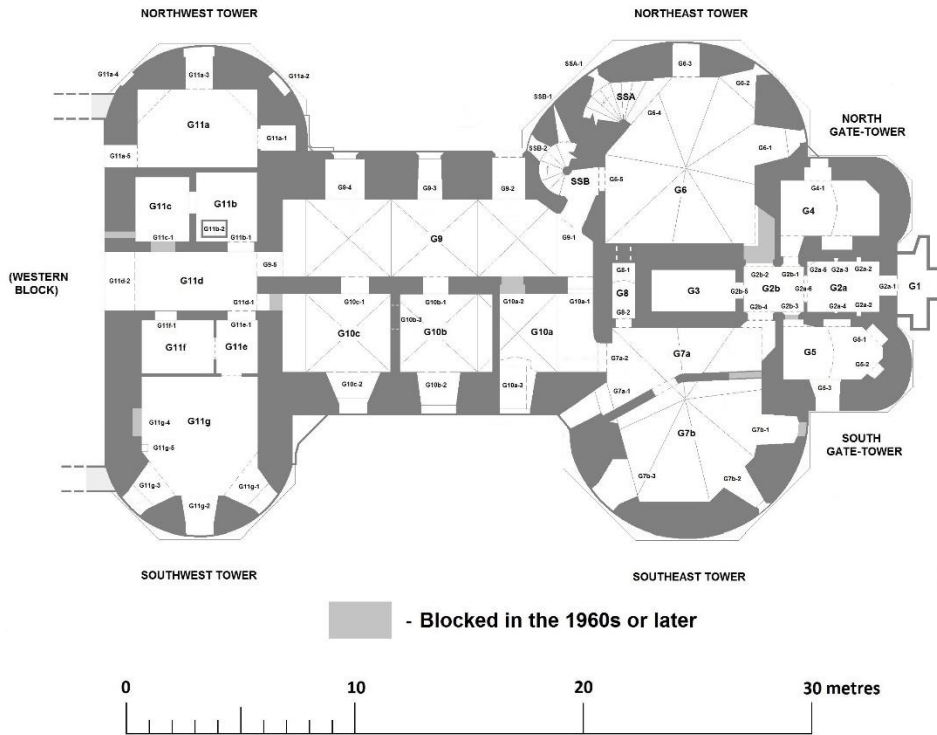
GROUND FLOOR - RECONSTRUCTED *c.*1740
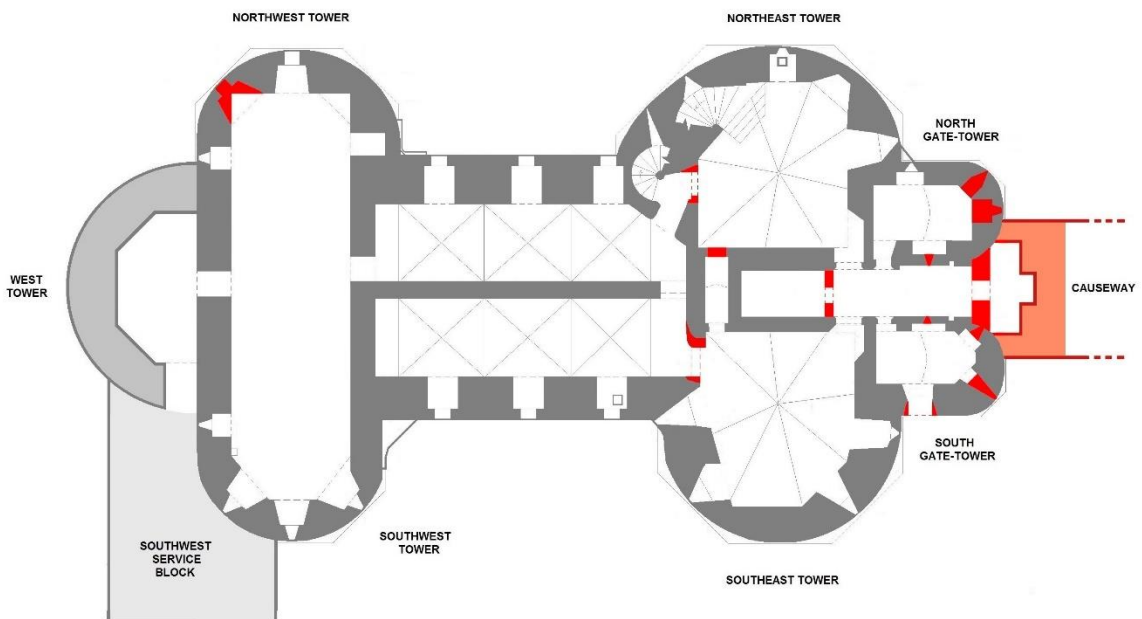
Fig. 210: First-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern-day and as in c.1740: all new work undertaken between 1697 and c.1730 is shown, in red

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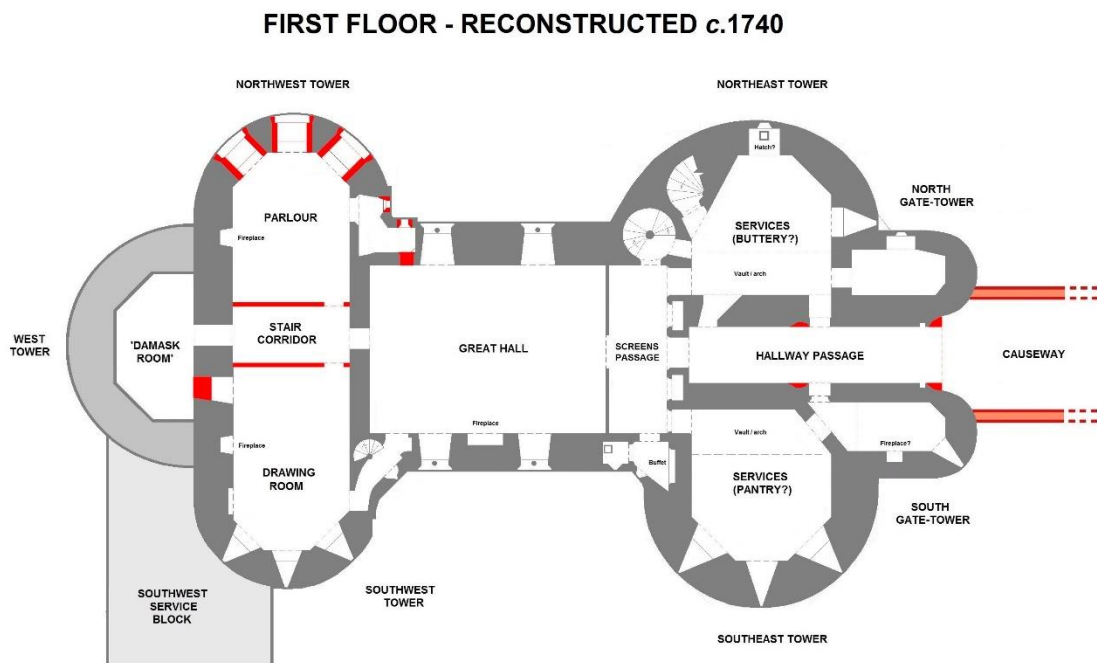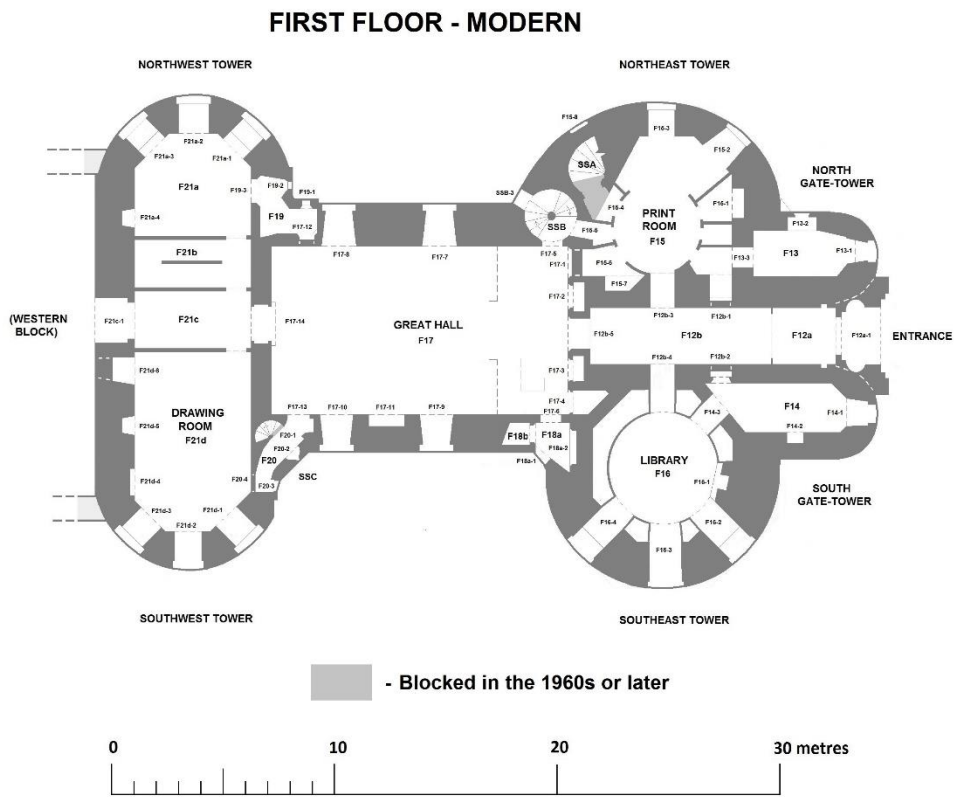
Fig. 211: Second-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern-day and as in c.1740: all new
work undertaken between 1697 and c.1730 is shown, in red
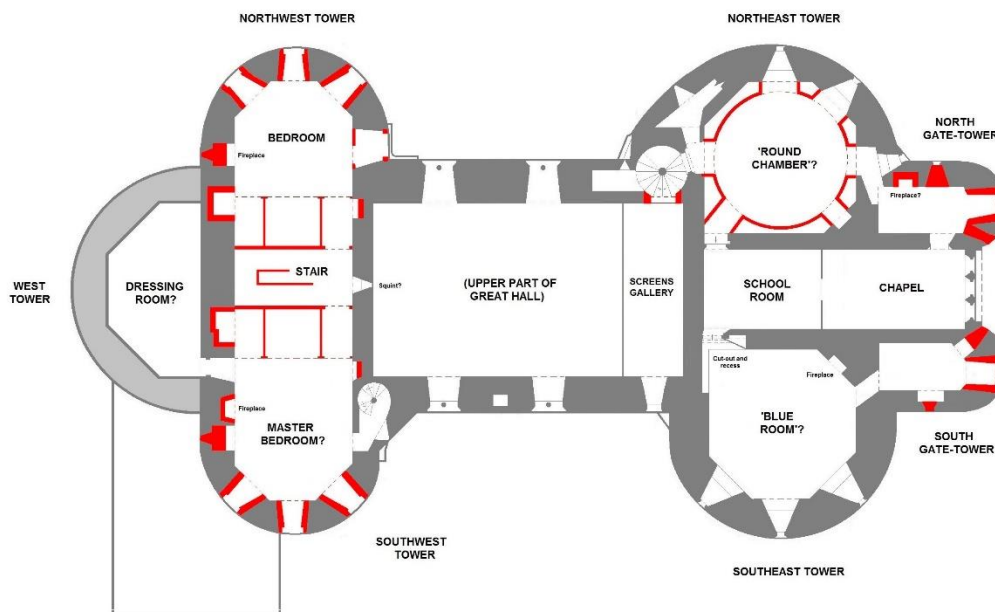
Fig. 212: Third-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern-day and as in c.1740: all new work undertaken between 1697 and c.1730 is shown, in red

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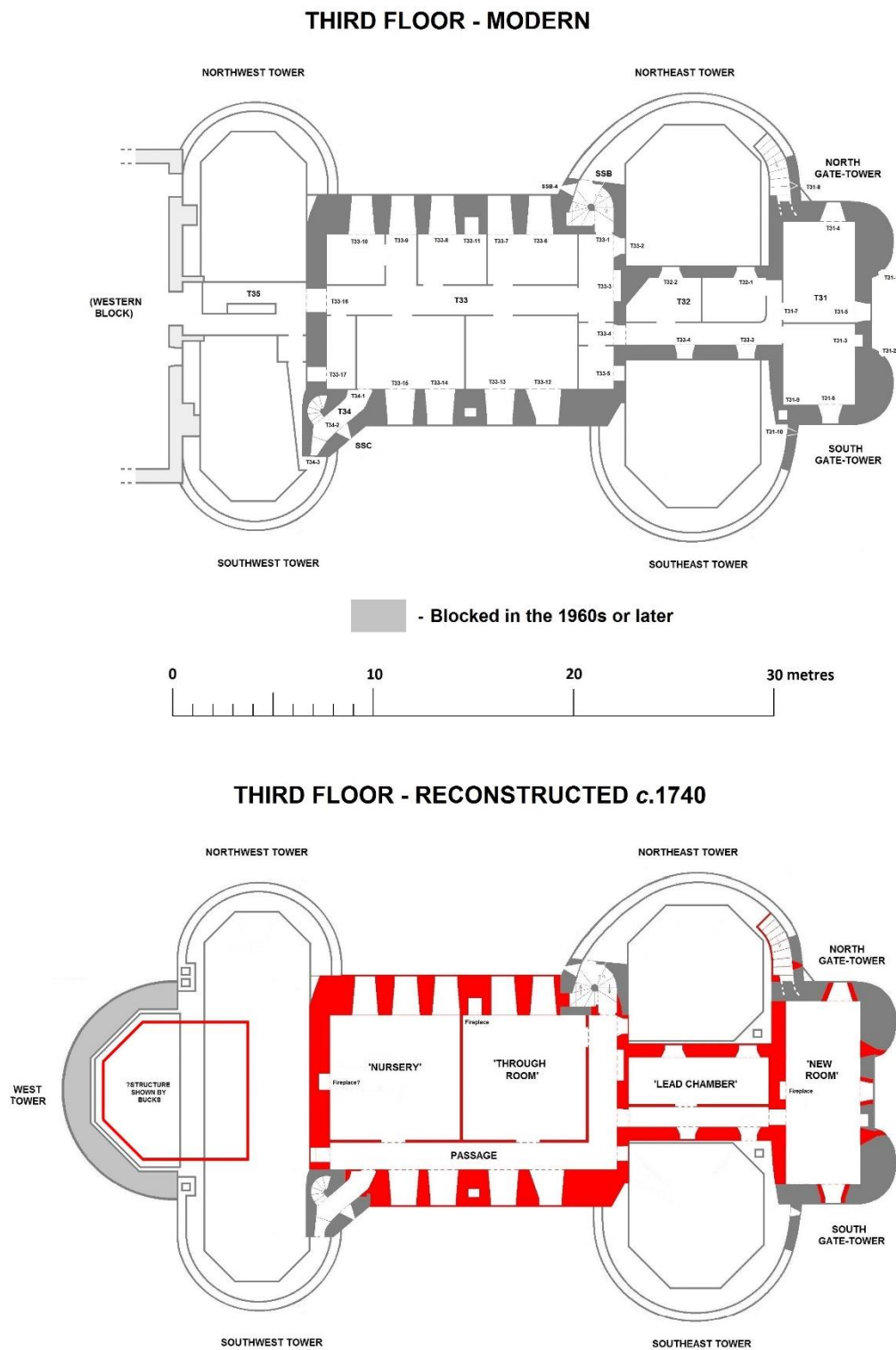
6.2 Phase 2: new storeys, *c.*1710-20 (Figs. 205-212)

The addition of an extra storey over the Great Hall (the Nursery and 'Through Room' of 1729, beneath attic rooms), appears to have followed the creation of the new entry. The work, which involved the removal of the medieval open roof (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 357), was apparently accompanied by extensive remodelling of the gatehouse with new floor levels and windows, and the creation of an extra chamber at third-floor level (the 'New Room'), connected to additional storey by a third new room (the 'Lead Chamber').

Neither the start-date of these works is certain, nor if they ran continuously from the first phase. Repairs are mentioned in a letter of 1713, so the work may centre on *c.*1710-20. These repairs included work on the lead and roofs, the 'staircase to mama's room' ie. one of the west tower bedrooms, and new door for 'the round chamber' (Garner 2000, 3.1.4.2; Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 357). So it would seem then that this phase also included partitioning and fitting out the west towers, at second-floor level, to form bedrooms (if they had not been previously), and the insertion of a timber staircase between them to provide more convenient access, from the first floor, than the old spiral stairs. It appears too that it was now that the Northeast Tower was panelled and partitioned, also at second-floor level, to create a circular interior as in 1729. The work on the 'lead and roofs' also make it quite possible that the medieval roofs in the towers, presumably pitched, were now replaced by the present flat lead roofs; downpipes are shown in prints of c.1740, 1779 and 1805 (Figs. 8, 11 and 13).

6.2.1 The ground floor

Use of the ground floor, albeit limited, was recorded in 1729, and it is suggested that all three recorded spaces – the Laundry, Larder and 'vault' – lay at the east end, where they could be accessed from the spiral stairs: we have seen that the main ground-floor entry had been blocked *c.*1700, while there appears to have been no external access through the north wall between the mid-seventeenth century, when the doorway was blocked, and *c.*1750 when the kitchen range was built against it (see Section 4.5.3). The two northeast spiral stairs SSA and SSB meanwhile represented the sole access to the ground floor from the rest of the castle. It is therefore likely that, at some period between the mid-seventeenth century and 1729, the present entry G6-5 had been broken though from spiral stair SSB into the Northeast Tower G6, and a matching breach G7a-2 had been made between the central undercroft G10 and the Southeast Tower G7. These entries would facilitate access around the entire basement from both spiral stairs.

It is therefore also possible that the north end of 'passage' G8 behind the former entrance stairway received its blocking at the same time, and that the external breach G5-3 was made through the south wall of south gatehouse tower G5, which has consequently long been known as the 'Garden Room' (Garner 2000, 3.3.6).

All of this work may already have been in place, but we have no definite evidence that the ground floor was seeing any kind of 'service' use until 1729. It is therefore assigned to this phase as a median period. A pre-existing ground-floor entry is also speculated in the lost

West Tower, communicating with the former southwest block which survived until *c.*1750 (see Sections 4.1.10 and 4.5.3).

6.2.2 The first floor

Taken with the 1729 inventory, the list of repairs in 1713 is a valuable source for the then layout of the castle. The 'staircase to mama's room' mentioned in 1713 presumably relates to the west towers, where the master bedroom lay in 1729 (see Appendix 3). The provision of bedrooms, accessed from a timber stair – augmenting (or supplanting) the medieval spiral stair SSC – may have occurred sometime previously, but in the absence of evidence will be treated here. The existence of this stair, which survives (although truncated at first-floor level when the Western Block was added c.1791), also shows that the ground floor of the west towers had been partitioned into discrete spaces: a central corridor/stair F21c, with rooms either side. The central doorway F17-14 from the Great Hall to the corridor, and entry F21c-1 from the corridor into the former West Tower, must therefore have been in place, though mid- to late eighteenth-century in their present form. Refenestration of the west towers may however have had to wait until subsequent phases.

Little work is evident elsewhere at first floor level, except in the gatehouse which is discussed below. The Great Hall retained its medieval layout, though its roof was removed with the addition of an extra storey above, and replaced by a flat ceiling; the present ceiling is however from *c.*1750, replastered in the 1930s (Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 361). The medieval buffet F18, in the southeast corner, appears to have continued its association with food preparation and service and can be identified with the 'Closet in the Hall' which, in 1729, contained syllabub glasses, tea and coffee canisters, scales and weights (see Appendix 3). The east towers similarly retained their medieval layout and function as a Pantry and Buttery (wine/beer store), presumably still communicating with the new entrance passage via medieval doorways F12b-1, F12b-2 and F15-6. No refenestration took place here until later in the eighteenth century.

6.2.3 The second floor

As noted, the west tower second floors appear to have been partitioned off as two bedrooms S30a and S30d, either side of the central staircase S30c. By contrast, and as on the first floor, the east tower second floors were largely unaltered and retained medieval floor levels and fenestration (Fig. 8); both of them were, in 1729, being used as bedrooms – the 'Round Chamber' and 'Blue Room' (see Appendix 3). The 'round chambers' of 1713 and 1729 are doubtless one and the same, and from the latter inventory can be located within the northeast tower; it was presumably partitioned and panelled, like the present Library, to create a circular internal space.

'Mr Bulkley's closet', mentioned in the 1729 survey, is a supernumerary space which is difficult to identify. Its location in the sequence may, however, suggest that it occupied the (former) medieval latrine S29 leading off spiral stair SSB. If so, it may mean that the entry to the stair from the hall screens gallery (S28-1) had been created, though remodelled *c.*1750; we have seen that medieval gallery level may have been much the same as today.

6.2.4 The gatehouse and chapel

The gatehouse was extensively remodelled, with new windows in the tower second floors (Garner 2000, 3.1.4.1; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 357); it is clear that second-floor level was raised by 0.4 metres in conjunction with this refenestration, as the windows respect the new floor levels (see Sections 4.3.1-2 above). They are shown in *c*.1740 (Fig. 8), and include windows lighting a new third-floor chamber. A number of medieval lights appear to have been blocked, but the north-facing ground- and second-floor lights G4-1 and F13-2 were re-opened in the nineteenth century. The new windows, which still survive, are all sizeable, square sashes. It is clear then that the gatehouse tower chambers were now, if not before, being used residentially, and indeed the 1729 inventory shows that the first-floor rooms F13 and F14 contained beds, while the second-floor rooms S22 and S24 formed subsidiary bedchambers to the main bedrooms in the east towers: the north tower S22 was the 'closet attached to the Round Chamber', containing a bed, an 'old iron grate' and a 'stove grate', while the south tower S24 was 'the little room attached to the Blue Room', also with a bed and a close stool (see Appendix 3). Apart from blocked lights, the ground floor chambers appear to have been unaltered.

Given that floor levels had been raised, the second-floor fireplace in the north tower S22-3 (now blocked) must have been a new insertion, re-using an old grate, and with the stove was possibly ducted into a seventeenth-century flue (see Section 4.5.3). The first-floor fireplace F14-2, also possibly seventeenth-century (Fig. 93), has also been described above; these fireplaces may relate to the gabled chimneys shown in the Buck print.

The greatest change occurred on the third floor. It was suggested above that the gatehouse was open-backed at this level during the medieval period (see Section 4.4.1); with a new rear wall, windows T31-4 – T31-6 in each of the north, south and east walls, it became another well-lit residential chamber, probably undivided as it was until the 1960s. It is now divided from the 'Lead Chamber' to the west by a 1960s stud-wall and doorway T31-7, but the wall here was formerly solid and in addition to a doorway contained a fireplace with a central chimney, as shown in an aerial photo from the 1950s (Fig. 213). The presence of a fireplace is suggested in 1729. A further flue T31-9 occupies the southwest corner, leading from the mid-eighteenth century fireplaces F16-1 and S27-2 in the east wall of the Southeast Tower. The chimney survives, and is of the Classical form shown on the Buck print (Figs. 8 and 160), but like the rest of the chimneys is probably heavily restored. The location of the 'closet' (with close stool) mentioned in 1729 is unknown, but may have occupied the northwest corner. The flat, leaded roof is essentially early eighteenth-century; the suspended floor is boarded beneath modern vinyl. A new flight of steps T31-8 up to parapet level from the Northeast Tower, shown in *c*.1740, blocked a medieval loop.

No work on the chapel can be attributed to this phase, although the bellcote shown centrally on the gatehouse parapet, in *c*.1740, still contained a bell and was presumably in use (Fig. 8); communion plate is mentioned in 1729, but was being kept in the master bedroom (see Appendix 3) – was the chaplaincy vacant? The western half of the current space may always have been partitioned off for separate, if related use (see Sections 4.3.6 and 5.1), and was perhaps that part of the chapel in use as a schoolroom in 1729 see Appendix 3), and possibly furnishing another use for the bell.

Fig. 213: Aerial photo of Picton Castle, looking south, taken during the 1950s
(Picton Castle Trust)

6.2.5 The third floor: the Through Room, Nursery and Lead Chamber

The creation of an additional storey over the Great Hall seems primarily to have been in order to provide additional accommodation, but the presence of a nursery – like the schoolroom in the chapel – implies that children from other families were being taken in as boarders. This accords with Sir John Philipps's pioneering interest in education and religious affairs.

The new storey overlies the Great Hall and follows its footprint, measuring 14 metres east-west and 8 metres north-south. It was fairly tall, with a height of around 3 metres, and lay beneath a gabled roof used as attic space. It was accessed from the northwest and spiral stairs SSB and SSC, which led on to a corridor or 'passage' running along the south and east sides. The remainder was occupied by two rooms, the 'Thorough (or Through) Room', and the Nursery'. All original partitions, if they had survived (works were recorded here in the 1890s, when a further overlying storey was built; see Section 7.3), were destroyed by fire in 1934, and were rebuilt, and again renovated in the 1960s (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.10, 3.1.8.2, 3.1.8.6-7). The present floors and ceilings are contemporary with this work. The east limb of the passage is still extant, but the southern limb has been replaced by a central corridor.

The passage is lit by four rectangular sash-windows T33-12 – T33-15 in the south wall. They are shown in a print of 1779 (Fig. 11), in which they appear to be somewhat smaller than the present windows which may represent enlargement at some point soon afterwards. There are also two somewhat smaller sash windows T33-3 and T33-5 in the east wall, and another T33-17 at the south end of the west wall. The passage appears to have been purely functional, for access only, and presumably fairly narrow; though referred to as a 'Long Gallery' in 1894 (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.10), is unlikely ever to have functioned as one, and in a castle bedecked with maps in 1729, featured only six (cf. the 20 maps, and an oil painting, in the west tower stairwell: see Appendix 3).

The Through Room and Nursery were lit by five tall sash-windows T33-6 – T33-10 in the north wall, shown as today in c.1740. Both contained fireplaces. The Buck print shows a tall chimney in the centre of the north wall, belonging to a fireplace T33-11, now blocked, that may have been the 'Gothic' fireplace mentioned in 1894 (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.10).[32] I suggest that the internal division lay just west of this fireplace, defining a large room between the two limbs of the passage. This may then be the 'Through Room', ie. with a doorway on both its east and south sides – but the term has doubtless contributed to the suggested existence of a Long Gallery. It contained two beds in 1729 (Appendix 3).

To the west, the Nursery also contained two beds, and like the Through Room was served by a fireplace. This has not survived, but may have been located in the centre of the west wall where a doorway T33-16 was inserted in the 1790s, as a link to the new Western Block; a tall chimney shown in earlier prints can be clearly seen to occupy the gable apex in c.1794 and in the 1950s (Figs. 12 and 213).

An attic room or 'garret' lay over both rooms, accessed from the northeast spiral stair SSB. Each contained a bed, and was lit by a dormer window in each of the roof slopes (Figs. 8 and 11). The roof was slated. All arrangements here were however removed when an additional storey was built in 1884-97 (see Section 7.3), and the present roof structure, with steel trusses, largely belongs to the 1960s refurbishment (Fig. 232).

Northeast spiral stair SSB was altered with the insertion of entry blocking of entry T33-1 onto the passage, and the blocking of the medieval doorway onto the Hall north parapet, which was subsumed within the additional storey but still survives as a recess. The medieval stair, which terminated at the Northeast Tower parapet, was extended upwards to access the attic rooms. The additional treads are of timber, and like the timber handrail and balustrade appear to be early eighteenth-century (Figs. 166-7), although the 1934 fire may rule this out; are they re-used? The stair caphouse has an east-west gabled slate roof (Figs. 23-4), which is a 1960s replacement of an early eighteenth-century gable running north-south, itself probably replacing a medieval parapet; it continued to serve the additional storey in the 1890s, but with a half-hip at its north end (Fig. 213). Southwest spiral stair SSC was never progressed up to attic level and consequently retains more of its medieval appearance and arrangements. However, the entry onto the Hall south parapet was

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[32] The term 'Gothic' suggests either that it had been replaced in the nineteenth century – or was being very broadly used.

similarly subsumed and an entry T34-1 created to the north, for access to the new passage. Doorway T34-3, to the Southwest Tower parapet, remained open for access to the west tower roofs and gutters.

The New Room T31 in the gatehouse was also accessed from the passage, via a linking chamber T32. This is a low, rectangular space, overlying the western half of the chapel and an upwards continuation of its side walls, measuring 7 metres by 4.3 metres, and 2.5 metres high. It now contains a corridor leading to the gatehouse on the southern side, with two chambers to the north, and while all partitions are post-1934, the corridor at least must reflect early eighteenth-century arrangements. Present floors, and the slate gable roof, are 1930s/60s. This is almost certainly the 'Lead Chamber' of 1729, which was of a single storey and contained no fireplace (see Appendix 3), while its name probably derived from an entry, in the south wall, which would have been the only access to the Southeast Tower's lead roof and gutters. There are now two sash windows in each side wall, one of which may have been converted from such an entry; all walls are now rendered and any evidence indiscernible. The side walls are shown with crenellations in c.1740, the roof lying between them (Fig. 8); these had apparently been removed by 1779 when a slate gabled roof, as today, is shown (Fig. 11). The Lead Chamber contained four beds in 1729. It too was heightened in the 1890s, but truncated in the 1930s (Fig. 213; see Section 7.3).

6.2.6 Roofs and chimneys

As noted, the work on the 'lead and roofs' mentioned in 1713 suggest that the medieval roofs in the towers, presumably pitched, were in the process of being replaced by the present flat lead roofs; downpipes, to drain the new gutters, are shown in prints of c.1740, 1779 and 1805 (Figs. 8, 11 and 15). This would mean that no medieval roof timbers survive in the castle (but some may of course have been re-used). Sandby's print from 1779 seems to show the Southeast Tower with a sloping slate roof that continues the pitch of the Lead Chamber's southern gable (Fig. 11); such an arrangement is however difficult to reconcile with the physical layout and, as the view is distant, is probably erroneous.

The Buck print shows an unknown structure on the summit of the former West Tower (Fig. 8). As noted in Section 4.4.3 above, the tower's outer wall rose high above its roof-line to oversail the Northwest and Southwest Towers; a square, flat-topped structure of indeterminate material is shown within it in c.1740. It does not correspond with any of the spaces listed in 1729, and seems to have gone by 1779 (Fig. 11).

With the exception of the two gable-cowled chimneys in the gatehouse – possibly mid-seventeenth-century, as noted above – the twelve stacks shown in c.1740 seem to follow the same Classical design: square, single-flue, around 4 metres tall, with a segmental-headed recessed panel on each face, and two fillet-bands at the summit (Figs. 8 and 214). The overall design is entirely consistent with an early eighteenth-century date, while the recessed panels can be compared with other chimneys of similar date, for example at Reddish House, at Broad Chalke in Wiltshire, built 1717-20 (Anon. 1957, 540, 596; Fig. 214). Most of the chimneys shown in c.1740 survived until c.1960, when prints and photos show a plethora of chimneys, with tall, ornamental chimney-pots that had been added before 1829 (Figs. 14, 17 and 213). Most belong to identifiable fireplaces, former or surviving. However,

six are shown in the gatehouse, and while four of them equate with fireplaces and/or chimneys shown in c.1740, the other two seem to belong to fireplaces for which there is now no evidence. Only four chimneys now survive – one each in the Northwest and Southwest Towers, one in the southwest corner of the gatehouse, and one in the Great Hall south wall – and all are either heavily restored or entirely rebuilt (Figs. 28, 29, 160 and 214).

Fig. 214: Chimneys at a) Reddish House, Wilts. (1717-20), and b) Picton Castle (gatehouse)

6.3 Phase 3: The western towers, 1725-30 (Figs. 205-12)

Sir John Philipps's work continued 1725-30, concentrating on the west end and taking in the three western towers (Garner 2000, 3.1.5.2; Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 357). The towers were all refurbished while the Northwest Tower, at least, was refenestrated at first and second floor level. New panelling and ceilings are recorded (ibid.), while the Buck print shows the new windows.

Little work can be attributed to this phase at ground-floor level. However, seventeenth-century window G11a-4 in the Northwest Tower was blocked – along with the suggested light G11a-2 to the northeast. The contemporary north window G11a-3 was retained, and is shown in c.1740.

However the west tower first floors had been partitioned in earlier eighteenth-century phases, they were clearly defined as a Parlour F21a/b and Drawing Room F21d by 1729 (see Appendix 3), respectively north and south of the central corridor and stairwell F21c, although the present fittings belong to *c*.1750 and the moulded doorcases leading from the central corridor are very similar to those in the Library (see Section 6.4 next). Nevertheless, the Northwest Tower received its present sash windows F21a-1 – F21a-3 in 1725-30 (Fig. 8). The southwestern service block abutted the Southwest Tower and West Tower, meaning that refenestration here is questionable until the block was demolished c.1750 – sadly, we have no contemporary views of this side of the castle. But this would make the Drawing Room a rather dark space, while both the west tower rooms were fitted with window curtains in 1729; perhaps the Drawing Room oversailed the southwestern block. Each room contained a fireplace in its west wall (F21a-4 and F21d-5), now with later chimneypieces. A

'closet' was associated with the Drawing Room, presumably the medieval northwest passage F19, meaning that it had probably been blocked at the Great Hall end (though it was later re-opened; see Section 7.5); its windows are insertions of 1725-30. The 'Damask Room' of 1729 may have occupied the lost West Tower (Garner 2000, 3.1.4.3). It had a fireplace, and a 'closet' (with close stool) which may have occupied a mural chamber. It also contained a bed, and appears to have been a private retiring room.

Second-floor level was clear of the adjoining southwest block, meaning that refenestration could extend to the Southwest Tower, which in turn allowed both rooms to receive their present fixtures and fittings (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 362). Each was a bedroom S30a/b and S30d, either side of the central stairwell S30c. They were matching rooms of high quality, with contemporary panelling and ceilings, and each with a 'groin-vaulted' bed-recess; the northwest room however lost its recess in 1983 when it was replaced by a staircase (ibid.). The fireplaces S30a-5 and S30d-7, in the west walls, are contemporary. In 1729, one was the Master Bedroom ('Mama's Room' of 1713?), while the other bedroom belonged to 'Mr Philipps' (ie. Sir John's sons Erasmus or John?). Both contained 'closets', presumably within the numerous deep wall-recesses that may have origins as medieval openings (see Section 4.3.9). The Master Bedroom was associated with a Dressing Room that may have occupied the lost West Tower; it is therefore possible that the Master Bedroom was in the Southwest Tower, communicating with the Dressing Room via suggested former doorway S30d-8, now blocked.

Fig. 215: Southeast Tower second-floor bedroom S30d, looking north showing early eighteenth century fittings including 'vaulted' bed recess

It has been suggested that the refenestration of the gatehouse, described above, belongs to this phase (Garner 2000, 3.3.3), but it is more likely to be contemporary with the creation of the third-floor New Room; the two phases may in any case overlap.

The detached, L-plan service range northeast of the castle may have been commenced during Phase 3, when work began on the formal gardens. It was clearly complete by 1729 when it housed the kitchen, brewhouse, dairy, stable and ox-house (see Appendix 3). The range is shown in estate maps of 1746 and 1773 (Figs. 9 and 10).

6.4 Phase 4: The Great Hall and eastern towers, 1749-52 (Figs. 205-8, 216, 219 and 223)

The final phase, from 1749 until 1752, took in the Great Hall and the eastern towers. The hall was completely refurbished as a grand reception room, in Classical style, while a new gallery replaced the medieval screens. The hall windows, however – and *contra* all published sources – are later, from the 1790s; the medieval windows are clearly the ones shown in 1779 (Fig. 11) and, probably, in *c*.1794 (Fig. 12), while the present windows are identical to those in the north wall of the 1790s Western Block. The eastern towers were refenestrated, and second-floor level was raised to match that in the gate-towers; the first-floor service rooms received something of an upgrade, the Southeast Tower becoming a fine Library. A Classical portico was added to the main entrance, and the causeway was given balustrades. The chapel was also refurbished in Classical style. The service block against the southwest side of the castle was demolished and a kitchen wing, now gone, was built against the north side (see Section 4.5.3). This work was accompanied by a general refurbishment throughout the castle, in which much of the plasterwork, panelling and joinery were renewed, floors relaid, and sash windows inserted.

Sir John Philipps had died in 1737, aged 77, and was succeeded by his eldest son Erasmus, fifth baronet and MP for Haverfordwest in 1726-7, 1734 and 1741 (Jones 1965, 51; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 357). However, Erasmus died in a drowning accident only 6 years later, in 1743, and it was left to his younger brother, another John, to complete their father's work. Sir John appears to have perpetuated the links the latter had forged with London architects and craftsmen: while no architect is recorded at Picton, correspondence suggests that the leading English Palladians James Gibbs and John James may have advised on the work (Girouard 1960, 69; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358; Garner 2000, 3.1.5.2). Much of the internal joinery was supervised by James Rich of London, while five 'excellent chimneypieces' were by the fashionable Sir Henry Cheere (ibid.).

6.4.1 The ground floor (Fig. 216)

It is clear from the 1729 inventory that the southwestern service block was becoming disused; it contained the 'old' brew-house (which had been replaced by a new brew-house in the service range to the northeast of the castle), while its contents are also mainly described as 'old' (see Appendix 3). It is shown on the estate map of 1746 (Fig. 9), but not in 1773 (Fig. 11) and it was presumably removed as part of this phase.

Although only 25 years old, the kitchen in the northeast service range was clearly found to be inconvenient, as a new kitchen was built against the north side of the central undercroft (Garner 2000, 3.2). Pictured in *c*.1794, 1805 and the 1950s (Figs. 12, 13 and 213), it survived until the early 1960s and is shown on plans from the 1890s and *c*.1960 (Figs. 18, 217 and

218). It was single-storeyed beneath a flat roof, rather austere in style with tall, square-headed windows, and with a semicircular bay projecting from its north wall. Central undercroft northwestern light G9-4, shown by the Bucks (Fig. 8), was enlarged to form a doorway into the new kitchen, with a second doorway to the east, G9-2, leading to the exterior; both were remodelled in the 1960s, the former as a window (see Section 4.1.8).

Fig. 216: Ground-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern-day and as in the 1750s: new work undertaken during this period is shown in red

GROUND FLOOR - MODERN

- Blocked in the 1960s or later

GROUND FLOOR - RECONSTRUCTED 1750s
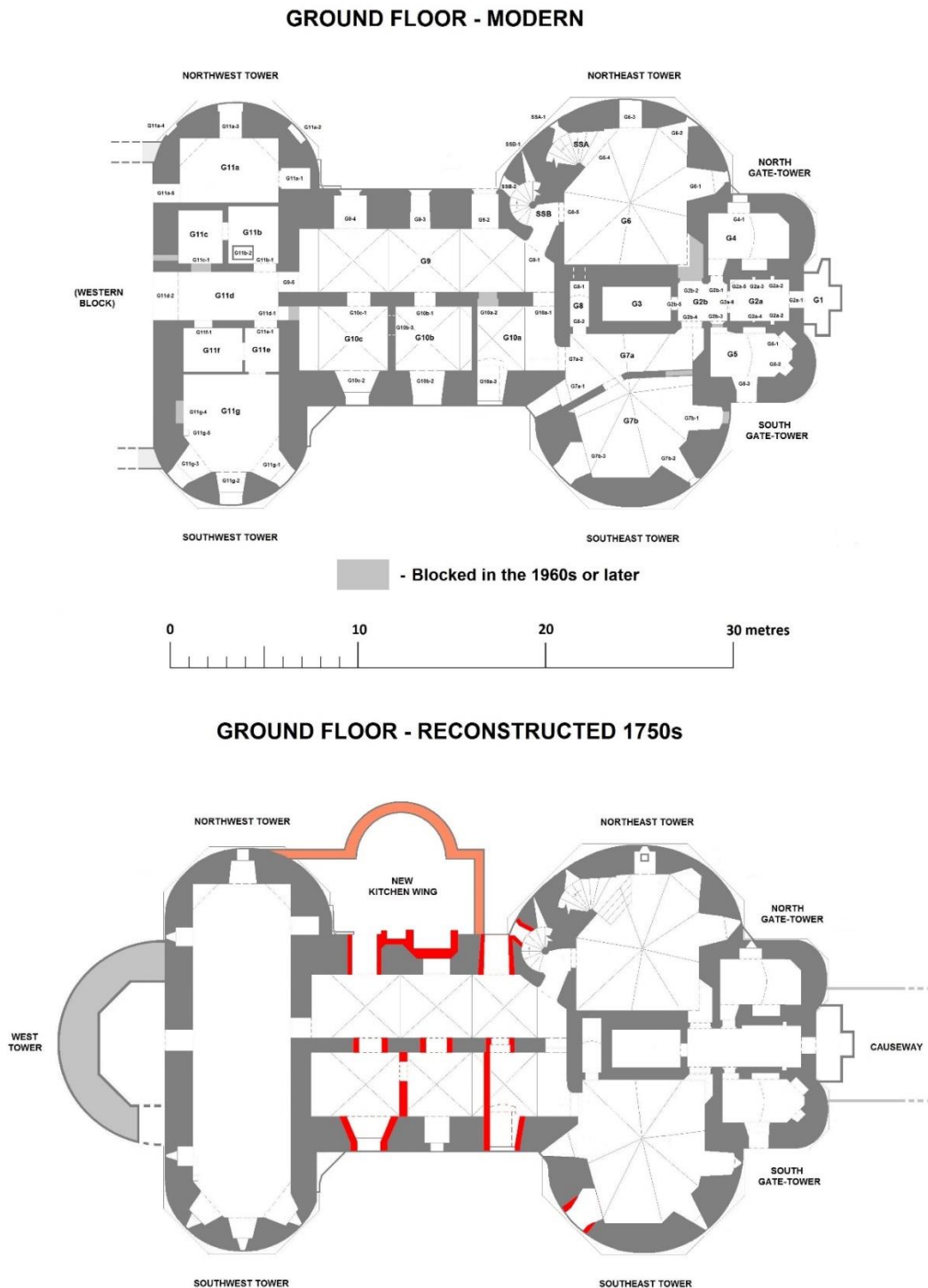
Fig. 217: Ground-floor plan of Picton Castle, from the 1890s (Picton Castle Trust)
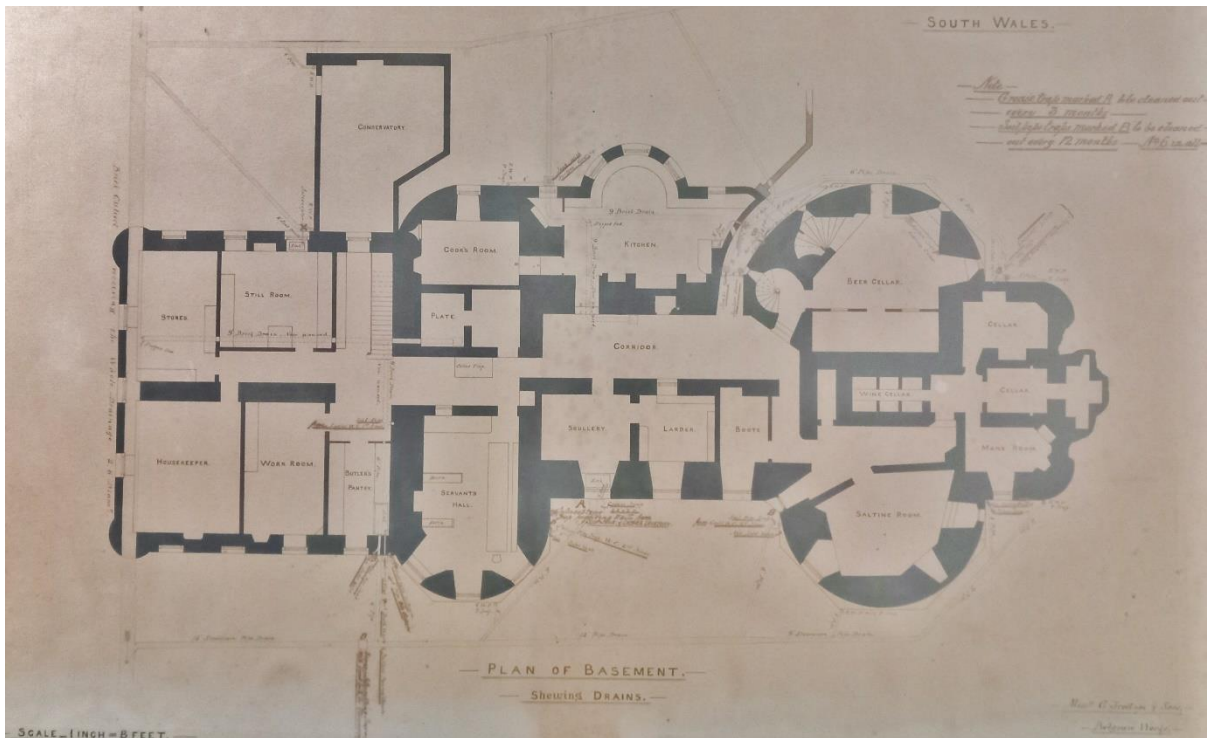
Fig. 218: Ground- and first-floor plans of Picton Castle in 1960
(from Girouard 1960, Figs. 6 and 11)

180
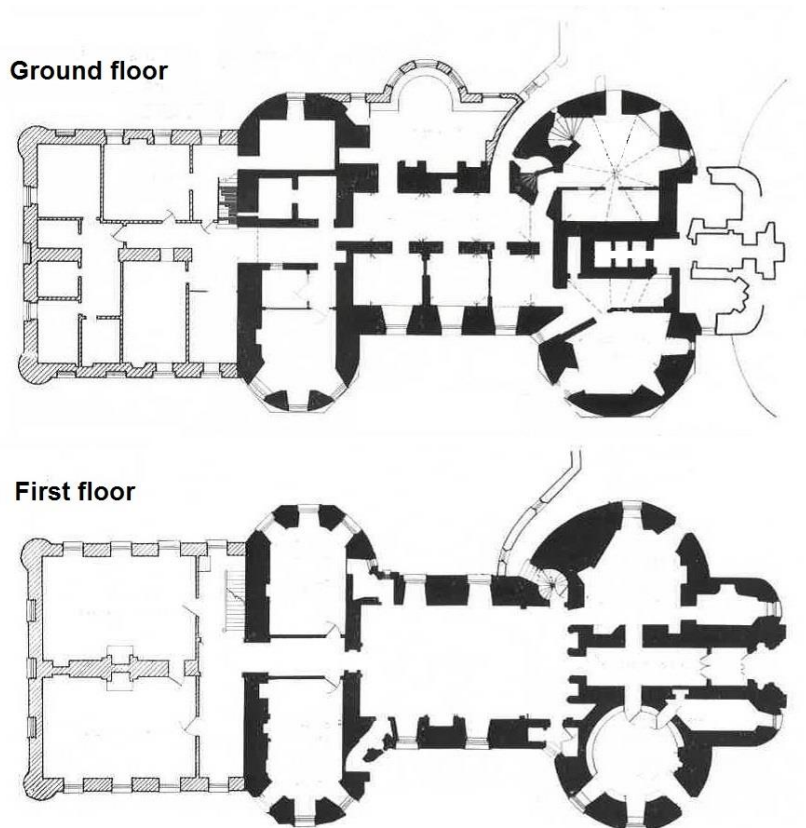
The addition of the kitchen, and the change of use of the first-floor Pantry and Buttery, may be the best context for the wholesale re-ordering of the ground-floor spaces into the layout we see today. This was clearly deliberate, and associated with specific functions for which there is no hint in the 1729 inventory and were therefore new uses: I suggest that they were associated with the kitchen and probably included a replacement pantry, buttery/wine store and larder. The northern central undercroft G9 remained an open space, but the parallel undercroft to the south was divided into three rooms G10a – G10b, each with an entry broken through the spine wall. At least two of the present south wall windows are probably contemporary; central window G10b-2 may be later, with semicircular rear-arches characteristic of the 1790s at Picton. Division in the west towers, though possibly contemporary, is also more likely to have been associated with the addition of the new Western Block in the 1790s (see below).

The Southeast Tower underwent minor alterations, with southwest-facing embrasure G7b-3 probably being widened and given a sash window during this period. The Northeast Tower was largely unaltered at this level, but spiral stair SSB received similar sash windows.

6.4.2 The first floor (Fig. 219)

The greatest changes occurred at this level, where interiors were remodelled throughout the castle. Beginning at the gatehouse, and progressing west: the main entry was given a Classical portico with a balustraded parapet supported on Doric columns. The causeway was given similar balustrades, while the gate-towers received their first-floor sash windows. All are shown in 1805, but not *c*.1740 (Figs. 8 and 13).

The eastern towers were entirely refitted. Both were refenestrated with sash windows, at least two F15-2 and F15-8 apparently being entirely new insertions. The Southeast Tower received internal partitions to create a circular central space, much as had occurred in the second-floor 'Round Chamber' thirty years or so previously, to become a Library (Fig. 220). The Picton Library is a remarkably progressive piece of work: coming so soon after the Radcliffe Camera in Oxford, which was built 1737-49 and is the first circular library in Britain (Gillam 1958, 7; Fig. 221), it may then be the second. It doubtless reveals the hand of James Gibbs, who had been the designer of the Oxford Library (ibid.).[33] The shelving at Picton is perfectly fitted into the circular space, with all joinery cut on the curve; Ionic pilasters separate the bookcases. The floor is of finely inlaid hardwood above softwood boards, while the delicately plastered ceiling is divided radially into segments. A new fireplace F16-1, in the east wall, appears originally to have been given a chimneypiece by Sir Henry Cheere, that was moved to the bedroom above in 1791-1810 (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 362). In the adjoining south gatehouse tower was a book store and study (Jones 1965, 53), a role it still fulfilled in 1960 (Girouard 1960, 69 Fig. 11).

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[33] It took some time for the circular plan to catch on elsewhere. The library at Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia, from the 1820s, is circular, but it was the adoption of the design in the Round Reading Room of 1857, at the British Museum, that proved most influential and it was followed in many other libraries eg. Liverpool's Picton Reading Room of 1875-9, and Manchester Central Library of 1934 (Stamper 2014, 6). There is no connection between the Liverpool Library, which is named after its architect James Picton, and Picton Castle – but it is certainly a remarkable coincidence.

Fig. 219: First-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern-day and as in the 1750s: new work undertaken during this period is shown in red
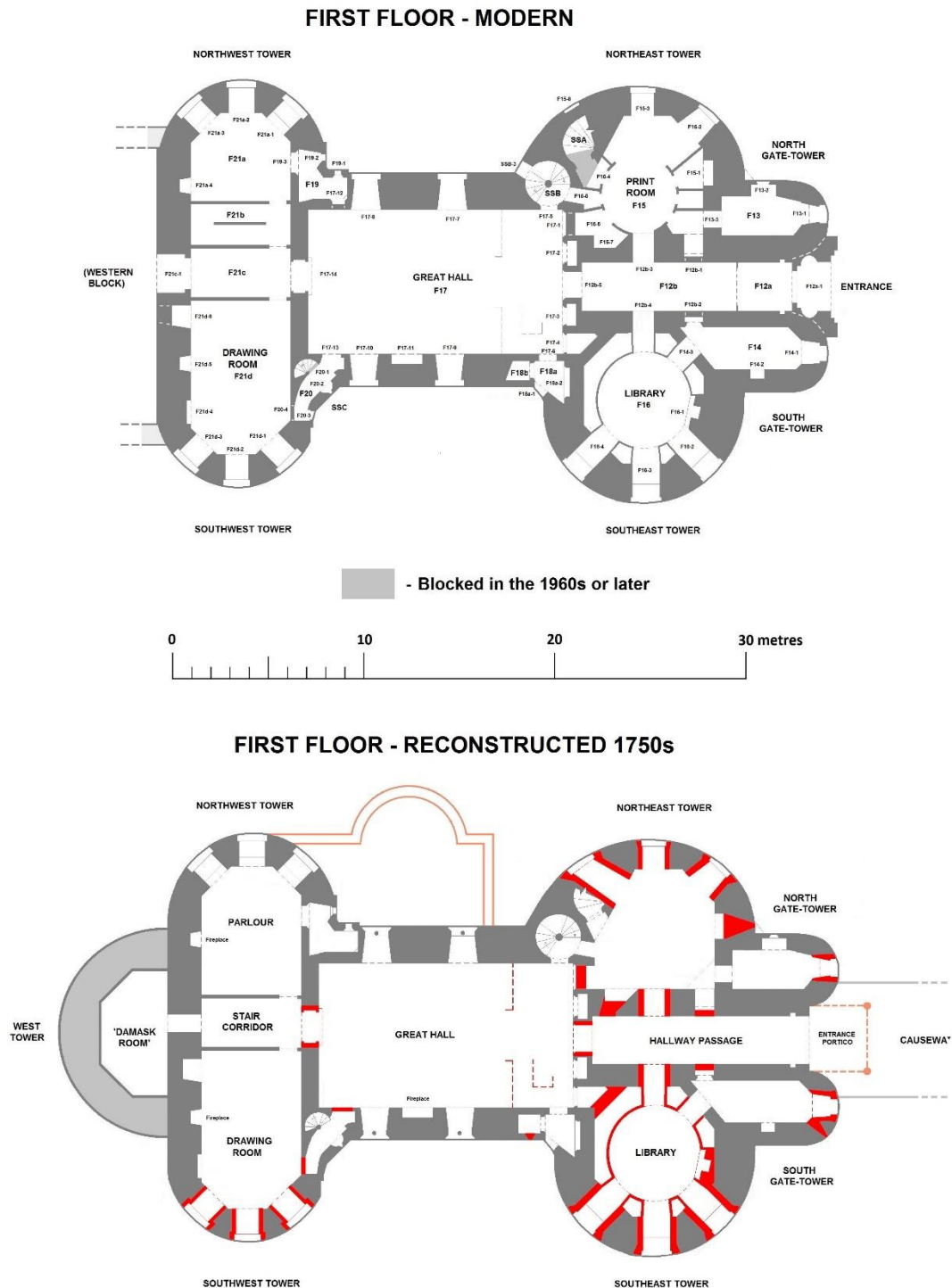
Fig. 220: Picton Castle, Library F16 in the Southeast Tower (1749-52), looking south

Fig. 221: Interior view of the Radcliffe Camera, Oxford, by James Gibb (1737-49)
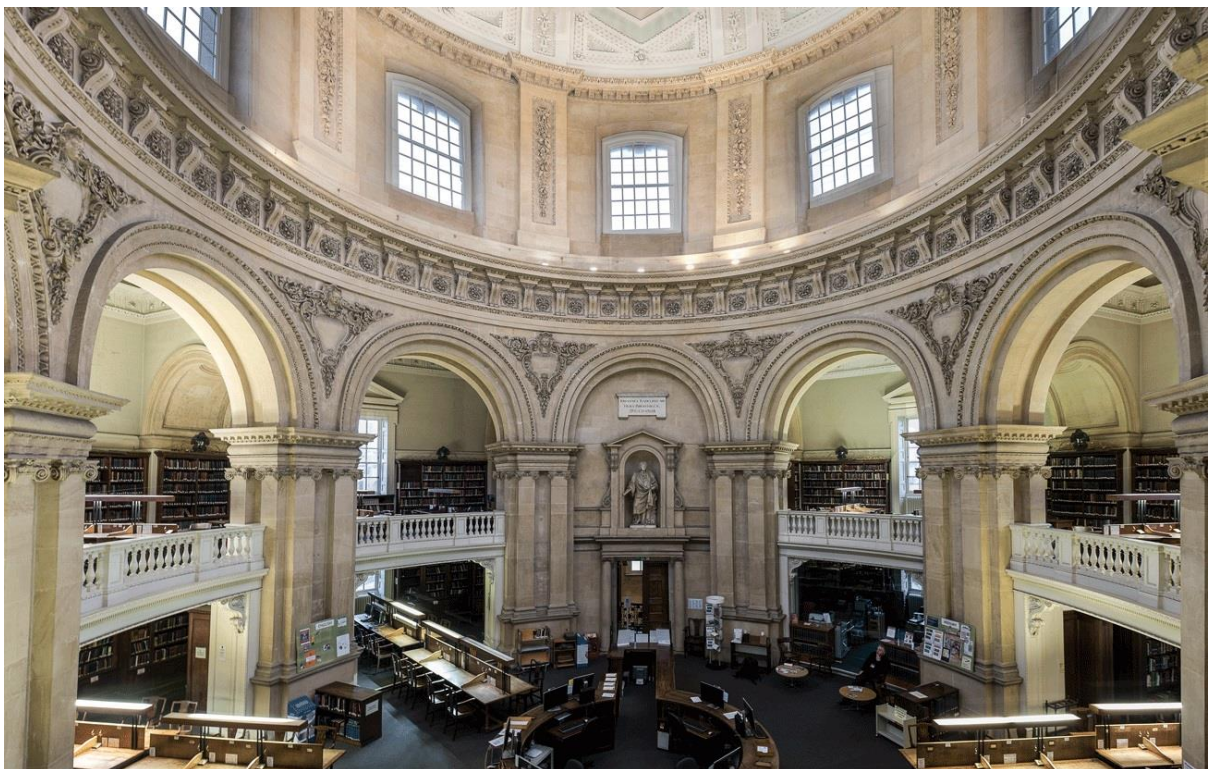
The Northeast Tower was remodelled in the 1960s (Lloyd et al. 2004, 362) and retains nothing of its eighteenth-century fittings. But the north-facing light F15-3 was enlarged into a sash-windows, eastern light F15-1 was blocked (not shown in 1805, Fig. 13), while new windows were inserted to the northeast (F15-2) and northwest (F15-8); the latter was blocked in the 1890s, but is still visible externally (Fig. 22). Medieval entries F12b-1, F12b-2 and F15-6, between the entrance passage and the flanking towers, were blocked and replaced by large doorways F12b-3 and F12b-4 to the eastern towers; both have plain lintelled heads. With the change of use, the medieval service doorways F17-1 and F17-4 into the Great Hall became redundant, and were also blocked.

With the Library, the Great Hall is the other main achievement from this phase (Figs. 98-9). The magnificent Palladian interior, for which James Gibbs may again have been consulted, is dominated by the new gallery at the east end. This rises from fluted Doric columns, and shows balustrading with turned balusters, broken forward at the centre with circular columns in front of square ones; like the rest of the Georgian joinery it is by James Rich of London. It may closely follow the level of the medieval screens gallery (see Section 4.3.7), being lower than the contemporary second-floor doorways leading from it, but was dictated by the height of the fine organ it carries, made in 1750 by J. Snetzler Senior (Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 362), and still *in situ*. On the south side is a quarter-landing staircase with big square newels, turned balusters, moulded handrails and close strings. Both east and west end doorways F12b-5 and F17-14 were remodelled, the former with a round head and the latter with a wide pedimented doorcase, on fluted Doric columns, also by James Rich. The fireplace in the south wall received a Portland stone chimneypiece, the principal one by Sir Henry Cheere, with a tablet on the frieze featuring sheep-shearing and other rustic scenes. The plain plaster ceiling is a replacement after the fire of 1934 (Garner 2000, 3.3.22), with a Doric plasterwork frieze and cornice with triglyphs and mutules; most of the wall panelling has also been replaced at various dates (ibid.). The black and white marble floor, mentioned by Richard Fenton, was relaid in 1884 (Fenton 1811, 279; Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 362; Garner 2000, 3.1.5.3). The central oculus S30c-1 in the west wall may belong to this phase, but more likely to be 1790s like gallery window S28-2 (see below); the window lighting the medieval buffet F18a-1 is a square-headed sash of *c*.1750 and shows this feature was still in use.

The west towers were refitted, the Drawing Room in the Southwest Tower possibly also receiving its sash windows, which were replaced with Neo-Norman windows in the 1890s, before being re-instated in 1996 (see Section 7.3). It has panelled walls, a delicately plastered ceiling, and an oak parquet floor (Fig. 222). The stone chimneypiece F21d-5, by Cheere, has a broken pediment and an entablature carved with cherubs making a fire. This room, and the bedroom over it are the only eighteenth-century rooms retaining original painted decoration (Garner 2000, 3.1.5.5). The panelling blocks the southwest passage F20, with spiral stair SSC which had become redundant after the introduction of the central staircase F21c, and was evidently disused; it was similarly blocked by the Great Hall panelling until re-opened in the 1960s. The Parlour, in the Northwest Tower, retains its mid-eighteenth-century oak parquet flooring, but the ceiling was replaced in the mid-nineteenth century; it was converted into kitchen in 1982-3 when the present stair was inserted in the southern half (Garner 2000, 3.3.25).

6.4.3 The second floor (Fig. 223)

In the eastern towers, second-floor level was raised by 0.4 metres to match the floors in the gatehouse towers and new windows were inserted, three large sashes in each tower. This work will necessarily have involved the removal of all internal fittings, including the partitioning of the Northeast Tower 'Round Chamber'. New entries S25-6 and S27-7 were inserted to allow access to the towers from the Great Hall gallery, while access S25-5 to the Northeast Tower from spiral stair SSB was blocked. The new floor levels were higher than those on the Hall gallery and in the chapel, necessitating the provision of steps which are contained within 'lobbies', defined by diagonal stud-walls, in the western corners of both towers. Along with the medieval fireplace breasts in the eastern corners, fully-octagonal internal spaces were thus created. The medieval fireplaces, which occupied the lower level, were replaced; in the same location in the Northwest Tower, but higher up (S26-7; later blocked), but moved to the east wall in the Southeast Tower (S27-2), with an entirely new flue that was ducted into the early eighteenth-century flue and chimney T31-10 in the southwest corner of the gatehouse. The Southeast Tower was used as a Dressing Room in 1791, described as 'octagonal with benches' (Garner 2000, 3.3.30); use of the Northeast Tower at this time is unknown. The present plaster ceilings, and other detail, are from 1791-1810 when the Cheere fireplace was moved here from the Library below (Garner 2000, 3.3.30; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 362).

Fig. 223: Second-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern-day and as in the 1750s:
new work undertaken during this period is shown in red

SECOND FLOOR - MODERN

- Blocked in the 1960s or later
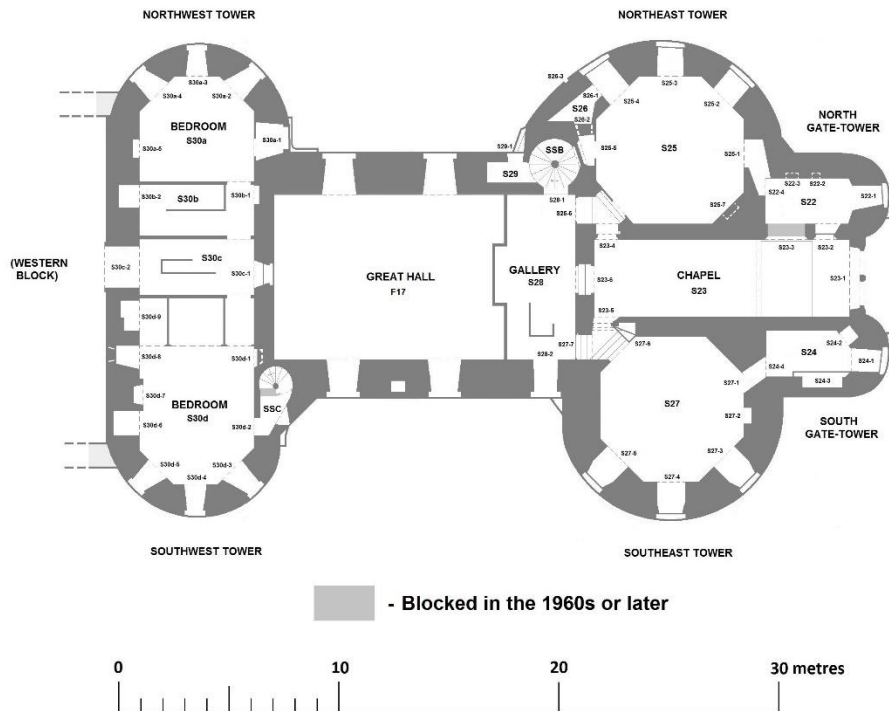
SECOND FLOOR - RECONSTRUCTED 1750s
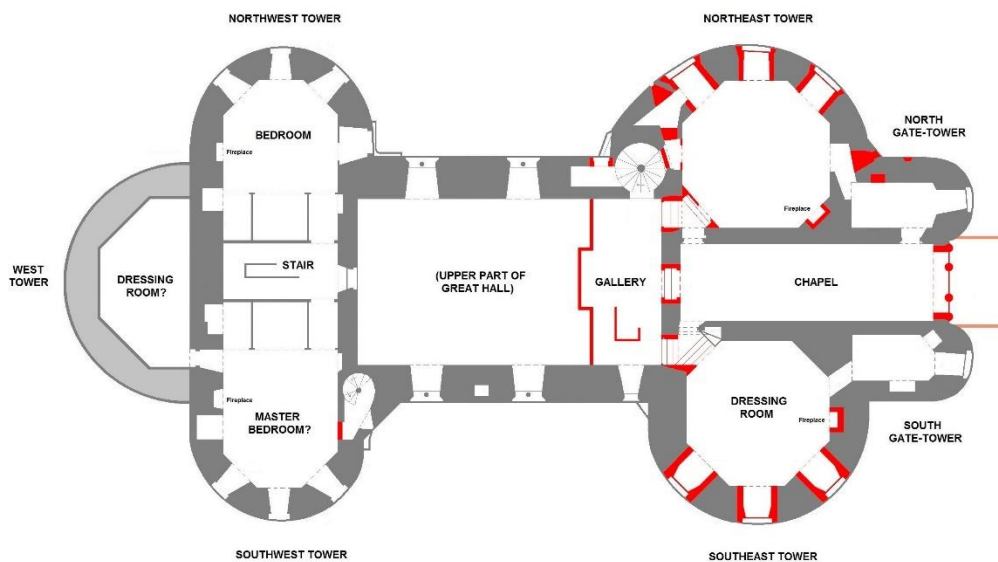
Fig. 224: Chapel S23, with fittings from 1749-52, looking west

The chapel was entirely refitted. A new entry S23-6 from the Hall gallery, with a pedimented doorcase, was inserted in the west wall (Fig. 224), while the late-medieval east window S23-1 was replaced by a finely-detailed Venetian window (now gone; Fig. 13), which filled the gateway's medieval outer arch flush with wall-face. Any internal partition between schoolroom and chapel proper was removed, as the interior was panelled throughout in mahogany (Fenton 1811, 279), up to dado level, following the Classical detailing elsewhere; box pews were fitted on each side-wall, facing inwards (Fig. 224). The contemporary altar rails have turned balusters (Fig. 123). The bellcote had been removed before 1805 (Fig. 13), probably as part of this work. The joinery, by James Rich of London, was one of the last tasks undertaken during this phase, in 1752 (Garner 2000, 3.3.30; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 362). The present ceiling is from 1884-97.

The west tower bedrooms had received their present fittings in the previous phase (see above) and no work seems to have been undertaken here. It has been noted that southwest spiral stair SSC had become disused (see above); the passage S30d-2 from the adjoining bedroom was however kept open, for use as a closet.

6.4.4 The third floor

Work at third-floor level appears to have been confined to the addition of crenellated parapets to the extra storey over the hall (subsequently removed on the north side): they are shown in 1779, but not in *c.*1740 (Figs. 8 and 11).

6.5 The new Western Block, 1791-*c*.1800 (Figs. 205-8, 225)

The demolition of the medieval West Tower, and its replacement with a much larger residential block, inevitably impacted on internal arrangements in the west towers, and was accompanied by minor works of modernisation in the rest of the castle, including the present Great Hall windows. Meanwhile the formal early eighteenth-century garden gave way to more informal, picturesque plantings and landscaping, while the walled gardens and park enclosure wall were begun (Cadw/ICOMOS; Garner 2000, 3.2).

The work was undertaken by Sir Richard Philipps, sixth baronet, who inherited the castle when Sir John, his father, died in 1764 (Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 358). He was created first Baron Milford (in the Irish peerage) in 1776. Preferring Picton to London (ibid.), he was 'a long season in the country, leaving London early and returning late' (Fenton 1811, 280). Nevertheless, he represented Plympton Earle, in Devon, as its MP from 1774-79, but was MP for Haverfordwest 1784-86 and for Pembrokeshire 1786-1812. And as well his work at Picton, he expanded the family's coal interests in Pembrokeshire; later Philippses were the prime movers in building the Saundersfoot railway and harbour (Stickings 1972, 117). Picton was clearly becoming too small for an increasingly wealthy and important family (Garner 2000, 3.1.6.2).

6.5.1 The Western Block

Work on the Western Block is thought to have begun in 1791 (Fenton 1811, 279; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358, 363); a view of the castle by John 'Warwick' Smith shows the medieval West Tower still standing (Fig. 12), but is dated '*circa* 1794' which would allow for the discrepancy.[34] The new block was complete by around 1800 (Fenton 1811, 279; Girouard 1960, 172; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358, 363), but minor works elsewhere in the castle appear to have continued until around 1810 (Garner 2000, 3.3.30). Sir Richard Philipps preferred local artisans, and though the architect is again not recorded, Lord Milford's accounts, from 1788-1807, include substantial payments to Griffith Watkins, architect, of Haverfordwest (1745-1822), for work on estate properties in that town; he also designed Sir Richard's Tenby town house in 1810 (Garner 2000, 3.1.6.2; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358). He was almost certainly responsible for the Western Block at Picton, which is clearly not by one of the major architects and attracted mixed responses (Figs. 3, 29, 227 and 230). It housed a spacious drawing and dining room at first-floor level, over domestic services on the ground floor and with bedrooms and dressing rooms on the second and third floors. The first floor was lit by tall, round-headed Classical windows; other windows are square sashes (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 361).

Further study of the Western Block is beyond the scope of this report, which will look at the rest of castle during this period.

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[34] A slight building, of unknown nature, can be seen at the foot of the north flank of the tower.

Fig. 225: Sketch plans of Picton Castle in c.*1800, at all floor levels:*
new work undertaken during this period is shown in red
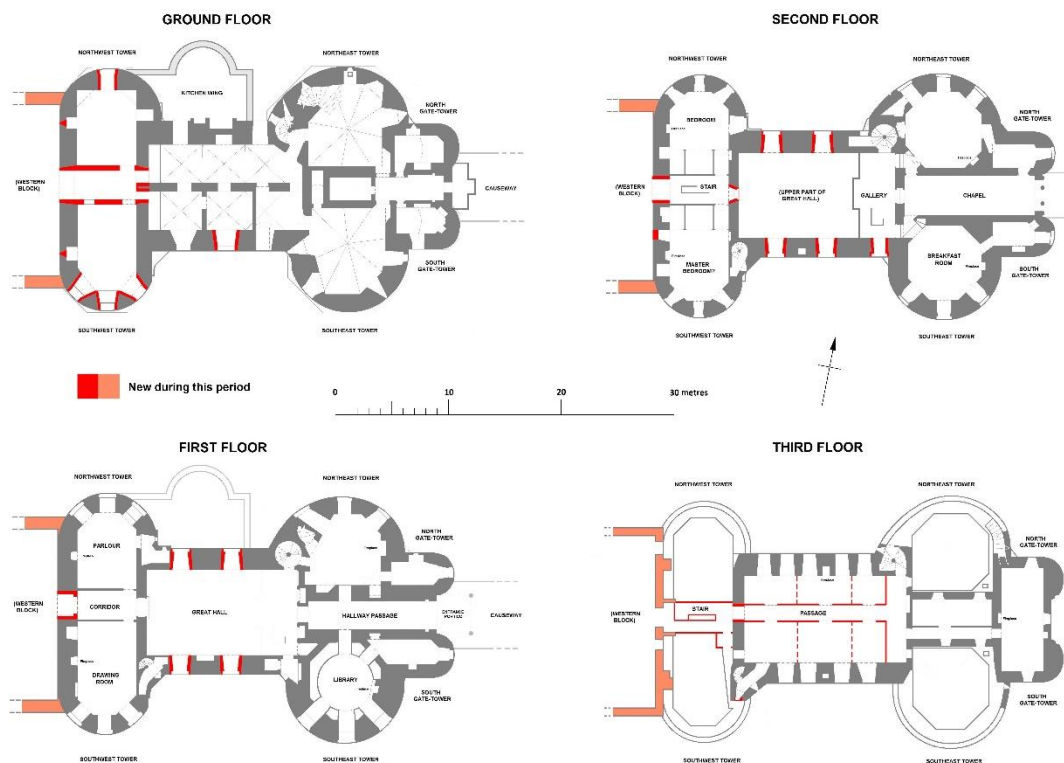
6.5.2 The ground floor: west towers

The insertion of two masonry walls in the west towers is probably contemporary with the Western Block: they form the side walls of a wide central passage G11d, which continues without any constriction through the west wall and into the new block. Window G11a-3 in this tower, replacing the seventeenth-century window shown in 1740, is moreover identical to those in the ground floor of the new block, perhaps confirming other work took place in the west towers. It is likely then that the entries G9-5 and G11d-1 from the central undercrofts are contemporary, and indeed they too continue the line of the passage side walls, while the former has the semicircular head characteristic of 1790s work at Picton. Central window G10b-2 in the southern main undercroft has a similar rear-arch and may be contemporary.

The dividing walls allowed for differing uses of the west tower spaces, and likely to have been a prerequisite for the insertion of three large sash windows G11g-1 – G11g-3 in the Southwest Tower which, like window G11a-3 in the Northwest Tower, are similar to those in the new block. The remainder of the internal walls, which define three spaces in the Northwest Tower G11a – G11c, are however probably later (see Section 7.2 below). It is not known for certain how the west towers were used during this phase, but the refenestrated Southwest Tower may have been intended as a Servants' Hall, as it was from 1881 into the twentieth century (Garner 2000, 3.3.6; Fig. 217),

6.5.3 The first floor: west towers and Great Hall

The wide entry into the Western Block was matched on the first floor, where the earlier entry from the central corridor/stairwell to the West Tower was enlarged as a double doorway F21c-1, with a contemporary surround; there is a similar new wide entry S30c-2 at second-floor level. The early eighteenth-century stair from the first floor to the second-floor bedrooms was removed, and replaced by a grander stair in the new block (Garner 2000, 3.1.6.2; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358), and the corridor was given a new ceiling and oak-strip flooring (Garner 2000, 3.3.26). The stair was however continued upwards from the second floor to third- and fourth-floor level in the new block (Fig. 3).

It has been noted in Section 6.4 above that the Great Hall retained its medieval windows during its refurbishment in 1749-52. The present rounded heads (and framing) are very similar to those in the Western Block windows, which occur nowhere else in the castle, and clearly belong to the 1790s (Figs. 98 and 99). The gallery light S28-2 in the south wall is also round-headed and contemporary (it had a pointed head in 1779; Fig. 58), as probably is the round central oculus S30c-1 over the Hall west door (Figs. 99 and 158).

6.5.4 The second floor: east towers

The plaster ceilings in the two east tower second-floor rooms, with their delicate cornices, are from 1791-1810, together with other detailing including floral decoration on the door and window shutters in the Southeast Tower. Both are now bedrooms, but in 1810 the Southeast Tower was an 'elegant breakfasting room' with views over the River Cleddau (Fenton 1811, 279), and equipped with the Cheere fireplace from the Library (Garner 2000, 3.3.30). In white marble, it is 'an exquisite piece of sculpture' decorated with a boar-hunting scene (Fenton 1811, 279).

6.5.5 The third floor

The third-floor rooms in the Western Block were accessed via an extension T35 of the stair between the two western towers, housed in a 'corridor' lying between and above the tower roofs. This now appears modern, and was perhaps largely rebuilt after the 1934 fire (mainly 1960s?; Garner 2000, 3.3.5), and is rendered externally, but may follow arrangements in its 1790s predecessor. A doorway in its south wall gives onto the Southwest Tower roof, meaning that access to the roof and gutters from spiral stair SSC were no longer necessary; doorway T34-3 was blocked and replaced by a small window. The central corridor also communicated with the early eighteenth-century extra storey, through a doorway T33-16 lying centrally within the latter's west wall, indicating that the southern passage had been replaced by a central corridor. The entire storey presumably received new partitions at the same time.

7.0 THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Episodic work during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was, in the main, more *ad hoc* in nature and did little to alter the overall character of the building: surviving medieval features, and the Georgian interiors, were largely retained. The most profound changes were made in the 1820s and 1890s. In the first campaign, the entrance façade was transformed with the addition of a new porch, window, and carriage sweep. Then in 1884-97 additional storeys – removed during the early 1960s – were built over the Great Hall, replacing the eighteenth-century roof and attic space, and over the Lead Chamber. In addition, a 'corridor' was built to link the castle with the northeastern service block. However, this was removed in the 1960s and, along with the removal of the kitchen block at the same time, revealed more of the castle than had been visible since the mid-eighteenth century.

7.1 The 1820s: a new façade (Figs. 20, 205-8 and 226)

Sir Richard Philipps died in 1823. The Barony of Milford died with him: his son had been reported missing, presumed dead, at Trafalgar. He was succeeded at Picton by his cousin Richard Grant, who assumed the surname Philipps (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.1; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358).

In 1824, Richard Grant Philipps began alterations to the castle, which lasted until 1830 but with the bulk of the work taking place in 1827. The architect was Thomas Rowlands of Haverfordwest (1803-83), then aged 23. Focussing on the entry, the new work saw the Georgian portico and chapel window replaced by neo-Norman porch, with a semicircular-headed twin-light window S23-1 above (Fig. 20); a wide brick supporting arch was inserted into the east end of the former gate-passage below (Fig. 31), while the foundations of the porch intrude into cellar G1, from c.1700. Stylistically, this work belongs to the brief Romanesque revival of the 1820s, *cf*. Penrhyn Castle in Gwynedd (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.7; Girouard 1960, 173; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 357-8, 360). The causeway from *c*.1700 was replaced by (or subsumed beneath) a broad semi-circular carriage sweep, with crenellated retaining walls incorporating flights of steps that curve round the gatehouse towers (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 360).

The northeastern service yard was altered, also by Rowlands, with the addition of north and west ranges to form a complete quadrangle (*cf*. plans from 1773 and 1829, Figs. 10 and 15), and crenellated parapets. Most of this work was swamped by alterations in 1884-97 (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.6; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 361).

Internally, the chapel was 'renovated', and the Snetzler organ was moved here from the Hall gallery (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.2; 3.3.30), with the creation of a large opening S23-3 in the north wall to house it. Elsewhere, medieval light/serving hatch G6-3 in the north wall of the Northeast Tower was enlarged into a doorway (Garner 2000, 3.3.12); the tower thus became a something of a 'lobby' for the upper-floor rooms, but was also being used as a beer-cellar in 1881 (Garner 2000, 3.3.6; Listed Building website, LB 6043).

GROUND FLOOR

SECOND FLOOR

FIRST FLOOR

THIRD FLOOR

New during this period
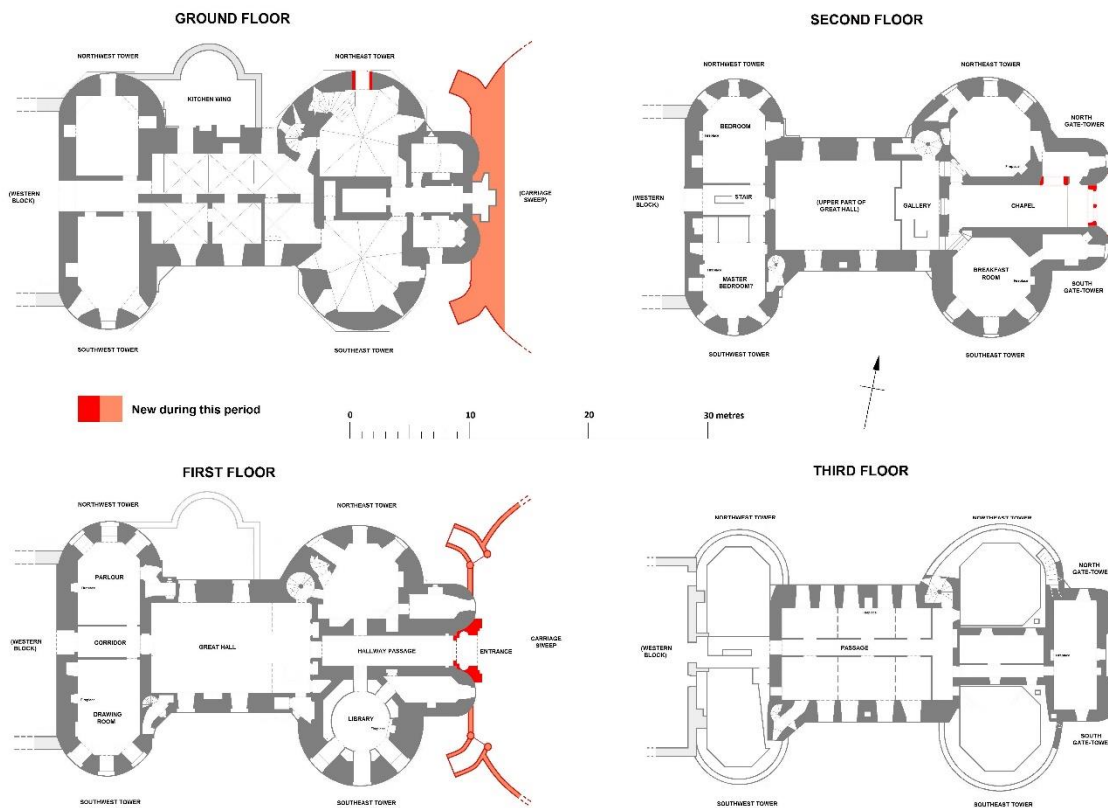
7.2 The 1830s – 1880s (Figs. 205-8, 228-9)

At some point during the nineteenth century, dividing walls were inserted in the ground floor of the Northwest Tower to define three spaces G11a – G11c. Shown on a plan from the 1890s (Fig. 217), this division seems to have occurred by 1881 when the northern room G11a was called the 'Cook's Room' (Listed Building website, LB 6043); this room was linked to the kitchen wing by a doorway in its east wall (Figs. 217-18), which was blocked before 1960 although one jamb is still visible externally (Fig. 80). The other two rooms G11b – G11c receive no natural light, but were perhaps lit by oil-lamps before electricity was introduced. The wine-cellar beneath room G11b is broadly nineteenth-century in character and may also belong to this phase ('date uncertain', Garner 2000, 3.3.8); it appears to have been accessed from the central corridor in the 1890s (Fig. 217).

We have seen that the large ground-floor room G11g opposite, in the Southwest Tower, had become a Servants' Hall before 1881 (Garner 2000, 3.3.6), which is clearly the context for the insertion of fireplace G11g-4, now blocked, in the west wall. The other ground-floor spaces were being put to a variety of uses by 1881: the Northeast Tower was a beer-cellar; the Southeast Tower contained a salting room, the gate-passage and cellars G1 and G3, at either end of it, were a wine-cellar and store, while the southern gate-tower was a 'Man's Room'. In the central undercrofts, and Northwest Tower undercrofts G11b and G11c, were a

Work Room, Still Room, Scullery, Larder and Boot Room (Garner 2000, 3.3.12-16). These uses can be compared with those marked on the 1890s plan (Fig. 217; see Section 7.3).

Between 1846 and 1878, and probably during the 1860s, a conservatory was built against the north side of the Western Block. Sub-rectangular, and of two storeys, it may also have been Rowlands's work, being a 'splendidly ornate neo-Norman structure beneath a glass roof', with a stove in the north wall (Fig. 227). It was demolished at some point between the 1930s and 1950s (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.8; RCAHM(W), NPRN 103578).

In 1875, Picton Castle passed to another distant relative of the Philippses, Charles Edward Gregg, who similarly assumed the surname Philipps. He drew up plans to extend the Western Block to the north and west, which fortunately came to nothing: drawings of 1878, in the Picton Papers at the National Library of Wales, show that the work was on a massive scale quite out of keeping with the character of the castle (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.8).

Fig. 227: The mid-/late nineteenth-century conservatory (left of centre; now gone),
in a photo from c.1900 looking east
(Picton Castle Trust)

Fig. 228: Ground-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern-day and as c.1900: all new work undertaken during the later nineteenth century is shown in red

GROUND FLOOR - MODERN

NORTHWEST TOWER

NORTHEAST TOWER

NORTH GATE-TOWER

(WESTERN BLOCK)

SOUTHWEST TOWER

SOUTHEAST TOWER

SOUTH GATE-TOWER

- Blocked in the 1960s or later

0   10   20   30 metres

GROUND FLOOR - RECONSTRUCTED *c.*1900

(CONSERVATORY)

CORRIDOR

NORTHWEST TOWER

KITCHEN WING

COOK'S ROOM

Fireplace

PLATE

(WESTERN BLOCK)

CORRIDOR

SCULLERY   LARDER   BOOTS

SERVANT'S HALL

Fireplace

BEER CELLAR

CELLAR

WINE CELLAR

CELLAR

MAN'S ROOM

SALTING ROOM

(CARRIAGE SWEEP)

SOUTHWEST TOWER

SOUTHEAST TOWER

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Fig. 229: First-floor sketch plans of Picton Castle, modern-day and as c.*1900:*
all new work undertaken during the later nineteenth century is shown in red

FIRST FLOOR - MODERN

NORTHWEST TOWER

NORTHEAST TOWER

F21a-2
F21a-3   F21a-1
F21a
F19-3   F19-1
F21a-4   F19   F19-2 F19-1
F17-12
F21b   F17-8   F17-7

(WESTERN
BLOCK)   F21c-1   F21c   F17-14   GREAT HALL
F17

F21d-6
DRAWING
F21d-5   ROOM   F17-13 F17-10 F17-11 F17-9
F21d   F20-1
F20   F20-2
F21d-4   F20-4   SSC
F20-3
F21d-3   F21d-1
F21d-2

F15-8
F16-3
F15-2
SSA
NORTH
GATE-TOWER
SSB-3
F16-4   PRINT
SSB   ROOM   F15-1
F16-6   F15
F13-2
F16-0   F13   F13-1
F17-5   F15-3   F13
F17-1   F16-5
F15-7
F17-2
F12b-3   F12b-1
F12b-5   F12b   F12a   F12a-1   ENTRANCE
F12b-4   F12b-2
F17-3
F17-4   F14-3
F17-4   F14   F14-1
F18b   F18a   F14-2
F18a-2
F18a-1   LIBRARY   SOUTH
F16   GATE-TOWER
F16-1
F18-4   F18-2
F16-3

SOUTHWEST TOWER

SOUTHEAST TOWER

- Blocked in the 1960s or later

0   10   20   30 metres

FIRST FLOOR - RECONSTRUCTED *c.*1900

(CONSERVATORY)

NORTHWEST TOWER

CORRIDOR

PARLOUR
Fireplace

(WESTERN
BLOCK)   CORRIDOR   GREAT HALL   HALLWAY PASSAGE   ENTRANCE   CARRIAGE
SWEEP

DRAWING
ROOM
Fireplace   LIBRARY
Fireplace

SOUTHWEST TOWER

SOUTHEAST TOWER

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7.3 Heightening the castle: the works of 1884-97 (Figs. 205-8, 228-9)

Instead of the extensive work that he had planned in the 1870s, Sir Charles Edward Philipps adopted a more modest set of proposals. In 1884, he engaged Trollope and Sons of Pimlico, with whom the Haverfordwest architect T. P. Reynolds was associated, to draw up plans (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.9; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 361).

The most profound change was the addition of an extra full storey over the Great Hall, replacing the eighteenth-century roof and attic space over the Nursery and Through Room. It is shown in early and mid-twentieth-century photos (Figs. 213 and 230).[35] It was fairly low, with a flat roof; thinner-walled than the underlying structure (timber-framed?), its north wall-face lay against the crenallated parapet of the third stage below, although its east and west walls were upward continuations of the end gable walls; the south wall appears to have sloped back and this wall, at least, must have been timber-framed. The new accommodation was accessed from northeast spiral stair SSC, which is shown as in *c*.1740 onwards (but not as today), ie. with a north-south gable; there was no access from southwest spiral stair SSC, which was unaltered. Internal space was divided into three bays on the north side, and two on the south – probably representing individual rooms either side of a central corridor – each with a casement window of two or three lights. The third stage chimneys in the north and east walls were heightened – along with, presumably, the main south wall chimney from the Great Hall fireplace – while there was an additional fireplace and chimney towards the east end. This additional stage was entirely removed in the early 1960s (Girouard 1960, 173; see Section 7.5), leaving no trace of physical evidence. Some work was also undertaken at third-floor level below – including the provision of a further fireplace and chimney in the southeastern room (see Fig. 230) – when the suggestion of a Long Gallery was made, and the presence of a pre-existing 'Gothic fireplace' was noted (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.10), as discussed above.

The 'Lead Chamber' was also given an additional storey, also flat-roofed at the same level. It featured a fireplace at the northwest corner, carried on a diagonal chord wall inserted in third-floor chamber T32 below. Only one window can be seen in the north wall, perhaps suggesting it contained just the one room. It was presumably accessed from the west. It too was entirely removed in the early 1960s.

The 1884-97 campaign also included enlarging the ranges in the northeast service yard, and the construction of a two-storey 'corridor' linking it to the castle (Figs. 213 and 218), similarly removed in the 1960s. At ground-floor level, the new linking corridor utilised doorway G9-2 at the east end of the central undercroft. At first-floor level, it opened into the Northeast Tower via an inserted doorway (or modified light) SSB-3 onto the northeast spiral stair (Fig. 218), which was restored as a window in the 1960s. First-floor window F15-8 into the tower itself was blocked, but ground-floor lights SSA-1 and SSB-1 were left open.

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[35] This additional storey is not shown in Fig. 17, dated 1880, and construction in the 1890s is therefore the most plausible suggestion. It is absent from accounts of the castle, published and unpublished.

Numerous, other renovations were also made, generally of a lesser nature. The first-floor windows on the south side of the Western Block were given neo-Norman heads (Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 361), which must be the context for the similar alteration made to the first-floor windows in the Southwest Tower (Fig. 230); the latter were replaced with Georgian-style sashes in 1996 (Garner 2000, 3.3.22-24). Elsewhere in the castle, the tiled floor in the Great Hall was relaid (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358). The chapel underwent extensive renovation, receiving a new plaster ceiling in two bays, separated by an elliptical arch. In the east bay, over the altar, the ceiling is divided into nine panels on a denticulated cornice; the remainder is plain, with a similar cornice (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.11; 3.2; 3.3.30; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358). The east window received stained glass, by Alexander Gibbs, c.1890 (ibid.).

Fig. 230: Photo of Picton Castle from the early twentieth century, looking north
(Picton Castle Trust)

To this overall period probably belong the insertion of a brick wall in the medieval entrance passage G2 and the glass screen and doors in the hallway passage above, the similar bottle-racks in former stairwell G3, and the red quarry-tiled floor surface in north central undercroft G9. A more general nineteenth- or early twentieth-century date can be assigned to the dividing wall in the Southeast Tower, and a similar wall that formerly existed in the Northeast Tower (Figs. 18-19, 217-18). The Southeast Tower wall kinks southwards at its west end, to take in embrasure G7a-1 which was remodelled as a door, presumably at this time, from which space G7a was accessed (Figs. 18-19, 217-18); it was restored as a window

in the 1960s (Section 7.5). Many chimneys were restored or remodelled, while drainage works were undertaken.

Use of ground-floor spaces is outlined in the plan that accompanied the drainage works (Fig. 217). Mostly it follows use in 1881 (Section 7.2):

      Gate-passage G2: Cellar.
      Former stairwell G3: Wine cellar.
      North gate-tower G4: Cellar
      South gate-tower G5: Man's Room.
      Northeast Tower G6: Beer cellar.
      Southeast Tower G7: Salting Room.
      North central undercroft G9: Corridor.
      South central undercroft: G10a – Boot Room; G10b – Larder; G10c – Scullery.
      Northwest Tower: G11a – Cook's Room; G11-b – Plate store.
      Southwest Tower G11e-g: Servants' Hall.

This can be compared with usage in 1960 (Section 7.5),

7.4 The 1930s – 1950s

Sir Charles Edward Philipps died in 1928. He was succeeded by his sons Sir Henry Erasmus Edward Philipps (1928-38) and Sir John Erasmus Gwynne Alexander Philipps (1938-49), with whose death the direct line became extinct. Parts of the estate were now being sold off to meet rising costs. The castle itself was sold to a distant cousin Laurence Richard Philipps, for whom the barony of Milford had been created for a third time in 1939. He held Picton until 1954.

Works at the castle during this period were not undertaken out of choice, but were necessitated firstly by a major fire, and then by World War II. In 1934, fire broke out in the rooms overlying the Great Hall. The Hall's decorative plaster ceiling was destroyed and the rooms above were gutted. The repairs, which were extensive, were undertaken by Sir Reginald Blomfield & Son, including the present Hall ceiling and frieze (Garner 2000, 3.1.8.2; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358, 361). The third floor passage was relocated back to its original position along the south wall (Garner 2000, 5.2.10). The third floor was re-ordered again with new partitions, and re-roofed, after the removal of the overlying storey in the 1960s.

The castle was requisitioned during Army during World War II, later becoming a hospital for American servicemen, which was served by water-tanks built on the belvedere mound to the east (Garner 2000, 3.1.8.3; Hull 2005, 185). Wartime use left the castle in a poor condition, necessitating extensive remedial work. A survey was commissioned from Claude Phillimore and Aubrey Jenkins of London, in 1954 (Garner 2000, 3.1.8.5), but in the end work had to wait until the early 1960s.

Central heating had been installed in the early twentieth century, with a boiler in the south central undercroft east bay G10a; the two east towers were used as coal cellars (Girouard 1960, 18). In addition, the Servants' Hall in the Southeast Tower had become an office before 1960, and the present partitions inserted (Fig. 18). Use of the medieval undercrofts had changed after the 1890s, and by 1960 they were in use as:

      Gatehouse G2, G4 and G5: 'Cellars'.

Former stairwell G3: Coal store.

Northeast and Southeast Towers G6 and G7b: Coal cellars and oil store.

North central undercroft G9: Corridor.

South central undercroft: G10a – central heating boiler; G10b – linen room; G10c – laundry.

Northwest Tower: G11a – Larder (former Cook's Room); G11-b – plate store with cellar below; G11c – wine cellar.

Southwest Tower G11e-g: Office (former Servants' Hall).

At some point during the twentieth century, the kitchen of *c.*1750 against the north wall was replaced (or augmented) by a kitchen in the 1790s Western Block, equipped with a coal-fired range occupying a central fireplace in the north wall, substituted for an electric cooker in the 1960s (Fig. 18). A new doorway G11a-5 was accordingly inserted between the Cook's Room in the Northwest Tower and the Western Block, replacing a fireplace, and the east door to the 1750s kitchen wing (G11a-1) was blocked.

7.5 The 1960s renovation

Post-war renovation began in 1960. The castle had been acquired by Laurence Richard Philipps's son, Richard Hanning Philipps, in 1954. Richard and his wife, Lady Marion, eventually engaged the architect Donald Insall, of Belgrave Square, who began drawing up plans in around 1959 (Garner 2000, 3.1.7.10, 3.1.8.5). Insall has been described as one of the leading conservation architects of his generation and his 1957 report 'The Care of Old Buildings' proved to be highly influential in conservation philosophy and practice.

Insall's work was mostly undertaken between 1960 and 1963 (Garner 2000, 3.1.8.8). It was rather more extensive than most accounts suggest, if largely characterised by removal rather than addition. The mid-eighteenth-century kitchen block from the north wall, and the late nineteenth-century corridor link to the northeast service yard, were both demolished (Garner 2000, 3.1.8.6-7). The 1890s attic storey over the Great Hall – described by a contemporary as a 'late and by no means slightly addition' (Girouard 1960, 173) – was also removed, and replaced by the present gabled roof. Many fireplaces were blocked, and their chimneys taken down, including in the gatehouse where only one survives. The crenellations on the walls of the entrance carriage-sweep were also removed (Garner 2000, 3.3.2). Demolition of the 1790s Western Block and reinstatement of the medieval West Tower had been proposed, but was not carried out (ibid.).

Eight openings were given double-chamfered, segmental-headed external surrounds, mainly on the northeastern side of the castle where they were re-exposed by the removal of the 1750s kitchen and 1890s corridor (Fig. 231). They are: central undercroft north wall openings G9-2, G9-3 and G9-4; Northeast Tower ground-floor windows G6-1 and G6-2; windows SSA-1 (northeast spiral stair) and G7b-2 (Southeast Tower); first-floor window F13-2 (gatehouse north tower); window S29-1 in the former latrine. Much internal work was also undertaken, some of it altering circulation around the castle. And worm-eaten beams were replaced, while the external render was removed (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 358).

Fig. 231: 1960s double-chamfered surrounds: windows F13-2 and G9-4

7.5.1 The ground floor

Removal of the kitchen block and linking corridor was followed by 'restoration' of the openings in the central undercroft north wall. Entry G9-2 was retained, and the two openings to the west G9-3 and G9-4 – both probably with medieval origins – were restored as windows, and all three were given chamfered surrounds as described above. The entire wall was refaced externally (Garner 2000, 3.1.8.6), obscuring much of the evidence for earlier work.

The coal-fired central heating was replaced with a new oil-fired boiler in southern undercroft room G10a. The eastern towers ceased to be coal cellars and the internal dividing wall in the Northeast Tower was removed, the space effectively becoming a 'lobby' for the upper floors and receiving its present tiled floor. The dividing wall in the Southeast Tower was retained, but the nineteenth-century west wall doorway G7-1 was given a sill and restored as a window (Figs. 18 and 19). The north gatehouse tower G4 was fitted out as a hot water boiler room, with the insertion of a boiler, pit and vent, and given a new concrete floor (Garner 2000, 3.3.18). The insertion of a light in the south wall of southern undercroft room G10c was planned (see Fig. 18), but apparently never carried out.

Circulation around and between the ground-floor spaces was further altered with selective blocking (Fig. 18). The medieval doorways G2b-2 and G2b-3, linking the medieval entrance passage G2 to the Northeast Tower and the south gatehouse tower, were both blocked, as was spiral stair SSA to the first floor. The number of entries in the spine-wall between the two central undercrofts was reduced from four to three, with the blocking of the west doorway into G10b. The entry G11d-1 between southern undercroft room G10c and the west towers was blocked. The blocking of the doorway between Northwest Tower rooms G11b and G11c was proposed, but not carried out; Northwest Tower room G11a was converted into a bathroom for guests (Garner 2000, 3.1.8.6), but much of this work is masked by unfinished later alterations. Fireplace G11g-4 in the office in the Southwest Tower was also blocked at some period.

7.5.2 The first and second floors

All fixtures and fittings in the Northeast Tower room F15, the 'Smoking Room' in 1960 (Girouard 1960, 69), were removed, including the wall-panelling (of unknown date). The present radial partitions were inserted to create a series of cupboards, around a central internal space with radiused doors (Garner 2000, 3.3.21; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 362; Figs. 94-5). Initially a Gun Room, it is now called the Print Room.

In the Great Hall, the medieval entry F17-12 to northwest passage F17 – which had been re-opened at some unknown period – was blocked (Garner 2000, 3.3.22; *cf*. Fig. 218). Spiral stair SSC was also closed off between first- and second-floor levels. The organ was returned to the Great Hall gallery from the chapel (Garner 2000, 3.3.30), and large opening in the north wall that it occupied S23-3 was blocked. A proposal to reduce the number of pews by half was not carried out.

7.5.3 The third floor

The additional storey over the Great Hall was removed, and replaced by the present steel-trussed gabled roof (Fig. 232). The 1930s partitions in space T33 below were removed, and new stud-walls inserted to form the present arrangement of rooms either side of a central corridor (Garner 2000, 5.2.10; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 363). The additional storey over the Lead Chamber T32 was similarly removed, and the solid wall between it and gatehouse third-floor room T31 (with its fireplace) was replaced by a stud-wall partition. A further stud-wall was inserted in the gatehouse room to form a two-roomed 'flat' (Garner 2000, 3.1.8.7). It is highly likely that the partition walls in the Lead Chamber are contemporary, along with the north wall and roof of the caphouse over spiral stair SSB (Fig. 23).

Fig. 232: The present main roof structure, looking southwest
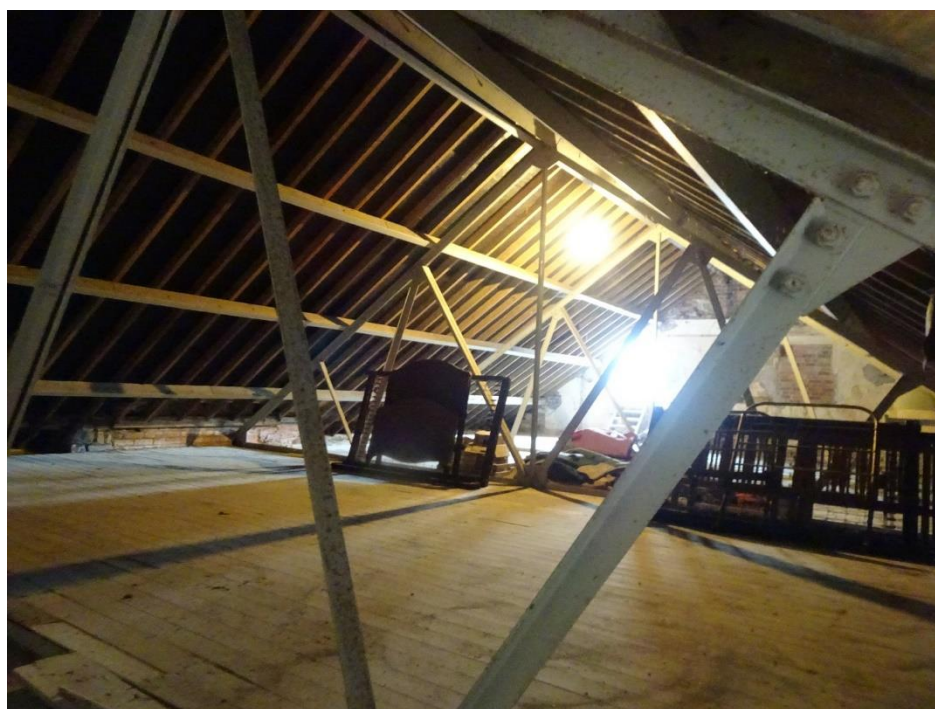
7.6 From 1970 to the present

Some additional work took place before Picton ceased to be a family residence in 1998. Under the Hon. Richard Hanning Philipps and Lady Marion, the Northwest Tower was altered in 1982-3 when a new staircase between the first and second floors was inserted, resolving what had been rather awkward access. The stair occupies the southern half F21b of the Georgian Parlour – called the 'Morning Room' in 1960 – which became a kitchen and dining room appropriate for the much reduced family now in residence. The 'vaulted' bed-recess in the overlying bedroom S30a was removed to make way for the new stair (Garner 2000, 3.1.10.11, 3.3.25; Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 362; Fig. 233).

In 1987 the Picton Castle Trust was set up to manage the castle. Richard Hanning Philipps died in 1998, having been predeceased by Lady Marion, and permanent residence of the castle came to an end. Maintenance work continues under the Trust, including the application of render to the south front in 1996, when the south-facing windows in the Great Hall and Drawing Room were also replaced with new windows following the eighteenth-century design (Garner 2000, 3.1.8.14, 3.3.22-24)**.**

Fig. 233: Northwest Tower bedroom S30a looking south, towards the former Georgian bed recess

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IreAtlas Townland Database

RCAHMW, Coflein:
NPRN 103578 – Picton Castle.
NPRN 276034 – Belvedere mound/?motte.

APPENDIX 1 – PICTON'S MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Picton Castle was built by John Wogan, a Pembrokeshire noble and royal official, in the early fourteenth century – probably between around 1315 and 1320. Until 1998, it had been continuously occupied since it was built, and had remained in the hands of Wogan's descendants. But its recorded history is meagre: as a private, baronial castle, its building accounts have not survived (in contrast to those castles held by the Crown), and it is mentioned only once during the fourteenth century – with some doubt over the identification. It can perhaps be seen as a 'fortified manor house' rather than a castle, though the distinction is both arbitrary and modern, and of limited value: Picton was certainly regarded as a valid military objective when it was attacked in 1405 and 1645.

The manor of Picton lay in the lordship of Daugleddau – later the Barony of Wiston – which was part of the larger lordship of Pembroke, held by the earls of Pembroke to whom the Wogans were vassals. Its medieval history is thus intimately associated with that of the barony, Pembroke lordship and Wiston Castle itself.

There are very few historical references to Picton Castle before the Civil War of the seventeenth century. A list of Pembrokeshire castles, from 1377, includes a castle at 'Pilton' – probably Picton – while a 'castle called Picot' was attacked in 1405, again probably meaning Picton. The place-name however enters history in the mid-twelfth century; nevertheless it does not reappear until 1302, though recorded as a surname from 1291 onwards.

The twelfth century

Picton first enters history in the mid-twelfth century when a chapel was recorded there. The lordship of Daugleddau within which it lay was taken from the Welsh during the first decade of the twelfth century, and – formalised as the Barony of Wiston – was subsequently held of the Anglo-Norman lordship and county of Pembroke. The Norman king Henry, in order to pacify the region, sponsored its settlement by immigrants from the English West Country and from Flanders, beginning around 1108 (Forester 1854, 222-3; Jones 1952, 27; Jones 1971, 105 and n.; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 34). Among the latter was one 'Wizo the Fleming' who arrived in Daugleddau between 1108 and 1113 (discussed in Meek and Ludlow 2019, 238), soon afterwards establishing a castle and *vill* at Wiston (Murphy 1995, 73; Turner 1996, 1), which took his name.

Picton chapel

On his way to Daugleddau, Wizo had made a promissory grant, to one of two religious houses, of the churches he intended to establish there. Worcester Cathedral Priory claimed to be the recipient (Darlington 1968, 134 no. 252), but this was contested by Gloucester Abbey, which asserted this promise had been made to the convent there (Davies 1946, 253-4; Hart 1863, 265-6). Darlington felt that Worcester's claim had seniority over Gloucester's, which was more dubious (Darlington 1968, xxxii). Other authorities, however, regard Worcester's claim as spurious (see eg. Knight 2006, 148); the topic is still a subject of

discussion. At any rate, after a lengthy judicial battle – in which the churches appear to have passed to and fro – Gloucester renounced its claim in 1152 (Darlington 1968, xxxii; Davies 1946, 271-2; Hart 1866, 262-3; Knight 2006, 149). By 1165, these churches had passed to the Knights Hospitaller commandery at Slebech (Darlington 1968, xxxiii, 136-8; Rees 1897, 96-8; Walker 2002b, 140-1).

At some point, Boulston Church, with its chapelry at 'Pyketon' or 'Piketona', was also granted, either directly to Slebech or to the English houses: the grant is recorded to have been made by Wizo, or by his his son Walter, or his grandson, another Walter (Davies 1946, 362), and so cannot be closely dated. It was however confirmed by a further descendant, Philip Fitz Wizo (Charles 1948, 193, 195), probably towards the end of the twelfth century.

'Pyketon' or 'Piketona', is generally thought to mean Picton (Charles 1992, 443), though it had become attached to Slebech parish, rather than Boulston, by the close of the medieval period. The name most likely originated from a personal name, ie. *Pica's tun* – possibly named from a Flemish settler – although other derivations have been suggested.[36] The 'tun' element suggests the chapel served a settlement or *vill*, rather than merely being a devotional or 'field' chapel. And Picton was being fairly widely used as a surname in west Wales by the fourteenth century, and is particularly recorded among the clergy (see eg. *Cal. Papal Registers* 5, 57, 63, 501; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, 336; Isaacson 1917a, 28, 38-54, 174; Isaacson 1917b, 510, 552-4, 662) – testifying to a thriving population there. It is not known when the vill was abandoned: it may have been in decay long before the creation of a park around the castle in the early eighteenth century.

It is possible that the chapel had already become disused. The Georgian antiquary Richard Fenton transcribed a document from 1405, in which the rectory of 'St Egidii de Picton' is mentioned (Fenton 1811, appendix 43-4). Fenton's transcriptions can however be notoriously unreliable – the same document was transcribed by the (more dependable) Elizabethan antiquary George Owen of Henllys, where in place of Picton we find the rectory of St Giles, Upton (Owen 1897, 483), a parish church well into the twentieth century; the transcriptions are otherwise almost identical. The ecclesiastical taxation roll of 1291 unfortunately omits Daugleddau (see Astle, Ayscough and Caley 1802), so we do not know how it was then constituted, or whether it still existed. There are no other records, suggesting that, like so many chapelries, it did not survive after the medieval period.

The location of neither chapel nor settlement is known. As a parochial benefice the chapel is unlikely to have occupied the castle – which, moreover, did not exist in the twelfth century (see below). Nevertheless, a building shown in a sketch of 1684, immediately southwest of the present castle (Fig. 7), has been speculated – on no good evidence – to have been this

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[36] Among the followers of Arnulf de Montgomery, who was responsible for the initial Anglo-Norman settlement of Pembrokeshire, was one Picot de Say – *cf*. the name 'Castle of Picot' given to Picton in a French account from the fifteenth century (Bellaguet 1841, 324; see below). The scribe may however have merely been using a personal name that would be familiar and recognisable to his Francophone readers: Picot de Say was primarily associated with Arnulf's settlement of the Welsh borderlands, while the extent of Arnulf's authority, particularly as far east as Picton, is questionable (see below). Bertie Charles felt that the 'Pic' element might alternatively derive from Old English *pic*, meaning hillock, but was assuming Picton to be the site of a motte (Charles 1992, 443).

chapel (eg. Davis 2000, 10; Guy 2023, 106). The castle household will have required their own chapel, separate from Wogan's private chapel between the east towers (see Sections 4.3 and 5.1), but while they possibly used the twelfth-century chapel in the *vill*, it is equally possible that a building specifically for their use had been erected somewhere within the castle enclosure. Whether either chapel would have persisted into the late seventeenth century, to be depicted by Dineley, is another matter.

In 1811, the local antiquary Richard Fenton wrote that 'on a gently rising ground, a little to the southwest of the gardens, stood formerly the town or vill where the lord's vassals in the feudal age were distributed . . . and not far off in a field now called Church Hay, where I suppose Cappella de Picton, granted to Slebech Commandery, stood, there were dug up a plate, seemingly the ornament of a coffin, and old sword and several horseshoes' (Fenton 1811, 281). This has not been tested through any modern investigation. However, the location is unknown: no field anywhere in this area is named 'Church Hay' on the tithe map (Slebech, Newton and Minwear, 1846), and while a cottage around 0.75 kilometres southwest of the present castle is still named 'Church House' (marked but not named on the tithe map), any 'church' name will presumably relate to the parish rather than a chapel at Picton.

Wizo's castles

As well as Wiston itself, there appear to have been at least four other castles in Wizo's Daugleddau lordship during the twelfth century. Two of them may have been established by Wizo himself. It is recorded that, at some point between 1113 and 1130, he had annexed land from the neighbouring lordship of Llawhaden, which belonged to the Bishop of St Davids (Davies 1946, 283-4). This transgression – for which he was excommunicated – may relate to the presence of two earthwork castles, Drim motte and Dingstopple ringwork, just on the Llawhaden side of the boundary. They have no recorded history (Davis 2000, 32; King 1983, 394), and may have had a relatively brief lifespan. It is possible that they were built to defend Wizo's lordship against attack from the Welsh heartlands to the east – perhaps during the disturbances of 1116, in which many Anglo-Norman castles in the region were attacked (Jones 1952, 40-6; Jones 1971, 127-37). At any rate, these lands were later confirmed to Wizo's son Walter, on his marriage to the bishop's daughter (Davies 1946, 283-4).

Two other castles seem to have been foundations of Wizo's tenants. Rudbaxton, in the northwest of the lordship, was the site of another church belonging to Worcester/Gloucester/Slebech, having been granted (or confirmed) to one or other foundation by one Alexander Rudepac, after whom the settlement is named (Charles 1948, 193). Next to the church is a motte, with no recorded history but probably twelfth-century (Davis 2000, 40; King 1983, 397; RCAHMW 1925, 315). With the grant came another chapelry, 'St Leonard's of Symon's Castle' (Charles 1948, 193), named after the nearby ringwork castle also known as Rudbaxton Rath (Davis 2000, 40; King 1983, 397; RCAHMW 1925, 315). The ringwork occupies a re-used iron age hillfort – like Wiston Castle itself, where a motte was added to a probable iron age enclosure (Murphy 1995, 97; Turner 1996, 3), and also perhaps the ringwork at Drim (Davis 2000, 32).

It can be seen that both mottes and ringworks were employed in Daugleddau, but without closer dating it is impossible to be sure whether they represent personal preferences or merely expediency. And it has long been suggested that a mound at Picton itself, around 500 metres east of the present castle, represents a motte (see eg. Davis 2000, 40, 108; Fry 1980, 374; Girouard 1960, 19; Hague 1964, 341; Hull 2005, 184-5; Kenyon and King 2002, 529; King 1964, 315; King 1981, 6 (map); King 1983, 397; Listed Building website, LB 6043; RCAHMW 1925, 383). There is now, however, considerable doubt whether it is medieval in origin. It is just over 7 metres high, with a basal diameter varying between 40 and 60 metres and summit diameter around 20 metres. There is no trace of an accompanying enclosure (*contra* eg. Fry 1980, 374, Hull 2005, 185, who apparently misread RCAHMW which suggested that a bailey 'probably lay on the north side'), though this in itself does not militate against medieval origins. However, the mound formerly supported a belvedere built in 1728-30 (gone by the 1820s), and lies directly in line with the main entrance to the present castle, on the same axis, and by 1746, at least, was linked to it by an avenue (Fenton 1811, 281; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 364; Fig. 9). The mound is just the right height so that, combined with angle of the slope between the two, it would have been invisible from the castle, but the belvedere itself would have been seen in full (Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 364). That, and the grotto which runs through the mound and was probably established as it was going up, suggest the mound was an entirely new creation of 1728-30, contemporary with the belvedere (Garner 2000, 3.1.2.3, 3.1.9.2; RCAHMW Coflein, NPRN 276034). There are faint indications of a surrounding ditch on its north and east sides (Ludlow and Ramsey 1994, 10), but it might have been merely for drainage and, when full, an attractive water feature. And while it has been observed that it occupies a suitable site for a motte, with extensive views over the Cleddau (eg. Fenton 1811, 281; Hull 2005, 186), the same attributes would apply equally to the belvedere. No below-ground archaeology was encountered during the excavation of two water-mains renewal pits, 50 metres to the north, in 1994 (Ludlow 1994, 9-11).

And the presence of a chapelry by no means suggests, by itself, that a castle might have been present at Picton during the twelfth century Most of the churches mentioned in the Worcester/Gloucester/Slebech grants are not associated with castles, nor two of the three other chapelries mentioned in these grants, at Woodstock and Rinaston in Ambleston parish (Charles 1948, 193; Davies 1946, 363).

In summary, there is no good evidence for a castle at Picton before the present structure was built – consistent perhaps with an absence of any further record of Picton before the fourteenth century, either as a settlement or place-name. There are however other earthworks in the vicinity, thought to be Iron Age, that might bear further investigation eg. the coastal forts at Castle Lake Camp, just over 1km southeast of the castle, and Picton Point Fort, 2km to the southwest. Both are accessible by water. Even if iron age in origin, either (or indeed both) might plausibly have seen medieval re-use, like Wiston itself. Neither has been investigated.

Myth-making

It is perhaps inevitable that a castle like Picton, continuously occupied by one family but lacking early records, should be the source of a number of origin myths. Many of them

concern the Wogan family's geneaology, and will be discussed below. Others introduce spurious dating, and fictional characters. The original source for the claim that Picton Castle was founded in William Rufus's reign (1087-1100), by a follower of Arnulf de Montgomery, first Norman lord of Pembroke, is unknown; it was recorded by Richard Fenton (Fenton 1811, 177-8, 284), long before the association between earthwork mounds and early castles was known. Nevertheless, doubts regarding Picton's motte have been noted above, while it is worth pointing out that Anglo-Norman authority may not have extended into Daugleddau until *c.*1105-10. Arnulf de Montgomery's castle at Pembroke was established in 1093, 'razed' by the Welsh in 1094, again 'despoiled' in 1096 and finally ceded to King Henry I when Arnulf rebelled in 1102: the extent of realistic Montgomery control is thus questionable, and may only have taken in a relatively small area around Pembroke itself (discussed in Meek and Ludlow 2019, 202, 237-9, 241, 253-4; also see Turvey 2019, 106-7).

Nevertheless, this foundation myth has been followed, or at least cited unquestioningly, by numerous subsequent authors (eg. Lewis 1849, s.d.; Timbs and Gunn 1872, 478; O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 2-4; Edwards 1909, 42-3; Girouard 1960, 19; Stickings 1972, 113; Fry 1980, 374; Hull 2005, 186). Most go further, and conflate this follower of Arnulf de Montomery with a fictitious 'William de Picton' – who we will meet in the following.

The thirteenth and early fourteenth century

In order to understand Picton's history during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we have to examine its relationship to the lordship within which it lay. The lordship of Daugleddau – by the later thirteenth century normally termed the Barony of Wiston – was held by Philip FitzWizo in 1193, when Wiston Castle was captured by the Welsh, and his wife and two sons taken prisoner (Jones 1952, 75; Jones 1971, 189; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 58). It was recaptured in 1195 (Williams ab Ithel 1860, 59-60).

Philip's relationship with Wizo is uncertain, but he was probably a grandson (Owen 1902, 36). His son and successor Henry is known from further, but undated grants to Slebech (Davies 1946, 363). Nevertheless, the male line of Wizo's family appears to have died out by 1220, when the lordship was in the custody of its overlord William Marshal II, earl of Pembroke. In June of that year, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's army 'destroyed' Wiston Castle (Jones 1952, 97; Jones 1971, 223; Williams ab Ithel 1860, 74). Marshal was commanded by the king, in October, to repair it (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1216-25*, 254-5), and it is likely, on stylistic and comparative evidence, that the shell-keep on the motte belongs to this work (Turner 1996, 5: also see Ludlow 2014, 183).

The Herfords and Stauntons

It is thought, based on the succession of the lordship and the later geneaologies (which are notoriously unreliable but contain elements of fact, albeit distorted), that William Marshal II also had custody of Wiston's heiress, a daughter of Philip FitzWizo possibly named Margaret (Owen 1902, 37; Toorians 1999, 104; Walker 2002b, 173). The implication is that Philip and his two sons were by now dead; no daughter was mentioned in the 1195 account, meaning she may have been born some time later, so the dates would fit. At any rate, in 1247 three

knight's fees, in the lordship of Pembroke, were held by Walter de Herford from Marshal's successors William and Joan de Valence (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1364-67*, 263); these fees are considered to represent Wiston barony, and the Marshals are thought to have arranged Herford's marriage to its heiress (Owen 1902, 37; Walker 2002b, 173). The Herfords, whose name may be a variation of the place-name Haverford (Green 1916, 188), were known Marshal supporters in Pembrokeshire and witnessed several of their charters (see Crouch 2015, 246-7, 402-3).

Otherwise, we know nothing about Herford's tenure at Wiston. The barony had passed out of Herford hands by the end of the thirteenth century and had been held, until his death before 1301, by Adam de Staunton (Sweetman 1881, 382-3). Nothing is known of the Stauntons, though it is possible that, like the Herfords, they were local: their name may be a variant spelling of Steynton, in Pembrokeshire (see Meyrick 1846, 107). Neither is it known how they acquired Wiston, though it is likely that, again as for their predecessors, it had come about through marriage to a Herford heiress (Walker 2002b, 173-4). And it is unfortunate that the barony does not appear in Joan de Valence's *Inquisition Post Mortem* of 1307 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 5*, 21; Owen 1918, 81-2), as it did not form part of her dower lands, which in west Wales were confined to Pembroke and its dependent manors; the remainder of the lordship had already passed to her son Aymer de Valence. So we do not know who held Wiston at this time, though it was probably in Aymer's custody during the minority of Adam de Staunton's heirs. When it next appears in the records, in Aymer's *IPM* of 1324, it was jointly held by a Staunton descendant and John Wogan; how this came about is discussed below.

Wiston vs. Picton?

It has been claimed that Wiston Castle diminished in importance after the Welsh attack of 1220 and was superseded, as the *caput* of the barony, by Picton Castle (see eg. Davis 2000, 108; Kenyon and King 2002, 529; King 1964, 315, 328; King 1983, 396; Toorians 1999, 103). A further claim has it that William Marshal II did not carry out the repairs to Wiston that were requested by the King (Toorians 1999, 103). Neither statement can be supported.

The earliest masonry in the present castle at Picton is fourteenth-century and there is no evidence in its fabric, or in its wider environs, of any earlier use of the site; we have also seen that the suggested motte is probably eighteenth-century. Whilst it is possible that construction of the present castle erased all trace of earlier occupation, the claim that Picton superseded Wiston is also contradicted by the evidence, historical and archaeological, at Wiston itself.

While it is likely that Wiston's shell-keep belongs to the 1220s, it remains possible that it may be earlier and perhaps related, for example, to the castle's loss and recapture in the 1190s (Davis 2000, 112; also see Murphy 1995, 97). Nevertheless, archaeological investigation in 1994 revealed two further episodes of building in the keep, with firstly the insertion of a cross-wall, and secondly the construction of an inner skin-wall that substantially reduced the internal diameter, along with a second cross-wall (Murphy 1995, 79-81; also see Turner 1996, 3-5). The excavator considered that the latter work represented the conversion of the open shell-keep into a fully-roofed space; it was

associated with finds of window glass and fourteenth- or fifteenth-century pottery, clearly relating to high-status occupation into the later Middle Ages (Murphy 1995, 81, 90, 94-5, 97).[37] The documentary evidence similarly militates against the suggestion of any thirteenth/fourteenth century decline: Wiston continued to be the centre for the baronial courts well right through to the seventeenth century (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 8*, 306-7; Green 1916, 192-3; Owen 1897, 399 and n. 68; Owen 1918, 141), and was the site of a small borough (Murphy 1995, 97-9). There is, by contrast, no evidence that Picton ever played any administrative role within the barony.

How and when the Wogan family came to acquire Picton has also been subject to much myth-making. We can be reasonably sure that John Wogan acquired Picton in May 1302, as discussed below. But, while nothing is known of his ancestry, his family had no certain connection to the barony of Wiston prior to that date. It is possible that he was connected to the Cogan family of Glamorgan – the names have the same Welsh root – members of which had settled in Ireland in the late twelfth century (Laws 1888, 131).

Dwnn's genealogy

In the absence of anything beyond hearsay evidence, the Elizabethan genealogist Lewys Dwnn constructed a narrative tracing the Wogans' ancestry back to Gwgan, son of Bleddyn ap Maenarch of Brecon, who married Margaret, daughter of Philip 'Gwys', ie. Philip FitzWizo, the lord of Wiston in the 1190s mentioned above.[38] Their son, 'Sir Walter Wogan of Wiston', is supposed to have married Margaret daughter of Jordan de Staunton, lord of Steynton; their son, Sir Matthew Wogan of Wiston, married Alice daughter of Meirchion ap Rhys, and in turn their son, another Sir Walter Wogan of Wiston, married another Alice, who was the daughter of Sir William de Picton – a figure for whom there is no other evidence. A 'William de Pyketon' does appear in a thirteenth-century record, but as a burgess of Haverfordwest, in a petition to the King and Council regarding jurisdiction in the town in 1291 (Girouard 1960, 19; Owen 1911, 35: Rees 1975, 88) – incidentally being the first record of the place-name 'Picton' since the twelfth century. It next appears in 1302.[39]

Dwnn's narrative continues with Walter and Alice's son, another Sir Matthew of Wiston, who with his wife – yet another Alice, daughter of Walter Malefant – finally produces a John Wogan. With his wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas Corbet, this John begets a second John Wogan. The ensuing line does not concern us here.

Dwnn produced his genealogy between 1586 and 1613 (transcribed in Meyrick 1846, 107). It is much cited by later authors, all of whom stress its unreliability, and implausibility, but still use elements of it – sometimes tweaking them quite radically. But it is clear that other early genealogies were being drawn from (though they are not identified), as fundamental

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[37] The pottery included a sherd from a 'puzzle' bowl, a type which might be fourteenth-century but became 'more common after the fifteenth century' (Murphy 1995, 94-5).

[38] Lewys Dwnn claimed descent from the Dwnn family of Kidwelly, Carms., a branch of which became lords of Picton in the fifteenth century (see below).

[39] And a 'William Picton' was closely assisting the lord of Pembroke in 1405 (Owen 1897, 483; see below), but this was two centuries later, after Picton had become widely-used as a surname.

variations from Dwnn's sequence exist in these secondary sources.[40] Most refer to Gwgan as 'Gwrgan', while Philip FitzWizo's daughter is named as Gwenllian, a Walter de Haverford appears (though very early on), Jordan de Staunton becomes Adam (another real personage), and in keeping with the timescale it is John Wogan, rather than Walter, who marries the daughter of William de Picton, here named Joan (see Davey 1898, 233-4; Fenton 1811, 284; Green 1916, 170, 188; O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 2-6; Owen 1902, 39-40; Stickings 1972, 113; Thomas 1900, 288). In addition, John Wogan is given three sons named William, John and Thomas – which comes a little closer to the truth. So while certain elements of the genealogies do hint at the realities, they have been inverted and otherwise mixed up. And all sources make the fundamental error of viewing the Wogans of Picton as a separate branch from the Wogans of Wiston.

The following account will attempt to disentangle the Wogan family history. It wall also try to resolve succession in the barony of Wiston in relation to the construction of the castle, its date, its role, its occupants and its subsequent history.

John Wogan, 1270-95

The traditional attribution of Picton Castle to John Wogan is not disputed. Though aspects of the castle can be regarded as somewhat ahead of their time for the first two decades of the fourteenth century, Wogan is a more likely candidate than his successors: overall, a date between 1315 and 1320 is the best stylistic 'fit'; he possessed the full Wogan landed estate, with all its revenues, before it was divided among his successors; he also appears to have commanded greater revenues from other sources than his successors; and finally, he appears to have been resident at Picton during the approriate period.

John Wogan first appears in the record in the early 1270s, when he was steward of Pembroke for William and Joan de Valence (Ridgeway 1992, 251, 256). In around 1273 he was relocated to Ireland, as the Valences' steward of their lordship of Wexford (Ridgeway 1992, 251 n. 79). He represented the Valences before the king's bench, in case concerning Wexford, in 1275 (Hand 1967, 22; Mackay 2009), and continued as steward there until 1280 (Hand 1967, 22; Hand 2008; Ridgeway 1992, 251 n. 79). His chief base will have been at Wexford Castle, but he will also have spent time at the important Valence castle at Ferns.

In March 1281, we find Wogan back in Wales (*Cal. Close Rolls 1279-88*, 116; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-81*, 428), apparently acting for the Crown but on a commission concerning the lordship of Abergavenny, which had been acquired by the Valences in February of that year (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-81*, 42). He seems to have been acting for the king in 1281-4, as a justice in eyre in England (Hand 1967, 22), yet still represented Valence interests in certain cases (*Cal. Close Rolls 1279-88*, 138). This pattern continued over the next 10 years, with Wogan serving both the Valences and the king, sometimes at the same time, and remaining a trusted Valence vassal and *familiaris*. And after William de Valence's death in 1296, his widow Joan perpetuated the relationship, sending Wogan a robe from Goodrich Castle in

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[40] Among the early geneaologies likely to have been used are those in Mervyn Archdall's 1789 edition of Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, and Sir Thomas Philipps's 'Pedigrees of the Gentry of Pembrokeshire'.

early 1297 (Mitchell 2016, 110). He was a useful asset to the Valences who, in general, maintained a rather distant attitude towards their Pembroke lordship (Ridgeway 1992, 256 and pers. comm.).

He saw service in for the Crown in Wales, during the Welsh War of 1282-3 and its aftermath (Mackay 2009; Sweetman 1877, 456), but it is not clear whether this was in an administrative or military capacity. In 1284, he appointed (or retained) attorneys to look after his interests in Ireland (Sweetman 1877, 542), returning there the following year – apparently on royal business – and possibly staying into 1286 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 214; Sweetman 1879, 33).

But for the next four years, between December 1285 and February 1290, Wogan disappears from the records. This period largely overlaps with King Edward I's campaign in Gascony (southwest France), between September 1286 and June 1289. Taking part in this campaign, which was led by the King himself, was William de Valence – and his *familiares* and officials including Robert de Creppings and William de Boleville (or Bonville), both of whom had, like Wogan, seen service at Pembroke (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 373; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1327-41*, 214; Lyte 1900, 434; Owen 1918, 6). Wogan had been given licence to 'go beyond seas' after Christmas 1285 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 214), but this may relate to his stay in Ireland: licences for participants in the Gascon campaign were mainly issued from April 1286 onwards, the recipients including Valence, Creppings and Boleville (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 233-61). And while Wogan is not recorded in Gascony, neither is he recorded in Britain and Ireland during this period. Soon after the campaign, moreover, we find Wogan being referred to as 'Sir John' (*Cal. Close Rolls 1288-96*, 188; Lyte 1900, 527), and described as a knight (Sweetman 1879, 465-6). Neither title had been used before. It is tempting to conclude that he was knighted whilst on campaign – a common practice at the time – and that this campaign may have been in Gascony.

Wogan was back in Pembrokeshire in February 1290, as the Valences' steward of Pembroke, in a dispute concerning Valence's jurisdiction in Haverfordwest (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 398; Owen 1911, 38). He was at court in January 1291 and February 1292, in relation to Valence interests and William de Valence was also present (*Cal. Close Rolls 1288-96*, 188; Sweetman 1879, 465-6). But later in 1292, a new steward was appointed to Pembroke (Jones 1950, 218), and Wogan returned to royal service, this time in the north of England. In April, he was appointed as a justice in eyre in Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland, hearing pleas at Lancaster and Carlisle; his jurisdiction was extended to Northumberland in August (Bain 1884, 149-51; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 485, 507). He was apparently in Newcastle-upon-Tyne that Christmas, when Edward I received John Balliol's homage for Scotland (Hand 2008; Mackay 2009).

He remained in northern England during 1293, as a justice in Yorkshire, where he is recorded in May and September (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301,* 17, 50). Nevertheless, he appears to have returned to Pembroke during August, to adjudicate in the Valences' continuing Haverfordwest dispute (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301,* 49; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-70*, 91-2). Although he was commanded by the King to be 'indifferent to William de Valence', we find him holding Valence's county court at Pembroke during this period (Rees 1975, 104), which – if not on royal command – suggests conflicting loyalties to Valence and the Crown.

Otherwise, Wogan remained on the King's service in the North: he was in Northumberland in early 1294, and at Carlisle again in October (*Cal. Close Rolls 1288-96*, 374; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301,* 109). But again, this service was bracketed around another commission in west Wales concerning Valence jurisdiction, in July 1294 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301,* 114). His last commission in Wales was the delivery of 80 Welsh prisoners, taken during the Welsh revolt of 1294-5, from Carmarthen Castle to Bristol Castle, in August 1295 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1288-96*, 427, 430).

Justiciar of Ireland, 1295-1312

In October 1295, King Edward I appointed John Wogan as his representative in Ireland (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301,* 136; Sweetman 1881, 59, 63). As Justiciar of Ireland, a post which he held until 1312, Wogan was responsible for carrying out royal administration and jurisdiction, as well as organising military campaigns. He succeeded William d'Oddingsells (Green 1916, 172), one of a series of short-term governors, and brought a new continuity to Irish administration: more Irish parliaments were held by him between 1295 and 1312 than in the previous 30 years (Hand 2008).

The office was based at Dublin Castle, but the justiciar was frequently required elsewhere in the country or beyond, relying on deputies. For instance, Wogan was called away during Edward I's Scottish campaign in May 1296, when he apparently led a large army from Ireland to meet the King at Roxburgh (Mackay 2009; Thomas 1900, 287). He was ordered to return to Ireland in September (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 198; Sweetman 1881, 85), but it has been suggested that he remained in Scotland until winter (Mackay 2009). Wogan is said to have again visited Scotland in 1300 (Thomas 1900, 287), when Edward I moved against William Wallace (Hand 2008; Mackay 2009). He was more certainly in Scotland in summer and autumn 1301, again at the head of a force from Ireland (Mackay 2009): his wife rendered his accounts to the Irish exchequer during his absence (Sweetman 1881, 378).

Wogan's subsequent military activities were mainly within Ireland itself, where English rule was being increasingly challenged. Wogan suffered a series of setbacks against the resurgent Irish and, in summer 1308, Edward II's favourite Piers Gaveston was appointed king's lieutenant in Ireland, although Wogan remained justiciar until leaving for England in the autumn (Hand 2008; Mackay 2009). He was reappointed in May 1309 (Hand 2008; Mackay 2009), but after a troubled second term he left Ireland in August 1312; his deputy Edmund Butler took over as acting justiciar until Wogan formally left office in April 1313, being replaced by Theobald de Verdun (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 504, 562; Hand 1967, 24; Thomas 1900, 287).

Revenues

Wogan's fee as justiciar was £500 a year, out of which he had to maintain 20 men-at-arms and 'armoured horses' (Sweetman 1881, 117-18 and *passim*), and finance his official functions. Nevertheless, £500 a year was a considerable sum and equivalent to the revenue from a minor lordship. For comparison, William de Valence's Pembrokeshire lands were valued at £705 p.a. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1364-67,* 266-75), while his total annual income was

around £2,500 (Ridgeway 1992, 242); the wealthier Pembrokeshire gentry families of the late fifteenth century were commanding annual revenues of around £300 (Turvey 2002b, 375).

Additional income came from other sources. Wogan had begun to acquire land of his own soon after entering royal service, with holdings in Somerset, Devon and Dorset by 1282 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1279-88*, 185, 471). Lands at Radcot in Oxfordshire had been added by 1295, reckoned at ¼ knight's fee (*Cal. Close Rolls 1288-96*, 463; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 3*, 197; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 5*, 284). He also held land in Yorkshire by 1300 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1296-1302*, 382). We know little about either the location, the extent or the value of these English estates. Nor is it certain how Wogan acquired most of them: King Edward I used patronage cautiously, and was very sparing with grants of land in England (Prestwich 1986, 46-7).

Wogan also acquired land in Ireland, although the process was intitialy slow and incremental. Although King Edward was normally more generous in Ireland than in England, he deliberately withheld grants to his justiciar in order to prevent him from developing a power-base; Wogan only began to build up his personal territorial position there under Edward II (Prestwich 1986, 48). So his earliest recorded property, in Co. Wicklow, was held of Joan de Valence in 1301 (Mitchell 2016, 134-5), while he was a subtenant of the Butlers, at Clonmore Castle in Co. Carlow, around the same time (O'Keeffe 2001, 171). A separate holding at Burtown, in Kilkea and Moone, Co. Kildare, was being held at farm in 1301-2 (Sweetman 1881, 378; Sweetman and Handcock 1886, 7, 35). And while he acquired 'all the land' of Kilkea, Moone and Castledermot, Co, Kildare, in 1305, it was in return for a payment of £400 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1302-7*, 331-2), that will have had a significant impact on his finances. King Edward II, however, released him from payment in June 1309, instead awarding a lifetime grant of these estates (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 122-3). This was followed in May 1313 by another lifetime grant, for his services as justiciar, of five more Kildare manors in Ikeathy (*Cal. Close Rolls 1313-18*, 53; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 588); in 1317, moreover, all these grants were made inheritable (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317-21*, 43). Additional property at Carnalway, in Naas Co. Kildare, had been acquired by 1310 (Green 1916, 176-7). It may be significant that Wogan had been responsible for shiring Kildare in 1297 (Mackay 2009).

There is no *Inquisition Post Mortem* for John Wogan, but his Kildare lands can be extracted in full from the *IPM* of his grandson Thomas, of 1357 (cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 122-3 and *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 10*, 306-7). They comprised –

> In Kilkea and Moone: manors at Burtown, Kilkea (shared with the FitzGeralds) and Moone. In Carbury: a manor at Garrisker. In Connell: manors at Allen and Milltown. In Ikeathy:[41] manors at Ballyloughan, Castledermot,[42] Courtown, Mainham and Rathcoffey. In Naas: a manor at Carnalway. In Offaly: a manor at Kilboggan.

The 'townlands' that subsequently occupied these holdings comprised over 10,000 acres and included an urban settlement at Castledermot, and demesne land at Rathcoffey

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[41] Normally spelt 'Okethy' in the sources.

[42] Tristeldermot' in the sources, ie. *Díseart Diarmada* or 'Dermot's hermitage'. No castle is known there.

(IreAtlas Townland Database). The 1357 *IPM*, however, may not be complete, while giving no valuation.

As well as income from his lands and offices, Wogan – like all magnates – purchased wardships and marriages, both for the revenues which came from the custody of wards and their lands, and for potential spouses. In 1295, for example, he had custody over the dower lands of Avice, widow of his colleague Nicholas de Boleville, in Somerset (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 3*, 165). And in 1311, he obtained custody of John de Cogan's lands and heir (*Cal Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 381). Cogan, who held lands in Galway and Co. Mayo, had two sons, John and Thomas – it is however uncertain whether this Thomas was the Thomas Cogan who was the Wogans' reeve of Wiston in 1326-7, and who appears to been have leasing Wiston Castle itself in 1331-2 (see below). And among the marriages Wogan purchased was one that, as we will see, would bring Picton to him.

The Wogans acquire Picton: 1301-2

John Wogan himself married twice. His first wife was Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Robert de Vale, lord of Dale in Pembrokeshire and a significant landowner in the county (*Cal. Close Rolls 1296-1302*, 226; Rees 1975, 493). They had married by 1291 when they were confirmed in Robert's manor of Bempton in the barony of Walwyn's Castle, Pembs. (Lyte 1900, 527). A 'Walter Wogan' travelled to Ireland with John in 1296 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 198; Sweetman 1881, 85), and it will become clear that he was John and Margaret's son (which is unnoticed in most secondary sources eg. Green 1916, 188-9; Hand 2008; Owen 1902, 41; Walker 2002b, 174). He had clearly come of age by 1296, suggesting his parents' marriage took place in the early 1270s when Wogan was steward of Pembroke: Robert de Vale was another vassal of Valence, who regularly officiated at Pembroke county court (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 373, 468; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1327-1341*, 214; Jeayes 1892, 142-6).

Margaret had joined her husband in Ireland by 1301 (Sweetman 1881, 378). Walter Wogan was also firmly based in Ireland. He was there with John in 1297-8, with whom he was active on various commissions in 1301 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 324, 583-4, 595; Sweetman 1881, 85). By June 1301, he had been granted a senior position of his own, with custody firstly of Kildare Castle (O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 10), and then of the royal castles at Rindown and Roscommon, both Co. Roscommon, for £100 a year (Sweetman 1881, 380; Sweetman and Handcock 1886, 33). He was also granted the office of pardoner for the king's debts in Ireland, among other commissions (Sweetman 1881, 387-8; Sweetman and Handcock 1886, 5).

Most significantly for us, in early 1302 Walter Wogan married Margaret de Staunton, 'daughter and one of the heirs of Adam de Staunton, deceased' (Sweetman 1881, 382-3) – Adam de Staunton having been, as we saw above, lord of the barony of Wiston. John Wogan had purchased her marriage in September 1301 (ibid.), the closeness of the dates suggesting she was intended for Walter from the first (although he is not named in the records): the marriage apparently took place, in Ireland, before May 1302 (Sweetman and Handcock 1886, 35).

Margaret de Staunton's share of Wiston barony, clearly included Picton: in September 1302, 5 months after his son's wedding, John Wogan was recorded at Picton – where he was styling himself 'Lord of Picton'. The evidence is persuasive, but difficult to tease out from the published sources. It is briefly reviewed here.

In 1898, the then Dean of Llandaff, William Davey, published transcripts of a foundation grant, made by John Wogan, for a chantry in the Chapel of St Nicholas at St Davids Cathedral. In the grant, three chaplains would be found 'to celebrate celebrate divine service at the altar of St Nicholas . . . for the souls of Sir John Wogan and his heirs, William de Valence and his heirs, King Edward and his heirs, and Bishop David and his successors', out of revenues from the episcopal manor of Castlemorris and the churches of Llanhywel and Llandeloy, all in Pembs. (Davey 1898, 228, 230-1). The grant was apparently 'sealed at Pyktone on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross 1302,[43] by John Wogan Knight, of Pykton' (Davey 1898, 229). Davey did not, however, cite his primary sources, which are apparently from the Cartulary of St Davids (O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 10).[44] In what appears to have been an entirely separate document, but relating to the same grant and also from 1302, Wogan styled himself 'Lord of Picton and Justiciar of Ireland' (Green 1916, 175 n. 1; Owen 1902, 41).[45]

Certain aspects of these documents (the originals of which I have not seen) outwardly appear slightly suspect – for example, the year 1302 would normally be expressed as a regnal year ie. 29 Edward I. Nevertheless, taken with the other evidence they are otherwise entirely plausible:[46] John Wogan is not certainly recorded in Ireland, or elsewhere, between August and November 1302 (Sweetman and Handcock 1886, 45-56; *Cal. Close Rolls 1296-1302*, 593-612; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1301-07*, 66, 90). The grant was confirmed a Crown document of 1313 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 563).[47] And it was entirely normal for a magnate to visit a major new acquisition shortly after receiving it – even if it was never visited again. The biggest question concerns Wogan's retention of Picton in his own hands, rather than his son's – to whom it should have passed by right of his marriage. It may be that an exchange had been made between the two, with lands in Ireland, in anticipation of John Wogan's retirement from his duties there; Walter would naturally succeed to Picton on his father's death. There is moreover a hint in the records that Margaret de Staunton was still a minor, although no guardian is mentioned. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the above grants represent the only link, of any kind, between John Wogan and Picton, while there is nothing in the public records to connect any of his descendants with Picton until 1357 (see below).

As well as Picton, the share of the barony of Wiston acquired by the Wogans, through Walter's marriage, included lands at Colby, Clarbeston, Ambleston, Rinaston, Drim, Arnold's Hill and elsewhere, and a share of Wiston and its manorial court (Owen 1918, 137; *Cal. Inq.*

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[43] 14 September.

[44] Davey will have become familiar with the cartulary during his time as a prebendary of St David's Cathedral, from 1876 until 1895, two years before he became Dean of Llandaff.

[45] Both referencing the *Acta et Statuta Ecclesiae Menevensis* in the British Library: BL Harleian MS 1249, ff. 79 and 82. Also see Girouard 1960, 19.

[46] And is accepted in most of the published accounts, eg. Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 356; Green 1916, 175; Owen 1902, 41; Listed Building website LB 6043.

[47] Often mistakenly given as 1312 in secondary sources.

Post Mortem 10, 306-7).[48] The other share remained in Staunton hands and was held by Walter de Staunton in 1324 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 6*, 336; Owen 1918, 86-7). The barony was altogether assessed as 2½ knight's fees which were held in demesne, 'severally and in equal portions' between Wogan and Staunton who are clearly stated to hold 1¼ fees each (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 9*, 120; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 10*, 306-7; Owen 1897, 518; Owen 1918, 86-7, 94-5). Altogether it was worth £33 6s yearly in 1324 and 1348 (ibid.).[49]

In Pembroke lordship, John Wogan also held the third part of 2 knight's fees in Cosheston, Brotherhill and Mayeston, altogether comprising 5 carucates and 2 bovates and worth 40 marks yearly (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 6*, 336; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 10*, 306-7; Owen 1918, 86-7), one tenth of a fee in 'La Torre', worth 26s 8d yearly, and the third part of 5 bovates of land at Llanteg, altogether worth 13s 4d yearly (*Cal. Close Rolls 1323-27*, 276). In addition, he received rent from lands at Uzmaston in Haverford lordship, worth £11 5s yearly (Owen 1911, 65). It is not known when or how these lands were acquired by Wogan; his wife Margaret's share of the de Vale estates in Haverford do not figure in any accounts of their holdings.

Nor is the Staunton succession clear. We do not know the relationship between Walter and Adam de Staunton, and why the former did not succeed to the entire barony. It is possible that, unlike Walter Wogan's wife Margaret, he was not in the direct line of succession, perhaps belonging to a junior branch. And it is almost certain that he was still a minor when Adam died. It is conceivable that he was related to either Philip or William de Staunton, who were attorneys for John Wogan's clerk in 1305 (Sweetman and Handcock 1886, 129). At any rate, it is significant that junior members of the Staunton family became part of John Wogan's affinity after his son's marriage.

In summary, then, John Wogan acquired Picton through the marriage of his son between September 1301 and May 1302 – which is therefore the earliest date that any work at Picton Castle can have been undertaken by Wogan. And although the presumed *vill* at Picton may have been associated with a 'manor-house' (if not a motte) – from which Wogan made his St Davids grant – there is no evidence to suggest the present castle is any earlier than 1302, and the work of a predecessor. Stylistically, in fact, it appears to be a little later – which would coincide with Wogan's acquisition of sufficient revenues to pay for it after 1309. Nor is the castle the product of incremental development: it follows a single, highly formalised design that was seen through in its entirety, probably over a five-year period, showing marked stylistic unity and strong evidence of patronal control. So we need to look at Wogan's subsequent career for an idea when work might have been commenced.

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[48] The Wogan share in full, compiled from inquisitions of 1324, 1357 and 1419, comprised land or shares of land at: Picton (with Cresborough and Hillblock), Colby, Rinaston, Drim, Slebech, Dullaston, Longland, Arnold's Hill, Walton East, Selvedge, Ambleston, Clarbeston, Holloway, Burghvale, Fenton, Fletherhill, Crundalehook, Haythog, Bullhook, Grove, and a moiety of Wiston and its manorial court (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 6*, 336; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 10*, 306-7; Green 1916, 192; Owen 1918, 86-7).
[49] Assessing precisely how the fees were divided is more difficult. Neither partner appears senior in the sources: each has an equal share, and they share sequential precedence when named.

Lord of Picton, 1302-21

John Wogan was periodically 'in England' over the next few years, some references to which may in fact mean Wales, as in the period between September 1308 and May 1309 when he was replaced as justiciar by his deputy, William de Burgh (Mackay 2009). This hiatus might have allowed work on Picton Castle to begin, at least – although little would have been achieved during the winter season before Wogan was recalled to Ireland in May 1309. Building work on this scale, moreover, would be dependent on access to sufficient revenues: while he had long held lands in England, and now held a share of Wiston barony, we have seen that Wogan was not released from payment for his Irish lands until June 1309, while his estate there was effectively doubled in May 1313 with the addition of five more manors, and a corresponding increase in revenues.

And when he left Ireland in August 1312, Wogan was advanced in years and probably looking towards lessening his workload. In fact, he is thought to have retired to his Pembrokeshire estates (Mackay 2009; Thomas 1900, 287). Nevertheless, there is no firm evidence for this. Although intermittently recorded in Wales, he was far from retired – already in September 1312 he was on a royal commission in west Wales, and in October was sent on Crown service to London. By December he was investigating a complaint in mid-Wales, but in May 1313 he was a justice in eyre in Kent, and was busy in north Wales in August 1314 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 536, 538, 546-7, 555, 589; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313-17*, 229). He seems to have become more settled in Wales when, in October 1314, he received royal permission to stay there for two years (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313-17*, 186, 223), though not necessarily in Pembrokeshire: he was in Shropshire and the borderlands in March 1315 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313-17*, 312).

Nor had his connection with Ireland come to an end. His long experience of Irish affairs was clearly behind his recall to Ireland, following the invasion – ultimately unsuccessful – of Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, in 1315. Wogan was in Ireland with the newly-appointed king's lieutenant, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, in 1317-18 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313-17*, 646; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317-21*, 35, 189), and remained there, serving on a number of commissions in the aftermath of the invasion (*Cal. Close Rolls 1318-23*, 139; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317-21*, 371). He is last heard of in Ireland in February 1320 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1318-23*, 175), only a year before his death in 1321.

So, while it is possible that work on Picton Castle commenced 1308-9, the period 1314-15 may be more likely, when Wogan was licenced to spend time in Wales and was receiving a considerable increase in income from his Irish lands:[50] work may have commenced in spring 1315. This means that it may only recently have been completed when he died – but even if completed a little earlier it is highly unlikely that Wogan would have had the opportunity for any lengthy stays in his new castle.

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[50] His wealth, when he died, is unfortunately not known (Hand 2008).

Wives and sons

According to the sixteenth-century collection of Irish manuscripts known as the *Book of Howth*, Wogan's wife Margaret died in 1302 (Charles 1959; Green 1916, 176); she was still alive in May of that year (Sweetman and Handcock 1886, 7, 35), and a date in 1304 has also been suggested (Hand 2008). Either way, Wogan remarried at some point. He appears to have had two more sons. Another John Wogan held some of the Wogan lands in Pembs. in 1324-5 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 10*, 336; Owen 1918, 86-7), three years after the justiciar's death, and therefore must be a son; the use of the patronymic for a younger son was not unknown, and was perhaps a deliberate reference to Wogan's patron William de Valence, who had similarly named his second son William (Lewis 1936, 91). John was also clearly of age, meaning he was Margaret's son and Walter's full brother; he was probably the John Wogan who had custody of of Rindown Castle in 1307 (Sweetman and Handcock 1886, 170). A Thomas Wogan was described as the younger John's brother in 1326-7, when he was a minor (Owen 1911, 65); he came of age in 1331 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1330-33*, 213), meaning he was born in 1310 and was therefore the product of Wogan's second marriage, to Avice, who is first recorded as his wife in 1315.

Of Avice's background we know nothing, but given her likely age, she may not have been the Avice, widow of Nicholas de Boleville, whose Somerset lands were in Wogan's custody in 1295 (see above). But the Bolevilles (or Bonvilles) were also important landowners in Pembrokeshire and close associates of Wogan, while William de Boleville had similarly been Valence's steward of Pembroke at various times (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 373; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1327-41*, 214; Lyte 1900, 434, 527); a daughter of the same name may therefore be implied. At any rate Avice, like her husband, was in Wales in 1315, and accompanied him in Ireland in 1318 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317-21*, 222-3), providing conclusive evidence that it was John the elder who was serving there alongside Mortimer, rather than their son John (*contra* eg. Green 1916, 176-8; Hand 1967, 24).

Both elder sons appear nevertheless to have been largely resident in Ireland. While John had taken over custody of Rindown Castle, Walter was appointed, like his father, to the stewardship of Wexford for the Valences' son and successor Aymer, though he may only have been in post during 1309 (Phillips 1972, 292-3). He was assisting the new justiciar, Theobald de Verdun, in 1314 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1313-18*, 193), and joined his father alongside Roger Mortimer in 1318 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1318-23*, 2). Later that year, he was appointed escheator in Ireland, but was unable to take up the post immediately having travelled to Wales 'on the king's service' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317-21*, 191, 193).

According to the *Book of Howth*, John Wogan the elder died in 1321, a date accepted by most authorities (eg. Charles 1959; Hand 2008; Mackay 2009; Thomas 1900, 287). However, the *Book of Howth* had recorded the death of a 'Sir John Dogan' in 1311, which was crossed out in the sixteenth century and the marginal note 'Wogan' added. The Pembrokeshire historian Francis Green deduced from this that John Wogan the elder had died in 1311, and that it was his son John's death that was recorded in 1321 (Green 1916, 176-9). However, we have seen that John the younger was still alive in 1324-5; the sixteenth-century interpolation can be dismissed. However, it is clear that John the elder had reached a ripe old age – assuming he was in his early twenties when first engaged by the Valences in

*c.*1270, he would have been in his mid-seventies. This longevity was to characterise his descendants.

He is assumed to have been buried in the chapel of St Nicholas at St Davids Cathedral, in which his chantry for the souls of his family, and that of his patrons the Valences, had been established in 1302. The chapel, originally from the mid-thirteenth century (Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 388, 391), contains an effigy of a knight from the early fourteenth century, which has tentatively been suggested to be Wogan, but always with great caution (eg. Davey 1898, 225-6, 235; Green 1916, 175; Hand 2008; Owen 1902, 41; Thomas 1900, 287-8); the Pevsner guide avoids attribution (Lloyd *et al.* 2004, 409). Presentation of chaplains to the chantry remained in the hands of Wogan's descendants and are recorded, in the 1490s, being made by the Dwnns of Picton Castle (Isaacson 1917, 625, 719; see below). The chantry persisted until the dissolution of chantries in 1547 (Davey 1898, 233).

Wogan apparently issued documents under his own seal – a fragmentary, undated membrane, tested at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, bears a seal with the device 'an eagle displayed, a shield charged with plain chief and fesse coticised', and the inscription 'Johannis Wogan' (Bain 1884, 555).

Fig. 234: Suggested Wogan family tree, up until c.*1400*
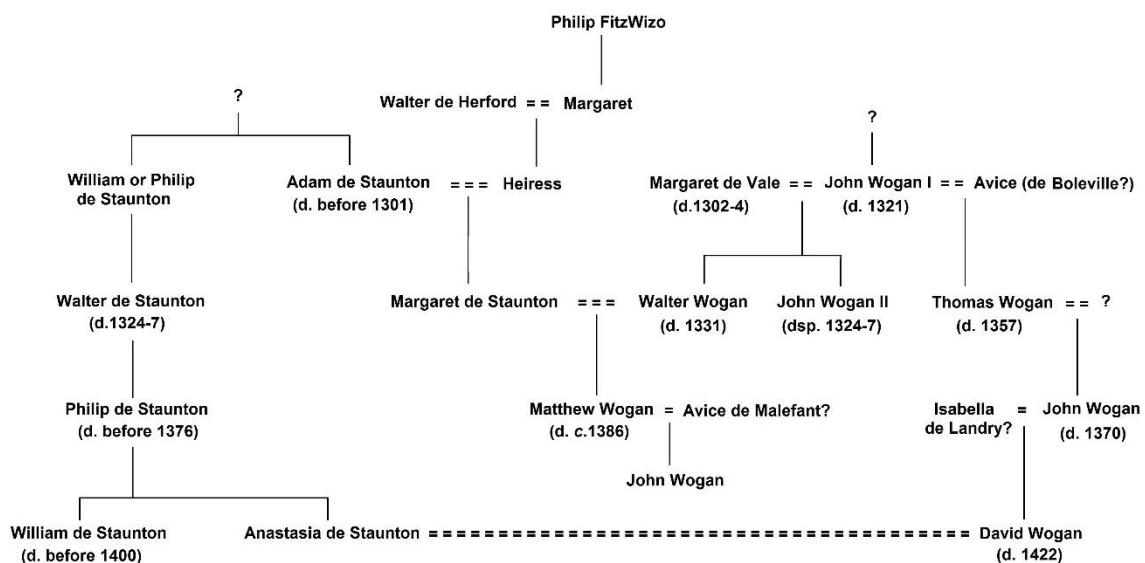
Picton and Wiston in the early fourteenth century

John Wogan was succeeded in his Wiston lands, including Picton, by Walter and his wife Margaret: we have seen that they shared the barony with the male Staunton heir, another Walter, who was of age by 1324 at the latest. Walter Wogan was back in Wales by November 1320, and did not return to Ireland to take up his post there until May 1322 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317-21*, 524; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321-24*, 22, 113). We do not know where he was in Wales but, although his stay had been licenced, he does not appear to have been on royal

service: it is tempting to speculate that the prolonged visit was associated with his father's ailing health and death, and with the succession. It also suggests that John may have died at Picton.

Walter's younger brother John received a share of the Irish estates (*Cal. Close Rolls 1330-33*, 213), and his father's Pembrokeshire lands at Cosheston, Torre, Llanteg and Uzmaston (*Cal. Close Rolls 1323-27*, 276; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 6, 336; Owen 1918, 86-7*). This may be one basis for the error made in a number of accounts which assume that the Wogan family divided into two branches, one based at Wiston Castle and the other at Picton and in Ireland (eg. Green 1916; Hand 2008; Owen 1902, 35-48; Thomas 1900, 288): this was not the case, and it will be seen that the Stauntons appear to have retained control of Wiston Castle until the late fourteenth century.

Both Walter de Staunton and John Wogan the younger died between 1324 and 1327, when the Staunton share of Wiston was being held in ward, by the lordship of Pembroke, during the minority of Walter's son Philip de Staunton (Owen 1918, 125). The Cosheston and Uzmaston lands of John, who had presumably died without issue, were similarly in ward as Thomas Wogan, 'his brother and heir', was also a minor (ibid.; Owen 1911, 65).[51] Thomas Wogan came of age in 1331 and succeeded to John the younger's estates in Pembrokeshire and Ireland (*Cal. Close Rolls 1330-33*, 213).

Wiston: castle and manor-house

Walter Wogan's duties seem to have kept him in Ireland. He was re-appointed escheator in 1323 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321-24*, 235), also becoming a justice there in 1324 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1324-27*, 26); it is likely that his wife was resident with him in Ireland, and that his son Matthew was brought up there. His absence is perhaps another reason for believing work on the castle had been completed by his father. He appears to have died at some point in 1331,[52] probably aged around 50. His son Matthew, however, was still a minor (Owen 1918, 137) – possibly confirming that Walter's wife, Margaret, was very young when they married in 1302. Wogan property in the barony will have remained vacant during Matthew's minority, under the maintenance of officials.

The borough of Wiston was occupied by two high-status residences – the castle, and a manor-house immediately to the east, which is known to have been in existence by the late sixteenth century but has long been speculated to have earlier origins (Murphy 1995, 74-5; Turner 1996, 5). It appears, in fact, to be early fourteenth-century, and relates to the division of the barony – and its courts – between the Stauntons and the Wogans, each of whom would need a residence to accommodate their own courts: in 1331-2, during the hiatus after Walter's death and the minority of both Philip de Staunton and Matthew Wogan, '160 acres of demesne land with a capital messuage' in the barony were under lease, for 58s 3d, to Thomas Cogan, the reeve of Wiston (Owen 1918, 125, 137; see above for Thomas Cogan). The feudal manor occupied by the manor-house was entirely separate from the manor that comprised the borough and castle and, in his list from *c*.1600, George

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[51] That is, John Wogan the elder's youngest son, and Walter Wogan's half-brother (*contra* Green 1916, 176-9 and Thomas 1900, 288).

[52] After February 1331 but before 1332 (Owen 1918, 135-7).

Owen clearly distinguishes the manors of Wiston '*manerium*' and Wiston '*villa*' (Owen 1897, 399, 518). The term 'capital messuage' is, moreover, one not normally used for a castle, while Thomas Cogan appears to have been reeve of the Wogan share of Wiston manor: this record may therefore confirm the suggestion above that the castle remained in Staunton hands, and have seen that it was maintained as a residence during the fourteenth century.

Matthew had succeeded by 1335, and was in Pembrokeshire in November that year when Philip de Staunton succeeded to his share of Wiston barony, having also reached majority (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 7, 489;* Owen 1918, 19). The evidence that Matthew had spent his youth with his father in Ireland is circumstantial, but persuasive: he is said to have married in 1334, having probably reached his majority, bringing property that appears to have been located in Ireland (Green 1916, 191 citing a 'deed in Cardiff Library').[53] And in 1336, Matthew appointed attorneys to look after his Irish affairs while he was in Wales, where he intended to remain for three years (*Cal. Pat Rolls 1334-38*, 220).

Picton and Wiston

Thomas Wogan, youngest son of John Wogan the elder and Matthew's uncle, continued the family tradition of service in Ireland. By 1337 he had custody of Clonmore Castle, Co. Carlow (*Cal. Close Rolls 1337-1339*, 63; *Cal. Close Rolls 1339-1341*, 381), where his father had been tenant but which was now held for King Edward III by the justiciar, Anthony de Lucy (O'Keeffe 2001, 171-2); he retained the post until at least 1344 (O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 13). And in 1337, like Walter, he was appointed escheator of Ireland (Rees 1975, 291n.; *Cal. Close Rolls 1339-1341*, 153, 235, 473, 480).

Matthew Wogan, on the other hand, disappears from the Irish records after the 1330s, and it appears that he exchanged his Irish lands with Thomas (see Green 1916, 190). No Irish lands are mentioned in his son's *Inquisition Post Mortem* of 1419 (reproduced in Green 1916, 192-3; see below), whereas we find Thomas in possession of the core Wogan estate in Kildare upon his death in 1357 – when he was also recorded to have demised his lands at Cosheston and Torre to Matthew, 'for life, and rent-free', in 1339 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 10*, 306-7; Owen 1918, 102-3). However, the latter represents a very small portion of the Wogans' Pembrokeshire inheritance, the bulk of which – including Picton Castle – had gone to Matthew as the senior family representative (ibid.). Perhaps Thomas has inherited Wogan land elsewhere, in England for example, which formed part of the exchange but was not recorded.

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[53] Francis Green thought this property – at 'Algetslond' and 'Strydholme', and the advowson of the church at 'Ernebaud' – was located in Pembrokeshire, adding that the witnesses to its grant all have Pembrokeshire names (Green 1916, 191). But none of the place-names correspond to any locations in Pembrokeshire, frome whence settlement in Ireland is moreover renowned. Matthew's wife may have been another Avice, daughter of Walter Malefant of Upton in Pembs. (*fl*. 1320-50; Owen 1902, 47), who was also active in Irish administration and held land there (Sweetman 1879, 165, 427, 505); this identification however comes from Lewys Dwnn (Meyrick 1846, 107), and cannot be relied upon.

At some point before 1354, however, Matthew had also demised Picton to Thomas, along with some of his other lands in Wiston barony. They were held by Thomas 'by knight's service and doing suit at Matthew's court in the manor of Wiston every fortnight' (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 10*, 306-7). It is not known when or why this occurred, but it may too have been in 1339 after Thomas had relinquished his post as escheator in Ireland. For in June that year, we find Thomas 'staying with his men in Wales, upon the sea coast, arraying men in those parts for their defence against the attacks of the king's enemies' (*Cal. Close Rolls 1339-1341*, 235), ie. in response to French invasion threats during the opening years of the Hundred Years War. This is a very significant entry – a defensible location is implied, but Thomas had inherited no castles in Wales, and we have seen that Picton was transferred to him earlier in 1339. Later that year, moreover, Thomas's 'lands and castles' were seized, presumably including Picton, in lieu of money that he owed the King for his time as escheator; they were restored to him in April 1340 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1339-1341*, 480; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 8*, 117; Rees 1975, 291 and n.).[54] It is assumed that Matthew had hitherto been resident at Picton, but this is nevertheless a significant intimation of Wogan occupation, and military use, of the castle.

The Wogan share of Wiston itself did not form part of the exchange, and it is therefore likely that Matthew henceforth took up residence in the manor-house, where he had also retained his share of the manorial court: he remained active in Pembrokeshire's jurisdiction (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1348-50*, 240). Thomas may have returned to Ireland in 1341 (Mackay 2009), and by 1352 was dwelling in England, at an unknown location but maintaining a household of some size, to which he was importing large quantities of grain 'from his manors in Ireland' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1350-1354*, 242, 328). But it was not until 1354 that Picton and Thomas's other Wiston lands were returned to Matthew, 'for the rest of his life' (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 10*, 306-7).[55] It may be speculated that Matthew divided his time between Wiston manor and Picton Castle; it is apparent, at least, that the castle was always maintained.

The late fourteenth and fifteenth century

Thomas Wogan had married by 1336, when his son John is stated to have been born (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 10*, 306-7).[56] We don't know the name of Thomas's wife, but in 1312-16

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[54] Matthew's share of Wiston itself did not form part of the transfer – and, unlike Picton, is not near the sea coast – confirming that Picton Castle is meant.

[55] It is tempting to speculate that the initial exchange had been prompted by Matthew's failure, after five years of marriage, to produce an heir. Matthew's only recorded son, John, lived until 1419, and was therefore clearly the product of his second marriage (see below). The return of these lands in 1354 may indicate that this marriage had taken place, and John perhaps born, which would make him 65 in 1419.

[56] There is also a possible younger son, 'Henry Wogan, knight' who was recorded in 1371 after serving in France, and who held land in Ireland where he was steward of Wexford in 1374 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1370-74*, 88; O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 13). He is also recorded on various commissions in Pembrokeshire in 1377 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1374-77*, 501; Owen 1918, 33-4). Published accounts have struggled to identify him. He was clearly more than of age by 1371, but Bertie Charles suggested he was John's son ie. Thomas's grandson (Charles 1959); if so he can have been 14 at most in 1371, and

his father had paid 10 marks for the marriage of the daughter and co-heiress of Walter de Ivethorn, a landowner in Ireland (Green 1916, 181-2), perhaps intended for Thomas. Thomas died aged 47 in 1357, and was succeeded by John, who had recently come of age and was already married (Rees 1975, 291n.).[57] Thomas's *Inquisition Post Mortem* is the first governmental record of Picton by name, and the first record of any kind since 1302. In it, he was possessed of the Wogan lands in Ireland with the exception of Castledermot in Ikeathy, which Matthew might conceivably have retained for himself; all Thomas's Pembrokeshire interests had by now been returned to Matthew.

Picton garrisoned?

In 1376, Matthew was holding the barony of Wiston jointly with William de Staunton (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 14, 163-4;* Owen 1918, 102-3), meaning that Philip de Staunton, who had succeeded in 1335, must have died. The following year, in April 1377, Picton Castle entered the record for the first time. Another threat of invasion from France was serious enough for orders to be sent to the newly-appointed royal captain at Pembroke Castle, Degarey Seys, to 'survey, repair and fortify the castle and town of Pembroke', and to 'survey the other castles of Pembrokeshire, to wit, the castles of Manorbier, Carew, Pilton, Newport and others, and to compel their lords to have them repaired and garrisoned, under pain of forfeiture' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1374-77*, 495); the name 'Pilton' is almost certainly a scribal error for Picton (King 1988, 396).[58] There is no record of any forfeitures and, like his peers, Matthew Wogan presumably complied. Picton Castle is not mentioned again until 1405.

Matthew was still undertaking commissions in Pembrokeshire until 1385, when he was well into his seventies (*Cal. Close Rolls 1381-85*, 610; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, 256, 494). He is apparently last mentioned in 1386, when he seems to have died (Walker 2002b, 174); there is unfortunately no *Inquisition Post Mortem*. He had however acquired further property in Pembrokeshire, at Coedcenlas, held by Matthew 'and Sybil his wife' in 1386, meaning that he had remarried (Green 1916, 192).

His kinsman John, Thomas Wogan's son, had by now been dead for around 15 years. Without an estate in Pembrokeshire, which had been relinquished by his father, John's activities had been mainly confined to Ireland, and England where he appears to have inherited his father's property. His Irish lands were briefly seized by the King in 1360, as a

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ergo not a knight. But he may be the Henry Wogan who received lands at Boulston, Pembs., through marriage (see Green 1916, 188; Owen 1902, 42), giving rise to a dynasty of Wogans there.

[57] John's wife is thought to have been Isabella de Landry, who brought lands in Llangwm, Pembrokeshire and the manor of Llandawke, in Carmarthenshire, to the marriage (Green 1916, 183; Owen 1902, 42).

[58] There is a faint possibility that Castle Pill (or 'Prix Pill'), near Milford Haven, is meant. A promontory enclosure, possibly with iron age origins, it was re-used as a medieval castle mentioned by the local antiquary, George Owen, in *c*.1600 when it was 'ancient' and disused (Owen 1897, 401). Though it has no recorded history, it is thought that the remains of a masonry curtain wall, and a possible D-shaped tower, may relate to this castle (Davis 2000, 31; RCAHMW Coflein, NPRN 305271): although re-used as a Civil War fort, in 1643-44, this was apparently defended solely by earthworks (Mathias 1987, 183; Phillips 1874b, 144). Nevertheless, the suffix 'ton' is not recorded in association with Castle Pill, and Picton remains the most likely identification for 'Pilton'.

result of his continued absence, but were restored following his 'good service in Wales' during the French invasion scare of 1360 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1358-61*, 439); it is possible that he'd been assisting Matthew and the Stauntons in Pembrokeshire. He was permitted to return to England until 1361, when he left for Ireland (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1358-61*, 573). He was again commanded to return to Ireland in 1369 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1369-74*, 5-6), where he is said to have died, in his mid-thirties, around 1370 (Green 1916, 183; Owen 1902, 42).

Wiston under Wogan control

John was succeeded by his son son David (Green 1916, 183; O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 14; Owen 1902, 42), though it cannot have been direct – he will still have been a minor when his father died, though there is no record of wardship. Like his forebears, David entered royal sevice in Ireland, where he is recorded in 1385 and where he was primarily resident, on the Wogan estates in Co. Kildare (*Cal. Papal Registers 5*, 300; O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 13): in the rolls, he is called 'David Wogan of Ireland' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396-99*, 209). But in 1397 he was licenced to be absent from Ireland for a year, to attend to 'affairs touching his English inheritance' – presumably the properties in England that belonged to his grandfather Thomas – returning to Ireland in May 1398 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396-1399*, 209, 340).

William de Staunton of Wiston must have died before 1400 as the Staunton inheritance, including their share of Wiston, had fallen by then to an heiress, Anastasia. Anastasia de Staunton married David Wogan in 1400 (*Cal. Papal Registers 5*, 300) – which brought the entire barony into Wogan hands.[59]

More exchanges

There are few records of the Wogans in the primary sources during the first decades of the fifteenth century. And while the secondary sources make much of the fact that the two parts of the barony had become united under Wogan control, they were held by two entirely separate branches of the family and in reality, it is now that the division between the Wogans of Picton and the Wogans of Wiston begins.

Matthew Wogan had been succeeded by his son, another John (Green 1916, 192). According to his *Inquisition Post Mortem* (reproduced in Green 1916, 192-3), John held the Wogan share of the barony, like his father had, when he died in 1419, that is 'three parts of two knight's fees and the moiety of a knight's fee in Wiston', along with 'one monthly court and the moiety of a monthly court at Wiston'. The manors, and shares of manors that are listed, also correspond with previous Wogan inquisitions, including Picton. But the manor of Picton (with its appendent holdings at Hillblock and Cresborough) is here assessed as an additional knight's fee, over and above the Wiston fees, along with another supranumary fee at Fletherhill. It is rather more detailed than previous inquisitions and we can see that some of the other manors within the barony are divided into fractions of knight's fees, doubtless reflecting their long-standing division between the Wogans and the Stauntons.

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[59] Anastasia was David's second wife: at some point before 1397, he had married Anne Plunket (*Cal. Papal Registers 5*, 145), of a leading Anglo-Irish family.

The inquisition appears therefore to confirm that David and Anastasia Wogan received the Staunton share of the barony, including Wiston Castle. We saw that finds from the castle suggest that residential occupation may have continued into the fifteenth century, while David Wogan was granted licence to convey corn from Ireland 'for the victualling of his castle in Wales' in 1409 (Green 1916, 184; O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 14).[60] As Picton was held by John Wogan, and no other Wogan castles are known in Wales, this presumably relates to Wiston (and see Jones 1965, 48-9).[61] But David and Anastasia appear to have always been resident primarily in Ireland, where most of their land lay (O'Kelly de Galway 1896, 13-14).

John Wogan, on the other hand, seems like his father to have maintained two residences within the barony, Wiston manor-house and Picton Castle. However, it is the descendants of David Wogan, rather than John, who we find in possession of Picton. Predeceased by his eldest son, David's Welsh inheritance passed to his granddaughter Katherine who, in 1438, married Owain Dwnn of Muddlescwm in Carmarthenshire (Green 1916, 186): Owain Dwnn is subsequently recorded in possession of Picton while his son, Henry, was known to his contemporaries as 'Harry Dwnn of Picton' (Green 1916, 188; Griffiths 2002, 241). It is clear therefore that another exchange between the Wogans must have taken place after David's death in 1422, possibly during the minority of his granddaughter. And indeed, we find John Wogan's descendants holding both parts of Wiston,[62] including the borough and castle site (Owen 1897, 518), and accordingly received the sobriquet 'Wogans of Wiston' (Green 1916; Turvey 2002; Owen 1902 et al.). We can be fairly certain that they occupied the manor-house: although it is uncertain when Wiston Castle was abandoned, occupation cannot, on current evidence, be suggested much further into the fifteenth century.

Picton Castle in the fifteenth century

Picton Castle enters the record, for only the second time, in 1405 – presumably under John Wogan, although the account is sparing and without names occupants. In August that year, Pembrokeshire came under combined attack from Owain Glyndŵr, with around 10,000 men, and a force of 2,600 French troops which had landed in Milford Haven. Together they took Haverfordwest town, and then attacked Tenby (Turvey 1990, 163; Turvey 2002**a**, 214; Wylie 1894, 301). But according to a contemporary French account, by the anonymous St Denys chronicler, the combined force had also taken *castrum nomine Picot* before moving on to Tenby (Bellaguet 1841, 324); the 'castle called Picot' can be fairly confidently identified as Picton (as noted by eg. Hague 1964, 341, King 1983, 396, Davis 2000, 108 and Hull 2005, 183), which lies on the overland route from Haverfordwest to Tenby. However, it is worth noting that most authorities have tended not to reproduce this account – including James Hamilton Wylie, who otherwise references the St Denys chronicle, and Roger Turvey (ops. cit.). There is no evidence for any damage to the fabric, or rebuilding (discussed in Section 5.1.3), and it is likely the castle quickly surrendered against overwhelming odds.

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[60] Or possibly 1407; the primary source is from the Irish Patent Rolls, which were destroyed by fire in 1922.

[61] Wiston was not one of the named Pembrokeshire castles that were ordered to be garrisoned in 1377, but could have been one of the 'other castles' that were mentioned, but not named (see above).

[62] That is, both 'Wiston *manerium*' and 'Wiston *villa*' (see above).

The following November, the lord of Pembroke, Francis Court, sued for peace with Glyndŵr – a six-month truce in return for £200 in silver, which was raised from the lordships of Pembroke, Carew, Stackpole, Manorbier, Wiston, Walwyn's Castle and Cemais, in which every knights' fee was to find 4 shillings (Turvey 1990, 164-5; Turvey 2002a, 215-16; Wylie 1894, 310). Picton Castle was presumably returned to Wogan. Assisting Francis Court was one 'William Picton' (Owen 1897, 483), whose relationship with Picton is uncertain, but we have seen that it was a fairly common surname by the fifteenth century and no connection with the castle is necessarily implied.[63]

As we move further into the fifteenth century, the published accounts become more reliable and the summary given here will be correspondingly brief. Owain Dwnn became an influential member of the Pembrokeshire gentry and, like the Wogans, was part of the affinity of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester in west Wales, which developed during the duke's tenure as justiciar of west Wales during the 1430s-40s (Turvey 2002b, 381-2). Owain's son Henry – who had married a Wogan, John Wogan's great-granddaughter Margaret – succeeded to Picton around 1460, by which time he had been sheriff of Pembrokeshire and escheator for Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke (Griffiths 2002, 241). But the Dwnns came to identify with the Yorkist cause during the Wars of the Roses, and Henry was killed fighting the Lancastrians at the Battle of Edgecote in July 1469 (Griffiths 2002, 245; Turvey 2002b, 384). His five-year-old son, William, died before reaching majority (Jones 1965, 49), and it was a daughter, Joan, who succeeded to Picton. She married Thomas ap Philip, of Cilsant in Carmarthenshire (Green 1916, 188; Griffiths 2002, 260; Lloyd *et al*. 2004, 357); this marriage may have occurred before 1486 (Jones 1965, 49), and certainly by October 1491 when the presentation of a chaplain to the Wogan chantry at St Davids was made by 'Joan Dwnn, wife of Thomas ap Philip de Picton, patroness there with her sister Joneta Dwnn' (Isaacson 1917, 625).[64]

The notorious absenteeism by its earls and justiciars during the later fifteenth century enabled men of position in west Wales to build up considerable wealth and influence (Turvey 2002b, 390-91), and Thomas ap Philip – soon anglicised to Thomas Philipps – was no exception. He joined the ranks of Pembrokeshire gentry with revenues in excess of £300 p.a. (Turvey 2002b, 375), and was possibly among those who were able to employ their own chaplains, attorneys and stewards (see Turvey 2002b, 395). His tenure at Picton Castle, which ended with his death around 1521, is the most likely context for the refenestration, with late-Perpendicular window tracery, of the Great Hall (see Section 5.4.1). Another Perpendicular window over the main entry may be a little later – perhaps 1510-20, and also within Thomas's tenure. These are the only substantial medieval alterations to John Wogan's building for which there is any evidence. Both were later altered.

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[63] – Such truces were expressly forbidden by the Crown, and were denounced by Henry IV and his council. However, royal authority in the area was vestigial. The truce lasted until May 1406, by which time Glyndŵr was in retreat (Turvey 2002a, 215-16).

[64] Though associated with Picton in the record, the patronage was probably inherited from her mother Katherine ie. from the main line of the Pembrokeshire Wogans via Walter and Matthew. By 1497, it was jointly held by Joan and Thomas (Isaacson 1917, 719).

APPENDIX 2 – PICTON DURING THE CIVIL WAR, 1642-45

Picton Castle was attacked and taken twice during the Civil War of 1642-45, in its only recorded military engagement after 1405.

Pembrokeshire, in 1642, was a divided county. The Royalists were many, but not organised; the Parliamentarians meanwhile were fewer, but cohesive. They included John Wogan of Wiston, who was MP for the county and one of the 'grand old men' of the Parliamentary cause. He was too elderly to appear in the field himself, but his sons Rowland and Thomas served in the Parliamentary army, Thomas becoming one of the regicides of 1649 (Mathias 1987, 162).

By August 1642 hostilities had become inevitable. Parliament sent John Wogan and his fellow MPs to Pembrokeshire on 18 August, with instructions to raise a militia – and Sir Richard Philipps, Bart., of Picton Castle, was one of the appointed commissioners (Phillips 1874b, 4). But although broadly supportive of the Parliamentary cause, Philipps was to prove a 'trimmer', circumspect and pragmatic (Mathias 1987, 165).

By the time Wogan arrived in Pembrokeshire, on 23 August, King Charles I had raised his standard at Nottingham and war had begun. Wogan and Philipps were among the Pembrokeshire gentry who declined an invitation to join the Royalist Association in the three counties, measures instead being taken to secure south Pembrokeshire for Parliament with garrisons installed at Pembroke, Tenby and Haverfordwest (Mathias 1987, 172-3).

But the effects of the war were not felt in south Wales until July 1643 when the capture of Bristol, by the Royalists, suddenly made it vulnerable to attack. The Pembrokeshire gentry were again summoned to join the Royalist Association under its leader, Earl Carbery. Many complied: Tenby and Haverfordwest declared for the King and their garrisons were replaced with Royalist forces. Others refused, including John Wogan, and the mayor of Pembroke John Poyer who, alongside Rowland Laugharne of St Brides in Pembs., held out at Pembroke (Mathias 1987, 176-9).

During August and September 1643, Royalist garrisons were imposed upon other castles surrounding Pembroke, including Picton. Sir Richard Philipps, bowing to the inevitable, subscribed to the Royalist cause along with many other gentry families, with varying degrees of Parliamentary sympathy, who believed the cause was lost (Phillips 1874b, 85, 121). We saw in Appendix 1 that the castle in John Wogan's manor at Wiston was, by now, disused.

The tide began to turn early in 1644, with a succession of Parliamentary victories in Pembrokeshire. Haverfordwest, Carew and Tenby surrendered and the Royalist garrisons of smaller castles, including Picton, withdrew (Leach 1937, 73). The campaign culminated with the surrender of Carmarthen, the Royalist HQ in west Wales, in April (Ludlow 2014, 232). The campaign in west Wales seemed to be over.

But Earl Carbery was replaced by a professional soldier, Colonel Charles Gerard (ibid.). In response to this new threat, the three west Wales counties formed a Parliamentary Association for their defence, under Rowland Laugharne whose promotion to Major-General

followed (Phillips 1874b, 164). The ordinance was signed in June 1644; on 26 July, several more signatures were added, including that of Sir Richard Philipps of Picton (ibid.). He was placed under bond of £5000 to garrison Picton Castle for Parliament (Leach 1937, 106).

Carmarthenshire had fallen to Gerard by July, and inroads had been made into Pembrokeshire including the capture of Roch Castle. The Parliamentarians withdrew to their centres at Haverfordwest, Pembroke and Tenby. Haverfordwest eventually fell on 22 July. King Charles I had, however, been defeated at Marston Moor earlier in the month and Gerard was recalled to England. The Royalist advance ground to a halt, the garrison at Haverfordwest departing in September. Winter 1644-5 saw the surrender of Cardigan, and the promotion of Major-General Laugharne as commander of all Parliamentary forces in south Wales (Mathias 1987, 189-94).

Matters rapidly changed with the return of Colonel Gerard. Cardigan Castle was abandoned, the garrison withdrawing to Pembroke (Mathias 1987, 194). Haverfordwest fell to Gerard on 28 April 1645, along with Picton Castle later the same day. An eyewitness account of its capture tells us that –

> 'from Haverfordwest, General Gerard marched that very night over the water to Picton Castle (belonging to Baronet Philipps) which the rebels have made a very strong hold; where he presently sent in his summons, but the rebels being obstinate, about 12 o'clock that night he fell on it and stormed it, and mastered it in less than an hour, with the loss of 9 common soldiers hurt and taken, but not one officer, only Col. Butler [who] received a shot whereof he is now past danger. In the castle were found three barrels of powder, 150 arms, Baronet Philipps's son [Erasmus?] and two of his daughters, a good round sum of ready money, and 12 trunks of plate, besides £500 more in money going to sea. The castle itself is very strong and in good repair, where General Gerard placed a sufficient garrison' (Phillips 1874b, 252).

Gerard went on to take Carew Castle the following day, once more driving the Parliamentarians back to Pembroke and Tenby. It is needless speculating on the absence of Richard Philipps himself during this engagement: though an equivocator, he does seem to have been genuinely inclined towards Parliament, and it is in any case unlikely that he deliberately left his family to their fate.

The end came in sight with the defeat of Charles I's army at Naseby on 14 June 1645. The King decided his best hopes lay in Wales and he moved towards Cardiff, but failed to raise sufficient troops; Colonel Gerard was meanwhile dismissed (Mathias 1987, 194). Rowland Laugharne advanced towards Haverfordwest, with the Pembroke and Tenby garrisons, in late July. The ensuing battle, fought at Colby Moor near Wiston on 1 August, was a rout for Laugharne, who went on to take Haverfordwest on 5 August (Mathias 1987, 195).

Only three Royalist garrisons were now left in Pembrokeshire, at Carew, Manorbier and Picton. The first two fell around the beginning of September (Leach 1937, 112; Phillips 1874a, 334). Picton, however, held out for three weeks, apparently in the hope of relief; when this did not appear, the castle surrendered to Rowland Laugharne on 20 September (Phillips 1874a, 334). Laugharne's forces immediately moved on to Carmarthen which, with the support of Parliamentary sympathisers, finally capitulated on 12 October 1645 (Ludlow

2014, 232; Phillips 1874b, 273). The Royalist cause in west Wales was lost, although Aberystwyth held out until April 1646 before surrendering (Mathias 1987, 195). Picton Castle appears to have played no part in the Second Civil War of 1648.

The description of Picton Castle as 'strong' in April 1645 is interesting, but may relate to the garrison and their munitions, rather than physical strength: it was taken within an hour. Nevertheless, it held for three weeks in September that year, while larger castles with more complex defences fell much sooner. Perhaps its very compactness was in its favour, and although the presence of a surrounding enclosure wall shown in 1678 may have been a factor, it probably was not a fortification as such (see Section 4.6; Figs. 7 and 175).

It is inevitable that an upheaval like the Civil War, with its traumatic effect on individuals and families, should have spawned its share of folk tales. Picton is no exception. Legend has it that its surrender to Laugharne's forces in September 1645 was prompted by threats to the life of Richard Philipps's son Erasmus. As related by Richard Fenton, 'in the lower storey of one of the bastions was the nursery in those days, having within it a small window . . . at which the maid was standing with Erasmus in her arms, when a Parliamentary trooper approached with a letter, to receive which she opened the window'. The soldier 'snatched the infant from her arms, and threatened to put him to death of the castle was not surrendered' (Fenton 1811, 282). Timbs and Gunn take up the tale: 'on this the garrison yielded, and was allowed to march out with the honours of war. It is said that the Parliamentary general was so touched by the loyalty of Sir Richard Philipps, and the stratagem by which he was compelled to surrender, that he gave orders that Picton Castle should not be demolished, as was the fate of other fortresses of Pembrokeshire' (Timbs and Gunn 1872, 479-80).

The story seems to have been based on an earlier trope, and was possibly intended to cast further doubt on Sir Richard Philipps's loyalties (Fenton 1811, 282-3). And while his son Erasmus was the heir in 1645, he was well out of infancy having been born c.1623. But in another, more satirical version of the story it is Sir Richard himself, a very small man, who was dragged out of the window while making terms with the besiegers (Fenton 1811, 282-3; Mirehouse 1910, 24). Yet it is interesting in the light of evidence, discussed in Section 4.5.3, that suggests new windows had replaced slit-lights at ground floor level, probably during the early/mid-seventeenth century. And it is unquestioned that Picton emerged unscathed from the Civil War and escaped slighting altogether, even of the most token nature – the enclosure wall seems also to have been undamaged (Fig. 7). Nevertheless, slighting in west Wales was variable: Carew appears also to have escaped, and was still habitable in the 1680s (King and Perks 1964, 275), Carmarthen appears not to have been dismantled until the late 1650s, long after the war (Ludlow 2014, 234) while Pembroke – perhaps inevitably, as the springboard for the second Civil War – was comprehensively slighted soon after its capture in 1648 (Day and Ludlow 2016, 71).

APPENDIX 3: THE INVENTORIES OF 1729, 1743 AND 1744

Appendix 3a: 'A True and Exact Account of the Moveable Houshould Goods at Picton Castle. Octor. 1729'
(from Jones 1965, 48-59)

In ye Hall. Four long tables, 2 forms, one oval table, one little folding table, 5 large maps, 8 small maps, 12 leather chairs, 12 red and green cushions, 12 joynt stools, 10 old turky work'd cushions, 1 brass sconce, 4 carbines, 4 swords, 4 pair of pistols, 11 muskets, 14 holbets [halberds], a clock, 2 long foot mats, a fender, and 2 stills one each side of ye fire.

In ye Closet in the Hall. 2 fruit boxes, a large earthen dish with sylybub glasses, and jelly glasses, 12 tea and coffee canisters, with a large coffee canister, and scales and weights.

Parlour. One fine large scrutore, 2 pretty large ovall tables, 2 black tables, 1 couch, one crimson chainey squab, 12 cane chairs, 12 plad cushions, 6 plad window curtains of the same, 10 maps, 2 pear-glasses [pier], one long glass over the table, 2 black stands, 2 glass-stands over the fire, a little stuff carpett, five earthen dishes, 3 thereof with brooken sides, 22 plates of severall sort, 7 flower potts, 3 thereof with wax work and one without, a fender, poker, tongs, fire shovell, a pair of bellows, and 2 black corner shelfs.

In the Closet [attached to the Parlour] A napkin press, cistern and mountaff, a water tubb and stooll.

In ye Drawing Room. A black cabinet, a large lookinglass, 6 chairs, 6 crimson chainey cushions, 4 window curtains of the same, arm chair and cushion, a corner cupboard, 1 tea table with chainey belonging to it, 6 small frame pictures, a large punch bowl, a jar, a fender, tongs, and fire shovel.

In the Damask Room. A cabinet. One bedstead, feather bed, bolster, 2 pillows, wrought curtains lined with silk, 3 blankets, a silk quilt and a white one, 3 jars, 8 frame glass pictures, 2 maps, 1 black Japan table, a lookinglass, 2 pear glasses, 2 little black tables under them. 2 corner shelfs, 1 easy chair and cushion, 10 cane chairs with 3 plush cushions, 6 calicoe window curtains, 1 glass over ye chimney with sprigs for chainey, a grate for wood, a pair of dogs, fender, fire shovel, tongs, poker, a pair of billows, a fine painted skreen, Falle curtains to the bed and 2 little (train ?) skreens.

In ye Closet [attached to above room]. A close stool and pan.

On the stair case and passage leading to my Masters Room 20 maps and one picture in oyl, a long chest with a squab on it purple white trimings.

In my Master's Room A bedstead, feather bed, bolster, 2 pillows, plad curtains, 3 blankets, a white stich'd quilt, a scrutore with a black shelf on ye top to hold chainey, a case of drawers, 2 tables, 2 cane chairs, 3 black chairs with rush bottoms, 2 red cushions, 3 white boxes, 2 of them with squabs on, and one without, 4 window curtains, a glass over the fire, and a frame with smal pictures, a fender, fire shovel, and tongs.

In the Closet [attached to the above room[A press, a buro, a chest of drawers, a wax baby in a glass, a small cabinet japan'd with gold, 2 chairs, one cushion, a box with the Comunion plate.

In the other Closet, a square table, a ceder box and pan.

In the closet leading to ye dressing room, a hanging press with calicoe curtains, a large chest, and 2 perewig boxes.

In the dressing room, one folding table, one chair with a rush bottom a little white round table with a muf, and muff case.

In ye closet thereunto adjoining, a little round table linned with red, and a little black Japan'd table.

Mr Phillips Room One bedstead, feather bed, bolster, 2 pillows, 3 blankets, and one calicoe quilt. Another purple bed, trimed with white, 1 bolster, 1 pillow, 3 blankets and one quilt, one scrutore, 2 chests of drawers, 5 cane chairs, 2 cushions, one little round table, a lookinglass, 3 maps, a pair of bellows, a fender, poker, tongs and fire shovel.

In Mr Philipps' Closet. A table cover'd with green bays, chair and cushion, and In ye other closet a large press with writings, a box and pan.

In Mr Bulkleys Closet, one table, one chair and one cushion.

Round Chamber A bed with red chainey curtains, feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 3 blankets, one calicoe quilt and one rugg, a reading desk, a little table, a lookinglass, 10 cane chairs, fire shovel and tongs.

In ye Closet [attached to the above room]. A bedstead, and ticking for a feather bed not set up with cloth curtains, calicoe triming for the head, a mould table and 3 dozen of moulds for candles, 4 large buff belts and 3 small ones, a pair of pistols, 4 gunpowder flasks, an old iron grate and a stove grate, and an old decay'd Trump of Marine, and 2 old skreens.

School Room. 2 maps without frames, 5 black chairs with rush bottoms.

Blew Room. A bed and bedstead lined with calicoe and hangins, a bolster, 2 pillows, 3 blankets and one quilt, a little square table, 2 cane chairs, 1 black chair with a rush bottom, 2 little stools, a fender, tongs, and poker.

In ye little room opposite to ye blew room. One bedstead, and feather bed with kyttermister curtains, and hangins of the same, 1 bolster, 1 pillow, 3 blankets, and a coverlid, a little square table, a map without a frame, and one little stool.

In the passage. Six maps.

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Thorough Room A stripe cloth bed, feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 3 blankets, and one quilt, a hanging press, 1 table, a lookinglass, 6 chairs, a fire shovel and tongs.

New Room. One Irish stich'd bed, feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 3 blankets, 1 quilt, another little press bed with 3 blankets, 1 bolster, and 1 quilt, one folding table, 1 arm chair, 6 cane chairs, 2 little stools, one pear glass over the fire, 1 lookinglass, 4 white stuff window curtains, 2 cushions, a fender, fire shovel, poker, and tongs.

In the Closet [attached to the above]. A chest of drawers, 2 window curtains the same as ye room, a close stool, box and pan.

Nursery. Two bedsteads with kyttermister curtains, 2 feather beds, 2 bolsters, 6 blankets, 2 pillows, and 2 red stuff quilts. 1 table, 5 chairs, 2 stools, a broaken lookinglass, a little case of drawers, white calicoe window curtains, a fire shovel and poker.

In ye Closet belonging to ye Nursery. A chest of drawers with shelfs, a close stool, box and pan.

Lead Chamber. Two beds, 2 feather beds, 2 bolsters, 6 blankets, and 2 coverlids, one stone table, 2 chairs, and 2 little trippets.

Garret over ye Nursery. One bedstead without curtains, feather bed and bolster, 3 blankets, 1 coverlid, and table.

Garret over ye Thorough Room. One bedstead with old green cloth curtains, 3 blankets, 1 bolster, 1 rug, and one table.

The old Room over the Brewhouse. A bed with old cloth curtains, a feather bed and bolster, 3 blankets, and an old cloth coverlid, a table, a chest within it, a Rushia skin, a large turkey work'd foot carpet, and 2 little ones, a small piece of dyed cloth, 4 pair of blankets, an old cloth stool and two little wooden stools.

In the passage over ye Brew house. A large ceder chest with writing papers in it, and another chest with Candles.

The Room over ye Cole house. An old bed with camblet curtains, feather bed and bolster, 3 blankets and a rugg, another feather bed in ye same room, cloth curtains, a bolster, 3 blankets and a coverlid and 2 pillows, a little table and an old cloth stool.

The Buttery. 4 Square tables, 3 shelfs, 1 old cupboard and 4 forms.

In the Outer Pantry. A table and noy under it, another square table and a flower tubb.

In ye Inner Pantry. One oatmeal tub, and 1 girt tubb.

The Gate Chamber. A bed stead feather bed and bolster, one pillow, old cloth curtains, 3 blankets and a coverlid, one writing table and a chair.

The other Gate Chamber. 2 old beds with cloth curtains, 6 blankets, 2 bolsters, and 2 coverlids.

In ye Lardery. 2 powdering tubs, 2 salting troughs, a stone table, 2 large forms for cutting meat, one large earthen pan, and a large plank for rubbing meat.

Landry. 2 long tables, 3 horses for drying linnen, 2 large presses for keeping linnen, 9 plain smothing irons, 3 box irons, 2 tripets for holding ye same, 3 large baskets and 2 small ones, a copper still with a pewter head, and worm, to it, and a starch pan.

In ye Vault. A buckin kive, 4 washing tubs, 2 pails, and 3 washing forms, and 2 coppers.

Still House. One bed with brown cloth curtains. 3 blankets and coverlid, and a cradle to hold masons to paint ye Coach Loft. 3 feather beds and old decay'd beding.

Stable. One bed and old beding.

Ox House. 3 straw beds with beding belong to them.

Dairy. Two Kilderkins of butter, 15 cheese vats, 4 cream cheese, 10 of another sort, 4 cream pots, 2 cheese tubbs, a brass pan, and shelfs to hold ye milk pans.

Upper Dairy. 9 milk pails of several sorts, a Noy, a table, 2 cheese presses, a druke churn, a large iron pot and kittle.

Cross room adjoining to ye Dairy. 2 bedsteads, one with a feather bed and ye other with straw, 2 bolsters, 6 blankets, and 2 rugs.

Malt Room. A kiln and haircloth.

Room over the Cross Room. Steel Mill, 2 spinning turns for standing, and one for sitting.

Store Room over the Dairy. As much feather ready dressed as will fill one bed and bolster, and as much Down as will fill 3 pillows 4 cream cheese, and 10 old ones of another sort, and 80 new ones, with scales and weights, 14 stone of sheeps wooll, and 35 pounds of lambs, and 133 pounds of hemp undres'd.

Kitchin. 2 dressels with cubs under them, a trencher cale, a dog wheel, a rack to dry plates, 2 large pair of brickirons, 5 spits with racks to hold em, 2 blocks, 2 iron pots with a pair of pot-hooks, 1 brass pot, 1 brass pan, 1 copper stew pot, another very old, 1 little brass kittle, 1 brass skillet, 2 copper stewpans, 1 fish kittle with plate and cover, 2 copper puding pans, 2 small copper sauce pans, and one large one with a cover, one little polish'd brass pan, 1 iron stove with 2 crabs, 1 pye pan with a lose bottom, 1 stone mortar, and a large brass one, a little wooden one, a choping knife and block, a iron dripin pan and kittle, 2 dozen and 1/2 of old plates, 4 dozen dated 1715, 3 large pewter dishes, 6 of a lesser size, 2 lesser and 2 more lesser then them, 4 smal dishes, one soope dish, one without a brim, a cheese plate, 4

stands, 2 pewter basons, besides a great deal of pewter that was had to make sawder, 4 tin covers, and another old large one, 3 dozen and 1/2 of all sorts of petty pans, a brass skimmer, one wooden arm chair and another small one, a tin sauce pan, and a apple toaster. A tea kettle, a copper chocolate pot with a mill, 3 old tin coffee pots and a coffee mill. Four brass candlesticks for the parlour, 4 others of 2 sorts, a skrew one, 2 brass hand candlesticks, 3 pair of brass snuffers, two pewter candlesticks, and six tin ones.

In the Brew house. One copper (sixt ?), 2 mash kives, 2 pails, 2 washing kives, 3 coolers, one brass pan, and one copper pan.

In the Store room. A box with new linnen, some new pewter, 2 cradles, some glasses &c. N.B. Five of the feather beds is very old and much decay'd that new cases is wanting for them, and bolsters.

Appendix 3b: The 1729 Inventory – interpretation

The spaces mentioned in the inventory are here identified, interpreted, and re-ordered in what is suggested to be the correct sequence. The identifications do not always follow those in Garner 2000, *et al*. Nb. use of the term 'closet' does not indicate a medieval latrine: most were fitted with close stools, or were used for other purposes.

Ground floor level

- Larder
- Laundry
- Vault

These spaces cannot be assigned to specific undercrofts, but the 'vault' is clearly associated with the Laundry so both must lie at this level. The Larder is treated alongside them in the sequence. No other spaces can be confidently identified with the undercrofts. Nb. there was no internal kitchen; it lay in the northeast service yard, see below.

First floor level

- The Gate Chamber
- The other Gate Chamber

These are associated with the Buttery and Pantry in the sequence, so are probably the gatehouse tower first floors F13 and F14.

- Buttery
- Outer Pantry
- Inner Pantry

Probably meaning the medieval services in the east tower first floors, in a continuity of usage. The Buttery was probably in the Northeast Tower F15 (see Section 5.1.2), with the Pantry – apparently divided by an internal partition of some kind – in the Southeast Tower F16.

- Hall
- Closet in the Hall

Great Hall F17, and medieval buffet and hatch F18. Nb. continuity of medieval arrangements and usage.

- Parlour
- Closet attached to the Parlour.

The Parlour was in the Northwest Tower F21a-b in 1811. The closet probably means northwest passage F19 between the tower and the Great Hall, closed off at the latter end.

- The stair case and passage leading to my Masters Room.

Corridor and stairwell F21c between the west towers.

- Drawing Room

The Drawing Room was in the Southwest Tower F21c in 1750.

- Damask Room
- Closet

Both possibly in the former apical West Tower.

Second floor level

- Round Chamber
- Closet, with old iron grate and stove grate.

The Round Chamber is almost certainly one of the east towers S25 or S27, each of which is connected by a passage to gatehouse chambers S22 and S24. The 'closet' has space for a beds, and may therefore be one of these gatehouse chambers. There is a blocked fireplace in the north gatehouse chamber S22, so the Round Chamber is most likely Northeast Tower S25.

- Blue Room
- Little room opposite the Blue Room

Probably the Southeast Tower S27, and south gatehouse chamber S24.

- School Room

No chapel is mentioned in the inventory, but the schoolroom occupies its place in the sequence. Sir John Philipps was a pioneer in religious education, so it is likely that part of chapel S23 was partitioned off as a schoolroom – another context for the bell shown in *c*.1740? (Fig. 8).

- Master's Room
- Closet
- The other closet

Master bedroom, in one of the west towers: the Southwest Tower S30d is suggested in Section 6.3. Same as 'Mama's Room' of 1713? The closet may be spiral stair passage SSC, which is still a bathroom. The 'other closet' may be one of the recesses in the west wall (eg. S30d-6).

- Dressing room
- The closet leading to the dressing room
- The closet thereunto adjoining

All three spaces may relate to the lost West Tower, and appear to be associated with the Master bedroom.

- Mr Philipps's Room
- Mr Philipps's Closet

Bedroom, probably in Northwest Tower S30a/b. The closet may be embrasure S30a-1 (now a bathroom).

- Mr Bulkleys Closet

The Bulkleys were relatives of the Philippses, but his closet must have been separate from their bedrooms. Possibly the latrine chamber S29 in the northeast corner of the Great Hall?

Third floor level

- Through Room and closet
- Nursery and closet
- Passage

The third-floor rooms T33 overlying the Great Hall, and their access passage or corridor which was L-shaped to connect spiral stairs SSB and SSC. The Through Room was probably the eastern room, between two limbs of the passage, from which it was accessed through two doorways. The closets may just have been partitioned areas within.

- New Room and closet

Probably the third-floor chamber T31 in the gatehouse, the towers of which appear to have been open-backed and without roofs at this level during the medieval period. The closet may have been a partitioned area within.

- Lead Chamber

Probably the narrow chamber T32 connecting the Through Room/Nursery passage to the New Room.

Attic level

- Garret over the Through Room
- Garret over the Nursery.

In the roof space above the third-floor rooms, lit by dormer windows.

EXTERNAL

The former southwest block

- The old Room over the Brewhouse
- The passage over the Brew house
- The Room over thee Cole house

These rooms appear to have occupied the square block attached to the southwest side of the castle, shown in 1678 and the 1746 estate map (Figs. 7 and 9). It was clearly of two storeys. The description makes it clear that the brewhouse was disused, and that contents

of all three rooms are 'old': the whole was apparently redundant. The block was removed before 1773 (Fig. 10), probably in *c*.1750.

The northeast service buildings

- Kitchen
- Brew House
- Malt Room
- Still House
- Dairy
- Store-room over the dairy
- Upper Dairy
- Cross-room adjoining the dairy
- Room over the cross-room
- Stable
- Ox house
- Store room

The service buildings were established in the 1720s, and are shown on maps of 1746 and 1773 (Figs. 9 and 10) as two ranges forming the south and west sides of a rectangular yard, entered through a passage in the east range.

The Kitchen was probably in the south range, closest to the castle. The new Brew House, replacing the one in the southwest block, probably lay next to kitchen, with the Malt Room and Still House adjoining. The Dairy, store-room over it, Upper Dairy, cross-room adjoining the dairy and the room over it were all probably in the east range, the 'cross-room' being the passage through the range shown in 1746. The Stable, Ox house and store room may have occupied the northern half of the east range.[65]

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[65] It has been suggested that these rooms occupied the southwest service block, which was however far too small to have accommodated them (Garner 2000, 3.1.4.3).

**Appendix 4a: National Library of Wales: 'Inventory of goods in Picton Castle'
(dated 1744, but possibly late 1743)**

Transcription by Michael Marshman (Picton Castle Trust)

Dated 1744 in NLW, but may be from 1743 after Sir Erasmus's death on 5 October. It appears to reflect fairly closely the suggested arrangements in 1729, although it is incomplete – the remainder of the document may have been lost. Missing are a number of important rooms, including the Hall, the bedrooms, the Drawing Room and Parlour, the Damask Room and the Round Chamber; the account mainly concerns rooms within the service block northeast of the castle.

In the Nursery
2 beds with bedding
1 Arm Chair
2 Chairs covered with Green Chainey
A Chest with Drawers
2 old Chairs with Russian Seats
In the Closet   A Chest with Drawers

In the New Room
A Bed and Bedding
2 Irish wrought Cushions
L - - - - - - -bed
An Arm Chair
6 Cane Chairs
2 Square Tables
A Large Looking Glass
A Small Looking Glass
2 Cane Joint Stools
4 Window Curtains
A fender, fire shovel, tongs, poker & bellows

In the Closet
A Chest with Drawers
2 Window Curtains
A Close Stool and pan

In the Through Room
A Bed & Bedding
A hanging Press
A Square Table
6 Chairs

In the School Room
12 Cane Chairs

6 Chairs covered with Red Stuff
3 Cane Chairs of another sort

In the Blew Room
A Bed & bedding
6 Cane Chairs
A Square Table
A flower piece for the chimney
A Fire Shovel, Tongs & poker

In the Room opposite the Blew Room
A Bed and Bedding
A Square Table
4 Chairs

In the Garret over the Through Room
An old bed & bedding & 2 trippets

In the Store Room[66]
2 feather beds
2 Boulsters
2 very small feather beds
2 little bolsters
5 Corner Cupboards 3 att 15 ft 2 att 7ft 6 in
1 Plain Cupboard
2 old Trunks with Some Cottens & Leather in em
2 Deal Boxes
A Box with Lemon nailed up & not appraised
An old Cup or Stewpott & a Pewter cover weighed with other Brass & Pewter

In the Garret over the Nursery
An old bed & bedding 2 old Sedge bottom Chairs & a Table

In the Lead Chamber
A Bed & bedding
A Pallet bed
A Stone Table

In the Passage by the Nursery
A press with 2 pieces of blanketting
An old Clock
9 maps

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[66] Not mentioned in 1729. Apparently at the same level as the Nursery, Through Room, Lead Chamber and New Room – perhaps implying a new partition?

In the Room over the Brewhouse
A Bed & bedding
An old Chest
A Square Table & 2 old Chairs

In the passage over the Brewhouse
2 Square tables and 1 old chest

In the Room by the Passage
2 old beds & bedding, a square table & 2 stoolls

In the Buttery
A long table, a form & skew

In the Inner pantry
2 Tubs, 6 small Casks & a Corbel

In the Outer Pantry
A flower Tub & 2 wooden Chairs

In the Brewhouse Coolhouse
4 Lives (tubs)
An old brass pan weighed with the other brass
4 old Barrels
4 Tubbs
2 open headed stands
1 Kilderkin
1 Keg, 1 Tundish & 3 Pails

In the Cellars
12 Barrels, an old hogshead, 2 lesser Casks, 2 Kilderkins & 2 Kegs

In the Kitchen
2 Iron Potts
A pair of Bricking Irons
A spitt
A Tubb & 2 Bucketts
A Cast Brass Pott 25 att 5p
A Bell mettle mortar 46 att 5p
2 chopping blocks
A Skreene
An old Chair
A Poker
2 Brass Kettles
2 old Copper potts
A Copper fish Kettle and Cover
A Copper Coller pan & cover

2 old Copper Saucepans
2 Copper Pudding Pans
2 old Tea Kettles
3 Copper Hash pans
2 Brass Skimmers
a brass Ladle
a brass Mortar & Pestle

All the beforementioned Copper & brass in this kitchen and other places about the house weighing together 197
In the Pewter house and other places about the house – Pewter weighing together 447
A Brass preserving pan weighed with the above brass
a Tin eye pan, 2 Tin pans, an apple Roaster pan
Old Iron Sprig [rod]

In the Stewards Room[67]
A bed, bedding, 2 old chairs & an old table

In the Gate Chamber[68]
2 old Beds, bedding & a Family Stooll

In the Wash House
A Bottle Rack with 16 dozen of Bottles
5 washing Tubbs
a Bucking

In the Wine Cellar
2 dozen quarts of Brandy
3 dozen & 6 quarts of White port
5 dozen & 11 quarts of red port
5 dozen of red port in another bin
1 dozen & 10 quarts of Lisbon
3 dozen pints of Madera
2 dozen & 8 quarts of Sherry
1 dozen & 9 pints of Sack 12d a pt
4 quarts of Cittor water

In the Malthouse against the Laundry
A Cider Press
2 old cupboards

In the Laundry
5 pair of Holland

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[67] Not mentioned in 1729. Probably in the service range northeast of the castle.
[68] Also mentioned in 1729, but in 1743 possibly associated with the entrance to the service range northeast of the castle.

10 pair of ditto
9 pair Coarse Dowlas Sheets
6 pair of new Coarse Dowlas sheets
2 pair of Rowhampton sheets
1 dozen of New Holland Pillow Cases
1 dozen of New Damask Towels
2 dozen of New Russia Towels
1 dozen of old holland pillow cases
7 Lesser ditto
5 old Russia Table cloths
5 dozen of Damask Napkins
3 Dowlas Buttery Table Cloths
13 Coarse buttery Towels
8 other Buttery table Cloths
2 Long tables
2 Presses
2 horses
An old Screw Press [for pressing linen]
A Square table

In the Hall Closet
A large Silver Salver
A Lesser ditto
Another Lesser ditto
2 Lesser ditto
A Tankard
A Coffee pott
A Tea pott
A Milk pott
A Soup Spoon
A Sauce pan with a long handle
A Sauce pan with a short handle
2 Candle sticks
A Stand and Snuffer
4 Salts
3 Castors & a spoon
A Porringer
A Dozen of Spoons
8 Spoons more
A Little cup
14 Tea Spoons, 4 Tea Strainers & tongs

In the Loft over the Dairy
15 hundredweight of old lead
13 - 3 - 7 of Cheese
367lb of new hops
311lb of old hops

101/2 stone of New Wooll
10 stone of old Wool

In the Upper Dairy
A long table & form, a cheese press, 1 churn, 2 tubes, 11 pails,1 Iron pott, 2 Kettles, & 2 Brandessey

In the Lower Dairy
2 Kilderkins, with butter
7 old Cheese kraley
20 old Milk pans

In the Bottle House
29 Dozen of Bottles

In the Stable
A Cupboard
A Bedstead & bed choaths
6 old Saddles
10 old bridles
An old Side Saddle
An old Pillion & Cloth
In the Room by the Stables an old Cupboard

In the Coach house
Harness for a horse cart
An old coach not appraised

In the Coach House Loft & Ox House
Bedsteads and bed cloathes for workmen & outer servants

In the Room over Thos. Davids Room[69]
5 old bridles
6 pair of old holsters
A stone table with a wooden frame
A Marble Hearth Stone
A Small Leather Cloke bag
A pair of Gambado
An old Postillions Coat
A Deal Box with some lumber in the _ _ _ Room

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[69] Not mentioned in 1729. Probably also in the service range northeast of the castle.

Appendix 4b: National Library of Wales: 'An Inventory of Goods att Picton Castle which belonged to Sir Erasmus Philipps Bart, deceased & were not mentioned in the former Inventory Sent up. Appraised by Mr Stephen Morris & Mr Parker Roe, January 16th 1744'.

Transcription by Michael Marshman (Picton Castle Trust)

This supplementary inventory solely concerns plate and other loose items, and is not given in full here.[70] The rooms listed are –

    The Round Room
    The Store Room
    The old Dressing Room
    Sir Erasmus's bed Chamber
    The Parlour
    The Dressing Room Closet
    The Closet within the Round Chamber
    The Parlour Closet
    The Buttery
    The Room over Thomas David's Room
    The Coach house
    The Stable

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[70] A third inventory, dated 29 October 1744, lists yet further plate and other loose items, but does not mention the rooms containing them.