

The Great Gatehouse, Kidwelly Castle: its history, construction and function (1388–1422)

By STEPHEN PRIESTLEY and RICK TURNER

The great or south gatehouse of Kidwelly Castle, Carmarthenshire, was the last and most imposing of its defensive features to be built. There are unusually detailed records of its construction, particularly for the year 1402 when the account book of the king's receiver, William Langton, records the payments to all the men and for all the materials used on a week-by-week basis. This gives a unique insight into how the labour force was made-up and organised, and the variety of tasks they undertook. There are both English and Welsh workers named and their different roles give an insight into local society. However, 1402 was only one year in an extended programme of work which may have started as early as 1388 and not have been finally completed until 1422. The documentary evidence for the building work can be compared to the physical evidence of the well-preserved fabric of the gatehouse, to suggest how the work progressed and how the design was altered and extended over the building programme.

INTRODUCTION

The construction of the great gatehouse corresponded with a turbulent period in English and Welsh history, in which the different lords of Kidwelly, respectively John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (1362–99), King Richard II (1399), King Henry IV (1399–1413), and King Henry V (1413–22), played major roles. Kidwelly Castle provided a royal stronghold and a local command centre during the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr (1400–10). What Gaunt's ambition was in starting this substantial gatehouse and what became its strategic importance to its later royal owners will be analysed below.

The design of the great gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle (Fig. 1) can be compared to two local gatehouses built at Carmarthen and Llawhaden Castles during the same period,¹ and to other contemporary gatehouses at sites such as Lancaster Castle.² Kidwelly is perhaps the best place to see how the role of many Marcher lordship castles changed from the late fourteenth century and throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages.³ After the Edwardian conquest of Wales in the 1280s many Marcher lords extended and elaborated their Marcher castles to become great houses and their principal place of residence. As the fourteenth century reached its end, these great men rarely if ever visited their Welsh estates, but converted their castles into administrative centres, where the functions of lordship were carried out by their appointed officials who needed new accommodation to reflect their enhanced local status. The suite of rooms incorporated into the final design of the great gatehouse is perhaps the best example of how these changing needs were met in south Wales.

THE LORDSHIP OF KIDWELLY AND THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER

The appearance and development of the castle and lordship of Kidwelly from its origins in the early twelfth century until the death of William de Valence in 1296 have been described in detail elsewhere.⁴ It is the incorporation of this lordship into the Duchy of Lancaster's estates that is relevant to understanding



Fig. 1. Aerial view of Kidwelly Castle. © *Crown copyright (2017) Welsh Government.*

the motives for building the great gatehouse (Fig. 2). Following the death of Valence, the lordship of Kidwelly reverted to his widow, Maud, sole heiress of Patrick II de Chaworth, who was married in 1298 to Henry of Lancaster (d. 1345) second son of Edmund Crouchback (d. 1296), earl of Lancaster, and brother of Edward I.⁵ Henry of Lancaster eventually became earl in 1327, and six years later, granted Kidwelly, Ogmere, Grosmont and other family estates in South Wales and Yorkshire to his son, Henry of Grosmont, to hold for the duration of his life.⁶ Upon his father's death, Henry of Grosmont, who had previously styled himself lord of Kidwelly, succeeded to the earldom of Lancaster, which he held for some sixteen years. No evidence has come to light of building works at Kidwelly Castle during the years 1298–1361.

After the death of Henry of Grosmont in 1361, his vast inheritance was divided between his two daughters, Maud, countess of Hainault, and Blanche, countess of Richmond, who was married to John of

Gaunt, the fourth son of Edward III. Maud, the eldest, received her father's castles and lands in southern and midland England (including the earldom of Leicester) and the Welsh estates, including the lordship of Kidwelly, while her younger sister received Lancaster, Pontefract and other castles and lordships in northern England. However, Maud died shortly after coming to England to claim her inheritance, falling victim to the plague (or possibly poisoned) on 10 April 1362.⁷ At this point John of Gaunt, by right of his wife, entered into possession of Maud's portion of the Lancaster inheritance, and was created Duke of Lancaster on 13 November 1362. The inheritance of John of Gaunt was vast; his estates in England and Wales alone produced an income of over £12,000 per annum. John of Gaunt's administration of his considerable estates is well documented, thanks to the survival of a substantial corpus of documentary evidence, preserved among the records of the Duchy of Lancaster at the National Archives.

It might be supposed that, with such an extensive and far-flung inheritance to govern, John of Gaunt would have displayed little interest in the remote Carmarthenshire lordship of Kidwelly. Certainly, there is little evidence to suggest that the duke himself ever resided there. However, a perusal of the surviving registers or letter books of John of Gaunt for the years 1372–76 and 1379–83 reveals that he showed quite a keen interest in the affairs of Kidwelly. Gaunt's registers contain some thirty-four of the duke's letters addressed to his receiver or other officials at Kidwelly concerning various affairs of the lordship, including the appointment of a chaplain to the chantry within the castle of Kidwelly, the appointment of the constable of the castle (who was also to hold the office of keeper of the castle gate), letters of protection to tenants within the lordship and complaints about encroachments upon the forest of Pedol within the commote of Iscennen.⁸

These letters bear witness to the changed role of Kidwelly, from being primarily a Marcher lord's principal castle to the centre for the financial and judicial administration of the Duchy of Lancaster estates in south-west Wales (including the lordships of Kidwelly, Carnwyllion and Iscennen in southern Carmarthenshire and the lordship of Ogmores in Glamorgan); a position which it would continue to occupy until the seventeenth century.

The significance of Kidwelly in the administration of the Duchy estates in south Wales is further attested by the fact that several of the individuals who were appointed to the office of constable or as steward of the castle and lordship were prominent members of Gaunt's household. Sir Richard de Burley (d. 1387), who was granted the constablership of Kidwelly for life in 1373, was one of Gaunt's most distinguished and long-serving companions, a veteran of Gaunt's campaigns in Spain and France during the late 1360s and 1370s who was appointed as marshal of Gaunt's army during his expedition to Castille in 1386–87.⁹ Sir Thomas Hungerford (d. 1397), who was appointed as steward of Kidwelly, together with all the Duchy lands in Wales in 1372 was another prominent Lancastrian retainer from the early 1370s onwards; he was subsequently appointed as chief steward of all the Duchy lands south of the Trent in 1374 and became a member of the Duke's Council; three years later he was elected as Speaker of the Commons.¹⁰ Sir Hugh Waterton (d. 1409), who held the office of steward and keeper of Kidwelly Castle in 1399–1400, was another leading Lancastrian adherent, after having served as chamberlain within the household of Gaunt's son Henry Bolingbroke and steward of his lordships of Brecon and Hay, he appeared as one of the executors of John of Gaunt's will and was subsequently appointed as chamberlain of the Duchy of Lancaster, a post which he held until his death in 1409.¹¹

Given this interest in the lordship, it is not surprising to find that John of Gaunt spent money on building works and maintenance there. In 1372, he issued a letter notifying his Duchy officials that John Nikel his carpenter and his mason David Aleyn were to be exempted on account of their being continually engaged in works at Kidwelly (which unfortunately were unspecified).¹² Aleyn and Nikel had been employed at the nearby castle of Carreg Cennen, two years earlier, where they undertook a fairly extensive programme of repairs to the castle, amounting to £4 11s. This paid for 'the walling of two watch towers near the middle



Fig. 2. Map of the Lordship of Kidwelly (Cydweli). © Crown copyright (2017) Welsh Government.

gate there, one watch tower beyond the King's chamber and one opening of the prison below the middle gate of the said castle' and the shingling of the hall roof.¹³

The works at Carreg Cennen and Kidwelly were prompted by the threat of invasion of the south coast of England and Wales by the French in late 1369. Edward III responded to this threat in December of that year by ordering John of Gaunt, the Black Prince and nineteen other great magnates who held land in Wales and the Marches to cause 'all their castles, fortresses, towns and other places' to be 'furnished with men at arms, armed men and archers' in order to 'resist the malice of the King's enemies of France if any shall invade those parts.'¹⁴ The account of the receiver of Kidwelly for 1369–70 includes a section entitled '*Vadia guerre*' for the wages of men stationed at Carreg Cennen from 1 Dec 1369 to 14 March 1370 'on account of the enemies of France' ('*propter inimicos Francie*').¹⁵

Ultimately the great invasion of 1369 never materialized, but the possibility of an invasion of Wales remained current throughout the 1370s, particularly during the lifetime of Owain Lawgoch (d. 1378), the last surviving direct descendant of the Welsh princes of Gwynedd, a charismatic figure and superb military commander who could well have incited a widespread uprising against English rule in Wales.¹⁶ In May 1372, Owain issued a dramatic proclamation, announcing his intention to recover Wales, but despite the support of Charles V of France, his expedition got no further than Guernsey.¹⁷ Despite these two abortive ventures, the English government appears to have taken the threat seriously, strengthening

the garrisons at all the royal castles in Wales. In June 1372, Gaunt ordered the castles of Kidwelly, Carreg Cennen and Ogmore to be fully victualled, while in 1374 he ordered the receiver of Kidwelly to repair Carreg Cennen and Ogmore Castles, both described as being '*en feble estat*'.¹⁸ By virtue of a warrant dated 12 June 1376, payments were made to three individuals for going from London to, respectively, the castles of Kidwelly, Carreg Cennen and White Castle to safeguard them, at Gaunt's command.¹⁹ The fact that William Tutbury, receiver of Kidwelly, reported to the Duke in 1374 that he was in fear of being attacked on his travels in those parts on ducal business may be a further indication of continued tensions within the lordship.²⁰

Even the death of Owain Lawgoch failed to dispel the 'general jitteriness' and rumours of possible invasions of Wales with French or Castillian support resurfacing intermittently throughout the 1380s.²¹ In May 1385, Richard II ordered the constables of Carmarthen, Dryslwyn and Dynevor castles in south Wales to remain there 'upon the safe guard thereof against the King's enemies of France', having obtained 'true information that they have gathered a great fleet of ships and galleys, and are making ready to invade and destroy the lordships of the king and other lords in Wales and the march of Wales'.²² The murder in 1385 of the deputy justiciar in south Wales, John Laurence of Carmarthen, by one John Davy, a leading Welsh squire of northern Carmarthenshire who assumed the alias of Owain of Wales (i.e. Owain Lawgoch), may also point to increasing tension among the native Welsh community in south-west Wales. Moreover, in February 1389 one Thomas Fort of Llanstephan was indicted for treason for having shown one John de Ispannia, a Castillian, 'the secrets of all the castles of South Wales, viz Pembroke, Haverford, Tenby, Narberth, Llawhaden, Cardigan, Laugharne, Llanstephan and Carmarthen, well knowing him to be the King's enemy'.²³

It is against this backdrop of continuing invasion scares and simmering discontent that the decision was made to rebuild the south entrance into Kidwelly Castle, begun in or about 1388. The subsequent construction of the gatehouse on such a large and imposing scale strengthened and updated the defences of the castle would help secure the castle against the recurring threats of raids or larger expeditions by the French or other foreign enemies. It also provided a visible symbol of English dominance and lordship in a remote part of south-west Wales and appropriate accommodation for the men appointed as constables of the castle by the Duchy.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE BUILDING OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE (c. 1388–1401)

The construction of the gatehouse is documented in the records of the Duchy of Lancaster. These records primarily consist of accounts of the receiver of the lordship of Kidwelly and of the reeve of Kidwelly Castle, supplemented by entries in the accounts of the auditor of the south parts of the Duchy of Lancaster (including south Wales) and by letters from Henry IV to his officials at Kidwelly concerning specific works to be carried out there. Only four accounts of the receiver of Kidwelly have survived for the years 1369–98, which show that in the early 1380s more attention was being paid to works at Carreg Cennen Castle rather than Kidwelly, though mention is made of a master carpenter in residence at Kidwelly Castle, named Llywellyn Vaughan, who received an annual stipend of 13s 4d for supervising and ordaining the works of the mill and the castle there, but no specific details are given.²⁴

The first evidence for major building works at Kidwelly Castle occurs in 1388–89, when the surviving receiver's account for that year records the payment of four marks for the purchase of a quarry 'for the work of the new tower' ('*ad opus nove turris*') and a further payment of 60 shillings to carpenters making 9000 shingles in the nearby park of Kevengorath (an extensive tract of woodland lying within Llanedi

parish in the commote of Carnwyllion, about 15 kilometres due east of the castle) for unspecified work in the castle.²⁵ In the absence of any other possible candidate, it seems reasonable to assume that the ‘new tower’ mentioned in the 1388–89 now forms part of the great gatehouse (see below), and that the purchase of the quarry marks either the beginning or very early stages of its construction. Unfortunately, no accounts of the receiver or other officials of Kidwelly have survived between the years 1388 and 1399. Faced with this apparent dearth of documentation, the authors of *The History of the King's Works* concluded that there was no way of ascertaining whether the reconstruction was initiated by John of Gaunt or his son Henry IV.²⁶

However, the discovery of the account of Thomas Somercotes, auditor of the south parts of the Duchy of Lancaster for 1395–96, sheds important new light on the building of the great gatehouse at Kidwelly.²⁷ It refers to a payment of £40 10s 10d ‘for the new work of the Tower over the gates of the castle of Kidwelly’ (*‘pur le novel overaigne del Toure sur les portes del chastel de Ked[welly]’*) which must surely be identified with the abovementioned structure. This entry is extremely significant in several respects. Firstly, it proves conclusively that John of Gaunt was responsible for initiating the rebuilding of the great gatehouse, and that work must have started no later than 1395–96.

Unfortunately, the loss of the accounts for the years 1396 to 1398 means that the progress of work on the new gatehouse cannot be charted. After the death of John of Gaunt on 3 February 1399, Richard II confiscated the Lancastrian estates, having banished John’s son and heir, Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, and on 20 March granted Kidwelly and the other Lancaster castles and lands in south Wales to John Holand, duke of Exeter, one of his principal supporters.²⁸ Richard is known to have stayed briefly at Kidwelly on 10 May, shortly before to his departure to Ireland on campaign; the reeve’s account for 1399 contains payments for firewood and rushes for the floors of the chambers prepared for the King’s overnight arrival.²⁹

It has been suggested that Richard may have stayed briefly at Kidwelly on his return to south Wales in late July, after hearing of Bolingbroke’s landing at Ravenspur.³⁰ However, this is extremely unlikely, as documentary evidence suggests that Kidwelly Castle, along with other Lancastrian strongholds in south Wales, had probably declared their allegiance to Bolingbroke by that time.³¹ Significantly, the account of the receiver of Kidwelly contains a payment for the enclosing of the gates of the castle with stone and mortar, ‘for its better defence against the malice of the former King Richard and other enemies of the Lord [Henry]’.³² This somewhat unusual precaution, as noted in *The History of the King's Works*, may be explained ‘if the main gateway to the castle was in the process of being rebuilt, and was therefore incapable of normal resistance to attack’.³³

Bolingbroke’s accession to the throne as Henry IV was confirmed by parliament on 30 September 1399, and saw renewed building activity at Kidwelly, focused particularly on the works of the great gatehouse. The account for 1399–1400 records £92 11s 5½d being spent by the receiver on the new work of the tower over the gates of the castle as well as sums of £8 2s 5½d being spent by the receiver and 103s 1½d spent by the reeve on the repair of the castle in this year.³⁴ There is an additional payment of 64s 5d for expenses incurred ‘in the building of the New Gate and two towers and other chambers within the said towers’ between 7 July and 29 September 1400,³⁵ and £16 16s 5d spent by the reeve of the castle in 1400–01 on the repair of various lodgings, chambers, towers and walls in the castle.³⁶

THE BUILDING WORKS UNDERTAKEN IN 1402

The remarkable survival of the receiver of Kidwelly, William Langton’s,³⁷ account book for the payments he made to the craftsmen, workers and suppliers over the building season of 1402 gives a unique picture

of how such a programme of work was carried out at a Welsh Marcher castle.³⁸ A full transcription and translation of the thirteen folios of this account book relevant to the great gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle is given in the Appendix. As has been described above, work had been under way on the great gatehouse for at least six years, and part of the building at least was ordered to be roofed with lead in February 1402. As will be described below, a substantial amount of masonry work was carried out in 1402, but this did not complete the section of building on which they were working.

Langton's account gives a week-by-week list of payments made to craftsmen, their labourers and to those supplying the necessary materials and transporting them to site. The book starts with payments made in the second week of April 1402 (Easter Sunday was on 28 March that year), which probably represented the start of the building season at the castle. The last payments were made at the end of October, when, with the exception of two masons, the workforce was laid off and the supply of materials stopped. Two weeks seem to be missing from the programme, one at the beginning of May and one at the end of July/early August. The first week coincides with the Whitsuntide holiday and during the second perhaps they were working elsewhere on the Duchy's estate (perhaps at Carreg Cennan Castle as there are references to John Herde and others being there during this year at the end of Langton's account). Very little work went on in two other weeks in May and at the end of September it seems that the workforce was sent to repair the lodge at 'Kevengorathe',³⁹ another building owned by the Duchy near Kidwelly. The account ends with the totals of money spent under different headings giving a grand total of £111 18s 1¼d. There is a separate account for this year made by Henry Hopkyn, reeve of the castle, which seems to be for maintenance and improvements elsewhere in the castle.⁴⁰ None of the same workmen listed at the gatehouse are named in Hopkyn's account.

The way the accounts are drawn up groups together different types of craftsmen and workers, showing how many days work they had done during the week, and what they were paid. Some were paid by the week, some by the day and some by the number of tasks that they completed. Many of the different tasks can be seen in this manuscript illustration of the building of a tower dating to c. 1500 (Fig. 3).⁴¹ In addition, payments were made for different quantities of materials from outside suppliers. As will become apparent, the numbers of men at work in the different roles, and who they were, changed over the season. From their names it is possible to identify if they were English or Welsh in origin. In 1402, the residents of Kidwelly would have been English,⁴² and the Welsh, who formed the majority, were recruited from the wider lordship of Kidwelly. Each of the trades will be looked at turn.

Masons

It was amongst the masons that the highest paid and most regularly attending workmen were to be found. The master mason was John Herde, who is recorded as being on site nearly every week between early April and mid-October. He was paid 3s 4d a week even when others did not work a full week. A John Hirde of Pembroke had undertaken some significant building work at Carmarthen Castle in the year 1396/97, and it is almost certain that he was the same man.⁴³ He was still at Kidwelly in 1407 when paid with two others to improve the defences outside the east gate of the castle against the Welsh rebels.⁴⁴ Herde would have been responsible for designing and setting out the building and its details, and overseeing the work of the remainder of the workforce. He may have also undertaken some stone dressing. His rate of pay is on a par with that of many other master masons of the period, but he does not seem to have received other perks such as a suit of livery or a cloak, commonly given every six months or each year to masters by their patrons.⁴⁵

There were three other masons who received a payment of 3s a week; Richard Wyte, John Legete and Wilkoc Mason. Richard Wyte started work in the last week of April, John Legete in late June, and Wilkoc Mason in early July. Wyte and Legete were retained on full pay from mid-October until Christmas



Fig. 3. Building a tower about 1500. The master mason and his patron are standing bottom right, and the labourers are carrying mortar, erecting scaffolding and lifting stones with a crane. Walling masons are laying blocks on the tower and banker masons are dressing stones outside and in their lodge at the rear left. © British Library Board, (ADD MS 35313, fo. 34').

Eve. This implies that they were free or banker masons who dressed and carved stone to be used later in archways, doorways and window reveals. Their work could continue after the main building work stopped due to the threat of frost damaging the lime mortar; dressing stones for the next season's work in a mason's lodge, usually a temporary timber-framed workshop, sometimes with open sides, as shown in the manuscript illustration (Fig. 3).⁴⁶ Wilkoc worked for ten weeks continuously and then disappears from the record. These men's rates of pay and their English names suggest that they were specialist craftsmen brought in from elsewhere in Wales or England, and living in Kidwelly for the time that they were at work.

All the remaining fourteen masons named in the accounts (with the exception of Jany Porterofe and Thomas Chandler) had Welsh names. All were paid at 4d a day worked except for Jeuan ap David, who was sometimes paid 4½d a day or 5d a day. With the exception of one week, he was on site for the same period as John Herde. His enhanced daily rate suggests he acted as the foreman and potentially was the recruiter of the Welsh masons. He could also have translated Herde's orders into Welsh. These fourteen men were likely to have been walling masons who built with rubble stone.

In total the numbers of masons on site varied between five and twelve. Their working week could vary between three and six days, perhaps because of taking time off for religious feast days (see below). Four of the Welsh masons worked almost continuously for the whole building season. The weeks they missed may have been because of sickness or injury. The other ten walling masons earned between six and seventy-eight days' pay with the biggest demand for men being between the end of May and the end of August. Perhaps this second group of men worked their land for the periods they were not at the castle.

Labourers

The second class of men was described as workmen's mates or labourers. A total of twenty-five men were paid under this category, twenty-one with Welsh names and four with English names. Their daily rate was 4d a day, the same as the walling masons. Nobody received an enhanced rate implying that they acted as a foreman, though Griffin Legadowen did work continuously throughout the season. Their working week appeared to have been half a day shorter than that of the masons. The numbers of labourers per week follows and was usually a little greater than the numbers of walling masons at work. The labourers would have been responsible for mixing mortar,⁴⁷ and for raising or carrying up the mortar and stone to where the masons were at work on the scaffolding (Fig. 3). Given that there were no carpenters at work on the gatehouse until September, the labourers may also have been responsible for erecting scaffolding and the wooden centring used to support the dressed stonework (Fig. 3). The pattern of the employment of these men was much more ad hoc than the masons, with one group of men working semi-continuously from April to early June, when another group largely took over. Some of the names imply a family connection, such as David ap Ythel, Jeuan ap Ythel and David ap Ythel jun.⁴⁸ Some of these men also worked as stonebreakers.

Stone breakers

The stone breakers were also the quarrymen. At their head was Thomas Chandler, who was paid 5d a day. He was present on the payroll throughout the season, and when the quarry was closed in late June and early July he worked for three weeks as a mason. Twelve other men were also paid under this heading of which seven had Welsh names. Both John and Jankyn Chandler were listed as doing odd weeks. Perhaps they were Thomas's sons. This group started work before the masons came on site to ensure there was a supply of stone, and there were four or five men at work from early April to mid-June, paid at 4d a day. For much of the rest of the summer, their employment was ad hoc. In part of September and October, this gang was given the special task of making hurdles and poles in the wood to cover the new masonry work. These temporary structures were further insulated with straw, and constructed over the newly completed wall-

heads to protect the setting lime mortar from frost. Finally also in October, three of these men working under Thomas Chandler were paid for digging freestone as the raw material to be used by the masons, Wyte and Legete, in the run-up to Christmas.

Stone carriers

The rubble stone and freestone used in building the great gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle came from different quarries.⁴⁹ A description of the sources of the building stone used in the great gatehouse is given below. The task of this group of workmen was to transport the stone Chandler's men had broken in the quarries to make stacks on site, from where the labourers could deliver it to the masons. These men were paid by the task (i.e. piecework rather than a daily wage). The rate was 3d per stack. They must have had their own carts as some of them carted other materials to site. A total of nineteen men were paid to do this work of which perhaps eight were Welshmen.⁵⁰ They started work a fortnight after the stonebreakers and the bulk of their work was completed by mid-June. Work became intermittent after that date, with the exception of two weeks, one in August and one in October, where seven carts were employed to transport freestone at the increased rate of 8d per load.



Fig. 4. Front elevation of the great gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle.
© Crown copyright (2017) Welsh Government.

Carpenters

Remarkably, no carpenters were part of the workforce until September. Carpenters were needed to make floors, roof trusses, doors, window shutters and other fittings. Usually they were responsible for erecting temporary works such as wooden scaffolding, any cranes and centring for arches (Fig. 3), but apparently not here at Kidwelly. A team of ten carpenters (seven Welsh and three English) were hired from the first week in September until the last week of October. All were paid 2s 6d a week, with the exception of John Carpenter, Henry Carpenter and David ap Jeuan, who were paid 3s a week. For the first week they were in the woods, presumably cutting timber for later use.⁵¹ In the last week of September, a payment was made to Rees ap David ap William for the carriage of 24 oaks from the wood to the water at Laugharne, for which he received 6s 8d each. These must have been mature oaks, known as standards, taken from another lordship's woods to provide the large structural timbers to be made by the carpenters. In addition, 3s 4d was paid to John David for freighting these large timbers from Laugharne to Kidwelly by boat, with the same payment made to two other men to help him out. There is an undated payment to four of the carpenters for helping Thomas Chandler's gang in the temporary covering the stonework with timber, hurdles and straw. This payment confirms that the senior carpenters received 6d a day and their juniors 5d a day.



Fig. 5. Rear elevation of the great gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle.
© Crown copyright (2017) Welsh Government.

Suppliers of materials

The final area covered by Langton's accounts was the supply of the other raw materials needed for the works and their transport to site. Lime for mortar, plaster and render was bought from early April until mid-July from four different suppliers; William Morice, Watekyn Veysi, Walter Kelwythe and Howel Langan at 12d per wey. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the meaning of 'wey' as a standard weight of dry goods. It lists a number of post-medieval uses of the word, usually referring to cheese, in which the standard varies from 224 to 336 pounds.⁵² Lime was carted at 4d per load by John Steven and William Willy, and William and Walter Maliphant.⁵³ Steven and Willy also dug and carted the sand used over the same period, perhaps from the local beach, at 1d per load. The total numbers of weys of lime brought was 144½,⁵⁴ and there were 441 cartloads of sand. This gives an approximate ratio of 1:3, if a wey was the equivalent volume to a cart of sand. This ratio is still used today as the mix for making lime mortar. The different rates for carting sand, lime and freestone were 1d, 4d and 8d, which may reflect a mixture of the distance travelled when carrying the load, and the difficulty of handling slaked lime and freestone. John Steven received a special payment of 8s for transporting 32 large stones from the harbour ('*aqua*') of Kidwelly to the castle (i.e. 3d per stone). This type of large stone can be clearly seen in the walls of the gatehouse (Figs 4–5). Carting seems to have been the most lucrative job on site if the work was available, but each carter needed to own a cart and horses, and probably paid for assistants to help at their own cost. The last of the materials for which payments were made was iron. On five occasions, John Legge was paid for different amounts of iron between 34 pounds and 45 stone 8 pounds (638 pounds), all at 1½d per pound. In April the iron was for '*steges*' ('stakes', i.e. crowbars) for use in the quarry, and in late May the iron was for hooks, nails and '*saddlebars*' (horizontal glazing bars). In July, hooks and bars for windows are mentioned whilst the largest quantity by weight provided in October does not list what the iron was used for, though its purchase coincided with the carpenters being on site. There are isolated references to the purchase of new tools and the repair of older ones, work perhaps undertaken by Legge.

Summary of the building work undertaken in 1402

Helpfully, William Langton totals up the expenditure he had made from Michaelmas (29 September) 1401 to Michaelmas, 1402, with an extension to Christmas that year.

Whereof: For the repair of the lodge of Kevengorath – 21s 1d
 For the purchase of lime with carriage of the same and sand – £13 6s 6d
 For quarrying stone with carriage of the same – £12 13s 4½d
 For the work of the masons (with quarrying of free stones) – £28 5s 9d
 For the wages of labourers on the same work – £12 18s 10d
 For the work of carpenters with felling and carriage of wood – £22
 For other small items and necessary things bought and used on the same works – £13 5s 5¾d

Excluding the work on the lodge the total is £102 9s 11¼d, which is £8 7s 1d less than the total given by Langton. This must cover the expenditure during the autumn and winter that preceded the detailed accounts in his book, the period which included the instruction to lead part of the roof.

The account book shows that the building season was managed by Englishmen but the majority of the workforce was Welsh, who were paid on an ad hoc or daily basis or by task. Amongst the craftsmen and labourers, twenty-nine had English names, and forty-five had Welsh names. Amongst the suppliers and carters, four were English and eleven Welsh. The range of wages paid to those employed is surprisingly narrow with the lowest being paid 4d a day and John Herde, the highest, at the equivalent of 6¾d a day. Only a few of the workforce were on site nearly continuously with many only working a few days over the

season. The availability of building work in a town as small and relatively remote as Kidwelly would only have been intermittent and was to become disrupted by the effects of the Glyndŵr rebellion in the coming years. The receipt of wages must have supplemented many of these men's income from farming or other rural industries and raised their standard of living for the years worked on this project.

Comparative programmes of work

The best summary of how building works were organised and carried out in the Middle Ages remains Knoop and Jones' *The Mediæval Mason*.⁵⁵ They deal in turn with how materials were supplied and transported, how lodges were set up for the masons and how their tools were provided and repaired. They explain the distinction between masons and their servants or labourers, and how masons progressed from being quarrymen to building with rubble stone as roughmasons, and graduating to working dressed stone as freemasons. Ultimately they could become master masons and take responsibility for the whole project. These men could be hired for the whole year and be provided with perks such as a robe, food and lodgings.⁵⁶ Using rolls of particulars and detailed books of accounts from a variety of sites from the late thirteenth century into the fifteenth century, they worked out the average rates of pay for different classes of mason and their servants. Unlike Kidwelly, there was usually a differential between the roughmasons, their servants and quarrymen, and in some places such as London and York, masons wages were regulated. Amongst these regulations were that masons should receive a whole day's pay for Saturdays or on the eve of a feast day, though the practice was to stop work at noon. This explains the half-day difference in pay between the masons and labourers at Kidwelly. Knoop and Jones go on to identify from the accounts for the building of Eton College in the 1440s that forty-six religious feast days were taken as holidays without pay. Sometimes these days fell on a Sunday, so the number of additional days taken could vary from year to year. Five days were taken at Easter and Whitsun.⁵⁷ In 1402, Whit Sunday was on 15 May, which may explain why there is one week missing from the accounts for that month.

Knoop and Jones drew nearly all their data from documents surviving from English sites with the exception of rolls of particulars for works at Beaumaris and Caernarfon Castles in the 1310s. The only comparable, published building accounts, or rolls of particulars, to those from Kidwelly for this period in west Wales are those for the year 1385/86 prepared by Hugh de Picton in his role of supervisor of the fabric of St David's Cathedral.⁵⁸ It is not clear what the works being undertaken were but they culminated in the re-glazing of the south window of the church. The earliest records are for May and were to pay five quarrymen at 3d/day and paying a carter (who used a vehicle known as a truckle) at 6d a day. By midsummer there were up to seven masons (three English and four Welsh) paid at 4½d a day and eleven labourers (six English and five Welsh) paid at 3d a day. No master craftsman is named as being in charge, but Christian the glazier who worked over the winter was paid at 6d a day. As winter approached two masons undertook some temporary works, this time the walling up of windows and doors 'on account of the danger of robbers'.⁵⁹ At St David's, Picton bought iron from various places, Tenby, Haverfordwest and Ramsay Island, plus imported Spanish iron which would have been of a higher quality. Prices ranged from just under 1d per lb to 3½d per lb for the Spanish iron.⁶⁰

Perhaps more relevant to the work being carried out at Kidwelly but dating from a hundred years previously was the work commissioned by Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk (1270–1306) at Chepstow Castle.⁶¹ Here the receiver's accounts cover much longer periods, but do not give the week-by-week detail found in the Kidwelly and St David's accounts. However, it is possible to derive comparative data to that already presented. The master mason of the earl's works until he died in 1293 was Master Ralph,⁶² known from other accounts as Ralph Gogun of London. He received a weekly stipend of 2s a week regardless of whether work was under way or not. In addition he received 40s every half year for his livery.⁶³ Taken together this equates to about 3s 6d a week, very similar to that received by John Herde, though the work



Fig. 6. **Top** Gatehouse to Carmarthen Castle. © Crown copyright (2017) Welsh Government. **Bottom** Gatehouse of Llawhaden Castle, Pembrokeshire. Photograph: Rick Turner.

at Chepstow was more architecturally distinguished than the Kidwelly gatehouse. Robert Stake was named as the master carpenter and was paid 4d a day or 2s a week. Other masons, carpenters and labourers were paid 3d a day.⁶⁴ The majority of the transporting of stone and timber overland, and the mixing of mortar were carried by the lord's customary tenants as part of the works they owed as feudal dues,⁶⁵ a practice that had disappeared by 1402. None of the craftsmen named have Welsh names. Another task recorded, which was also undertaken at Kidwelly in 1402, was the covering of Master Ralph the Mason's work with thatch to protect it over the winter.⁶⁶ Lime was bought by the crannock, another type of dry measure in use in Wales. A crannock of lime cost 2½d in 1291/2,⁶⁷ so if prices remained little changed over the next 100 years, there may have been between four and six crannocks to a wey.⁶⁸

Comparisons have been made between the architectural detail of the great gatehouse at Kidwelly and that at Carmarthen Castle (Figs 4 and 6).⁶⁹ Indeed, the castle historian, David Cathcart King, described the machicolations at the latter as 'too like Kidwelly to be true'.⁷⁰ Work was under way on the Carmarthen gatehouse in 1409/10 and 1410/11, when it was referred to as the 'New Gate'.⁷¹ The Ministers Accounts for those two years show that there was an expenditure totalling £287 6s 3½d in the first year and £98 14s 2d in the second. In terms of rates of pay, only that for the 'King's plumber' can be worked out as 6d a day for 194 days worked in 1413/14.⁷² A third, west Wales gatehouse can be added to this group, that of Llawhaden Castle, Pembrokeshire, a residence of the Bishop of St David's.⁷³ The master mason for earlier improvements to Llawhaden Castle under Bishop Adam de Houghton (1362–89), was John Fawle or Fawley.⁷⁴ He was named as constable of the castle in 1383,⁷⁵ and he could also have been the master mason for the works to the cathedral for 1385/86 discussed above. Johanni Fauley also received a bequest of 40s in Bishop Houghton's will, showing how highly his services were valued.⁷⁶ The gatehouse at Llawhaden is more elegant and more highly decorated than those at

Kidwelly and Carmarthen (Fig. 6). This shows that in south Wales at the turn of the fifteenth century there were at least two master masons capable of undertaking substantial works of military architecture.

THE MURDER OF JOHN MALFANT OR MALIPHANT

As a short postscript to these building accounts, the fate of one of the workmen listed is known. John Malfant or Maliphant was a member of a family who had four members working at different times on the great gatehouse in 1402. The others were William and Walter, who worked as carters, and Watkyn who, like John, was a stone carrier. Somerville in his list of officers for Kidwelly Castle outlines the career of Hugh Eyton, receiver from 1416 to perhaps 1423. In May of that latter year he was accused of misdeeds and the death of John Malfant. However, before he could be brought to trial, he was himself murdered, and John Botiller esq. and others were indicted for this offence in 1427, a case probably held in the hall of the great gatehouse.⁷⁷

REPAIR AND STRENGTHENING THE DEFENCES OF THE CASTLE DURING THE GLYNDŴR REBELLION 1403–1408

In September–October 1402 (towards the end of the period covered by Langton's account book) there appears to have been a hurried programme of general refurbishment within the castle, which is partially documented by an account of the reeve of the castle, Henry Hopkyn, covering the period 1402–03.⁷⁸ Hopkyn's account contains a record of expenditure on various works in the castle amounting to 105s 9d between Michelmas 1402 and Easter 1403, which included the cleaning of the hall, chambers and courtyards between the gates of the castle, the making of new ranges and tables in the court house, repairs to the east gate and the stable and granary within the castle and unspecified tiling work. The work of the great gatehouse had evidently not been completed by the winter of 1402 as there is a reference to the purchase of hurdles for the covering of the said 'new work'.

This refurbishment of the castle appears to have been partly associated with a visit to the castle by three prominent Duchy officials, Sir Hugh Waterton, Sir Thomas Skelton and John Leventhorpe, who stayed there in September and October 1402 to hold the courts of Great Sessions at the castle. Hopkyn's account contains a reference to the purchase of a bag to hold the rolls of the sessions 'when the Council was held there' and three barrels of red wine were specifically purchased at Carmarthen and delivered to Kidwelly at a cost of 100s for the use of the said Hugh, Thomas and John and their households when the sessions were held there.⁷⁹

The second part of Hopkyn's account, from Easter to Michelmas 1403, again appears to relate to refurbishment and the completion of internal works rather than any significant new building activity. These works, for which the sum of £9 5s 3½d was expended on materials and wages, included the internal carpentry of the 'Lord's Tower' and the provision of locks and chains for the gaol within the castle (which may possibly be represented by the subterranean chamber situated beneath the great gatehouse although this identification remains uncertain). It is likely that the works documented in the second part of Hopkyn's account were completed before August 1403, because early in that month, Kidwelly was attacked by Henry Dŵn, a prominent tenant within the lordship, causing damage chiefly to the walled borough adjoining the castle.⁸⁰ Dŵn's initial assault in August was followed up by a more substantial attack in early October, supported by a Franco-Breton force which laid waste to the borough and the surrounding hinterland and besieged the castle, then held by Walter Morton who had been appointed constable in 1402.⁸¹

Kidwelly Castle successfully held out against a protracted siege by Henry Dŵn and his supporters, which probably continued into the following year. An account of the receiver of the lordship of Kidwelly for 1406–07 detailing expenditure on works in 1402–03 specifically described as being undertaken ‘for the defence and safe keeping of the castle against the rebels attacking the said castle on many occasions this year’ provides valuable details about the hurried measures taken for the defence of the castle and repairs carried out after the siege.⁸² A ditch was dug outside the ‘east gate’ of the castle next to the castle garden and loops were inserted in the palisades or *hourds* attached to the castle walls. Timber from ‘the Shirehall’ in the borough which had been destroyed by the rebels was retrieved and reused for defensive works within the castle. Repairs to the castle specifically described as being undertaken after the siege included the re-roofing of the Lord’s Hall and the chapel ‘at the end of the hall’ (with shingles) at a cost of 10s while various other towers and lodgings were roofed in tile.⁸³

Further building works and repairs were carried out between 1403 and 1407, brief details of which are given in the same receiver’s account. The sum of £28 15½d was spent in 1403–04 on unspecified masonry and carpentry works which were described as being carried out ‘to fortify the castle where most needed against a multitude of rebels besieging the said castle this year’. This description would appear to suggest that the siege of Kidwelly almost certainly continued into 1404.

The following year’s account, for 1404–05, records expenditure of £9 16s 6½d spent on the repair and strengthening of the castle ‘against the Welsh rebels and enemies arrayed at Milford in co. Pembroke this year’.⁸⁴ This description appears to refer to the landing of a substantial French expeditionary force (reputedly amounting to 140 ships) at Milford Haven in August 1405, as recorded by the English chronicler Thomas Walsingham.⁸⁵ The description of works undertaken in 1404–05 makes no mention of the castle being under siege, perhaps suggesting that Henry Dŵn and his besieging force had withdrawn, at least temporarily.

However, it appears that the arrival of the French forces in south-west Wales may well have led to a renewal of the assault on Kidwelly. The account of expenditure on works in 1405–06 records that £7 12s 3d was spent ‘on the repair and construction of walls, ditches and palings and for the building of a wooden tower for the defence of the castle where most needed against the Welsh rebels and other French enemies attacking the said castle’.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, details of the works undertaken are brief and sketchy, although the account does mention the digging of a new ditch around the castle and the making of new fences (presumably palisades) around the same.

The following year’s expenditure on works at the castle, amounting to the smaller sum of £4 5s 1½d, are described in the account for that year as relating to ‘the repair and making both of houses, chambers, chimneys, walls, ditches, fences and other things needing repair in those places where most needed for the defence and strengthening of the said castle against the Welsh rebels and against the arrival of the lord Prince and afterwards by his order’.⁸⁷ It would appear from this account that Prince Henry visited Kidwelly at some time during 1406–07, as part of his campaign to subdue the remaining Welsh rebels in Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion (which concluded with the taking of Aberystwyth in the summer of 1407) and that the castle was made ready to accommodate the prince and his household.⁸⁸

FINAL COMPLETION OF THE WORK TO THE GREAT GATEHOUSE 1408–22

With the suppression of the rebellion in south-west Wales by the end of 1407, work appears to have recommenced on the completion of the great gatehouse (which appears to have remained unfinished since late 1402) and continued until 1422. Information on this final phase of work is chiefly derived from the summary statements of the receivers’ accounts prepared by the auditors for the southern parts of the Duchy of Lancaster, the only extant receiver’s account for this period being a single account for

1415–16.⁸⁹ The auditors' accounts make reference to particulars of works which were allowed by letters of warrant. However, none of these supplementary records appear to have survived for this period.

The account for 1408–09 contains a payment of £14 16s 6½d for 'the digging of stone for the new work of the tower over the gates of the castle', which implies that the masonry of the upper stages of the gatehouse had not yet been completed.⁹⁰ Other building works were also being carried out at Kidwelly during this period, as evidenced by the payment of £25 12s 9d for 'the new building of a great chamber in the castle' and 42s 2½d spent on the repair of the bakehouse there.

The years 1409–11 appear to have witnessed intensive work on the great gatehouse, as evidenced by two substantial payments of £76 11s ½d and £76 16s 9¾d recorded for 'the making of the new work of the great tower over the gates of the castle'.⁹¹ The auditors' accounts for these years provide little detail about the precise nature of the works carried out, referring in generic terms to quarrying activity and carpentry and masonry work. However, the account for 1410–11 does mention the purchase of lead (presumably for the roofing of the gatehouse) which suggests that work on the gatehouse was nearing completion.

There is a gap in the accounts for the years 1411–12 and 1412–13, as a consequence of which there is an almost complete lack of information relating to works at Kidwelly during this period. A reference in the receiver's account for 1415–16 for substantial expenses incurred by Walter Morton (then constable of Kidwelly) for the carriage of lead from Bristol to Kidwelly for unspecified works at the castle in 1413, which was described as being defective, suggests that the roofing of the great gatehouse was in progress but that difficulties were encountered in obtaining materials of sufficient quality to complete the work.⁹²

The next surviving auditor's account, for 1413–14, records expenditure of £22 16s 11½d described as being for 'the new work of the great tower over the castle gates'.⁹³ As previously, little detail is given about the nature of the works undertaken (mention is made of carpentry and masonry work and the purchase of stone), but it does refer specifically to the 'batellyng' of the said tower (probably referring the construction of an embattled parapet) which again hints at the work, or at least the external masonry of the great gatehouse, nearing completion. The auditor's account for the following year (1414–15) contains a payment of £35 6s 11d expended not only for work on the great gatehouse but also on other lodgings and towers, perhaps suggesting that the gatehouse was no longer the sole focus of building activity at this time.⁹⁴

The account of the receiver of Kidwelly for 1415–16 provides slightly more detail on building works at the castle compared to the auditors' summaries, although the detailed rolls of particulars on which this account is based are sadly lacking. The sum of £17 2s ¼d was spent on 'the building of a great new tower over the great gates of the castle and the making of various vaults within the said tower', which significantly is described as having been 'previously burnt'.⁹⁵ Exactly when this fire took place is unclear; it is not mentioned in any of the previous auditors', receivers' or reeves' accounts which is somewhat puzzling. The most plausible explanation, as ventured by the authors of *The History of the King's Works*, is that the gatehouse was burnt as a result of the lengthy siege in 1403–04 (or possibly after the landing of the French forces at Milford in 1405).⁹⁶ Another possibility, however, is that the fire could have occurred at a later date, possibly shortly before 1415 (while works at the gatehouse were in progress) and was not the result of damage caused during the siege. This might possibly account for the noticeable lack of references in earlier records to the gatehouse having been burnt. The construction of stone vaults within the flanking towers of the gatehouse presumably relates to the work documented in this account and presumably was carried out as a precaution against fire.

The auditor's account for 1419–20 provides slightly more detail about the damage caused by the fire to the interior of the gatehouse, referring to repairs to 'the hall and chambers of the great tower over the castle gates previously burnt'.⁹⁷ The work of the gatehouse was finally reaching completion by the late 1410s to early 1420s, with the purchase of lead in Bristol for the roofing of the gatehouse in 1419–20 and a final payment of £18 4d in the following year's account for 'the covering with lead of the great tower'.⁹⁸

HISTORY OF THE GATEHOUSE POST 1422

There are occasional references to repairs to the gatehouse in the accounts of the receivers and reeves of Kidwelly during the second half of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. The fifteenth-century accounts refer frequently to the gatehouse either as the ‘new work’ or the ‘Constabulary’, which clearly shows that it was intended to serve as a residence for the constable, at least during this period.⁹⁹ The receiver’s account for 1445–46 records expenditure of 40s 5d spent on replacing the lead ‘of the new work, namely over the Constabulary’¹⁰⁰ and a Duchy warrant of 1476 contains an incidental reference to ‘the gatehows called the constabulary’.¹⁰¹

Intermittent repairs to the great gatehouse (chiefly relating to the renewal of the leadwork of the roof) are recorded in the accounts for 1493–94, 1516–17, 1523–24 and 1537–38, which shows that it continued to be used as a residence (and probably as a prison) at least until the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁰²

DESIGN, LAYOUT AND BUILDING STONE OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE

The current guidebook to Kidwelly Castle gives a detailed description of the appearance, layout and function of the different spaces within the great gatehouse.¹⁰³ It is not proposed to repeat this here. Where the current authors differ from John Kenyon’s guidebook text is in the phasing and dating of different parts of the great gatehouse and the attached lengths of curtain wall running to the west and north.¹⁰⁴ This revised phasing is based upon a detailed study of the standing fabric,¹⁰⁵ an appreciation of how and when the different building stones were used, and a comparison with the detailed documentary history of the construction of the gatehouse given above.

The identification on site of the different building stones was made by Jana Horak and John Davies.¹⁰⁶ The rubble stonework consists of a mixture of laminar rubble—middle shales of the Bishopston mudstone formation found immediately local to the castle—and knapped blocks of the Carboniferous Twrch sandstone (Figs 4–5). This sandstone outcrops along Mynydd-y-Garreg, 2 kilometres north-east of the castle, and it can also be found as boulders on the local foreshore. Laminar pieces of Pennant sandstone can also be found in the rubble walling. There are a number of surviving patches of render on the exterior showing that all this stonework would have been hidden in the Middle Ages. The most commonly used dressed stone for the external openings of the gatehouse is the Lower Jurassic, Quarella sandstone, quarried from the north side of Bridgend. It can vary in colour from pale green to brown/orange. A small amount of the Lower Jurassic limestone known as Sutton stone, quarried from the Glamorgan coast in the Ogmere area was also used for dressings. Both the Quarella and Sutton stones would have been transported by sea to Kidwelly. The dressed stone for the internal alterations to the gatehouse and in completing the machicolations and parapet was Pennant sandstone. This Middle-Upper Carboniferous stone outcrops across the Afon Gwendraeth Fawr in the vicinity of Trimsaran, about 5 kilometres east-south-east of the castle. Crucially this stone could have been carted to the castle across the surviving medieval Spudder’s Bridge.

RELATING THE BUILDING PHASES TO THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

Five phases of construction of the gatehouse in the Middle Ages have been identified (Figs 7–8). Phases 1 and 2 pre-date the main building of the great gatehouse. The outer curtain wall of the castle would have required a south gatehouse to give access from the borough. If the plan of these defences was symmetrical then there is room to transpose the plan of the north gatehouse and its associated corner

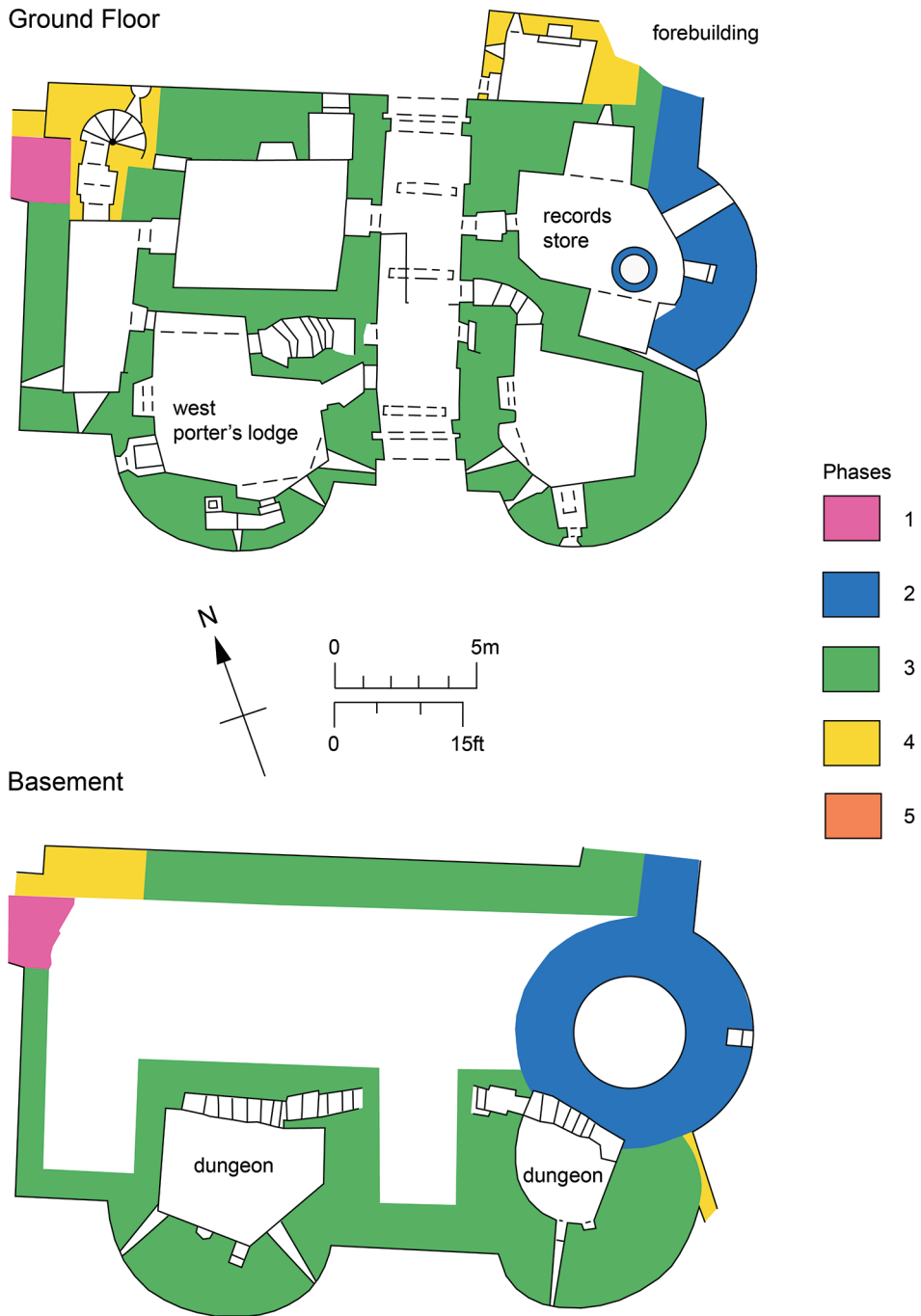


Fig. 7. Phased plans of the basement and ground floor of the great gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle.
© Crown copyright (2017) Welsh Government.

Second Floor



First Floor

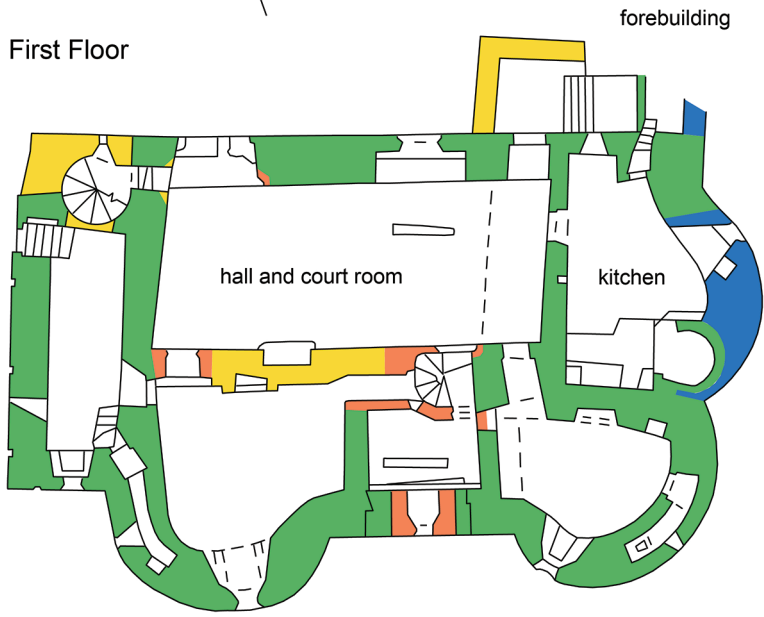


Fig. 8. Phased plans of the first and second floor of the great gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle.
 © Crown copyright (2017) Welsh Government.

tower onto the footprint of the great gatehouse (Fig. 9). The great gatehouse butts against the outer curtain wall on its western side. It is quite possible that some of this curtain wall and parts of its lost gatehouse were incorporated into the basement and ground floor of the west side of the great gatehouse. The archaeological recording of work in the gate passage, undertaken in 2008, found the cobbled footings of two walls taken to be part of the foundations of the earlier gatehouse.¹⁰⁷ Phase 1 can be dated to the early fourteenth century when the late thirteenth-century outer curtain walls and towers were heightened.¹⁰⁸

Phase 2 consists of the round or D-shaped corner tower which was later incorporated into the north-eastern part of the great gatehouse, and its associated curtain wall which runs up to the Inner Ward, South-East Tower. The style of construction and the range of stones used are similar to that found in the great gatehouse. However, the gatehouse butts this tower and the pattern of putlog logs on the tower and gatehouse are markedly different. The bottle dungeon in the basement of this tower belongs to this phase. It uses Sutton limestone in its ground-floor opening and the same stone appears in a window of the first-floor kitchen. This tower is likely to be the one referred to in the accounts of 1388/89, when a quarry was opened to build the '*nove turris*'. There is no other tower of this date of construction that survives at Kidwelly Castle. Fabric from this tower survives at basement, ground and first floors, but it was progressively modified higher up the building with no evidence for a corbel table or crenellations. It may be that this tower was not completed when the decision to build the great gatehouse was taken, allowing parts of it to be incorporated into that structure. It could have provided protection during the period when the original south gatehouse was demolished and before sufficient of the great gatehouse had been built to secure the castle from attack.

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster can be credited as the patron of the phase 3 gatehouse. Begun by 1395/96, construction could have continued until his death in February 1399, when his estates were sequestered by Richard II. Given the turbulent events of that year, which included Richard staying a night in the castle on his way to Ireland and works were then undertaken to exclude him if he chose to return, there seems to be no motive to continue the building work at the site that summer. The constables of Kidwelly appointed by Gaunt were senior knights in his retinue, who would have expected accommodation of a quality to match their status. Perhaps that was Gaunt's intention and why in this phase access to the upper floors seems to have been limited to the internal spiral staircase rising from the west porter's lodge. It is the use of Quarella sandstone for the dressed stonework that is distinctive of phase 3. This shows that by early 1399, the basement, ground and first floors were essentially complete with most of the exterior walls of the second floor on the outer face (Fig. 4), and to a lesser extent on the inner face (Fig. 5) were standing but un-roofed.

Once Henry IV had taken the throne and incorporated his family's Duchy of Lancaster's estates into the wider crown estates, the role of the great gatehouse may have changed. The works identified as belonging to phases 4 and 5 were to make the first-floor hall's primary function to be the court room for the lordship. Plaintiffs, witnesses etc were given access into this room from the forebuilding on the inner face, and the main circulation was provided by the full height stair tower added into the north-west corner of the gatehouse (Fig. 5). The constables and receivers of Kidwelly were now royal officials rather than Duchy knights and their accommodation may not have needed to be so extensive. It was phase 4 which seems to have seen the completion of a fully roofed and accessible gatehouse. Langton's account of 1402 shows that the masons were using locally sourced freestone, not stone brought in by sea. This stone could only have been Pennant sandstone and it is the use of this stone for dressings that helps to identify what were phase 4 and 5 works, such as: the machicolations over the main entrance, the newel post of the north-west staircase, and the window heads on the second-floor north elevation. Phase 4 was disrupted by the Glyndŵr rebellion during the years 1403 to 1408, when expenditure was focused on defending and strengthening the castle, after which work resumed on the gatehouse.

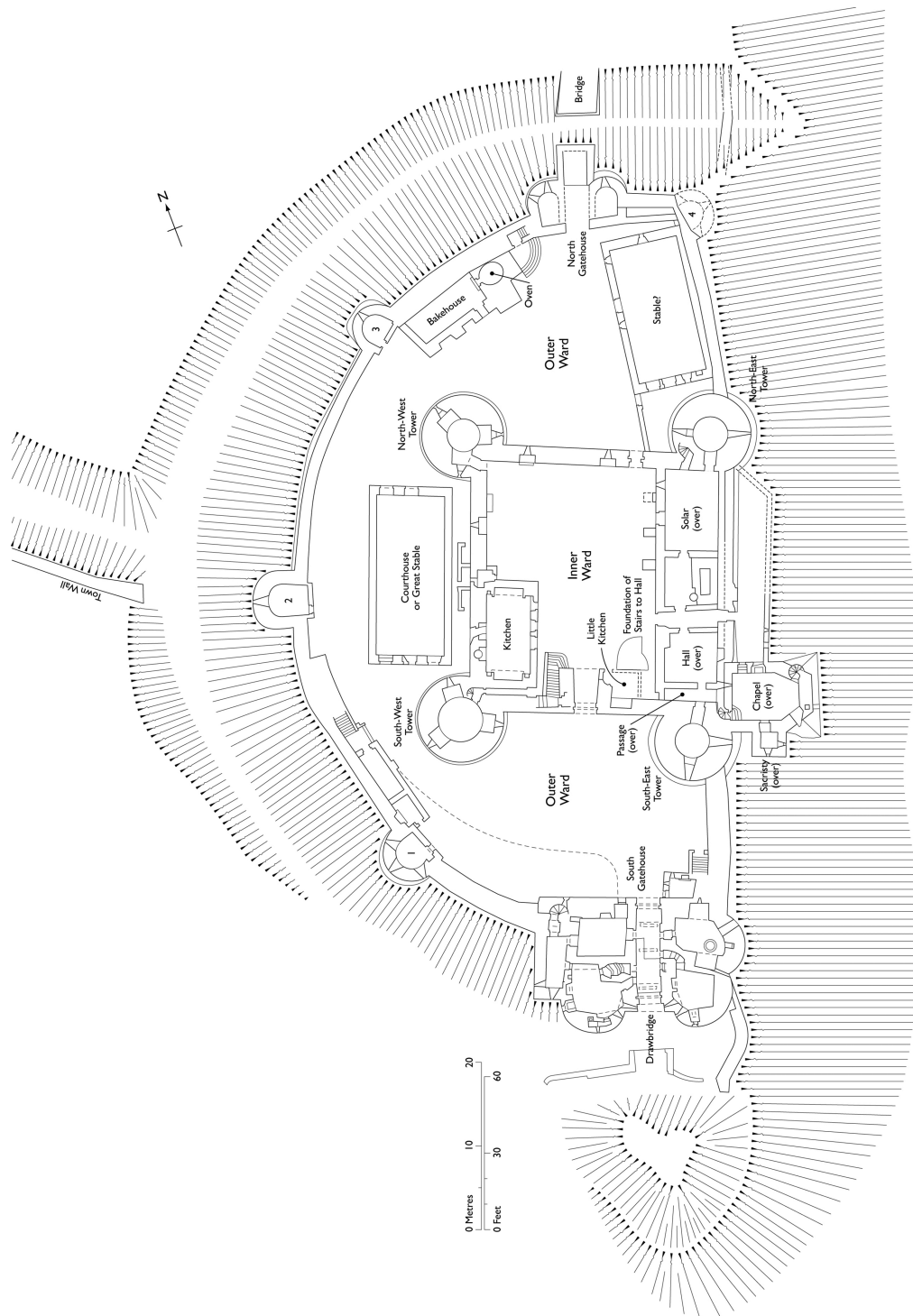


Fig. 9. Plan of Kidwelly Castle. © Crown copyright (2017) Welsh Government.



Fig. 10. Ogee arch of the doorway to the second-floor chamber at Kidwelly Castle.
Photograph: Rick Turner.

Phase 5 works consist of alterations to the phase 4 plans realised at first and second floor. They consist of the introduction of a new internal staircase between the first-floor hall and the second-floor great chamber, and alterations at the dais end of the hall. Pennant sandstone is used for the dressed stonework with the exception of a reused Sutton limestone doorcase inserted into the blocking of an earlier opening in the south-west corner of the first-floor hall. The new doorway from the inserted staircase into the second-floor great chamber is made of Pennant sandstone, and has an ogee head and jewelled stops (Fig. 10). Both of these architectural features are anachronistic, and suggest a date in the second quarter of the fourteenth century rather than the first quarter of the fifteenth century. However there is no structural evidence that this doorcase was reused. Dating phase 5 from the documentary evidence is problematic. It represents a modification rather than a radical change. It is tempting to link this work to the aftermath of the fire recorded in 1415/16, and possibly to the repairs of the hall and chambers mentioned in the account for 1419/20.

There was a phase of repairs undertaken under the patronage of Earl Cawdor in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹ It is best identified by the runs of hard white hydraulic lime down the wall faces. Repairs included: the rebuilding of the first-floor doorway from the forebuilding into the hall using Twrch sandstone blocks, the area around the phase 5 entrance into the second-floor great chamber, and a panel of masonry on the west external face of the gatehouse.¹¹⁰

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that the great gatehouse at Kidwelly had a long and complex history of construction and modification. The building works extended over at least 25 years and were interrupted by a number of changes of ownership and periods of unrest and conflict. What was produced was a large and imposing structure, though with little architectural merit. It needed to provide a secure and defensible main entrance into the castle at time when threats of raids by the French, uprisings by the native Welsh and political turmoil surrounding the English crown were very real. However, the presence of windows at ground, as well as first and second floor in the phase 3 works undertaken for John of Gaunt shows that defence may not have been paramount. The great gatehouse at Kidwelly differs from the great gatehouses of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century at sites such as Harlech and Dunstanburgh Castles.¹¹¹ These

gatehouses were to provide accommodation, for Edward I and Thomas, duke of Lancaster, respectively when they visited what were rather distant parts of their estates. The function of the Kidwelly gatehouse was to provide accommodation for the senior officer of the Duchy of Lancaster in south Wales and allow him to carry out the key administrative roles of the lordship. The accommodation for the lord remained the complex in the inner ward, though this was probably hardly ever used during the period of the construction of the gatehouse, other than for the single night Richard II spent here in 1399 and for Prince Henry's recorded stay sometime during 1406/07.

What is special about the Kidwelly gatehouse is that its very complete surviving fabric can be compared to what for a site in Wales is very extensive documentation of its construction. It is possible to estimate the cost of this building based upon the surviving accounts.

Recorded expenditure on the great gatehouse

1395/96 to end of 1402 (missing 1396/97, 1397/98, 1398/99 and 1401): £238 16s 9³/₄d

Estimated expenditure for missing years at average of £80 per annum: £320 0s 0d

1403/04 to 1406/07 upgrading and repairing defences only: £ 49 15s 4¹/₂d

1408/09 to 1416/17 new work to gatehouse: £270 12s 2¹/₂d

Estimated cost of building the gatehouse: £828

1419/20 to 1420/21 repairs and reroofing of hall and chamber: £ 32 2s 5¹/₂d

This represents a considerable expenditure on just one structure of a castle. It can be compared with a number of the medieval building contracts collated by Salzman.¹¹² For example the mason, John Lewyn, entered a contract to build a twin-towered gatehouse and barbican at Carlisle Castle in 1378, now known as De Ireby's Tower, for a total of 500 marks (i.e. £333).¹¹³ At Bamborough Castle in 1384, a mason was contracted to build a hall, great chamber over vaults, service rooms, a kitchen and two chambers protected by two towers and two turrets for Sir John Neville at a cost of 1300 marks (i.e. £866).¹¹⁴ As late as 1506, Henry VII was able to build the beautiful quire of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle for £800, work that was expected to be completed in 2¹/₂ years.¹¹⁵ Compared to these examples the Kidwelly Castle gatehouse does not look good value for money, but the costs could have escalated due to the regular changes of plan and frequent disruption to the building works.

There are two local gatehouses that were contemporary and have stylistic affinities with Kidwelly. The gatehouse at nearby Carmarthen Castle was rebuilt at a much more modest cost than Kidwelly from 1409, almost certainly by the same master mason, John Herde, in the aftermath of the Glyndŵr rebellion (Fig. 6).¹¹⁶ It was effectively added against the previous main entrance of the castle and had a much less elaborate internal plan. The detailing of the round flanking towers and the machicolations shows that the two sites shared the same designer. The gatehouse at Llawhaden Castle was also added to the face of an existing curtain wall by John Fawley, master mason to the Bishops of St David's, who from 1383 had been the castle's constable (Fig. 6). This work could relate to the response to the threat of French invasion in the late 1380s, but is more likely to date to the end of or the aftermath of the Glyndŵr rebellion in south Wales over the period 1403 to 1408.¹¹⁷ This suggests that the gatehouses at Carmarthen and Llawhaden were being built at the same time and could have benefitted from aspects of the design of the phase 3 and 4 gatehouse at Kidwelly. Parallels may also be drawn with the great gatehouse at Lancaster Castle, which was built on a very grand scale by Henry IV between 1402 and 1422. Here the use of machicolations, crenellations, and turrets is much more exuberant than what survives at any of the three Welsh castles and follows the fashion set by the 'new men' of Richard II's reign in their castle building.¹¹⁸

The final aspect of the construction work of the great gatehouse is what William Langton's account tells us about how these works were organised and carried out. In many ways the organisation was similar

to that revealed by other rolls of particulars from the same period discussed by Knoop and Jones. What is different is what Langton's account tells us about the labour market in a Welsh Marcher lordship like Kidwelly where the greater numbers of residents were still native Welsh. The overseeing of the work and all the master craftsmen were English. They may have travelled from their homes, like John Herde of Pembroke, to work on the castle during the building season which ran from the beginning of April till the end of October. Some may have been resident in the foreignry of the lordship. The majority of the workforce however had Welsh names and would almost certainly have come from the Welshry of the lordship (Fig. 2). This would have involved a walk to work each day. Only a few got near continuous employment during the summer of 1402, others doing just a few days here and there. Even this boost to the local economy was to be disrupted over the next few years by Glyndŵr's rebellion. So even a great infrastructure project like the building of the great gatehouse could only have brought only intermittent benefits to the local community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our thanks are due to Duncan Schlee who undertook the first fabric analysis in 2006 and to Jana Horak and John Davies for identifying on site the different building stones used in the gatehouse. John Kenyon, Chris Jones-Jenkins and John Shipton also came on the site visits and did much to clarify the developmental history of the building. Cadw – Welsh Government, have generously given permission to use a number of the illustrations from their archive.

APPENDIX. ACCOUNT BOOK OF WILLIAM LANGTON FOR THE NEW WORK OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE AT KIDWELLY CASTLE

The document in the National Archives (DL 41/341, File of warrants and accounts relating to the lordship of Kidwelly Mich 3 Hen IV–Mich 4 Hen IV) consists of 13 folios on paper and includes accounts for works at Kidwelly, Carreg Cennen and Ogmores Castles and the lodge at Kevengorath Forest (in Llanedi parish). The account book, not noticed in *The History of the King's Works*, relates to the construction of the great gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle, referred to as the 'new work'. It covers the period April–October 1402. It is primarily a list of the names of masons, carpenters, quarrymen, stone-carriers and other labourers receiving wages for working on the great gatehouse, with accounts of materials purchased for the said works.

Folio 1^r

Iste sunt expense facte per Willelmum Langton circa novum opus de Ked[welly]

(These are the expenses incurred by William Langton on the new work of Kidwelly)

Secunda septimana April[is] (Second week of April)

In primis in xx weys de calce empt[is] de Willo Morice prec[ium] le weye xii.d sine cariagio]– xx.s

Item solute[um] Joh[ann]i Stevene et Will[elm]o Willy pro cariagio predictarum xx weyarum pro quolibet iiiii.d – vi.s viii.d

Item solute[um] eisdem Joh[ann]i et Will[elm]o pro lx carect[is] sabuli prec cuiuslibet carecte i.d – v.s

(First for 20 weys of lime bought from William Morice, at a price of 12d a wey without carriage – 20s

Also payment to John Steven and William Willy for carriage of the said 20 weys, each priced at 4d – 6s 8d

Also payment to the said John and William for 60 cartloads of sand, at 1d a cartload – 5s)

Fodiator[es] lapidarum (Stone diggers, i.e. quarrymen)

Thome Chaundel exist[enti] in quarrer[a] per vii dies et di[midiam] ill[a] septimana et prima April cap[ienti] per diem v.d. iii.s i.d. ob

Item Nicho Lange exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem iii.d. – ii.s iii.d

Item Ric[ard]o Yonge exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra predictus Nichus ii.s iii.d

Johanni Pittefer exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra per diem ii.s iii.d

Item solut[um] Johanni Legge pro iii stekes de ferro suo fact[is] quorum ii ponderant quilibet xviii.li vi.s vi.d ob prec[ium] lib[ri] i.d ob. et tercius ponderat xvi.li et di prec[ium] li[bri] ut supra – vi.s vi.d ob qua

Item solut solut Watekyn Coly pro cariagio unius parcell petrarum in grosso ad taxam – iii.s vi.d

Item Rico Yonge et Nicho Lange exist[enti] ibidem ad coniunxtand[um] calcem cum sabulo per ii dies quilibet cap[ienti] per diem iii.d. – xvi.d

(Thomas Chaundeler being in the quarry for 7½ days this week and the first of April receiving 5d daily – 3s 1½d

Also to Nicholas Lange being there for the same period taking 4d daily – 2s 3d

Also to Richard Yonge being there for the same period taking 4d daily – 2s 3d

To John Pittefer being there for the same period taking 4d daily as above – 2s 3d

Also payment to John Legge for making three stakes of his own iron of which two weighing 18lbs – 6s 6½d at 1½d a pound and the third weighing 16½lbs price of a pound as above – 6s 6¼d

Also payment to Watekyn Coly for carriage of a parcel of stones in gross at taskwork – 4s 6d

Also to Richard Yonge and Nicholas Lange being there for mixing lime with sand for 2 days each taking 4d daily – 16d)

Cementar[ii] (Masons)

Joh[anni] Herde exist[enti] ibidem ill[am] sep[timanam] cap[ienti] omnia septimana xl.d. iii.s iii.d

Jevan ap David exist[enti] ibidem per vi dies cap[ienti] per diem iii.d ob ii.s iii.d

Item Thom[e] ap Bola exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – ii.s

Item David ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem et cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – ii.s

Item Jevan Duy exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra ii.s

Jevan Owyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra ii.s

Jevan ap Joh exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra ii.s

David Duy exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem ut supra ii.s

(To John Herde being there that week taking for the whole week 40d – 3s 4d

To Jevan ap David being there for 6 days taking 4½d daily – 2s 3d

Also to Thomas ap Bola being there for the same period taking 4d daily – 2s

Also to David ap Ythel being there and taking 4d daily – 2s

And to Jevan Dey being there for the same time taking as above – 2s

To Jevan Owyn being there for the same time taking as above – 2s

To David Duy being there for the same time taking (4d) daily as above – 2s)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Dd ap Ythel Jun exist[enti] ibidem per v dies et di[mi]diam cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – xxii.d

Griffino Legadowen exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra – xxii.d

Ric[ardo] ap Phelip exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra – xxii.d

Walter ap Hauwel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

John Pitefere exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

Jevan Tayllor exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

Jevan ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

Item solut Watekyn Veysy pro xx weyes de calse prec[ium] cariag[is] xx.s

Summa v.li v.s i.d.

(To David ap Ythel being there for 5½ days taking 4d daily – 22d

To Griffin Legadowen being there for the same period taking (4d) as above – 22d

To Richard ap Phelip being there for the same period taking (4d) as above – 22d

To Walter ap Howel being there for the same period taking (4d) as above – 22d

To John Pitefere being there for the same period taking (4d) as above – 22d

To Jevan Taylor being there for the same period taking (4d) as above – 22d

To Jevan ap Ythel being there for the same period taking (4d) as above – 22d

Also payment to Watekyn Veysy for 20 weys of lime price of carriage – 20s

Total £5 5s 1d)

Folio 1^v

Tercia sept[imana] April (Third week of April)

Latamy (Masons)

Joh[anni] Herde exist[enti] ibidem per ill[am] sept[imanam] cap[ienti] per sept[imanam] xl.d – iii.s iii.d

Jevan ap Jevan Duy exist[enti] ibidem per vi dies cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – ii.s

Jevan ap Dd exist[enti] ibidem idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem iii.d ob – ii.s iii.d

Jevan ap Joh exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] iii.d. ii.s

Thom ap Bola exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra ii.s

David ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra – ii.s

DD Due exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra – ii.s

Jevan Owyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra – ii.s

Jevan Valyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra – ii.s

(To John Herde being there for that week taking 40d weekly – 3s 4d

To Jeuan ap Jeuan Duy being there for 6 days taking 4d daily – 2s

To Jeuan ap David being there for the same time taking 4½d daily – 2s 3d

To Jeuan ap John being there for the same time taking 4d daily – 2s

To Thomas ap Bola being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 2s

To David ap Ythel being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 2s

To David Due being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 2s

To Jeuan Owyn being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 2s

To Jeuan Valyn being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 2s)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

John Pittefer exist[enti] ibidem per v dies et di[midiam] cap[ienti] per diem iii.d. – xxii.d

Jevan Taylor exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem ut supra xxii.d

Jevan ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

Gr[iffino] Legadowen exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

Ric ap Joh exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

Will[elmo] ap Howel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

Willy ap Kemmeys exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus xxii.d

(To John Pittefer being there for 5½ days

To Jeuan Taylor being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 22d

To Jeuan ap Ythel being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 22d

To Gr[iffin] Legadowen being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 22d

To Richard ap John being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 22d

To William ap Howel being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 22d

To William ap Kemeys being there for the same time taking 4d daily as above – 22d)

Cariator[es] lapidorum (Stone carriers)

Wattekyn Joly cariant[i] ibidem x tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax[a] iii.d quorum quolibet tax[a] continet[ur] tres chargers – ii.s vi.d

Joh[anni] Wattekyn car[ianti] x tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax[a] ut supra – ii.s vi.d

Will[elm]o Fisser car[ianti] ut supra et tantum – ii.s vi.d

Will[elm]o Hike car[ianti] ibidem ut supra – ii.s vi.d

Item Joh[anni] Stevene pro xx bigat[is] sabuli prec cuiuslibet i.d. – xx.d

Item eidem Johi Steven et Willo Willy pro cariagio xx Weyarum de calce emp[itarum] de Wattekyn Veysi viz pro quolibet Wey[a] iii.d. – vi.s viii.d

(To Wattekyn Joly carrying 10 stacks there taking 3d per stack, each stack containing three loads – 2s 6d

To John Wattekyn carrying 10 stacks taking (3d) per stack as above – 2s 6d

To William Fisser carrying as above – 2s 6d

To William Hike carrying the same as above – 2s 6d

Also to John Steven for 20 carts of sand each costing 1d – 20d

Also to the same John Steven and William Willy for the carriage of 20 weys of lime bought of Wattekyn Veysi viz 4d for each wey – 6s 8d)

Fractores lapidorum (Stone-breakers)

Thom[e] Chandler exist[enti] ibidem per v dies et di cap[ienti] per diem v.d – ii.s iii.d ob

Ric[ardo] Yong exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus et cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – xxii.d

Jankyn ap Jevan exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

Rog[ero] ap Jevan exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xxii.d

Summa lviii.s vi.d

(To Thomas Chandler being there for 5½ days taking 5d daily – 2s 3½d

To Richard Yong being there for the same period taking 4d daily – 22d

To Jankyn ap Jeuan being there for the same period taking (4d) as above – 22d

To Roger ap Jeuan being there for the same period taking (4d) as above – 22d

Total – 58s 6d)

Folio 2^r (the upper edge of this folio appears to have been slightly trimmed)

Lathamys (Masons)

Johanni Herde exist[enti] ibidem ill[a] sept[imana] cap[ienti] per sep[timanam] xl.d – iii.s iii.d

Ric[ard]o Wite exist[enti] ibidem illa sep[timana] prima cap[ienti] per sep[timanam] iii.s – iii.s

Jevan ap Dd exist[enti] ibidem per v dies cap[ienti] per diem iii.d ob – xxii.d

Jevan ap Joh exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus capient per diem iii.d – xx.d

Dd Duy exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem iii.d. xx.d

Jevan ap Jevan Duye exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xx.d

Thom[e] ap Bola exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xx.d

Jevan Valyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xx.d

David ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem ut sup xx.d

(To John Herde being there for that week taking 40d weekly – 3s 4d
 To Richard Wite being there that week taking 3s per week – 3s
 To Jeuan ap David being there for 5 days taking 4½d daily – 22d
 To Jeuan ap John being there for the same period taking 4d daily – 20d
 To David Duy being there for the same time taking 4d daily – 20d
 Jeuan ap Jeuan Duye being there for the same period receiving as above – 20d
 To Thomas ap Bola being there for the same time receiving as above – 20d
 To Jeuan Valyn being there for the same time receiving as above – 20d
 To David ap Ythel being there for the same time receiving 4d daily as above – 20d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Joh[anni] Pittefer exist[enti] ibidem per iii dies et di[mi]diam cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – xviii.d
Jevan Tailor exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xviii.d
Jevan ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xviii.d
Gr[iffinus] Legadown exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xviii.d
Jevan Hyre exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xviii.d
Jevan Oweyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xviii.d
Walter[o] ap Houwel exist[enti] ibidem etc xviii.d
 (To John Pittefer being there for 4½ days
 To Jeuan Tailor being there for the same time receiving as above – 18d
 To Jeuan ap Ythel being there for the same time receiving as above – 18d
 To Gr[iffin] Legadown being there for the same time receiving as above – 18d
 To Jeuan Hyre being there for the same time receiving as above – 18d
 To Jeuan Oweyn being there for the same time receiving as above – 18d
 To Walter ap Howel being there for the same time receiving as above – 18d)

Fodiator[es] lapidarum (Stone-diggers)

Thom[e] Chaundeler per v dies exist[enti] ibidem cap[ienti] per diem v.d. – ii.s i.d
Ric[ardo] Yonge exist[enti] ibidem per iii dies et di[mi]diam cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – xviii.d
Jankyn ap Jevan exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xviii.d
Rog[ero] ap Jevan exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra xviii.d
 (To Thomas Chaundeler being there for 5 days taking 5d daily – 2s 1d
 To Richard Yong being there for 4½ days taking 4d daily – 18d)

To Jankyn ap Jeuan being there for the same period taking 4d as above – 18d
 To Roger ap Jeuan being there for the same period taking 4d as above – 18d)

Cariatores lapidarum calsis et sabuli (Carriers of stones, lime and sand)

Watekyn Malifant pro x tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax iii.d ii.s vi.d
Wilcoc Hyke pro x tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax etc ii.s vi.d
Joh[anni] ap Hauwel pro x tax[atis] ii.s vi.d
Thom[e] Rothe pro x tax[atis] ii.s vi.d
Item solut[um] Willo Morice pro xx weyes de calse xx.s
Joh[ann]i Steven et Willelmo Willi pro cariagio eorundem viz pro quolibet iii.d – vi.s viii.d
Item eisdem Joh[ann]i et Willelmo pro xxx carect sabuli prec cuiuslibet i.d. – ii.s vi.d
Summa iii.li xiiii.s v.d.
 (To Watekyn Malifant for 10 stacks taking 3d per stack – 2s 6d
 To Wilcoc Hyke for 10 stacks receiving 3d per stack – 2s 6d
 To John ap Howel for 10 stacks – 2s 6d
 To Thomas Routhe for 10 stacks – 2s 6d
 Also to William Morice for 20 weys of lime – 20s
 To John Steven and William Willy for carriage of the same viz 4d for each (wey) – 6s 8d
 Also to the same John and William for 30 cartloads of sand, price of each 1d – 2s 6d
 Total £2 14s 5d)

Folio 2^v

Prima sep[timana] mensis may (First week of May)

Item solut Will[elm]o Will pro cariag I parcell petrarum de quarvera ad castrum in grosso ad tax[am] xii.s
Item Nicho Lange pro prostracione murorum veteris orien' (?) in grosso ad tax[am] xiii.s iii.d
Item eidem Nicho pro cariagio eorundem ad castrum in grosso ad taxam xxxiii.s iii.d
Item Jevan ap Houwe pro habend[o] franche piere fust[e] in terra sua ad novum turrin vocat[am] le Watehouse [Gatehouse?] in grosso sumptibus domini Regis iii.li
Summa v.li xviii.s viii.d
 (Also paid to William Willy for the carriage of one parcel of stones from the quarry to the castle at taskwork – 12s
 Also to Nicholas Lange for the demolishing of the old east walls in gross at taskwork – 13s 4d
 Also to the same Nicholas for carriage of the same to the castle in gross at taskwork – 33s 4d
 Also to Jeuan ap Howe for obtaining freestone dug in his land for the new tower called the 'Watehouse' at the expense of the lord King in gross – £3
 Total £5 18s 8d)

In sep[timana] Pentecostes (In the week of Pentecost)

Ric[ardo]Wite exist[enti] ibidem per illa septimana cap[ienti] om[n]ia sep[timana] iii.s

Item in calse emp[to] de Waltero Veysy viz x weys prec[ium] cuiuslibet xii.d. – x.s.

Item in car[fiagio] de dicto calceto [calet] xx caruce prec[ium] carucat[e] ii.d. – iii.s iii.d

Johanne Steven et Willemo Willy pro lx carucat[is] sabul[i] prec[ium] cuiuslibet i.d.mixtelet calset[o] cum sabulo – v.s

Gr[iffino] Legadowen per I diem et di cap[ientii] per diem iii.d – vi.d

Jevan ap Ythel per I diem cap[ientii] per diem et di iii.d – vi.d

(To Richard Wite being there for that week taking 3s for the whole week

Also for lime bought from Walter Veysy viz 10 weys at 12d each – 10s

Also for carriage of the said lime 20 cartloads, at 2d a cartload – 3s 4d

To John Steven and William Willy for 60 cartloads of sand at 1d a cartload, and for mixing the lime with sand – 5s

To Gr[iffin] Legadowen for 1½ days taking 4d daily – 6d

To Jeuan ap Ythel for 1 day taking for a day and a half 4d – 6d)

Septimana post Pentecostes (The week after Pentecost)

Latami (Masons)

Joh[anni] Herde exist[enti] ibidem illa sep[timana] – iii.s iii.d

Ric[ardo] Wite – iii.s (3s)

Jevan ap David – xxii.d ob (22½d)

Jevan Duy xx.d (20d)

Jevan ap Pho xx.d (20d)

David Duy xx.d (20d)

Jevan Vahan xx.d (20d)

Jevan Owyn xx.d (20d)

David ap Ythel xx.d (20d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Joh[anni] Pyttefer – xviii.d (18d)

Jevan Tailor – xviii.d (18d)

Jevan ap Ythel – xviii.d (18d)

David ap Ythel – xviii.d (18d)

Gr[iffino] Legadowen – xviii.d (18d)

Ric[ardo] ap Phe – xviii.d (18d)

Waltero ap Houwel – xviii.d (18d)

Ewelyn Kemmes – xviii.d (18d)

Folio 3^r

Fractor[es] lapidarum (Stone breakers)

Thom[e] Chandeler exist[enti] ibidem per iv dies cap[ientii] per diem v.d. – xx.d

Ric[ardo] Yonge exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] per diem iii.d. – xvi.d

Jankyn Jevan exist[enti] ibidem xvi.d

Roger[o] Jevan exist[enti] ibidem cap[ientii] ut supra xvi.d

Jevan Owyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] ut sup xvi.d

(To Thomas Chandeler being there for 4 days taking 5d daily – 20d

To Richard Yong being there for the same time taking 4d daily – 16d

To Jankyn Jeuan being there 16d

To Roger Jeuan being there, receiving as above – 16d

To Jeuan Owyn being there for the same time receiving 4d as above – 16d)

Cariator lapidorum (Stone carriers)

Wattekyn Malifant exist[enti] ibidem pro x tax[atis] cap[ientii] pro tax[a] iii.d – ii.s vi.d.

Wilkoc Hicke x tax[atis] – ii.s vi.d

Jac Lang iiiii tax[atis] – xii.d

Item in tribus weyes calset emp de Wattekyn Veysi prec le Weye xii.d sine caria[fi]o iii.s

Item in ferro de Johanne Legge viz hokys in clavis souelhires [sonelhires] xl.li prec[ium] li. i.d ob – v.s iii.d

Item in uno portator emp[to] de novo prec[ium] iiiii.d. – iiiii.d Rem iii tribule ferrat

Summa iii.li xiii.s x.d ob

(To Wattekyn Malifant being there for 10 stacks receiving 3d for a stack – 2s 6d

To Wilkoc Hicke for 10 stacks – 2s 6d

To Jack Lang for four stacks – 12d

Also for three weys of lime bought fom Wattekyn Veysy at a price of 12d a wey without carriage – 3s

Also for iron bought of John Legge viz hooks, nails saddlebars 40lbs at a price of 1½d a pound – 5s 4d

Also for a bearer bought at a price of 4d – 4d

Remaining three iron shovels

Total £3 13s 10½d)

Item alia septimana post illums festum corporis Christi (Also for another week after the feast of Corpus Christi [25 May])

Joh(anni) Herd exist[enti] ibidem cap[ientii] per sept[imanam] xl.d – iii.s iiiii.d

Ric[ardo] Wite exist[enti] ibidem cap[ientii] per dictam sept[imanam] iii.s – iii.s

Jevan ap David exist[enti] ibidem per vi dies cap[ientii] per diem iiiii.d ob – ii.s iii.d

Jevan ap Phe[lip] exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] per diem iiiii.d – ii.s

David Duy exist[enti] ibidem cap[ientii] per diem per idem tempus – ii.s

Jevan ap Jevan Due exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] per diem ut sup[ra] – ii.s

Thom ap Bola exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] per diem ut sup[ra] ii.s

Jevan Valyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] per diem ut sup[ra] ii.s

Jevan Owyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] per diem ut sup[ra] ii.s

David ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] per diem ut sup[ra] ii.s

Jevan Corthe exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] ut sup[ra] ii.s

Jany Porterofo exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ientii] per diem ut sup[ra] ii.s

(To John Herde being there for the week 40d – 3s 4d
 To Richard Wite for being there for the said week 3s – 3s
 To Jeuan ap David for being there 6 days receiving 4d daily – 2s
 To Jeuan ap Philip for being there the same time 4d daily – 2s
 To David Duy being there for the same time receiving 4d daily – 2s
 To Jeuan ap Jeuan Due being there for the same time receiving 4d daily as above – 2s
 To Thomas ap Bola being there for the same time receiving 4d daily as above – 2s
 To Jeuan Valyn being there for the same time receiving 4d daily as above – 2s
 To Jeuan Owyn being there for the same time receiving 4d daily as above – 2s
 To David ap Ythel being there for the same time receiving 4d daily as above – 2s
 To Jeuan Corthe being there for the same time receiving 4d daily as above – 2s
 To Jany Porterofe being there for the same time receiving 4d daily as above – 2s)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Johanni Pytefere exist[enti] ibidem per v dies et di cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – xxii.d
Jevan Taylor exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem ut sup xxii.d
Jevan ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus etc xxii.d
David ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus etc xxii.d
Gr Legadowen exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus etc xxii.d
Ric ap Phe exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus etc xxii.d
Willi ap Howel exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus etc xxii.d
Willi ap Kemeys exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus etc xxii.d
Jevan Hyre exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus etc xxii.d
Jevan Owyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus etc xxii.d
 (To John Pytefere being there for 5½ days at 4d daily – 22d
 To Jeuan Taylor being there for the same period receiving [4d daily] as above – 22d
 To Jeuan ap Ythel being there for the same period receiving [4d daily] as above – 22d
 To Griffin Legadowen being there for the same period receiving [4d daily] as above – 22d
 To Richard ap Phelip being there for the same period receiving [4d daily] as above – 22d
 To William ap Howel being there for the same period receiving [4d daily] as above – 22d
 To William ap Kemeys being there for the same period receiving [4d daily] as above – 22d
 To Jeuan Hyre being there for the same period receiving [4d daily] as above – 22d
 To Jeuan Owyn being there for the same period receiving [4d daily] as above – 22d)

Folio 3^v

Fractor Lapidarum (Stone breakers)

Thom Chaundeler exist[enti] ibidem per quatuor dies cap[ienti] per diem v.d – xx.d

Ric Yong exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – xvi.d
Jankyn Jevan exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut sup xvi.d
Roger Jevan exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] etc – xvi.d
Jevan Owyn exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus etc – xvi.d
 (To Thomas Chandler being there for 4 days each receiving 5d daily – 20d
 To Richard Yong being there for the same time receiving 4d daily – 16d
 To Jankyn Jeuan being there for the same period receiving [4d daily] as above – 16d
 To Roger Jeuan being there for the same period receiving as above – 16d
 To Jeuan Owyn being there for the same period – 16d)

Cariator lapidarum (Stone carriers)

John Malfant x tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro taxa iii.d – ii.s vi.d
Wilkoc Hicke vi tax[atis] – xviii.d
Johanni ap Ho[ewel] viii tax[atis] – ii.s
Thom Routhe vi tax[atis] xviii.d
 (To John Malfant for 10 stacks receiving 3d per stack – 2s 6d
 To Wilkoc Hicke for 6 stacks – 18d
 To John ap Howel for 8 stacks – 2s
 To Thomas Routhe for 6 stacks – 18d)

Item in calceto empt[o] de Waltero Veyse viz pro x weyes prec[ium] cuiuslibet xii.d – x.s

Item Johanni Steven et Will[elm]o Wyl pro cariagio eodem iii.s iiiii.d

Joh[ann]i Owen pro xvi car[ucatis] prec[ium] etc xvi.d

Henry Hopkyn pro xxviii carucat[is] ii.s iiiii.d

Joh[anni] Jevan xi carucat[is] xi.d

Et in ferr[o] viz ii hockes continentes xxii.li prec[ium] li[bri] i.d ob. – ii.s ix.d

Item in emendacione de Pycoyssise Thome Routhe viii.d

Summa iii.li xix.s i.d.

(Also for lime bought from Walter Veysey viz for 10 weys price of each 12d – 10s

Also to John Steven and William Willy for carriage of the same – 3s 4d

To John Owen for 16 cartloads, price as above – 16d

To Henry Hopkyn for 28 cartloads – 2s 4d

To John Jeuan for 11 cartloads – 11d

And in iron, namely two hooks weighing 22lbs, the price of a pound 1½d – 2s 9d

Also for the mending of pickaxes, to Thomas Routh – 8d

Total £3 19s 1d)

Item alia septimana prox[ima] sequent[ia] (Also for another week next following)

Latami (Masons)

Johanni Herd exist[enti] ibidem iii.s iiiii.d

(To John Herd being there – 3s 4d)

Ric Wite exist[enti] ibidem iii.s

(To Richard Wite being there – 3s)

Jevan ap Ph exist[enti] ibidem per vi dies cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – ii.s

DD Due exist[enti] per idem tempus – ii.s

(To David Due being there for the same time – 2s)

Jeuan ap Jeuan Due exist[enti] per idem tempus ii.s

(To Jeuan ap Jeuan Due being there for the same time – 2s)

Thom ap Bola pro eodem tempore ii.s

(To Thomas ap Bola being there for the same time – 2s)

Jevan Vahan ii.s (2s)

Jevan Owyn ii.s (2s)

Dd ap Ythel ii.s (2s)

Jevan Cort ii.s (2s)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Joh[ann]i Pitefer exist[enti] ibidem per v dies et di cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – xxii.d

(John Pitefer being there for 5½ days taking 4d daily – 22d)

Ric[ardo] Yoman – xxii.d (22d)

Dd Henr xxii.d (22d)

Gr[iffino] Legadowen xxii.d (22d)

Dd ap Ythel jun xxii.d (22d)

Joh[anni] Yantor xxii.d (22d)

Jevan Taylor xxii.d (22d)

Ric[ardo] ap John xxii.d (22d)

Folio 4^r

Waltero ap Ho[fwel] – xxii.d (22d)

Will[elmo] ap Kemeys xxii.d (22d)

Jevan Hire xxii.d (22d)

Fractor[es] lapidarum (Stone breakers)

Thom[e] Chaundeler exist[enti] ibidem per vi dies cap[ienti] per diem v.d – ii.s vi.d

(Thomas Chaudeler being there for 6 days taking 5d daily – 2s 6d)

Ric[ardo] Yong exist[enti] ibidem cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – xxii.d

(To Richard Yong being there taking 4d daily – 22d)

Joh[anni] Jevan xxii.d (22d)

Rog[ero] Jevan xxii.d (22d)

Cariator[es] lapidarum (Stone carriers)

Wattekyn Malfant pro xix tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax[a] iii.d – iii.s ix.d

Wilkoc Hyke pro xvi tax[atis] cap[ienti] ut supra iii.s

Joh[anni] ap Ho[fwel] pro xviii tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro taxa ut supra iii.s vi.d

Thom[e] Routhe pro xii tax[atis] cap[ienti] ut supra iii.s

Wilkoc Fysser pro xii tax[atis] cap[ienti] ut supra iii.s

Joh[anni] Lange pro viii tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax[a] etc ii.s

(To Wattekyn Malifant for 19 stacks receiving 3d for each stack – 4s 9d

To Wilkoc Hyke for 16 stacks receiving as above – 4s

To John ap Howel for 18 stacks receiving 3d for each stack as above – 4s 6d

To Thomas Routhe for 12 stacks receiving as above – 3s

To Wilkoc Fysser for 12 stacks receiving as above – 3s

To John Lange for 8 stacks receiving 3d per stack as above – 2s)

Item in calceto empto de Willo Morice viz ix Weyes prec[ium] le Weye xii.d sine cariagio – ix.s

Item de Waltero Veysey xi weyes prec[ium] le wey ut supra – xi.s

Item de How[el] Langam x weyes prec[ium] ut supra x.s

Item Johanni Steven et Willo Willy pro cariagio predictarum xxx weyarum viz pro quolibet iii.d – x.s

Item eisdem Johanni Steven et Willo Will et Henr Hopkyn pro cvi carucat[is] sabul[i] prec[ium] cuiuslibet i.d – viii.s ix.d

Item in emendacione de pecosisse Thom Routhe – viii.d

Summa vi.li xv.d

(Also for lime bought from William Morice viz 9 weys at a price of 12d a wey without carriage – 9s

Also from Walter Veysey 11 weys at the above price – 11s

Also from Howel Langam 10 weys price as above – 10s

Also to John Steven and William Willy for carriage of the said 30 weys viz 4d for each wey – 10s

Also to the said John Steven and William Willy and Henry Hopkyn for 106 cartloads of sand, price of each 1d – 8s 9d

Also for mending the pickaxe of Thomas Routhe 8d

Total £6 15d)

Alia sep[timana] prox[ima] ante festum sancti Johanni Baptiste (Another week before the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June])

Latami (Masons)

Joh[anni] Herde exist[enti] ibidem per illam septimanam cap[ienti] per septimanam iii.s iii.d – iii.s iii.d

(To John Herde engaged there for that week taking 3s 4d per week – 3s 4d)

Ric[ardo] Wyte exist[enti] ibidem cap[ienti] per septimanam iii.s – iii.s

(To Richard Wyte being there receiving 3s weekly – 3s)

Jeuan exist[enti] ibidem per vi dies cap[ienti] per diem v.d – ii.s vi.d

(To Jeuan being there for 6 days receiving 5d daily – 2s 6d)

Jeuan ap Jeuan Oweyn exist[enti] ibidem per vi dies cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – ii.s

(To Jeuan ap Jeuan Oweyn being there for 6 days receiving 4d daily – 2s)

Jeuan Duy exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus – ii.s

(To Jeuan Duy being there for the same period – 2s)

Dd duy exist[enti] ibidem – ii.s (2s)

Jeuan ap Phelip – ii.s (2s)

Jeuan Coyt – ii.s (2s)

Jeuan Lloid – i.s (1s)

Jeuan Bahan – ii.s (2s)

Thom[e] ap Bola – ii.s (2s)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Joh[anni] Pittefer – xxii.d (22d)

Dd Herr xxii.d (22d)

Jeuan Taylor xxii.d (22d)

Ric[ardo] Webbe – xxii.d (22d)
Will[elmo] Kemeys xxii.d (22d)
Walt[ero] ap Ho[wel] xxii.d (22d)
Gr[iffino] Legadowen xxii.d (22d)
Joh[anni] Yanto – xxii.d (22d)
Dd ap Ythel xxii.d (22d)
Jean Due xxii.d (22d)
Ric[ardo] yoman – xxii.d (22d)

Folio 4^v

Fractor[es] lapidarum (Stone breakers)
Thom[e] Chandeler exist[enti] ibidem per vi dies cap[ienti] per diem v.d – ii.s vi.d
 (To Thomas Chandeler being there for 6 days taking 5d daily – 2s 6d)
Ric[ardo] Yong exist[enti] ibidem per v dies et di cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – xxii.d
 (To Richard Yong being there for 5½ days taking 4d daily – 22d)
Joh[anni] Jean exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus – xxii.d
 (John Jean being there for the same period – 22d)
Rog[ero] Jean – xxii.d (22d)
Joh[anni] Chandeler – xxii.d (22d)

Cariator[es] lapidarum (Stone carriers)

Wattekyn Malifant pro xviii tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax[a] – iii.d – iii.s vi.d
Walter[us] Hyke pro xvi tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax[a] ut supra – iii.s
Joh[anni] ap Ho[wel] pro xvi tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax[a] ut supra iii.s
Thom[e] Routhe pro xii tax[atis] prec[ium] ut supra – iii.s
Wilkoc Fysser pro xvi tax[atis] prec[ium] etc – iii.s
Philippo Botyr pro x tax[atis] prec[ium] etc ii.s vi.d
 (To Wattekyn Malifant for 18 stacks, receiving 3d per stack – 4s 6d)
 To Walter Hyke for 16 stacks receiving 3d per stack as above – 4s
 To John ap Howel for 16 stacks receiving per stack as above – 4s
 To Thomas Routhe for 12 stacks price as above – 3s
 To Wilkoc Fysser for 16 stacks price as above – 4s
 To Philip Botyr for 10 stacks, price as above – 2s 6d)

Item in calce empt[o] de Waltero Veysy viz ix weyes prec[ium] le Wey xii.d – ix.s

Item Joh[anni] Steven et Willo Willy pro cariagio eorundem – iii.s

Item eisdem Johanni Steven et Willo Willy pro cariagio sabul[i] viz pro xxxi carucatis prec[ium] i.d ii.s vii.d

Summa iii.li xi.s v.d

(Also for lime bought from Walter Veysy viz 9 weys, price of a wey 12d – 9s

Also to John Steven and William Willy for the carriage of the same – 3s

Also to the same John Steven and William Willy for the carriage of 31 cartloads at 1d each – 2s 7d

Total £4 11s 5d)

Alia sep qua fuit festum sancti Johannis Baptiste (Another week in which was the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June])

Latami (Masons)

Joh[ann]i Herde – iii.s iii.d. (3s 4d)
Ric[ardo] Wyte iii.s (3s)
Jean exist[enti] ibidem per v dies cap[ienti] per diem iii.d ob – xxii.d ob
 (Jean being there for 5 days taking 4½d daily – 22½d)
Jean Due exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – xx.d
 (Jean Due being there for the same period taking 4d – 20d)
Jean Loyde xx.d (20d)
Jean Vahan – xx.d (20d)
Dd Due xviii.d (20d)
Thome Chaundeler xx.d (20d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Dd Herr exist[enti] ibidem per iii dies et di[m]idiam cap[ienti] per diem iii.d – xviii.d
 (To David Herry being there for 4½ days taking 4d daily – 18d)
Rog[ero] Jean exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus xviii.d
 (To Roger Jean being there for the same time – 18d)
Jean Taylor – xviii.d (18d)
Walt[ero] ap Ho[wel] xviii.d (18d)
Gr[iffino] Legadowen – xviii.d (18d)
Jean Webbe – xviii.d (18d)

Item calse emp[to] de Walter Veysy viz xii weyes et di[m]idiam prec[ium] ut solet – xii.s vi.d

Item Joh[anni] Steven et Will[elm]o Willy pro cariagio eiusdem – iii.s ii.d

Item Joh[anni] Steven et Will[elm]o Willy et Henr Hopkyn pro lxxiii carucatis de sabul – v.s viii.d

Summa xlvi.s ob

(Also for lime bought from Walter Veysy viz 12½ weys at the usual price – 12s 6d

Also to John Steven and William Willy for carriage of the same – 4s 2d

Also to John Steven ad William Willy and Henry Hopkyn for 68 cartloads of sand – 5s 8d

Total 47s ½d)

Folio 5^r

Prox sep post festum Sancti Johanni Baptiste (Another week after the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June])

Latami (Masons)

Joh[anni] Herde – iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)
Ric[ardo] Wite – iii.s (3s)
Joh[anni] Legete – iii.s (3s)
Jean ap Dd ii.s i.d. (2s 1d)
Jean Due – xxii.d ob (22½d)
Thomas Chaundeler xv.d (15d)
Jean Lloyde – xxii.d (22d)
Jean Bahan xx.d (20d)

Dd Due – xx.d (20d)
Dd ap Ythehel xx.d (20d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Ric[ardo]Yong exist[enti] per iiiii dies et di cap[ienti] per diem cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – xviii.d
 (To Richard Yong being there for 4½ days taking 4d daily – 18d)

Gr[iffino] Legadowen – xviii.d (18d)

Dd Henr – xviii.d (18d)

Rog[ero] Jeuan – xviii.d (18d)

Walter[o] ap Ho[fwel] – xviii.d (18d)

Thom[e] Tewe – xviii.d (18d)

Dd ap Ythel jun[riori] – xviii.d (18d)

Item in calse empt[o] de Walter Kelwythe viz x weyes prec[ium] ut solet sine cariagio – x.s

In cariagio predictae calsis viz Joh[ann]i Stevene et Will[elm]o o Willi – iii.s iiiii.d

Item in cariagio sabul[is] viz Joh[ann]i Steven Will[elm]o Malifant, Waltero Malifant viz pro xxxviii caruc[atis] prec caruc[ate] ut supra – iii.s ii.d

Summa xlviis iiiii.d oB

(Also for 10 weys of lime bought from Walter Kelwythe at the usual price without carriage – 10s

Also for the carriage of sand by John Steven, William Malifant, Walter Malifant in 38 cartloads, price of a cartload as above – 3s 2d

Total 47s 4½d)

Item sep[timana] post festum Sanct[i] Petri et Pauli (Also the week after the feast of St Peter and Paul [29 June])

Latami (Masons)

Johanni Herd – iii.s iiiii.d (3s 4d)

Ric[ardo] Wyte – iii.s (3s)

Joh[anni] Legede – iii.s (3s)

Wilkoc Mason – iii.s (3s)

Jeuan ap Dd exist[enti] ibidem per v dies cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – xxii.d ob

(Jeuan ap David being there for 5 days taking 4d daily – 22½d)

Jeuan due exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempis cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – xx.d

(To Jeuan Due being there for the same period taking 4d daily – 20d)

Thomas Chandeler exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per diem ii.s i.d

(To Thomas Chandeler being there for the same period taking (4d) daily – 2s 1d)

Jeuan Lloyd exist[enti] per idem tempus xxii.d ob

(Jeuan Lloyd being there for the same period – 22½d)

Jeuan Bahan – xx.d (20d)

Dd ap Ythel – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan Owyn – xx.d (20d)

Thom[e] ap Bola – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan ap Phe – xx.d (20d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Ric[ardo] Yong exist[enti] ibidem per iiiii dies et di[midiam] cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – xviii.d

(To Richard Yong being there for 4½d taking 4d daily – 18d)

Gr[iffino] Legadowen – xviii.d (18d)

Dd Henr – xviii.d (18d)

Rog[ero] Jeuan – xviii.d (18d)

Folio 5^v

Will ap Ho[fwel] – xviii.d (18d)

Thomas Tewe – xviii.d (18d)

Joh[anni] Yantor – xviii.d (18d)

Jeuan Due – xviii.d (18d)

Dd ap Ythel jun[riori] – xviii.d (18d)

LL'Due – xviii.d (18d)

Joh[anni] Pitefer – xviii.d (18d)

Cariator[es] lapidarum (Stone carriers)

Nicho Lang pro viii tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro tax[a] iii.d – ii.s

Wattekyn Malifant pro x tax[atis] – iis vi.d

Wilkoc Hicke pro x tax[atis] – ii.s vi.d

Joh[anni] ap Ho[fwel] pro x tax[atis] – ii.s vi.d

Thome Routhe pro x tax[atis] ii.s vi.d

(To Nicholas Lange for 8 stacks, receiving 3d for a stack – 2s

To Wattekyn Malifant for 10 stacks – 2s 6d

To Wilkoc Hicke for 10 stacks – 2s 6d

To John ap Howel for 10 stacks – 2s 6d

To Thomas Routhe for 10 stacks – 2s 6d)

Item in calce emp[ro] de Houwel Langam viz x weyes prec[ium] ut solet – x.s

Item Joh[ann]i Steven et Willo Willy pro cariagio eiusdem – iii.s iiiii.d

Item de Will[elm]o Morice xi weyes prec[ium] ut sup[ra] – xi.s

Item eisdem Joh[ann]i Steven et Willo Willy pro cariagio eorundem iii.s viii.d

Item eisdem Johanni Steven et Willo Willy pro xxii caruc[atis] sabuli prec cuiuslibet i.d – iii.s viii.d

Item in ferro empt de Johanne Legge viz in hokys barrys ad fenestras et aliiis necessariis xxiii petras et ii.li prec[ium] petr[e] xxi.d Summa xl.s

Summa vi.li. viii.s ii.d

(Also for lime bought of Howel Langam viz 10 weys at the usual price – 10s

Also to John Steven and William Willy for carriage of the same – 3s 4d

Also to William Morice for 11 weys, price as above – 11s

Also to the same John Steven and William Willy for carriage of the same – 3s 8d

Also to the same John Steven and William Willy for 22 cartloads of sand, price of each 1d – 3s 8d

Also for iron bought of John Legge viz for hooks and bars for the windows, and for other necessary things, 22st 2lbs, price of a stone 21d. Total 40s

Total £6 8s 2d)

Alia septimana prox[ima] sequentes (Another week following)

Lathamy (Masons)

Joh[anni] Herde iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)
Ric[ardo] Wyte iii.s (3s)
Joh[anni] Legede iii.s (3s)
Wilkoc Mason iii.s (3s)
Jeuan ap Dd ii.s vi.d (2s 6d)
Jeuan ap Phe – ii.s (2s)
Jeuan Lloide ii.s iii.d (2s 3d)
Jeuan Vahan – ii.s iii.d (2s 3d)
Jeuan Due – ii.s iii.d (2s 3d)
Jeuan Owyn – ii.s (2s)
Dd ap Ythel – ii.s (2s)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Dd' Henr xxii.d (22d)
Rog[ero] Jeuan xxii.d (22d)
Ric[ardo] Yong xxii.d (22d)
Gr[iffino] Legadown xxii.d (22d)
Walt[ero] ap Ho[wel] xxii.d (22d)
LL' Due xxii.d (22d)
Thom[e] Tewe xxii.d (22d)
Dd app Ythel jun[iori] xxii.d (22d)

Folio 6^r

Item in calse de Willo Morice viz ix weys prec[ium] ut solet – ix.s

Item Johanni Steven et Willo Willy pro cariagio eorundem – iii.s

Item eisdem Johanni et Willo pro xxxvi carucat[is] sabul[is] prec[ium] car[ucate] i.d – iii.s

Item in ferro emp de Johanne Lege viz xiiii petr in barris et hokys et clavis prec[ium] petr[is] xxi.d Summa xxiiii.s vi.d

Et [pro] tabul[is] emp[is] ad faciend[um] auternes – vi.d
 (Also for 9 weys of lime bought of William Morice price as usual – 9s)

Also to John Steven and William Willy for carriage of the same – 3s

Also to the same John and William for 36 cartloads of sand price of carriage 1d – s

Also for iron bought of John Legge viz 14st for bars and hooks and nails, at 21d a stone. Total 24s 6d

And for boards bought for making altars – 6d)

Cariator[es] Lapidarum (Stone carriers)

Item Wilkoc Fysser pro xii tax[atis] prec[ia] iii.d – iii.s
Joh[anni] Steve pro xii tax[atis] prec[ium] ut supra – iii.s
Will[elmo] Willy pro xii tax[atis] prec[ium] ut supra – iii.s
Joh[anni] Owen pro x tax[atis] prec[ium] ii.s vi.d
Summa iii.li xiii.s ix.d.

(Also to Wilkoc Fysser for 12 stacks at 3d a stack – 3s

To John Steven for 12 stacks price as above – 3s

To William Willy for 12 stacks price as above – 3s

To John Owen for 10 stacks price as above – 2s 6d

Total £4 13s 9d)

Sep in qua fuit festum Sancte Margarete Virginis (The week in which was the feast of St Margaret the Virgin [20 July])

Latami (Masons)

Joh[anni] Herde iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)
Ric[ardo] Wyte iii.s (3s)
Joh[anni] Legede iii.s (3s)
Wilkoc Mason iii.s (3s)
Jeuan ap Dd xv.d (15d)
Jeuan Due xiii.d ob (13½d)
Jeuan ap Phe[lip] xiii.d ob (13½d)
Jeuan Lloyde xv.d (15d)
Jeuan Vahan xiii.d ob (13½d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Gr[iffino] Legadown xii.d (12d)
Thomas Towe xii.d (12d)
Walter[o] ap Ho[wel] xii.d (12d)
Dd Henr xii.d (12d)
Dd ap Ythel jun xii.d (12d)

Fractor[es] Lapidarum (Stone breakers)

Thom[e] Chaundeler xv.d (15d)
Ric[ardo] Yong xii.d (12d)
Rog[ero] Jeuan xii.d (12d)
Jankyn Chaundeler xii.d (12d)

Cariator[es] Lapidarum (Stone carriers)

Joh[ann]i Steven pro viii tax[atis] prec[ia] iii.d – ii.s
Wilkoc Willy pro viii tax[atis] – ii.s
Wilkoc Fysser pro x tax[atis] – ii.s vi.d
Summa xxxiii.s xi.d ob
 (To John Steven for 8 stacks at 3d a stack – 2s
 To Wilkoc Willy for 8 stacks – 2s
 To Wilkoc Fysser for 10 stacks – 2s 6d
 Total 33s 11½d)

Folio 6^v

Alia sep[timana] post festum sancte Magdalene (Another week after the feast of St Mary Magdalene [22 July: 23–29 July 1402])

Joh[anni] Herd – iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)

Ric[ardo] Wite – iii.s (3s)

Joh[anni] Legete – iii.s (3s)

Wilkoc Mason – iii.s (3s)

Jeuan ap Dd – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan Due – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan ap Jeuan Due xx.d (20d)

Dd ap Ythel – xx.d (20d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Gr[iffino] Legadown – xviii.d (18d)
Ric[ardo] Yong – xviii.d (18d)
Thom[e] Towe – xviii.d (18d)
Will[elmo] ap Ho[wel] xviii.d (18d)

Cariator[es] Lapidarum (Stone carriers)

Wilkoc Fisser pro xx tax[atis] prec[ia] iii.d – v.s

Wilkoc Hicke pro xvi tax[atis] prec[ifium] ut supra – iii.s
Thom[e] Routhe pro xvi tax[atis] etc – iii.s
Joh[anni] Steven pro x tax[atis] etc – ii.s vi.d
Item in vi petris et di[midiam] ferri emp[itis] de Johanne
Legge prec petre xxi.d pro barris et hokys – xi.s iii.d ob
Summa li.s x.d ob
 (To Wilkoc Fisser for 20 stacks at 3d a stack – 5s
 To Wilkoc Hicke for 16 stacks price as above – 4s
 To Thomas Routh for 16 stacks – 4s
 To John Steven for 10 stacks – 2s 6d
 Also for 6½st of iron bought of John Legge at 21d per stone
 for bars and hooks – 11s 4½d
 Total 51s 10½d)

Prima septimana August (First week of August)

Latamy (Masons)

Joh[anni] Herde – iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)
Ric[ardo] Wyte – iii.s (3s)
Joh[anni] Legede – iii.s (3s)
Wilkoc mason – iii.s (3s)
Jeuan ap dd – xxii.d ob (22½d)
Jeuan Due – xx.d (20d)
Thom[e] Bola – xx.d (20d)
Dd ap Ythel – xx.d (20d)
Jeuan ap Phelip – xx.d (20d)
Jeuan Bahan – xx.d (20d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Griffino] Legadownen – xviii.d (18d)
Thom[e] Tewe – xviii.d (18d)
Will[elmo] ap Ho[wel] – xviii.d (18d)
Dd Henry – xviii.d (18d)
Rog[ero] Jeuan – xviii.d (18d)
Ll' Due – xviii.d (18d)

Folio 7^r

Fractor[es] lapidarum (Stone breakers)

Thom[e] Chaundeler exist[enti] ibidem per iii dies
cap[ienti] per diem v.d – xx.d
 (To Thomas Chaundeler being there for 4 days taking 5d
 daily – 20d)
Ric Yong – xvi.d (16d)
John Pyttefer – xvi.d (16d)
Wattekyn Colyn – xvi.d (16d)

Cariator[es] lapidarum (Stone carriers)

Joh[anni] Steven pro x tax[atis] prec tax iii.d – ii.s vi.d
Will[elmo] Willy pro xii tax[atis] – iii.s
Jac[obi] Owen pro xii tax[atis] – iii.s
Thom[e] Routhe pro ix tax[atis] – ii.s iii.d
Wilkoc Hike pro xix tax[atis] – iii.s ix.d
Joh[anni] ap Ho[wel] pro xviii tax[atis] – iii.s vi.d
Jac[obi] Lange pro viii tax[atis] – ii.s
Summa lix.s ii.d ob
 (To John Steven for 10 stacks at 3d a stack – 2s 6d
 To William Willy for 12 stacks – 3s
 To Jack Owen for 12 stacks – 3s

To Thomas Routhe for 9 stacks – 2s 3d
 To Wilkoc Hike for 19 stacks – 4s 9d
 To John ap Houwel for 18 stacks – 4s 6d
 To Jack Lange for 8 stacks – 2s
 Total 59s 2½d)

Secunda septimana August (Second week of August)

Latami (Masons)

Joh[anni] Herde – iii.s iii.d (2s 4d)
Ric[ardo] Wyte – iii.s (3s)
Joh[anni] Legede – iii.s (3s)
Wilkoc mason – iii.s (3s)
Jeuan ap dd – xx.d (20d)
Jeuan Due – xx.d (20d)
Thom[e] Bola – xx.d (20d)
Dd ap Ythel – xx.d (20d)
Jeuan ap Phelip – xx.d (20d)
Jeuan Bahan – xx.d (20d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Thomas Tewe – xviii.d (18d)
Griffino] Legadownen – xviii.d (18d)
Walter[o] ap How[ell] xviii.d (18d)
Dd Henr – xviii.d (18d)
Rog[ero] Juan – xviii.d (18d)
Ll Due – xviii.d (18d)

Fractor[es] lapidarum (Stone breakers)

Thom[e] Chandelier ii.s i.d (2s 1d)
Ric[ardo] Yong xviii.d (18d)
Joh[anni] Pytefer xviii.d (18d)
Wattekyn Colyn xviii.d (18d)

Folio 7^v

Cariator[es] de Fraunche pier (Carriers of freestone)

John Steven pro iii carucat' prec caruc viii.d – ii.s viii.d
 (To John Steven for 4 cartloads at 8d a cartload – 2s 8d)
Wattekyn Malifant pro consilio – ii.s viii.d
 (To Wattekyn Malifant for assistance – 2s 8d)

Henr[ico] Hopkyn – ii.s viii.d (2s 8d)
Joh[anni] Jeuan – ii.s viii.d (2s 8d)
Jac[obi] Owen – ii.s viii.d (2s 8d)
Wattekyn Colyn – ii.s viii.d (2s 8d)
Joh[anni] Thom – ii.s viii.d (2s 8d)
Will[elmo] Fysser – ii.s viii.d (2s 8d)
Summa lix.s iii.d (Total 59s 3d)

Tercia septimana Augusti (Third week of August)

Joh[anni] Herde – iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)
Ric[ardo] Wite – iii.s (3s)
Joh[anni] Legede – iii.s (3s)
Wilkoc Mason – iii.s (3s)
Dd' ap Ythel exist[enti] ibidem per iii dies cap[ienti] per
diem iii.d – xvi.d
 (David ap Ythel being there for 4 days taking 4d daily – 16d)

Jeuan ap Dd – xvi.d (16d)
Jeuan Duy – xvi.d (16d)
Jeuan ap Ph – xvi.d (16d)
Thome Bola – xvi.d (16d)
Jeuan Vahan – xvi.d (16d)

Labor[es] (Labourers)

Gr[iffino] *Legadowen exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra* – xvi.d

(*Gr[iffin]*) *Legadowen being there for the same period taking (4d) as above* – 16d

Thom[e] *Tewe* – xvi.d (16d)

Ric[ardo] *Yonge* – xvi.d (16d)

Hoggekyn Jeua – xvi.d (16d)

Dd ap Ythel Jun – xvi.s (16d)

Summa xxvii.s (Total 27s)

Ultima septimana Augusti (Last week of August)

Joh[anni] *Herd* – iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)

Ric[ardo] *Wite* – iii.s (3s)

Joh[anni] *Legede* – iii.s (3s)

Wilkoc Mason – iii.s (3s)

Jeuan ap Dd exist[enti] per v dies ibidem cap[ienti] per diem ut supra – xx.d

(*Jevan ap David being there for 5 days taking (4d) daily as above* – 20d)

Dd' ap Ythel – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan Duy – xx.d (20d)

Thome Bola – xx.d (20d)

Folio 8^F

Labor[es] (Labourers)

Gr[iffino] *Legadowen* – xviii.d (18d)

Thom[e] *Tewe* – xviii.d (18d)

Ric[ardo] *Yonge* – xviii.d (18d)

Hoggekyn Jeuan – xviii.d (18d)

Dd ap Ythel Jun – xviii.d (18d)

Summa xxvi.s vi.d. (Total 26s 8d)

Prima sep[timana] Septembris (First week of September)

Latami (Masons)

Johanni Herde – iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)

Ric[ardo] *Wyte* iii.s (3s)

Joh[anni] *Legede* – iii.s (3s)

Wilkoc Mason – iii.s (3s)

Thom[e] *ap Bola* – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan ap Dd – xx.d (20d)

Dd' Duy – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan Dd' xx.d (20d)

Dd ap Ythel – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan Lloyd – xx.d (20d)

Labor[es] (Labourers)

Thom[e] *Tewe* – xviii.d (18d)

Gr[iffino] *Legadowen* – xviii.d (18d)

Dd' ap Ythel Jun – xviii.d (18d)

He[nrico] *Gadern'* xviii.d (18d)

Jeuan Taylor – xviii.d (18d)

LL' ap Jeuan – xviii.d (18d)

Jeuan ap Dd' Vahan – xviii.d (18d)

Item solut[um] Howel Langam pro vi weyes de calce prec[ium] vi.d sine caria[io] – vi.s

Item Johanni Steven John ap Owen pro caria[io] – ii.s

(Also payment to Howel Langam for 6 weys of lime at 6d per wey without carriage – 6s

Also to John Steven and John ap Owen for carriage – 2s)

Fractor[es] lapidarum (Stone breakers)

Thom[e] *Chaundeler exist[enti] in quarrera per iv dies cap[ienti] per diem v.d – ii.s i.d*

(To Thomas Chaundeler being in the quarry for 5 days taking 5d daily – 2s 1d)

Ric[ardo] *Yong* – xx.d (20d)

Hoggekyn Jeuan – xx.d (20d)

Joh[anni] *Pytefer* – xx.d (20d)

Cariator[es] lapidarum (Stone carriers)

Wattekyn Joly pro vi tax[atis] cap[ienti] pro taxa – iii.d – xviii.d

Joh[anni] *Wilkyne pro viii tax[atis] – ii.s*

Will[elm]o Fysser pro tant tax[atis] – ii.s

Will[elm]o Hycke pro viii. tax[atis] – ii.s

Thom[e] *Routhe pro vi tax[atis] – xviii.d*

(To Wattekyn Joly for 6 stacks taking 3d per stack – 18d

To John Wilkyne for 8 stacks – 2s

To William Fysser for as many stacks – 2s

To William Hycke for 8 stacks – 2s

To Thomas Routhe for 6 stacks – 18d)

Summa lvi.s xi.d (Total 56s 11d)

Item solut Nicho Ralhed pro reparacione domorum tegulatarum infra castrum ad taxam xxvi.s viii.d

(Also payment to Nicholas Ralhed for the repair of tiled lodgings within the castle at taskwork – 26s 8d)

Folio 8^V

Secunda sep[timana] Septembris (Second week of September [10–16 September 1402])

Latami (Masons)

Joh[anni] *Herde* – iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)

Ric[ardo] *Wyte* – iii.s (3s)

Johanni Legede – iii.s (3s)

Wilkoc Mason – iii.s (3s)

Jeuan ap Dd – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan ap Ph – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan Lloide – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan Vahan – xx.d (20d)

Jeuan Duy – xx.d (20d)

Thom[e] *Bola* – xx.d (20d)

Labor[es] (Labourers)

Gr[iffino] *Legadowen* – xviii.d (18d)

Thom[e] Towe – xviii.d (18d)
Dd Henr – xviii.d (18d)
Rog[ero] Jeuan – xviii.d (18d)
LL' duy – xviii.d (18d)
Dd ap Ythel Jun[iori] – xviii.d (18d)

Cariator[es] lapidarum (Stone carriers)

Wattekyn Joly pro viii tax[at]is' prec[ium] tax[a] iii.d – ii.s
Joh[anni] pro viii tax[at]is' prec[ium] tax etc – ii.s
Will[elmo] Fysser pro vi tax[at]is – xviii.d
Willo Hycke pro vi tax[at]is – xviii.d
Thom[e] Routhe – xviii.d
 (To Wattekyn Joly for 8 stacks taking 3d a stack – 2s
 To John for 8 stacks, price of a stack as above – 2s
 To William Fysser for 6 stacks – 18d
 To William Hycke for 6 stacks – 18d
 To Thomas Routhe 18d)

Cariator de Freston (Carriers of freestone)

Watekyn Malifant pro vi caruc[is] prec[ium] caruc[e] viii.d – iii.s
Joh[anni] Stevene pro viii caruc[is] prec[ium] ut supra v.s iii.d
Will[elm]o Willy pro vi caruc[is] prec[ium] ut supra iii.s
Wattekyn Colyng pro vii carucat[is] prec[ium] ut supra – iii.s viii.d
Item solut[um] Willy pro cariagio I parcell petrin' in grosso ad tax[am] – xiii.s iii.d
Summa iii.li xvii.s x.d
 (To Wattekyn Malifant for 6 cartloads, price of a cartload 8d – 4s
 To John Steven for 8 cartloads price as above – 5s 4d
 To William Willy for 6 cartloads, price as above – 4s
 To Wattkyn Colyng for 7 cartloads price as above – 4s 8d
 Also payment to [William] Willy for carriage of one parcel of stones in gross at taskwork – 13s 4d
 Total £4 17s 10d)

Tercia septimana Septembr (Third week of September)

Joh[anni] Herde – iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)
Ric[ardo] Wite – iii.s (3s)
Joh[anni] Legede iii.s (3s)
Jeuan ap Dd – xx.d (20d)
Jeuan Duy – xx.d (20d)
David ap Ythel – xx.d (20d)
Thom[e] Bola xx.d (20d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Gr[iffino] Legadowen – xx.d (20d)
Thom[e] Tewe – xviii.d (18d)
Dd ap Ythel Jun[iori] – xviii.d (18d)
Henr[ico] Gadern xviii.d (18d)
Ll' Duy – xviii.d (18d)

Folio 9^r

John Carpenter exist[enti] in silva prima Septembr' cap[ienti] per septimanam iii.s

(John Carpenter being in the wood in the first [week] of September receiving 3s weekly – 3s)

Henr[ico] Carpent[ario] – iii.s (3s)
Dd ap Jeuan Cue – iii.s (3s)
Gr[iffino] Carpent[ario] – ii.s vi.d. (2s 6d)
Res ap Walter ii.s vi.d (2s 6d)
Walter[o] ap Dd – ii.vi.d (2s 6d)
Jeuan ap Dd Duy – ii.s vi.d (2s 6d)
Dd ap Gadougan – ii.s vi.d (2s 6d)
Res Gam – ii.s vi.d (2s 6d)
Res Tewe ii.s vi.d (2s 6d)
Summa xxvi.s [crossed out] (Total 26s)

Secunda sep[timana] Septembr[is]

Eisdem carpentar[is] eandem septimanam – xxvi.s
 (Second week of September – To the same carpenters for the said week – 26s)

Tercia sep

Eisdem carpentar[is] eandem septimanam – xxvi/s
 (Third week – To the same carpenters for the said week – 26s)

Quarta sep Septembr

Eisdem carpentar[is] eandem septimanam – xxvi.s
 (Fourth week – To the same carpenters for the same week – 26s)

Prima sep Octobr eisdem carpentar[is] et aliis operar[is] – xxxvi.s

Item secunda septimana Octobr eisdem carpentar[is] eandem septimanam xxxvi.s

Item tercia sep eiusdem mensis eisdem carpentar[is] – xxvi.s

Item ultima sep eiusdem mensis eisdem carpentar[is] eandem septimanam xxvi.s

Summa xi.li viii.s

(Also in the first week of October to the same carpenters and other workmen 36s

Also in the second week of October to the same carpenters 36s for the said week

Also in the third week of the same month to the same carpenters 26s

Also in the last week of the same month to the same carpenters – 26s

Total £11 8s)

Item Res ap David ap Will pro cariagio de xxxiiii keynes cap[ienti] pro quolibet vi.s viii.d ad aquam de Lorherne de silva – viii.li

Item solut[um] John Dd pro le frett de un batel de lorher ad Kedewel – xiii.s iii.d

Item Joh[ann]i Bron pro consilio – xiii.s iii.d

Item Wattekyn Hopkyn pro consilio – xiii.s iii.d

Item Johanni Stevene pro cariagio de xxxii peres grossis de aqua de Kedewel Johanni ap Owen ad Castrum ibidem in grosso ad tax[am] – viii.s – viii.s

Item solut[um] pro I sarra de novo facto cum instrumentis et omnibus eidem pertin[entiis] – iii.s

(Rem I sarr cum apparat[is]) Summa x.li xii.s

(Also to Rees ap David ap William for carriage of 24 oaks receiving 6s 8d for each oak to the water of Laugherne from the wood – £8

Also payment to John David for freightage in a boat from Laugherne to Kidwelly – 13s 4d

Also to John Bron for assistance – 13s 4d

Also to Watekyn Hopkyn for assistance – 13s 4d

Also to John Steven for carriage of 32 large stones from the water to Kidwelly to John ap Owen at the Castle at taskwork – 8s

Also payment for one saw newly made with tools and all other things pertaining – 4s

Left over one saw with tools. Total £10 12s)

Latami mensis Octobris (Masons in the month of October)

Johanni Herde – iii.s iiiii.d (3s 4d)

Ric[ardo] Wite – iii.s (3s)

Joh[anni] Legede – iii.s (3s)

Jean ap Dd – ii.s (2s)

Jean Duy – ii.s (2s)

Thom[e] Bolla – ii.s (2s)

Dd' ap Ythel – ii.s (2s)

Jean Lloid – ii.s (2s)

Folio 9^v

Labor[es] (Labourers)

Thom[e] Towe xxii.d (22d)

David ap Ythel jun xxii.d (22d)

Gr[iffino] Legadowen xxii.d (22d)

Jevan Taylor xxii.d (22d)

Lle ap Jevan xxii.d (22d)

Summa xxviii.s vi.d (28s 6d)

Car[riagium] de ffranche pier (Carriage of freestone)

In primis Johanni Steven pro viii caruc[atis] prec[ium] caruc[ate] viii.d – v.s iiiii.d

Henr[ico] Hopkyn pro viii caruc[atis] prec[ium] ut supra – v.s iiiii.d

Joh[anni] Ouwe pro viii caruc[atis] prec[ium] ut supra v.s iiiii.d

Joh[anni] Jevan pro viii caruc[atis] prec[ium] ut supra v.s iiiii.d

Will[elmo] Willy pro viii caruc[atis] prec[ium] ut supra v.s iiiii.d

Watteky Colyn v.s viii.d

Watteky Malifaunt v.s viii.d

DD Wadyn v.s viii.d

Summa xlii.s viii.d

(First to John Steven for 8 cartloads, price of a cartload 8d – 5s 4d

To Henry Hopkyn for 8 cartloads price as above – 5s 4d

John Ouwe for 8 cartloads price as above – 5s 4d

John Jevan for 8 cartloads price as above – 5s 4d

To William Willy for 8 cartloads price as above – 5s 4d

To Watekyn Colyn – 5s 8d

To Watekyn Malifant – 5s 8d

To David Wadyn – 5s 8d

Sum total 42s 8d)

Fodiator[es] de fraunche piers (Diggers of freestone)

Thom[e] Chaundeler exist[enti] ibidem per vi dies cap[ienti] per diem v.d – ii.s vi.d

Joh[anni] Pytteford exist[enti] ibidem per v dies et di cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – xxii.d

Hoggeky Jevan exist[enti] ibidem per idem cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – xxii.d

Ric[ardo] Yonge exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per ut supra xxii.d

Summa viii.s

(Thomas Chaundeler being there for 6 days taking 5d daily – 2s 6d

John Pytteford being there for 5½ days taking 4d daily – 22d

Hoggeky Jevan being there for the same period taking 4d

daily – 22d

Ric Yonge being there for the same period as above – 22d

Total 8s)

Thom[e] Chandeler in silva circa flakes et polles ad coopertur[am] novi operis per xvi dies cap[ienti] per diem v.d. – vi.s viii.d

Ric[ardo] Yong exist[enti] ibidem per viii dies cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – ii.s viii.d

Jevan Owyn exist[enti] ibidem per iiiii dies et di cap[ienti] ut supra xviii.d

Joh[anni] Pytteford exist[enti] ibidem per iiiii dies et di[midiam] cap[ienti] ut sup xviii.d

Joh[anni] Chaundeler exist[enti] ibidem per iiiii dies cap[ienti] per diem iiiii.d – xvi.d

Joh[anni] Morice exist[enti] ibidem per ii dies – xii.d

Walter[o] ap Ho[wel] exist[enti] ibidem per I diem viii.d

Cariag[ium] de ffrakys et poll[is] ad dictum opus viz pro x caruc[atis] prec caruc[ate] ii.d – xx.d

Item in stramine pro coopertura dicti operis ii.s viii.d

Item in cariag[io] eiusdem straminis viii.d

Summa xix.s iiiii.d

(Thomas Chandeler in the wood making hurdles and poles for the covering of the new work for 16 days taking 5d daily – 6s 8d

Richard Yong being there for 8 days taking 4d daily – 2s 8d

Jevan Owyn being there for 4½ days taking 4d daily as above – 18d

John Pytteford being there for 4½ days taking 4d daily as above – 18d

John Chaundeler being there for 4 days taking 4d daily – 16d

John Morice being there for 2 days – 12d

Walter ap Ho[wel] being there for a day – 8d

Carriage of hurdles and poles for the said work viz 10 cartloads at 2d per cartload – 20d

Also for straw for the covering the said work – 2s 8d

Also for carriage of the same straw – 8d

Total 19s 4d)

Item Henr[ico] Carpent[ario] pro ii sep[timanas] cap[ienti] per sep iii.s – vi.s

Item David ap Jevan exist[enti] ibidem per idem tempus cap[ienti] per sep ii.s vi.d. – v.s

Item Res Gam pro ix diebus cap[ienti] per diem v.d – iii.s ix.d

Item Res Tewe per idem tempus cap[ienti] ut supra – iii.s ix.d

Item Will[elmo] ap Jevan ap Res pro iii diebus – xv.d Summa xix.s ix.d

(Also to Henry Carpenter for 2 weeks taking 3s weekly – 6s
Also to David ap Jevan being there for the same period taking 2s 6d weekly – 5s

Also to Rees Gam for 9 days taking 5d daily – 3s 9d

Also to Rees Tewe for the same period taking 5d as above – 3s 9d

Also to William ap Jevan ap Rees for 3 days – 15d

Total 19s 9d)

Folio 10^r

Item sol Johanni Legge pro xlv petris et viii li ferry prec li i.d ob – iii.li xix.s ix.d

(Also payment to John Legge for 45st 8lbs of iron at a price of 1½ per pound – £3 19s 9d)

Secundo sep[timana] mensis Octobr (Second week of October)

Latami (Masons)

Johanni Herde iii.s (3s)

Ric[ardo] Wyte iii.s (3s)

Joh[anni] Legode iii.s (3s)

Jevan ap David iii.s (3s)

Thom[e] Bola ii.s (2s)

David ap Ythel ii.s' (2s)

Jevan Duy ii.s (2s)

Jevan Vahan ii.s (2s)

Jevan Lloyd ii.s (2s)

Summa xxi.s iii.d (Total 21s 4d)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Gr[iffino] Legadown xxii.d (22d)

David ap Ythel Jevan xxii.d (22d)

Henry Gaderm xxii.d (22d)

Thom Towe xxii.d (22d)

LL' Duy xxii.d (22d)

Ric[ardo] Yong xxii.d (22d)

Item Ric[ardo] Wyte pro tercia Octobr et sc' usque festum Natali Domini cap[ienti] per septimanam iii.s

Johanni Leged que consimili tercio cap[ienti] ut supra iii.s

A tercia sep[timana] mens[e] Octobr[is] usque festum vigil Nativitatis Domini ut per ix [recte xi] septimanas In stipend[iis] Ricardi White et Johanni Leged liberis cementariis cond[uctis] per idem tempus cap[ienti] utrique per septimanam iii.s – xxxiii.s

Summa totalis cviii.li viii.d qua

(Also to Richard Wyte for the third [week] of October and subsequently until the feast of Christmas, taking 3s per week

John Leged likewise for the third [week] taking 3s as above.

From the third week in the month of October to the eve of Christmas for 11 weeks. For the wages of Richard White and John Leged free masons hired for the same period to both of them 3s weekly – 33s

Sum total £108 8½d)

Folio 10^v

Kevengorathe

Expense facte circa le logge ibidem (Kevengorathe expenses incurred regarding the lodge there)

[There follows an account of materials purchased for work on the lodge, not included here, amounting to a total of 21s 1d]

Expense facte ante festum sancti Luce Evangeliste pro operibus subscript viz anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum quarti

(Expenses incurred before the feast of St Luke the Evangelist [18 October] for works mentioned below in the 4th year of the reign of Henry IV)

Latami (Masons)

John[anni] Herd iii.s iii.d (3s 4d)

Jevan ap David ii.s vi.d (2s 6d)

Jevan ap Ph ii.s (2s)

Jevan Lloid ii.s iii.d (2s 3d)

David ap Ythel ii.s (2s)

Servientes (Workmen's mates)

Gr[iffino] Legadown xxii.d (22d)

Thom[e] Towe xxii.d (22d)

David Henr xxii.d (22d)

Jevan Taylor xxii.d (22d)

Rog[ero] Jevan xxii.d (22d)

Jevan ap Ythel xxii.d (22d)

Fractor[es] Lapid[arum] (Stone breakers)

Thom Chaundeler xv.d (15d)

Ric[ardo] Yong xii.d (12d)

Rog[ero] Jevan xii.d (12d)

Jevann Owyn xii.d (12d)

Cariator[es] Lapid[arum] (Stone carriers)

Philipp[us] Rotur pro iii tax[atis] pro le taxa iii.d – ix.d

Willo Hyke pro viii tax[atis] prec ut supra ii.s

Watteky Colyng pro viii tax[atis] ii.s

Wattekyn Malifant pro viii tax[atis] ii.s

Summa xxxvi.d iii.d

(To Philip Rotour for 3 stacks at 3d per stack

To William Hyke for 8 stacks price as above

To Wattekyn Colyng for 8 stacks – 2s

To Wattekyn Malifant for 8 stacks – 2s

Total 36s 4d)

Summa totalis omnium operacionum predict a festo sancti Michaelis

Anno secundo regni Regis Henrici usque idem festum sancti Michaelis anno iii et a dicto festo Michaelis anno iii usque festum Nativitatis domini tunc proxim[um] sequen[tem] anno iiii ut per parcell[as] predict[as] qui alloc[atas] in comp[oto] etc de anno iii per litteras domini regis de warr[anto] alleg[atas] super compotum etc – cxi.li xviii.s I.d qua

Unde De reparacione logge de Kevengor[ath] xxi.s i.d

De empcione ferri cum operac[i]one eiusdem pro novis operibus Castr[i] viii.li vii.s i.d

De emp[c]ione calce cum cariagio eiusdem et sabul xiii.li vi.s vi.d

De quarur[a] lapid[arum] cum cariagio xii.li xiii.s. iiii. d ob

De opere cementar[i]orum] (cum cariag liberarum petrarum] xxviii.li v.s ix.d

De stipen[diis] labor[ariorum] circa idem opus xii.li xviii.s x.d

De opere carpentar[i]orum] cum prostr[ac]ione] et car[ia]gio] meremii xxii.li

De al[iis] minutis et necessariis expen[ditis] et solut[is] circa predict[am] xiii.li v.s. v.d ob qua

(Sum total of all the aforesaid works from Michaelmas 2 Henry IV [1401] to Michaelmas 3 Henry IV and from Michaelmas 3 Henry IV [1402] to Christmas next following [1402] as appears by the said particulars allowed in the account of the third year by letters of the lord King charged on the account etc – £111 18s 1¼d

Whereof – For the repair of the lodge of Kevengorath 21s 1d
For the purchase of lime with carriage of the same and sand – £13 6s 6d

For quarrying stone with carriage of the same – £12 13s 4½d

For the work of the masons (with quarrying of freestones) – £28 5s 9d

For the wages of labourers on the same work – £12 18s 10d

For the work of carpenters with felling and carriage of wood – £22

For other small items and necessary things bought and used on the same works £13 5s 5¾d)

NOTES

1. Neil Ludlow, *Carmarthen Castle: the archaeology of government* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), 201–2.
2. John Goodall, *The English Castle* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 341–4.
3. John R. Kenyon, *Kidwelly Castle*, Cadw guidebook, 4th edn (Cardiff: Cadw, 2007).
4. *Ibid.* 4–14.
5. Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, volume one 1265–1603* (London: Duchy of Lancaster, 1953), 18. Somerville’s work remains the authoritative account of the administrative history of the Duchy.
6. *Ibid.* 38.
7. *Ibid.* 50; A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: the exercise of princely power in fourteenth-century Europe* (Harlow: Longman, 1992), 43.
8. S. Armitage Smith (ed.), *John of Gaunt’s Register 1372–76, Part 1 and II*, Camden 3rd Series vols 20–21 (London: Camden Society, 1911); E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville (eds.), *John of Gaunt’s Register 1379–1383*, Camden 3rd Series vols 56–57 (London: Camden Society, 1937).
9. Somerville op. cit. (note 5), 383. Goodman op. cit. (note 7), 214–15n.
10. Somerville op. cit. (note 5), 383. For a detailed account of Hungerford’s career and discussion of his close connections with John of Gaunt, see J. S. Roskell, ‘Sir Thomas Hungerford’, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 56 (1956), 272–300.
11. A detailed account of Waterton’s career as a Duchy official is given in Somerville op. cit. (note 5), 385n. A more recent account is given in Helen Castor, ‘Waterton, Sir Hugh (d. 1409)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50140>>, accessed 7 May 2017. Hugh’s wages as keeper of the castle of Kidwelly are recorded in the receiver’s account for 1399–1400 (The National Archives (hereafter TNA), DL29/584/9241).
12. Armitage Smith op. cit. (note 8), Part 1, no. 281.
13. TNA, DL 29/584/9236.
14. *Calendar of Close Rolls 1369–74*, 61–2, 169.

15. TNA, DL 29/584/9236.
16. For a recent biographical account of Owain Lawgoch, see A. D. Carr, *Owain of Wales: The End of the House of Gwynedd* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991). An older, but still useful account is contained in E. Owen, 'Owain Lawgoch – Yevain de Galles: some facts and suggestions', *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society* (1899–1900), 6–105.
17. R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 438.
18. Armitage Smith op. cit. (note 8), nos. 1467, 1797. For a brief but useful discussion of Gaunt's works on his Welsh castles in the early 1370s, cf. Goodman op. cit. (note 7), 310.
19. TNA, DL 28/3/1 m.8.
20. Armitage Smith op. cit. (note 8), no. 1586.
21. R. R. Davies, op. cit. (note 17), 437–42.
22. *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1381–85, 549.
23. *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1388–92, 9, 43, 47, and 303.
24. TNA, DL29/584/9237–9238.
25. TNA, DL29/584/9239. Kevengorath was a large area of woodland, variously described as a park, wood or forest, lying within the west part of Llanedi parish, adjoining the Afon Gwili which marks its western boundary. It is referred to in the 1609 Duchy of Lancaster survey of Carnwyllion commote, within the lordship of Kidwelly, as one of two forests in Llanedi parish, 'Kevengorath contayninge by estimacion thirte acres bounded by a river called Come Wyli on the weste parte, the lands of Thomas David Probert, David Wilyams and Thomas Lloyd on the north parte, the lands of Sir Arthur Chichester, knight, Rees Lloyd and Harry Fflemynge on the easte parte, the lands of David ap Jeuan together with the late lands of Eignon John Gitto on the south parte': W. Rees, *A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales 1609–13* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1953), 282.
26. H. M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works, Volume II – The Middle Ages* (London, 1963), 685.
27. TNA, DL29/728/11986.
28. *Calendar of Fine Rolls* 1391–99, 293.
29. *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1396–99, 521. For expenditure incurred on preparation in advance of the King's arrival, see TNA, DL29/573/9063 ('*Et in focale empt(o) ibidem hoc anno pro Ricardo nuper Rege Angl pernoctante in castro iiii.s*').
30. W. Rees, *South Wales & the March 1284–1415*, new edn (Bath: Cedric Chivers, 1967), 133–4, followed by Somerville op. cit. (note 5), 138n.
31. For a full analysis of Richard II's movements after his return to Wales in July 1399, see J. W. Sherborne, 'Richard II's Return to Wales in July 1399', *Welsh History Review*, 389–402 (see esp. 400 n. 36).
32. TNA, DL29/584/9240.
33. Colvin op. cit. (note 26), 685.
34. TNA, DL29/584/9241, Account of John Fairford Receiver of Kidwelly 1399–1400.
35. TNA, DL29/584/9241 '*circa construccionem et edificacionem dicte Nove Porte et ii turrim et al(iarum) divers camerar(um) ibidem in predictis turr(is)*'.
36. TNA, DL29/573/9064.
37. Somerville op. cit. (note 5), 641, shows that William Langton of Gower was only the receiver from 1402 into 1403 when he was replaced by Thomas Fernyclough. Perhaps this explains why his account book is unique.

38. TNA, DL41/341, File of warrants and accounts relating to the lordship of Kidwelly Mich 3 Hen IV–Mich 4 Hen IV, includes accounts for works at Kidwelly, Carreg Cennen and Ogmore Castles and the account book of William Langton for the new work of the great gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle.
39. See note 25 above. The regional Historic Environment Record has no entry for a medieval building in this area.
40. TNA, DL41/341. Llewelyn Vaughan, carpenter, mentioned in 1384, was working for Hopkyn in 1402, see note 24.
41. From a manuscript by Gerard Horenbaut, known as the Book of Hours, use of Rome (the ‘London Rothschild Hours’ or the ‘Hours of Joanna I of Castile’), British Library (BL), ADD MS. 35313, fo. 34^r.
42. Ian Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), 152–4.
43. Ludlow op. cit. (note 1), 202 and 363, quoting the *Ministers’ Accounts* 1222/28. These accounts were also published in E. A. Lewis, ‘Carmarthen Castle: a collection of historical documents relating to Carmarthen Castle etc’, *West Wales Historical Records*, vol. 3 (1912–13), 72. Hirde signed an agreement £20 with William Asshe, the chamberlain, to rebuild a wall 145ft long for £20. All the materials and other labour was supplied for an additional £23 7s 1½d.
44. TNA, DL29/584/9242. The other two men, Henry the Carpenter and Thomas Chaundler, also occur in the 1402 accounts.
45. Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933), 94–9.
46. Medieval masons’ lodges are discussed by Knoop and Jones op. cit. (note 45), 56–62.
47. In early April, payment was made to two stone breakers to mix mortar in advance of the employment of the labourers.
48. In Welsh names *ap* means ‘son of’.
49. Rees 1953 op. cit. (note 25), 194, refers to a place called the ‘Quarrey’ in the foreignry on the north side of the castle.
50. One was Henry Hopkyn, the same person as the reeve of the castle?
51. In addition to the forest of Llangorath or Keverngorath (see note 25), the 1609 survey also refers to the forest of Wenalth in the foreignry as a source of charcoal and timber (Rees op. cit. (note 25), 207). Both ‘Kengorath’ and the ‘Wennalth’ are given as sources of timber in Hopkyn’s account for 1402 (TNA, DL41/341).
52. ‘Wey’, *Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>>. In accounts for 1338–39 at Carmarthen Castle, lime was bought by the last, which contained four weys, each wey containing 48 bushels. A wey of lime then cost 21d. Lewis op. cit. (note 43), 56.
53. Wattekyn and John Maliphant were employed as stone carriers.
54. Perhaps 14½ to 21½ tons depending on what the standard of a wey of lime was in Kidwelly.
55. Knoop and Jones (note 45).
56. Ibid. 94–9.
57. Ibid. 118–21 and 129–32.
58. F. Green, ‘Pembrokeshire in Bygone Days’, *West Wales Historical Records* 9 (1920–3), 82–101.
59. Ibid. 94.
60. Ibid. 86, 91, 97, 100 and 101.
61. This work is described in detail in three chapters entitled: ‘The “Gloriette” in the Lower Bailey’, ‘The New or Marten’s Tower’, and ‘Roger Bigod’s Great Tower’, in Rick Turner and Andy Johnson

- (eds), *Chepstow Castle: its history and buildings* (Almeley: Logaston Press, 2006), 135–76. Specific references given below are to records in the National Archives.
62. TNA, LR 12/43/1938.
 63. TNA, SC6 921/26.
 64. The Chepstow accounts for work at the castle normally list totals paid against tallies for Stake and other craftsmen's wages. When they are working on buildings outside the castle it is possible to identify their day rates. See TNA, SC6/920/2 relating to work at the grange of Barton.
 65. See TNA, SC6/921/22 m.6 and SC6/859/20 for example.
 66. TNA, SC6/922/22.
 67. TNA, SC6/922/3 m.1d.
 68. George Owen in his early seventeenth-century *Description of Pembrokeshire* (1892) 1, xviii, 137, says that 'Neither ys the Cranoke or Wey measure used in selling corn.'
 69. Ludlow op. cit. (note 43), 201–2.
 70. From his unpublished field notebook for 1949, 19–20, in the Society of Antiquaries of London archives, quoted by Ludlow op. cit. (note 1), 124. The implication is that John Herde may have been the master mason for both gatehouses.
 71. Ludlow op. cit. (note 1), 200.
 72. Ibid. 363, quoting from Francis Green's transcriptions of the *Ministers' Accounts* 1222/10, 1222/12 and 1222/13 covering those three years.
 73. Rick Turner, *Lamphey Bishop's Palace and Llawhaden Castle*, Cadw guidebook (Cardiff: Cadw, 1991).
 74. John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: a biographical dictionary down to 1550*, rev. edn (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1984), 107.
 75. R. F. Isaacson and R. Arthur Roberts, *The Episcopal Registers of St Davids 1397 to 1518*, vol. 2, Cymmrodorion Record Series 6 (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1919), 628–9.
 76. Francis Green (ed.), *Menevia Sacra by Edward Yardley* (London: Bedford Press for Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1927), 371.
 77. Somerville op. cit. (note 5), 648–9.
 78. TNA, DL41/341 Hopkyn's account is on a single membrane of parchment immediately following Langton's account book.
 79. TNA, DL41/341 '*Et in iii pipis vini rubii empt(is) apud Kaermarthyn pro expens(is) hospicii Hugon(is) de Waterton chivaler; Thome Skelton chivaler et Johann(is) Leventhorp et soc(iorum) suorum Justic(iarorum) Domini Regis existenc(ium) apud Kedewelly mens(is) Septembr(is) et Octobr(is) pro sessionibus ibidem tenend(is) hoc anno*'.
 80. Other local supporters of Henry Dŵn mentioned in documentary records included William ap Philip, previously appointed as receiver of the lordship in 1400 (TNA, DL29/584/9242).
 81. For critical discussion of the evidence for the attacks on Kidwelly in August and October 1403, see J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), 76n; R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 112–13, 200–1. Morton's letter to the king describing the attack on Kidwelly is contained in F. C. Hingeston (ed.), *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), 158–62. For Morton's appointment as constable in 1402, see Somerville op. cit. (note 9), 641, quoting TNA, DL 42/15 fo. 98^v.
 82. TNA, DL29/584/9242, '*Pro tuicione et salva custodia castris contra rebell(os) invadienc(ios) dictum castrum ad plures vices hoc anno*'.

83. TNA, DL29/584/9242, '*Et in stipendio Griffith carpent(arii) conduct(i) ad tascham pro Aula domini et capella ad finem aule cooperiend(as) et schinguland(as) post obsessionem castris per rebell(os) ex certa convencione cum eodem factam in grosso x.s.*'
84. TNA, DL29/684/9242, '*in afforciamiento dicto castris per loca magis necessaria causa rebellium Wallens et inimicorum de partibus franc(ie) armilat(or)um apud Mileford in Com(itatu) Pembroch hoc anno*'.
85. For discussion of the evidence for the French landing at Milford Haven in 1405, see Lloyd op. cit. (note 81), 102; *Chronica Monasterii Sancti Albani: Thomae Walsingham Historia Anglicana*, 2 vols (London 1863–64), vol. 2, 272.
86. TNA, DL29/684/9242 '*circa reparacionem et construccionem murorum fossat et haiarum ac turrim de merem(io) edificat(em) propter afforciamientum dicti castris per loca magis necessaria causa rebellium Wallens et aliorum inimicorum ffranc(ie) dictum castrum insultancium*'.
87. TNA, DL29/684/9242 '*circa reparacionem facturam et emendacionem tam domorum camerarum caminorum murorum fossatorum haiarum quam aliorum defctuum per loca magis necessaria ac eciam propter defensionem et afforciamientum dicti castris contra rebellos Wallens ac contra adventum domini Principis et postea per mandatum suum*'.
88. For an account of Prince Henry's campaign in West Wales in 1406–07 see J. E. Lloyd, op. cit. (note 81), 131–2n.
89. TNA, DL29/584/9243.
90. TNA, DL29/730/12013, '*Item sount paiez pur fodicion des piers pur la novell overaigne del Tour sur les portes del chastell cest an – xiiii.li xvi.s vi.d.ob*'.
91. TNA, DL29/731/12015 (1409–10); DL29/731/12016 (1410–11).
92. TNA, DL29/584/9243.
93. TNA, DL29/731/12019.
94. TNA, DL29/731/12021.
95. TNA, DL29/584/9243, '*super factura unius magne nove turris super magnas portas castris de Kedwelly (prius combust') cum factura divers(or)um vowtes infra dictam turrim*'.
96. Colvin op. cit. (note 26), 686.
97. TNA, DL29/731/12030.
98. TNA, DL29/731/12031.
99. Colvin op. cit. (note 26), 686.
100. TNA, DL29/573/9074 '*circa plumbum in novo opere viz desuper constabular(ium)*'.
101. TNA, DL 37/51/11.
102. TNA, DL29/584/9259 (1493–94); DL29/585/9267 (1516–17); DL29/585/9270 (1523–24); DL29/586/9284 (1537–38).
103. Kenyon op. cit. (note 3), 25–33.
104. See the phased ground plan on the rear inside cover of the guidebook.
105. This was done by Duncan Schlee and refined by Rick Turner with help from Chris Jones-Jenkins and John Kenyon.
106. The Geological Survey of England and Wales map covering the Kidwelly area is sheet no. 229, Carmarthen (1967), which can be viewed online at <<http://www.bgs.ac.uk/data/maps/maps.cfc?method=viewRecord&mapId=9700>>.
107. Richard Scott Jones, 'Kidwelly Castle', *Archaeology in Wales* 48 (2008), 132.
108. Kenyon op. cit. (note 3), 34–5.
109. Ibid. 23.
110. Information on this phase of repairs can be found in the Cawdor estate papers in Dyfed Archives.

111. Goodall op. cit. (note 2), 241–51.
112. L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), appendix B, 413–584.
113. Ibid. 456–7.
114. Ibid. 465–6.
115. Ibid. 556–7.
116. Ludlow op. cit. (note 1), 201–2.
117. Turner op. cit. (note 73).
118. Goodall op. cit. (note 2), 332–7 and 341–4.

Published with the aid of a grant from Cadw – Welsh Government

