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Image and Reality in Medieval Weaponry and Warfare:

Wales c.1100 – c.1450

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BANGOR UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HISTORY, WELSH HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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*Image and Reality in
Medieval Weaponry and
Warfare:
Wales c.1100 – c.1450*

Samantha Jane Colclough

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Summary

The established image of the art of war in medieval Wales is based on the analysis of historical documents, the majority of which have been written by foreign hands, most notably those associated with the English court. This thesis has revisited the historical evidence, and together with the analysis of literature and virtually untouched archaeological material, in order to determine the accuracy of this image.

The thesis is separated into three sections. The first examines the variety of evidence available to study the art of war in medieval Wales, and assesses its value to the proposed research. The second is formed by a discussion of the different types of military equipment that would have been used, including the bow and arrow, the spear, the sword and other miscellaneous weapons. There is also a discussion on the form of the shield. Finally this is brought together in the final section to discuss the reality of soldiering in medieval Wales.

Medieval writers established an image of Welsh soldiering that is quite often backward and barbaric, and although some refer to Welsh skill in combat, they also emphasise the weaknesses of their approach and their unwillingness to partake in open battle, preferring night attacks and ambushes. However, it is clear from this assessment of the sources, that difference between the Welsh approach to war and that of their Norman and English counterparts was not significantly different. Occasionally native equipment was abandoned in favour of foreign forms, including a change from native round shields to kite and heater shields during the thirteenth century. In other circumstances it appears that elements of Welsh warfare were adopted by the English. However the differences between the weaponry used and tactics deployed.

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Contents

Summary	ii
Contents.....	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Declaration and Consent.....	v
List of Illustrations	viii
List of Tables.....	xi
Chapter 1: The Research Agenda.....	1
Chapter 2: The Value of the Written Sources to the Study of Medieval Warfare in Wales.....	28
Chapter 3: The Value of the Material Evidence to the Study of Medieval Warfare in Wales	50
Chapter 4: The Context of Warfare in Medieval Wales	107
Chapter 5: The Bow and Arrow and the Crossbow.....	127
Chapter 6: The Spear.....	165
Chapter 7: The Sword, The Dagger and The Knife.....	209
Chapter 8: Miscellaneous Weaponry and Shields	242
Chapter 9: The Reality of Weaponry and Warfare: Wales c.1100 – c.1450	276
Appendix A: Catalogue	300
Appendix B: Catalogue Photos	350
Appendix C: Spear Types on the Bayeux Tapestry.....	370
Bibliography.....	375

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List of Figures

Fig. 1.1 Soil Map of Wales and key Demonstrating the acidity of the majority of soils there

Fig. 3.1 Effigy of the Lord Rhys in St David's Cathedral

Fig. 3.2 Effigy of Rhys Gryg in St David's Cathedral

Fig. 3.3 Two warriors carved into the doorway of Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire

Fig. 3.4 Carvings of soldiers identified during the excavation of Castell y Bere

Fig. 3.5 Illustration of warfare in Royal MS 2 B VII, f. 56

Fig. 3.6 Illustration of warfare in Lansdowne MS 782, f.10

Fig. 5.1 Fifteenth century Turkish horse archer practicing the 'Parthian shot'

Fig. 5.2 Archers in the border of the Bayeux Tapestry (Scene 56)

Fig. 5.3 Archers using short bows on the Bayeux Tapestry (Scene 51)

Fig. 5.4 Archers using longbows on the Bayeux Tapestry (Scene 56)

Fig. 5.5 Illustration of a Welsh Archer in The Littere Wallie

Fig. 5.6 Ward-Perkins arrowhead typology

Fig. 5.7 Jessop arrowhead typology

Fig. 5.8 Distribution Map of all types of arrowheads found in Wales

Fig. 5.9 CC007 – Bronze arrowhead found on Margam Beach

Fig. 6.1 Illustration of a Welsh spearman in the Littere Wallie

Fig. 6.2 Painting of Sir Neill O' Neill depicting Scottish javelins

Fig. 6.3 Norman knights throwing spears on the Bayeux Tapestry (Scene 17)

Fig. 6.4 English footsoldiers throwing spears on the Bayeux Tapestry (Scene 51)

Fig. 6.5 Barbed spear illustrated on the Bayeux Tapestry (Scene 10)

Fig. 6.6 Leaf shaped spear illustrated on the Bayeux Tapestry (Scene 8)

Fig. 6.7 Ward-Perkins spearhead typology

Fig. 6.8 Petersen's spearhead typology

Fig. 6.9 Solberg's spearhead typology

Fig. 6.10a CC502 - WP6 spearhead, unprovenanced

Fig. 6.10b CC486 – WP6 spearhead from Cardiff castle

Fig. 6.11 Comparison between the overall length and the width of leaf shaped spearheads

Fig. 6.12 Comparison between the overall length and the blade length of leaf shaped spearheads

Fig. 6.13 Comparison between the length and width of the blades of leaf shaped spearheads

Fig. 6.14 Comparison between the overall length and the width of angular spearheads

Fig. 6.15 Comparison between the overall length and the blade length of angular spearheads

Fig. 6.16 Comparison between the length and width of the blades of angular spearheads

Fig. 6.17 Subgroups of Spearhead type WP6

Fig. 6.18 Roman Spearheads

Fig. 6.19 Comparison between the size of Roman and Medieval spearheads

Fig. 6.20 Military Effigy of Peter de Barton (Farndon) depicting spear

Fig. 6.21 CC 453 – Barbed spear from Aberystwyth castle

Fig. 6.22 CC 404 – Harpoon from Llys Edwin

Fig. 6.23 Post medieval harpoon

Fig. 6.24 Distribution map of all spearheads found in Wales

Fig. 6.25 Javelin Head from Four Crosses, Powys

Fig. 7.1 Oakeshott Typology of swords

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- Fig. 7.2 Equestrian Seal of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth
 Fig. 7.3 Illustrations of all nine swords included in the catalogue
 Fig. 7.4 Distribution map of swords found in Wales
 Fig. 7.5 Oakeshott typology of pommels
 Fig. 7.6 Oakeshott typology of cross styles
 Fig. 7.7 Quillion Daggers
 Fig. 7.8 Ballock/Kidney Daggers
 Fig. 7.9 Illustration of an archer wearing a ballock dagger in the Luttrell Psalter
 Fig. 7.10 Baselard Dagger
 Fig. 7.11 Rondel Daggers
 Fig. 7.12 Distribution map of daggers found in Wales
 Fig. 7.13 CC 401 – Quillion dagger from Cowbridge Grammar School with copper-alloy fixings
 Fig. 7.14 CC 400 – Unprovenanced quillion dagger with copper-alloy hilt and pommel
 Fig. 7.15 CC 413 – Copper-alloy dagger pommel from Denbigh
 Fig. 7.16 CC 397 – Copper-alloy dagger guard from Chepstow
 Fig. 7.17 CC 399 – Quillion dagger from Dolforwyn castle
 Fig. 7.18 CC402 – Dagger handle from Dolwyddelan castle
 Fig. 7.19 Dagger handle from Finsbury Circus
 Fig. 7.20 Welsh spearman in the Littere Wallie
 Fig. 7.21 Welsh archer in the Littere Wallie
 Fig. 7.22 Irish foot soldier in the Littere Wallie
 Fig. 7.23 Scottish pikeman in the Littere Wallie

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- Fig. 8.1a Bayeux Tapestry Scene 52 – Battle-axe
 Fig. 8.1b Bayeux Tapestry Scene 35 – Ship-wright’s axe
 Fig. 8.1c Bayeux Tapestry Scene 35 – Tree feller’s axe
 Fig. 8.2 Bayeux Tapestry Scene 29 – Housecarles depicted carrying axes
 Fig. 8.3 Maen Achwyfan Cross
 Fig. 8.4 Malvern Abbey military effigy
 Fig. 8.5 Bayeux Tapestry Scene 49 – William carrying mace as symbol of authority
 Fig. 8.6 Bayeux Tapestry Scene 51 – mace being thrown during the Battle of Hastings
 Fig. 8.7 Flanged mace-head
 Fig. 8.8 Barbed mace-head (CC 449 from Dryslwyn)
 Fig. 8.9 Mace-head from the Berwyn Mountains illustrated by Bardwell
 Fig. 8.10 Mace-head from Athenry (Galway)
 Fig. 8.11 Drawing by G. E. Chambers of a Welsh bill carried by Francis Smith, Town Constable of Amesbury, Wiltshire, dated 1731
 Fig. 8.12 Bayeux Tapestry Scene 57 – Depiction of both kite-shaped and circular shields used during the Battle of Hastings
 Fig. 8.13 Military Effigy of Madog ab Iorwerth (c.1315) at Pennant Melangell Church depicting kite-shaped shield
 Fig. 8.14 Equestrian seal of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth
 Fig. 8.15 Equestrian seal of Owain Glyndŵr
 Fig. 8.16 Eglwysilan Stone slab
 Fig. 8.17 Conbelin Stone Cross
 Fig. 8.18a Painting ‘The Embarkation of Dover’
 Fig. 8.18b Detail of buckler
 Fig. 8.19a Painting of ‘The Field of Cloth of Gold’
 Fig. 8.19b Detail of buckler carried by member of Royal Bodyguard

Fig. 8.20a Blair's Type 1 Welsh Buckler

Fig. 8.20b Blair's Type 2 Welsh Buckler

Fig. 8.20c Blair's Type 3(b) Welsh Buckler

Fig. 8.20d Blair's Type 3(a) Welsh Buckler

Fig. 8.21 Type 1 Welsh buckler shield carved onto the misericord in Ludlow Parish Church,
Shropshire

Fig.8.22 Welsh buckler decorated with the royal arms of King Henry VIII

Note: Some of the images in this digital version of the thesis have been removed due to Copyright restrictions

List of Tables

- Table 4.1. Military Artefacts from Aberystwyth Castle
Table 4.2. Military Artefacts from Castell y Bere
Table 4.3. Military Artefacts from Criccieth Castle
Table 4.4. Military Artefacts from Degannwy Castle
Table 4.5. Military Artefacts from Dolwyddelan Castle
Table 4.6. Military Artefacts from Dyserth Castle
Table 4.7. Military Artefacts from Llantrithyd Ringwork
Table 4.8. Military Artefacts from Skenfrith and White Castle
Table 4.9. Military Artefacts from Caergwrle Castle
Table 4.10. Military Artefacts from Cardiff Castle
Table 4.11. Military Artefacts from Dolforwyn Castle
Table 4.12. Military Artefacts from Dryslwyn Castle
Table 4.13. Military Artefacts from Flint Castle
Table 4.14. Military Artefacts from Hen Domen Castle
Table 4.15. Military Artefacts from Laugharne Castle
Table 4.16. Military Artefacts from Llanstephen Castle
Table 4.17. Military Artefacts from Loughor Castle
Table 4.18. Military Artefacts from Montgomery Castle
Table 4.19. Military Artefacts from Nevern Castle
Table 4.20. Military Artefacts from Rumney Castle
Table 4.21. Military Artefacts from Rhuddlan
Table 4.22. Military Artefacts from Llys Edwin
- Table 5.1. In what contexts arrows and archers are used in the written sources
Table 5.2. Arrowheads found in Wales
- Table 6.1. Who is using barbed or leaf shaped spears on the Bayeux Tapestry
Table 6.2. How barbed and leaf shaped spears are used on the Bayeux Tapestry
Table 6.3. In what contexts spears are used in the written sources
Table 6.4. Spearheads found in Wales
Table 6.5. Sub groups of type WP6 spearheads

Chapter 1: The Research Agenda

Introduction

The history of Wales between c.1100 and c.1450, and the research of historians such as Rees Davies (1987, 2000), Pryce (2007), Smith (1998) and Turvey (2002), has tended to focus on political events, as well as the role of lordship, the makeup of society, the ecclesiastical environment and continued military engagements. However, historians and archaeologists have rarely attempted to understand the nature of warfare in medieval Wales in any detail. Although historians such as Turvey (2002), Nicolle (1995) and Nelson (1966) have discussed medieval weaponry and warfare in Wales, the focus of their research has generally been wider ranging, and therefore any discussion of this subject has been relatively limited. The aim of this chapter is firstly to discuss the focus and results of previous research on the nature of warfare in medieval Wales in order to identify the areas which may require further investigation. Following on from this, the research questions at the centre of this thesis will be introduced as well as the methodology used in order to answer these questions discussed. There will then be a short discussion of the terminology used to refer to the different peoples and cultures that are examined throughout this thesis. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a précis of the order of the thesis and give a short indication of what results it is hoped this thesis will achieve.

Previous Research

A number of publications have examined the history of military campaigns in Wales, and in particular the Norman and English campaigns from 1066 up to the conquest in 1282, for example, J. E. Morris's *The Wars of Edward I in Wales* (1901), F. Suppe's *Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches: Shropshire AD 1066 – 1300* (1994) and D. Moore's *The Welsh Wars of Independence* (2007). These publications include some discussion of the details of conflicts in Wales; however, there is rarely any in depth analysis covering the specific nature of warfare in Wales during the medieval period. Furthermore, scholarly research, such as Nelson (1966) and Nicolle (1995), has tended to focus on the Norman or English approach to warfare in Wales, and has written off the native Welsh as a barbarian force that would have stood little chance against the military might of their attackers. However, there has been an attempt by scholars such as Gillingham (1992), Suppe (1996) and most recently Davies (2003) to reconsider the evidence available to study the nature of

warfare in medieval Wales and suggest that the image of a barbarian and backward military strategy suggested by earlier scholars is a mistruth. Instead, through the reappraisal of the written sources, both English and Welsh, several historians have argued for an entirely different view of the nature of Welsh warfare which places Welsh military strategy on a much more even keel with the invading Norman and English forces than previously thought.

However, a question must be asked as to how far this reappraisal of the Welsh at war has been influenced by wider social and political changes that have taken place in Wales over the last twenty years following the vote for devolution in 1997. In order to answer this question, it is important to understand how significant political and social changes in Wales, as well as throughout Britain and Ireland, have had an impact on the way in which historians have both approached and interpreted historical events. After all, the interests and beliefs of the modern day historians are just as important in the analysis of their texts as the interests and beliefs of medieval writers are in interpreting the events of the past.

In the context of British historiography, Henderson (2004, 1) suggests that there have been three major developments since the 1990s that have been triggered by political developments throughout the twentieth century. Firstly, the development of the new British History which set out to approach the history of the four constituent members of Britain from a non-Anglocentric view point; secondly, the emergence of neo-nationalist histories; and finally, the search for a national identity outside the concept of Britain. It is these developments, but in particular the emergence of New British History, that Henderson (2004, 1) claims has facilitated the growth of historiographical analysis and rewriting of Scottish, Irish and to a lesser extent, Welsh histories. This argument is supported by Connors and Falconer (2001, 95) who state that the effect of developments in British politics during the late 1990s had on the study of the 'Celtic crescent' has been the increased interest in the national identities of Scotland, Ireland and Wales, separate and distinct from those in Britain.

However, in order to understand the effect the political situation has had on writing history in Wales, the work by Henderson (2004; 2007) has been crucial. Henderson (2004, 4) suggests that there are three distinct periods between 1970 and 2003 that display different approaches to the study of Welsh history and identity, all three of which can be matched to major political developments in Wales as well as changing perceptions of Britain. The first period covers from 1972 to 1979, from Britain's entry into the EEC (EU) to the first devolution referendum. The second period runs from 1980 to 1992, which covers the

aftermath of the 'No' vote in 1979 and concludes with the Maastricht Treaty. The final period runs from 1993 to 2003. It is during this period that Henderson (2004, 4) suggests that the challenge to British sovereignty by the Maastricht Treaty began to challenge the concept of Britain, not only creating a climate in which devolution in both Scotland and Wales could take place, but also an environment in which 'New British History' could thrive.

Therefore, this new approach in the study of British history would certainly explain why there is an increase in the amount of material discussing the art of warfare in medieval Wales, especially from a Welsh perspective. However, does this increased interest necessarily mean that the interpretations made are more realistic, or could there be a nationalist element to what modern historians, such as Suppe and Davies, are writing (see below)? For example, although writing in the run up to the first referendum in the late 1970s, Henderson (2004, 5-6) highlights Gwynfor Evans's *Land of My Fathers: 2000 years of Welsh History* (1974) to show how a nationalist agenda can impact upon what is written. Of course this is a fairly unique example as Evans was not a professional historian but was the first elected member of Plaid Cymru. On the other hand, Johnes (2010, 1257) also argues that Welsh historians wrote about Wales because it mattered to them and Davies (2005, 11) also states that 'Welsh historians have often written Welsh history with a view to safeguard, or justify a particular standpoint in the historian's present.' Therefore, what is to say that recent historical work does not follow a similar pattern and that in some cases Davies (2003), Chapman (2010) and Day (2010) may have been overstating their case? Therefore, the following section will consider some of the key studies of the nature of warfare in medieval Wales that have been written to date and discuss the different interpretations that have been made and attempt to understand what influences may have encouraged them. To conclude this section, the discussion will return to the idea of 'New British History' and consider how far the political situation in Wales has had an effect on the approach scholars have taken and to what extent this has a negative or positive impact on the reliability of their interpretations.

Pre -1997

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the opinions of scholars on the Welsh art of war have been quite derogatory. This is best described by a

citation from a paper presented at the sixth annual meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1852 where Edward Rogers states,

We find no record of any great or memorable battle, or, any battle where great and contending armies were placed in array one against other...no battles seem ever to have taken place in Wales, properly so called, that is Wales within the Marches, and it seems rather to have been the constant practice of the Welsh people to have retreated as their foes advanced, and to have contended themselves with annoying them from the hills and fastnesses in which they secreted themselves (cited in Clive 1852, 312).

Comparatively, the ideas expressed in Lynn Nelson's *The Normans in South Wales* (1966) clearly show that general opinion of the medieval Welsh art of war had not significantly changed in the hundred years in between. The impression given by Nelson when comparing Welsh tactics and weaponry with those of their Norman neighbours is on the whole fairly negative towards the Welsh. However, it would not be fair to describe all Nelson's comments as negative. In fact there are elements of his argument that suggest warfare in Wales was endemic and he indicates the Welsh were capable of military success (Nelson 1966, 19), although other factors perhaps frequently combined to achieve the opposite outcome. On the other hand, there are large proportions of Nelson's argument that concur with the stereotypical image of the Welsh soldier as a barbaric and perhaps typically 'Celtic' warrior. The inclusion of words such as 'tribesman' (Nelson 1966, 12) in his line of reasoning do not in any way relate to a civilized society comparable with the Norman-French on the other side of the border and instead relate back to earlier periods of history implying that the Welsh employed an old-fashioned approach to warfare. It would be fair to say that Nelson's work is useful in providing the background information on this subject, particularly in south Wales; however his ideas and the general theme of his argument are heavily biased towards the old-fashioned view of barbarian Wales versus civilized England, creating a rather outdated account of the subject.

More recent publications, such as Nicolle's *Medieval Warfare Source Book* (1995), have followed a similar line of argument to Nelson. Although Nicolle focused on medieval warfare throughout Europe, he has gone into some detail on the 'Celtic' approach to war in which Wales is included. Looking at the earlier medieval period, Nicolle's turn of phrase implies a rather backward military structure with very little strategic planning, a focus on

skirmishing and even the use of outdated weaponry. For example ‘Javelins tended to be associated with military backward peoples such as the Slavs and Celts’ (Nicolle 1995, 81). When describing warfare in the later medieval period, Nicolle tends to follow the established theory arguing that the main preoccupation of the Welsh was defence against the English, and how Anglo-Norman influence affected Welsh warfare as a result (Nicolle 1995, 121, 125). It is certainly very likely that the Welsh were influenced by the techniques of the incomers and the large proportion of recorded military activity in Wales during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would have facilitated the opportunity to adopt influences from the Anglo-Normans, the Irish and even the Flemish. However, Nicolle does not consider the impact of these foreign influences in any great detail, and neither does he consider what influence Welsh tactics may have had on Norman and English armies; after all it may be argued that Welsh tactics were probably better suited to their surroundings than Anglo-Norman ones. Neither does Nicolle discuss any military activity which took place within Wales between the Welsh princes since he is reliant on English sources, as opposed to those coming from Wales. Nicolle also appears to ignore the views expressed by Gerald of Wales, who advocates the capabilities of Welsh soldiers, and fails to draw attention to any barbarity in their approach (see Chapters 2 and 4). Thus, Nicolle’s conclusions are very one sided and old fashioned with little attempt to create a balanced interpretation of the material available concerning this subject.

On the other hand, by the early 1990s, scholars were beginning to rethink the way in which the Welsh were considered during medieval conflicts and suggest an alternative view point to those expressed by Nelson (1996) and Nicolle (1995). John Gillingham (1992) is one scholar who has started to question this view of Wales as a backward nation in terms of its approach to warfare. In an analysis of the subject, Gillingham suggests that the traditional view of the Welsh at war has come primarily from a study of the Anglo-Norman sources and is not backed up by Welsh sources of similar date. This, he argues, is a result of change in the Norman approach to warfare during the twelfth century, which the Celtic regions failed to copy and as a result, in the eyes of the Anglo-Norman chroniclers, ‘the Irish, the Irish speaking Scots, and the Welsh all came to be seen as barbarous savages who fought war in an uncivilised fashion’ (Gillingham 1992, 83). Although Gillingham does not discuss the details of Welsh tactics, he does demonstrate why scholars have continued to follow this idea of the Welsh.

Furthermore, Frederick Suppe has been one of the most influential of historians to suggest that a reassessment of warfare in medieval Wales may be needed. In *Military Institutions on the Welsh Border – Shropshire 1066-1300* (1994), Suppe looks in detail at warfare in the Welsh Marches. He includes a discussion of both culturally Welsh tactics and weaponry, and compares these to the tactics and weaponry used in the Marches. By comparing and contrasting techniques of warfare on either side of the border, as well as differences within the March, Suppe has provided evidence to warrant a reconsideration of the established view of medieval warfare in Wales. Instead of relying solely on the views of chroniclers, such as Orderic Vitalis and Henry of Huntingdon, Suppe has considered evidence written both in England and Wales, as well as the details of specific campaigns, rather than just chroniclers' opinions, to understand the strategies and tactics employed during this period. Suppe (1994, 9-11) uses the example of the 1249 raid into Shropshire by Hywel ap Cadwenlan, Maredudd ap Maelgwn and Dafydd ap Llywelyn (all of Gwynedd) to demonstrate that the strategies devised for such raids were anything but rudimentary and were actually cleverly thought through. Having burnt Lydham, the raiding party moved on to Churchstoke, Brompton and Bacheldre before burning the town of Montgomery and crossing back into Welsh territory. Suppe (1994, 11) suggests that starting deep within enemy territory and retreating back towards safety created three problems for anyone attempting to organize a pursuit. Firstly, there would be a delay in assembling a defensive force that would result in giving the Welsh a head start; secondly, the rapid pace of the Welsh would make it extremely difficult for the pursuers to overtake them; and thirdly, as the Welsh neared their own lands, their pursuers might be daunted by entering hostile enemy territory. The point that Suppe stresses from this type of evidence is that such a strategy would not necessarily be associated with a militarily backward culture which has been emphasized by the likes of Nelson (1966) and Nicolle (1995).

Suppe does not relate the guerrilla techniques of Welsh soldiers, such as ambushes, night attacks and the likelihood of retreat from open battle, to a militarily backward culture either, which almost mirrors the views put forward by Gerald of Wales in the late twelfth century (see Chapter 4). Instead Suppe focuses on the idea that these strategies are just different from those developed by the Normans in England and on the Continent (Suppe 1994, 12-15). His approach is balanced and, rather than comparing the two approaches in attempting to prove one better than the other, his conclusions portray the Welsh as organized and tactically minded. He emphasizes Hewitt's (1958) observations that 'medieval warfare is

not solely, nor even largely, battles and sieges. For weeks and even months at a time, it is military pressure exerted by the destruction of life, property, and the means by which life is sustained' (Suppe 1994, 19). Although Suppe's research has not utilized all types of evidence, notably Welsh literature, art and archaeology, the conclusions he has made have persuaded scholars to start to re-evaluate the common conceptions of Welsh medieval warfare that have been held for so long and have provided new areas in which further research may follow.

The nature of weaponry and warfare in Wales after 1282 has rarely been discussed, although the campaigns of Owain Glyndŵr have been considered, most prominently by Rees Davies (1995). Davies (1995, 98-9) aims to depict how late fourteenth century Welsh society responded to the experience of a prolonged revolt, anatomize the nature of the rebellion and determine what the experience of the revolt meant to people who lived and fought in Wales during this period. Davies also aims to determine what can be learnt about the nature of guerilla warfare during the revolt and the response of conventional English military strategy and thinking to the challenge it posed. In particular, the chapter entitled 'Guerillas and Garrisons' (Davies 1995, 229-62) is of most interest to the student of military history. Davies has built upon the work of other scholars, most notably J. E. Lloyd, and provided a detailed account of the processes of the revolt, the tactics the Welsh implemented, and the way in which the English attempted to deal with the uprising. However, there are issues with Davies's account, most of which are recognized by the author throughout his study. The most significant of these is related to the amount of detail that Davies provides about the Welsh military strategy in comparison with the English response. In a chapter spanning thirty-three pages, only eight are actually concerned with the Welsh involvement whilst the remaining twenty-five pages discuss the nature and effectiveness of the English attempts to quash the rebellion. This is unquestionably the result of the fundamental lack of records of the revolt that actually originate from Wales. Therefore, in order to study the nature of the Glyndwr revolt this must be done through the letters, reports and documents of those whose task it was to withstand and suppress it (Davies 1995, 230), and one must question how reliable these sources are in providing an accurate and balanced record of the events that took place. However, if the sources from a Welsh perspective are not forthcoming, there is little that can be done to question the reliability of these accounts. On the other hand, one does have to question as to whether there may have been other sources of evidence in addition to the written accounts that Davies could have utilized in order to yield further information about

the Welsh approach to the revolt that may have provided a counter-balance to the English accounts.

Post -1997

The Horse in Celtic Culture (Davies and Jones 1997) contains a number of articles that have challenged the traditional view of the role of the horse in warfare in Wales. Until very recently it was widely believed that the horse was used by Welsh warriors as transport to and from the battlefield, but that in battle every soldier dismounted to fight on foot. However, by referring to Welsh sources, such as the law texts, poetry, the Triads of the Horses (*Trioedd y Meirch*) and the Mabinogion, the various authors argue that the role of the horse was far more complex than previously thought (Bromwich 1997; Davies 1997; Jenkins 1997; Jones 1997). For example, the description of mounted combat between Pwyll and Hafgan in the first branch of the Mabinogion, where Hafgan's shield and armour are broken and he goes 'his spear's length over his horse's crupper to the ground', has been used to argue that the technique of fighting from horseback was practised by the Welsh from the twelfth century, if not before (Davies 1997, 136), although to what extent this tactic was used cannot be determined from this type of evidence alone.

Further reconsideration about the expertise of Welsh soldiers has been made in an article on 'The Impact of foreign troops in the Civil Wars of King Stephen's reign' (Bennet 2000). Bennet has advocated the need for a re-examination of the material related to this subject by looking at the evidence for Welsh soldiers at the battle of Lincoln (1141) who were recruited from the lands of Robert, Duke of Gloucester. He argues that 'the war was one of sieges of fortresses, a kind of warfare that places emphasis upon reliable, long-serving troops...Experience and specialist skills are at a premium; short-service local levies a liability' (Bennet, 2000, 101). This clearly suggests that the Welsh soldiers who took part in these campaigns must have been more than capable of partaking in a sophisticated approach to warfare that was previously thought to be essentially Norman or English in character. He goes on to suggest that Henry of Huntingdon's scathing portrayal of the Welsh in the royalist speeches prior to the battle of Lincoln was 'conforming to a racial stereotype' (Bennet 2000, 106). Although Bennet does not discuss the reality of soldiering in Wales, the interpretations cited do not entirely correspond with previous analyses, such as Nelson's, and do provoke thought on the potential for a reassessment of the art of war in medieval Wales.

Roger Turvey (2002) has also started to examine Welsh warfare in a more constructive way, focusing primarily on the role of the Welsh princes in war. Although written as a general study of the Welsh princes, Turvey has taken a fresh approach to interpreting the evidence associated with warfare and as a result does not conform to the established view of some scholars outlined above. Rather than emphasising what made the Welsh unsuccessful in war, Turvey has provided evidence of how capable they were. He even goes on to say that 'to suggest that the Welsh were little more than guerrilla fighters who cannot meet the enemy on equal terms would be to do them a disservice' (Turvey 2002, 143). It is fair to say that Turvey has not attempted a more detailed analysis and there is very little new written evidence considered in constructing his arguments. The study relies heavily on the more traditional types of written evidence, including the Welsh law texts and the Chronicles and Gerald of Wales. However, in contrast to the majority of earlier scholars, Turvey offers a far more balanced and unbiased approach by using Welsh sources, in a sympathetic manner, alongside Norman and English sources, to achieve a more realistic interpretation, if a little basic in its depth. There is, as a result, the potential to use Turvey's ideas as a basis for further research.

The most important recent publication concerning the Welsh art of war specifically, is *Welsh Military Institutions 633-1283* by Sean Davies (2003). He is the only scholar who has aimed to reassess the role of the Welsh in warfare in the medieval period by looking across the board at organization, strategy, tactics, military buildings such as castles, and equipment used by soldiers at this time. Taking a new approach to the study of medieval warfare, Davies has successfully used a combination of historical documents and contemporary literature to construct a clearer image of Welsh warfare. It is becoming increasingly important to use an interdisciplinary approach to the study of our past, as looking at either historical or archaeological material in isolation is likely to result in the occurrence of errors in our interpretations. Therefore to compare historical documents with the Welsh literary sources of the period, types of evidence that are both open to bias and exaggeration, similarities between the two areas of evidence can be used to counteract the inaccuracies. Davies has used this approach well and as a result has constructed a much clearer view of how the Welsh conducted themselves in war, what strategies and tactics were deployed and what arms and armour were used.

However, it could be argued that the interdisciplinary approach used by Davies has not gone far enough to build up the most accurate picture available. The development of conflict archaeology over the past thirty years (see below) now means that there is an established approach to using archaeological data alongside historical documents in the study of conflicts and warfare. Although Davies does use a small amount of archaeological evidence in his reassessment, it does not include enough to create a detailed argument. For example, when discussing the descriptions of poorly made armour and weapons in Wales, Davies (2003, 144) uses outdated evidence from Alcock's 1950s excavations at Dinas Powys (now known to be an Early Medieval hillfort rather than a later native castle) to support his argument. Alcock describes how the discovery of a primitive furnace and smelting evidence but no built furnaces at the site, led him to conclude that the scale of iron production was 'meagre' compared to the extensive Norman iron working in Glamorgan (Alcock, 1987, 40-2). Davies (2003, 144) uses this evidence to argue as to why Welsh arms and armour may not have been of a comparable quality to their Norman counterparts. However, one must question Davies's conclusions, for although Alcock (1987, 43) refers to a regression in the techniques and quantities of iron working in the post-Roman period, he does not suggest that the objects that were being made were in any way of poor quality. Furthermore, one must also question how Davies can come to the conclusion that Welsh arms and armour were of poorer quality than those of their Norman adversaries by using archaeological evidence from just one site, and one which is much earlier in date.

Similarly, Davies discusses the role of the sword in Welsh warfare. Although he (2003, 148-9) argues for the importance of the sword, using evidence such as the early medieval British poem, the *Gododdin*, references to the named swords of famous Welsh heroes, such as Arthur, Culhwch and Cei, and the inclusion of the sword on a number of Welsh seals of thirteenth-century date and later, there is a lack of further discussion of the types of swords used and who used them. Nevertheless, Davies does assume that it was an unlikely weapon to be used by every Welsh soldier and does suggest that citations in poetry reflect the perceived image of the warrior rather than an accurate portrayal of warriors of the time (Davies 2003, 148-9). However, this idea could be taken further to discuss the idea of the identity of the warrior in medieval Welsh society and the role the sword plays in this.

Davies could also have enhanced his argument with the inclusion of archaeological evidence in the form of funerary sculpture. For example, in Gresham's analysis of the

medieval sculpture of north Wales (1968), he supports Davies's view of the importance of the sword to the warrior and, more importantly, to the nobility. Gresham (1968, 53) refers to at least fifty examples of high-status grave slabs that incorporate swords into their design. In addition, nearly all military effigies of the later medieval period are depicted with swords, in Wales, England and on the Continent. If Davies had combined this evidence with what he had already presented, it would have strengthened his argument on the importance of these weapons, particularly to the nobility. It must also be stated that analysis of surviving weaponry in the archaeological record could have revealed supplementary information on types of swords, their manufacture and even how they were used, which has not been considered.

It must be stressed, however, that even without the evidence from the archaeological record this is an important piece of research. This is partly due to the fact that Davies is among the small number of scholars who have begun to examine Welsh warfare in the wider context of the medieval world. Previously Welsh military history has been looked at in isolation. Building on work by the likes of Gillingham and Suppe, Davies has started to compare descriptions of Welsh warfare with ideals and events taking place on the Continent and has come up with some fresh interpretations, particularly concerning tactics and strategy. The traditional view of Welsh warfare can be described by the idea of a loosely organized force, who preferred to avoid pitched battle, and instead ravaged their enemies' lands, and ambushed their opponents, ignoring the 'chivalric' practices of the Normans in England and France, an image passed down by the English chroniclers of the day. Davies, on the other hand, has looked closely at the basic principles of this attitude to war and has concluded that the differences between Norman and native Welsh principles of warfare have been exaggerated (Davies 2003, 85). Instead he argues that belief in the importance of the decisive pitched battle has only been emphasized since the Napoleonic wars (see Clausewitz, 2007), and that the significance of ravaging during warfare can be seen in works as early as the *De Re Militari* by the Roman writer Vegetius. In fact, as Davies rightly argues, in 1102 when the Norman Marcher Lord, Robert of Bellême, rebelled against King Henry I, he adopted the strategy of ravaging and evasion, and even employed the Welsh to help him (Davies, 2003, 97). Further examples of ravaging and evasion can be found in other Norman and English campaigns, such as Robert of Gloucester during the Civil Wars of Stephen's reign, and even later in the medieval period during the wars with France (see Chapter 4), for one could argue

that one of the most valuable aspects of medieval warfare, the *Chevaucée*, or ‘Scorched Earth Policy’, was, in its basic form, no different from these Welsh tactics.

The idea of a loosely organized force has also been dismissed by Davies, whose thorough discussion of the role of both the *teulu* (the military household of a Welsh lord) (Davies 2003, 14-49) and the *llu* (the larger military force made up of a national levy) (Davies 2003, 50-84) has proven extremely useful. However, the conclusions that Davies makes do, in most cases, focus on the nobility at war and he fails to offer a clear picture of how the army was made up. For example, his interpretations of the bow in Welsh warfare could be expanded upon. Davies (2003, 152) suggests, from both the historical record and literature, that the bow was a weapon used by the lower ranks in the army and was not regarded with much esteem. However, there are examples of seals from the south of Wales where the bow is included in the design (New, pers. comm.), which could suggest that in that region the bow was a more prestigious item than first thought, and a clear symbol of their identity. Although the inclusion of a bow and arrow on a seal may not only be used by archers, it could be suggested that these seals may also have been owned by bow makers as well. Furthermore, Davies does not include a detailed discussion of the mounted archer. However, mounted archers were included amongst the Welsh troops employed by the Normans in the conquest of Ireland (Strickland and Hardy, 2005, 91). This evidence suggests that some archers were given higher status than others, a concept that Davies fails to discuss. Of course, the lack of contemporary Welsh evidence does make discussion of the roles of different sectors of society in warfare difficult, but there is evidently room to move beyond what Davies has discussed.

Therefore Davies’s contribution to the study of Welsh military history is important. It is the first step on a long road to understanding more fully the medieval Welsh art of war. He has clearly presented evidence to counter the long accepted view of a backward barbarian attitude to war that has in most cases been recorded by the enemies of the Welsh, and instead has suggested new ways of thinking about Welsh strategy and tactics in the wider medieval context. Yet, by looking at the Welsh in isolation Davies fails to acknowledge how other influences from within Wales and the Marches, including Anglo-Saxon, Viking, Norman, Irish, Flemish and English, might have had an impact on warfare during the medieval period. Furthermore, Davies falters in his handling of the material evidence. When talking about physical objects, such as weapons, any interpretations of their use, or their existence, cannot

be considered fully without an analysis of what survives today: the archaeological record. It is these areas that future research must focus on to gain a better understanding of the art of war in medieval Wales.

Scholarly discussion of the weapons and specifically tactics used in Wales has rarely been the focus of academic research, with the majority of studies tending to focus on the strategy and equipment of their Norman neighbours. Helen Nicholson, for example, has included aspects of Welsh warfare in her general study of *Medieval Warfare* but she has not suggested new interpretations, instead re-emphasizing what earlier scholars, such as Nelson (1966) and Nicolle (1995) have already suggested. However, research into specific types of weapon in use in Wales, particularly the longbow, has long been a focus for several scholars. The longbow has been regarded as one of the key weapons to have been introduced during the fourteenth century and its suggested early development in Wales has been the subject of several studies, including Oman (1924) and Morris (1901). Most recently it has been under the spotlight in *The Great Warbow* (Strickland and Hardy 2005). Although this publication looks at the use of the bow and arrow in war throughout the medieval period, a significant amount of space has been given to the use of this weapon in Wales, or by Welsh mercenaries who were employed by the Normans in England and in Ireland. Morris and Oman believed, that prior to the Edwardian Conquest of Wales in 1282, archers in Anglo-Saxon and Norman England were using the weaker 'shortbow', and that during the late thirteenth century, there was a switch towards the use of the much more powerful longbow, which both scholars attribute to Edward I. Bradbury's *The Medieval Archer* (1985) did attempt to re-evaluate these arguments, suggesting that the importance of archery in medieval warfare was actually grasped much earlier than the reign of Edward I, but continued to support a more gradual development from the ordinary wooden bow, or shortbow, to the longbow throughout the medieval period. However, more recently Strickland and Hardy (2005, 34-44) have argued, using the descriptions of the thirteenth-century bows of Gwent by Gerald of Wales, alongside archaeological evidence and a thorough reassessment of the documentary sources, that the longbow was in existence in England and Wales well before the reign of Edward I, clearly demonstrating that it could not have originated in Wales in the late thirteenth century. In addition, the main difference between the Welsh and English bows was the material used, and they even refer to the use of dwarf elm to make longbows during the sixteenth century (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 43-4).

Adam Chapman (2010) has recently analyzed the nature of warfare in a Welsh context, both in Wales and abroad, in the post-conquest period. He assesses the historical evidence for the role of the Welsh soldier from 1284 to 1422 in the armies of the English kings, and has successfully demonstrated, not just the numbers of Welshmen recruited into English armies, but also their importance, particularly during the campaigns of Edward I. Interestingly, Chapman points out that numbers of Welsh soldiers in English armies began to decline during the latter half of the Hundred Years War, particularly after 1369, due to the change in tactics from pitched battle to the use of the *chevaucée* (scorched earth policy), which he argues was due to the lack of ‘resources to supply mounted fighting men of the standard desired’ (Chapman 2010, 137). Chapman’s research is essential to understanding a clearer image of the nature of warfare in Wales during the medieval period. For example, not only does he draw attention to the effectiveness of Welsh soldiering within their own environment, but he also highlights certain characteristics of Welsh soldiering, specifically their use of the spear, that were considered integral to the armies of the English Crown (Chapman 2010, 186).

In 2010, Jenny Day completed her doctoral thesis which aimed to analyse the references to weaponry in the poems of both *y Gogynfeirdd* (*The Poets of the Princes*) (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and the *Hengerdd* (up to c.1300) to determine how the bards used weapons for various literary ends, and to establish both the form and nature of these weapons as well as how they were used in battle (Day 2010, i). Day has successfully brought together evidence from the Welsh poetry and used this in comparison to other sources of information, including limited archaeological evidence, in an attempt to create a clearer picture of the equipment of the Welsh soldier at this time. Published in 2011, her article on the form and decoration of Welsh shields demonstrates very clearly how useful this information can be (see Chapter 8). A thorough analysis of the work of the court poets has resulted in Day (2011a) presenting evidence on the possible forms and decorations of Welsh shields, including their shape and distinguishing features. However, the piece tends to present the various possibilities presented by the poetic evidence, rather than actually form solid conclusions in comparison with the artefacts themselves, which creates a platform from which further analysis of the material evidence might be made.

Although there have been some studies of the approach to warfare and the weaponry used in medieval Wales, these have all tended to focus on evidence gleaned from historic or

literary sources, rather than an in depth analysis of the material remains from the archaeological record. Published works by archaeologists such as Halpin (2008), Caldwell (1981) and the extremely important works of Ewart Oakeshott, including *The Archaeology of Weapons: Arms and Armour from Prehistory to the Age of Chivalry* (1960), all highlight how important an archaeological approach to weapon studies can be to our understanding of weaponry and warfare in other areas of Western Europe. However, in Wales the archaeological material has been relatively untouched. There are occasional examples of castle reports (see Chapter 3) that have included a discussion of the weapons and other military related artefacts that have been found on sites, most notable of which is Caple's *Excavations at Dryslwyn Castle, 1980-95* (2007). However, in the most part the Welsh archaeological material has remained untouched and is therefore suggested to be a key source of evidence in any further research into the nature of warfare in medieval Wales from now on.

Finally, the question as to how far the political situation in Wales, following the Act of Devolution in 1997, has had an effect on the academic research centered on the medieval Welsh art of war, particularly in the reappraisal of the evidence by scholars such as Suppe (1994), Davies (2003), Chapman (2010) and Day (2010), should be considered. It is clear from a review of the literature published on the subject that there has been an increased interest in the role that the Welsh played in the conflicts on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in recent years, particularly from the mid-1990s onwards. However, to simply explain this change in emphasis as a response to the social changes associated with devolution, overlooks how important the results of the above research actually is. Although there may be reason to suggest that recent reappraisals of warfare in Wales may be overstating their case, it is the belief of this author that the value of these studies is that they are offering a different perspective and forcing scholars to question both the validity of previous interpretations and the extent to which the results of their research have a far wider reaching impact on our understanding of British medieval military history, for as Connors and Falconer (2001, 106) argue, 'despite criticisms of the 'New British History', historians of Scotland, Ireland and Wales continue to express concern that without the direct participation in British history, the history of the British Isles will continue to be a re-writing of English history with the occasional glance to the peripheries.' Therefore, it becomes increasingly important for any future research into the nature of warfare in medieval Wales to consider the available evidence in a methodical and impartial way, to determine exactly how far the above

studies should be considered to be an accurate reappraisal of Welsh military strategy in the medieval period.

Research Questions

In response to the scholarly interpretations made to date, it is clear that there is a need for further research on weaponry and warfare in Wales and the Marches during the medieval period, to broaden and deepen our understanding of it. Therefore, the first of two main research questions is to determine what the analysis of written sources can reveal about the nature of weaponry and warfare in medieval Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450. There is a range of historical sources available to use when researching medieval weaponry and warfare in Wales (see Chapter 2). Annals and chronicles, such as the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Gesta Stephani*, and even biographies, such as the Latin and Welsh versions of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, all relate details of conflicts that took place during the period in question and occasionally record in some depth the types of weapons used and the tactics deployed during these engagements. There are also other written documents, such as the Welsh law texts, that can be useful in discovering what types of weapon and military equipment were considered important to medieval Welsh society. Furthermore, medieval writers, such as Orderic Vitalis, Henry of Huntingdon and Walter Map, have all, at some point in their writing, discussed conflict in Wales and therefore, potentially their works are important sources for a study of this kind.

In addition, the works of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century writer Gerald of Wales (*Giraldus Cambrensis*), especially the *Description of Wales* and the *Journey through Wales*, are central to answering this question. Gerald is by far the most informative of medieval writers on the subject of warfare in medieval Wales, and, in particular, it is his descriptions of Welsh weaponry, tactics and prowess (or lack of it) on the battlefield that scholars have tended to rely upon more than any others, in order to understand the nature of warfare in Wales at this time. However, recently, historians such as Bartlett (1982) and Pryce (1986; 1998) have begun to question the reliability of Gerald's works, and have started to reassess the validity and accuracy of many of his descriptions (see Chapter 2). Therefore, in this thesis, it is of considerable importance to understand the motives that lay behind Gerald's writing about the nature of warfare in Wales, and as a result, the possible limitations associated with using Gerald as a source for researching this subject, and how this may

influence any conclusions made as a result. Only then can the works of Gerald of Wales be used with any success in approaching the research question.

In order to glean as much information from the historical sources as possible, it is also important to look beyond the descriptions they include. Therefore an analysis of the terminology used by medieval writers will be attempted where applicable in order to understand the variety and range of objects that may have been in use.

Literary material is also relevant. This includes the Welsh court poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the praise poetry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by poets, such as Dafydd ap Gwilym and Guto'r Glyn. References to military engagements, tactics and even the weaponry carried by the subjects of these poems can be very useful in understanding the nature of warfare during this period. The work of Jenny Day (2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2012; 2013) (see below) has already covered much of this material in detail, and as a result, the conclusions she has made will be used where relevant as a source of material in this thesis.

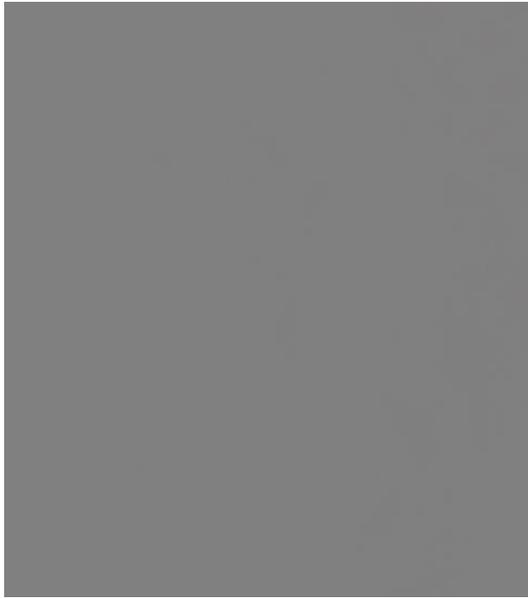
The second research question central to this thesis, and the most significant research area, is to determine what the analysis of material evidence, especially the weapons themselves, can reveal about the nature of weaponry and warfare in medieval Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450. This is a type of evidence that until now has been completely ignored by scholars studying military history and has provided original and ground-breaking theories where it has been used alongside existing historical research. Historians have placed an emphasis on using documents to interpret medieval warfare, and it is only recently that archaeologists have begun to see the value of studying conflict as an archaeological discipline. The growth in battlefield and conflict archaeology in recent years has not only highlighted the inaccuracies in the descriptions of events in historical sources, but has also attempted to correct them. Ground-breaking projects at sites, including the Battle of Little Bighorn (United States, 1876) (Scott and Fox 1987; Scott et al. 1989), the Varian Disaster in the Teutenberg Forest (Germany, AD 9) (Clunn 2005), Culloden (Scottish Highlands, 1746), and most recently Bosworth (Leicestershire, 1485), have all provided interesting results that were not possible from consulting the historical record alone. For example, at Bosworth, not only have archaeological investigations of the battlefield proved that the exact location of the site was nearly two miles away from Ambion Hill, which had been believed to be the site of the battle since the late eighteenth century (Foard 2010, 26), but they have also included the

collection of surprising, and extensive, evidence for the early use of firearms, including thirty lead munitions, which is more than from all other British and European fifteenth- and sixteenth-century battlefields put together (Foard 2010, 30).

In Wales, there has been some attempt to identify and investigate battlefield sites archaeologically, although to no great avail (Prestley et al 2009). Two problems face any battlefield archaeologist looking to work in Wales. Firstly, it is extremely difficult to locate the battlefield sites. Very rarely do medieval writers give clear and detailed descriptions of the locations of battles, and where clues are given they are quite often vague and could be interpreted as meaning a number of locations. For example, the site of the battle of Mynydd Carn (1081) was one battlefield which scholars have attempted to locate. Historians have suggested several sites, and the RCAHMW Pembrokeshire Inventory places the battlefield in the vicinity of North Hill Farm, south-west of Templeton (Prestley et al 2009, 8). However, Priestley (2009, 16) during recent attempts to compile a Battlefield Register for Wales, surmised that the battle took place somewhere in north Pembrokeshire, most likely in the commote of Nevern. Any attempt to refine the search further was avoided, clearly demonstrating the frustrations associated with locating battlefields in Wales.

Secondly, even if an archaeologist was lucky enough to locate a Welsh battlefield, it is unlikely that they would find anything, due to the frequent poor preservation of iron because of acidic soils. Over the last few years, research has taken place, mainly on the Continent, to determine exactly what conditions either accelerate or slow down the corrosion of iron artefacts in the soil. Projects, such as those in Sweden (Nord et al 2002) and Germany (Gerwin et al 1998), have scientifically proved that certain conditions, particularly those associated with acidic soils, are detrimental to the survival of iron artefacts. Other factors, as well as acidity, have also been identified that affect the preservation of iron in the soil. Differences between sandy and clay soils have been recorded, with clay soils thought to be the more aggressive, and the inclusion of chlorides and sulphates in soil are also thought to accelerate the process of corrosion (Gerwin et al 1998, 104). On the other hand, it has also been suggested that high carbonate levels in soils correlate with a lower degree of deterioration and that the application of lime and fertilizers containing phosphates may help stabilize iron artefacts still *in situ* (Gerwin et al 1998, 104). However, more worryingly, recent research has also indicated that iron artefacts excavated today are more corroded than finds found fifty to one hundred years ago due to the increasing rate of pollution in the

atmosphere (Nord et al 2002, 298). The soil map illustrated (Fig. 1.1) shows quite clearly that the majority of soils in Wales are to some extent acidic, and therefore suggest that the preservation of military related artefacts, such as arrows, spears, swords and armour, is unlikely to be extensive, greatly reducing the potential for battlefield archaeology in Wales.



(Butler 1990; 1997) and Dryslwyn (Caple 2007). Unfortunately, as with a great number of



Fig. 1.1. Soil map of Wales demonstrating the acidity of the majority of soils there (from the NRSI *Soilscapes* Project <http://www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes>)

Archaeological research into military activity in Wales has instead tended to concentrate on castles. The majority of excavations on castles have taken place on those recorded as built by the Normans and the most significant of these was on the motte-and-bailey known as Hen Domen just outside Montgomery (Barker and Higham 2000). However, a significant number of Welsh-built castles have also undergone archaeological investigation, including Criccieth (O'Neil 1945), Dolforwyn (Butler 1990; 1997) and Dryslwyn (Caple 2007). Unfortunately, as with a great number of castle excavations, archaeologists who have been involved in them have not had warfare as their main focus, and thus, military aspects have not been sufficiently taken into account. Instead, as a result of a general move away from military themed interpretations from the 1960s onwards, the majority of castle excavation reports have

tended to focus on the domestic material recovered and the day-to-day life of the castle (see Chapter 3). This means that very few reports have included detailed discussions of military associated finds, such as armour or weaponry (see Chapter 3). The only recent excavation report to have done so is that of Dryslwyn Castle (Caple 2007); however, the finds report from Dolforwyn, excavated by Butler during the 1980s and early 1990s, still awaits publication. More analysis of the military finds from excavations such as these would aid a better understanding of warfare in Wales. Therefore it is essential that these types of artefact are taken into account sufficiently in reports on future excavations on these sites.

There is however, far more to castle studies than excavation. For many years, there has been more theoretical research into these sites, looking to answer many questions, but most commonly, the reasons why castles were built. The debate over status versus defence has dominated castle studies since the 1970s with many views having been published on the subject. Most recently, two articles (Platt 2007; Creighton & Liddiard 2008) have once more brought this debate to the forefront of archaeological research. However, these types of debate seem a little outdated now and, as Creighton and Liddiard (2008) argue, it is time to begin to consider a wider picture. Therefore, rather than looking at one reason for the construction of castles during the medieval period, the focus should be on a variety of reasons. To be specific, scholars should look to include both military and non-military reasons for the construction of castles in Wales in order to attain a clearer and more thorough answer to this debate. There are a small number of scholars who have attempted to do this for Welsh castles, with publications such as *Castles of the Welsh Princes* (Davies 2007) or articles by scholars, such as Avent (1992) Kenyon (1996; 2010) and Turvey (1995), who have all started to address the motives Welsh princes had for constructing castles where they did.

However, it is not the intention of this thesis to re-examine the role that castles played in the warfare conducted in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450. Instead, this thesis is primarily concerned with the artefactual evidence that has been collected from a range of sites across Wales, including significant assemblages from castle sites, such as Dryslwyn (Caple 2007) and Hen Domen (Higham and Barker 2000). Although much of this material has been published, it has never been systematically analysed as a corpus of medieval weaponry from Wales. However, there are problems with the material evidence that has been gathered from these contexts. Unfortunately, the nature of castle studies throughout the twentieth century has meant that a considerable amount of the material collected for this thesis has come from excavations that were conducted prior to 1970, when both excavation and recording techniques were somewhat lacking. As a result a significant amount of the material looked at is only dated through typological dating techniques. The nature of the excavations, the evidence gathered and the value of the material evidence will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

Methodology

In order to analyse the material evidence, firstly a catalogue of artefacts was required. A thorough survey of published material, including journals, excavation reports and online databases, including the Portable Antiquities Scheme, was carried out to identify excavations that may have produced significant artefactual assemblages relevant to this study. This included a considerable number of castle sites, but also included other domestic sites, such as the fortified manor of Llys Edwin, and medieval occupation at sites, such as Caerleon and Llandough. At the same time, major museums throughout Wales were contacted to enquire about the existence of relevant material in their collections, and to arrange for the museums to be visited and artefacts recorded (see Chapter 3). In addition to the published material from excavations and the large number of artefacts held in museums, such as National Museum Wales, there were also a significant number of artefacts in private collections, in particular items found by metal detectorists. An attempt was made to contact some private metal detectorists regarding their collections but unfortunately information was not offered; however, some items found as a result of amateur metal detecting have subsequently been recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database (see Chapter 3), thus providing access to details on form, size and find spots through this resource. Direct communication with metal detecting societies might have potentially granted access to finds that are not recorded on the database; however, again, where attempts were made, the information requested was not very forthcoming (see Chapter 3). In total nearly 500 artefacts are recorded in the catalogue and these were subsequently ordered into six different subtypes of weapons: arrowheads, spearheads, swords, daggers, knives and other.

In addition to the surviving artefacts, images of soldiers and weapons in contemporary art were examined as a source of comparison. Illustrations in contemporary manuscripts, the Bayeux Tapestry, images on seals and the images portrayed in sculpture were all useful to this project. The corpus of medieval stone-carving for north Wales by Gresham (1968) was also valuable in assembling this type of evidence in the region. However, other examples, including funerary sculpture from south Wales, and decorative sculptures, such as the soldiers incorporated into the doorway at Kilpeck Church (Herefordshire) were also considered.

Once the artefactual evidence and art-historical material had been examined, it was possible to analyse the data and attempt to identify themes that may relate to the incidence of specific weapons in the archaeological record. This includes a typological analysis of the form and size of specific artefact types, such as the spear of the arrowhead, and how these

might affect their function; a consideration of the distribution of specific weapon types throughout Wales; and finally an analysis incorporating comparisons between data collected from Wales and from outside Wales, including artefactual assemblages from sites, such as Winchester (Goodhall in Biddle 1990), London (Ward-Perkins 1954), York (Ottaway and Rogers 2002), Perth (Goodhall in Thomas 2012) and Dublin (Halpin 2008). In order to analyse the collection effectively, published typologies of different weapon types were used in order to identify, locate and date the artefacts recorded. These include Ward-Perkins (1954) (spearheads, knives and daggers), Jessop (1997) (arrowheads), and Oakeshott (1991) (swords). Although none of these published typologies deals with material specifically from Wales, they do allow identifications of specific types in the catalogue of weapons from Wales and, in cases where objects in the catalogue do not correspond with the types described in the published material, variations were noted and discussed, and in some cases suggestions were made concerning the development of these typologies with the addition of new subtypes.

The most important process of analysis throughout this thesis is the critical comparison between the archaeological for the weapons used, and the images produced by the historical and literary evidence. Each source of evidence examined has provided information on what weapons were in use, when, and in some cases by whom. However, in order to attain a clearer understanding of warfare in medieval Wales, the two archaeological and written sources of evidence have been compared and contrasted, and any cross overs between the two highlighted. The importance of this is to try and identify the areas where, firstly, the two forms of evidence have supported each other, thus strengthening any arguments made, and secondly, where the written evidence contradicts the archaeological evidence and the significance of this. Both the similarities and the contradictions will be analysed as to their significance and will be used to provide a fuller understanding of weaponry and warfare in medieval Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450, which will be presented in Chapter 9.

Clarification of Terms

Prior to any discussion of the nature of weaponry and warfare in Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450, it is essential to determine exactly who was taking part in the conflicts at this time. To refer to these simply as conflicts between the Welsh and English would be to simplify and misunderstand the complex mix of identities, cultures and backgrounds that made up medieval Wales at this time.

In respect of the 'English', the terms used to describe the 'conquerors' can vary. In 1066 the Normans invaded Anglo-Saxon England and the difference between the conquerors and the conquered appears clear cut. Yet, by the completion of the Edwardian conquest of Wales in 1283, for historians to describe this as a Norman conquest would be incorrect. Therefore the question must be posed as to when did the Normans become English? Furthermore, when Chibnall (1986) argues that by 1166 a 'hundred years of assimilation had produced a society which in its social structure no less than its art and culture was Anglo-Norman', to whom does this term refer?

The identity of the people inhabiting England during the years following the conquest in the late eleventh century has been keenly debated by historians such as Gillingham (2000) and Thomas (2003). Most would agree that when, towards the end of the twelfth century, Richard FitzNigel wrote 'nowadays when English and Normans live close together and marry and give in marriage to each other, the nations are so mixed that it can scarce be decided (I mean in the case of freemen) who is of English birth and who of Norman,' (cited in Gillingham 2000,123) that this is substantial evidence for the assimilation of Norman and English peoples and thus it would be safe to umbrella them under the term 'English'. However as Thomas (2003, 57) points out, this process was 'both gradual and complex' and that in some areas of society the process may have been quicker than in others. Although the first generation of settlers following the conquest of England in 1066 saw their identity firmly as Norman, it is questionable as to how quickly these families would have adopted an English identity, or as to how much an amalgamation of both cultures would have taken place; for example, it is debatable as to how far the identity of the English pre 1066 is the same as in the late twelfth century.

What about the Anglo-Normans? Gillingham (2000, 124) and Thomas (2003, 71) both argue that the lack of references to the term 'Anglo-Norman' in the contemporary sources is problematic when coming to a conclusion over the existence of an Anglo-Norman identity. Again Gillingham (2000, 124) refers to the confident use of terms such as Anglo-Norman society, Anglo-Norman government and Anglo-Norman England amongst scholars, but argues that the notion of an Anglo-Norman identity is shied away from due to the lack of extant evidence that anyone in the eleventh or twelfth centuries actually used the term. Therefore, if the term Anglo-Norman is a modern creation, it becomes particularly vague and

difficult to define when discussing warfare in medieval Wales, and thus terms such as Norman or English are more useful in this context.

However, although it may be fair to call those living in parts of England, such as London or York, Norman or English, for those whose estates were situated along the border of Wales, their identity is far more complicated. The Marcher lordships were first established during the reign of William I in order to secure the frontier between William's newly conquered lands in England and the kingdoms of Wales; however, the earldoms established in Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford soon became a spring board for the Norman conquest of Wales. To describe the Marcher lordships as English lordships is far too simplistic. Carr (1995, 36) describes the Marcher lordships as 'Welsh lordships in Wales, ruled by Anglo-Norman lords...and in no way were they part of the Kingdom of England'. Furthermore, the residents of these lordships may well have included significant numbers of Norman settlers who would have followed their lords to their new lands, but would also include large numbers of Welsh who were native to those lands. In addition, in some parts of the March, particularly Dyfed, there were large communities of Flemish who, having escaped natural disaster in their homelands, were settled by Henry I in 1108 (Carr 1995, 36).

Lieberman (2008, 55-69) discusses the complicated nature of the Welsh March and the people who lived there in great detail and convincingly argues that the March became a culturally distinct region of medieval Britain as a direct result of the combination of languages, laws, institutions and ethnic backgrounds that can be identified, thus creating a melting-pot of cultures that over time became individually distinct from both the native Welsh and English neighbouring societies. Although the first and second generations of settlers in the Welsh borders identified themselves firmly with their Norman counterparts, the March soon developed a culture all of its own. Intermarriage between Marcher lords and native Welsh dynasties was not uncommon (Davies 2000, 102) and the concept of Marcher law, which combined the laws of Wales and England over the governance of the Marcher lords, not the king of England, gave this area and the people who lived within it their own identity (Carr 1995, 36). The differences between the March and England can be clearly demonstrated by the fact that Marcher estates not only expanded into parts of Wales, but also expanded into England as well. The complexity of Marcher identity is demonstrated perfectly by Bartlett in his discussion of the identity of Gerald of Wales. Bartlett (2006, 19) writes

His genetic background included Norman warriors and a Welsh princely family. His mother tongue was French, his occupational tongue Latin, and he had other languages to take into account too, particularly Welsh and English. His class background was knightly, military and land-holding. He was a member of a vigorous Marcher clan. His order or status was clerical...All of these descriptions assumed importance at different times in his life...

Therefore, although Marcher aristocracy was descended from Norman families, the inhabitants of these lands were likely to have included a mix of all backgrounds and identities, including Norman, English, Welsh and even Flemish. Determining one person's identity is difficult enough, as many had multiple identities, but to determine the identity of many is even more complicated.

Things are no simpler when looking to discuss the people who live in *Pura Wallia*, as again the makeup of society in medieval Wales was far more complicated than just 'Welsh'. Also living within Wales were settlers from Ireland and Scandinavia. Furthermore, 'Wales' was not a clear entity during the medieval period, instead the Principality was formed of a number of distinct kingdoms, including the larger kingdoms of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth, as well as lesser kingdoms, which all made up the land referred to by chroniclers as *Pura Wallia*.

Therefore, although it is difficult to determine the true identities of the soldiers and armies practising warfare in medieval Wales, it is important to understand and lay out the terms used in this thesis in a clear and uniform manner. As a result, in the following terms will be used:

Norman – The term used to refer to people, who were originally from Normandy, who owned estates in the kingdom of England, and were under direct rule of the king of England, following the Norman Conquest in 1066 until the end of the twelfth century.

English – The term used to describe the people, who were inhabitants of England and were under the direct rule of the king of England, from the end of the twelfth century onwards.

Marcher – This refers to those who were resident in the Anglo-Welsh borderland. For the purpose of this thesis, the term Marcher will be used for the entirety of the period under

question, for although the first generation of settlers would have been referred to as 'Norman', by the beginning of the twelfth century differences were beginning to be defined between the Normans living in England and the Normans living in the March. This term does not solely refer to the aristocracy, but also to lower status inhabitants of the Welsh borderlands who may originally been classed as Welsh prior to 1066.

Welsh – This refers to those native to the Welsh kingdoms, principally the kingdoms of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth until the Edwardian Conquest in 1282. The term will also be used to refer to native inhabitants of the Principality of Wales following the Edwardian Conquest until the end of the period being studied here.

Conclusion

This review has established that there are two main research questions which will be addressed in this thesis and the methodology by which this will be achieved. The first is to determine what the analysis of written sources can reveal about the nature of weaponry and warfare in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450. Traditionally scholars of military history have been reliant on the descriptions of battles, sieges, military campaigns and the weaponry used that are found in a range of written sources. Much of what has been written about the nature of warfare in medieval Wales has also been written by looking at the singular source of evidence and as a result many wide ranging and contrasting theories have been written about. However, the developing technique of studying warfare through an archaeological approach is demonstrating how significant an appraisal of the material evidence can be to further our understanding of military engagements, with projects such as those at Towton, Bosworth and Culloden as key examples. However, as yet the Welsh material has remained untouched. Therefore, the second and most important research question is to determine what the analysis of the material evidence, especially the weapons themselves, can reveal about the nature of weaponry and warfare in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450.

Following this chapter is a discussion of the value of both the written (Chapter 2) and the archaeological evidence (Chapter 3) available to study weaponry and warfare in medieval Wales. Then in Chapter 4, the context of military engagements in medieval Wales will be set out, using both primary and secondary sources, to understand when and where conflicts took place, and more importantly, the tactics that were employed. This will then be followed by the core of the thesis, made up of a series of chapters that will look to answer the research questions with particular emphasis on one type of weapon: the bow and arrow and the crossbow (Chapter 5), the spear (Chapter 6), the sword, the dagger, and the knife (Chapter 7) as well as other miscellaneous types of weapon, such as the axe and the mace (Chapter 8). This last chapter will also include a discussion of shields.

Each chapter will begin by revisiting the historical evidence that has been used by previous scholars, such as those discussed above, and will then move beyond other previous research to consider what the material evidence can offer whilst researching medieval weaponry and warfare in Wales. Finally each chapter will conclude by comparing and contrasting both the historical and the archaeological evidence to understand more fully the role than the weapon would have played in warfare in medieval Wales. As a result, the images presented by both types of evidence will highlight the limits of our understanding of weaponry and warfare during this period, and demonstrate that the tactics and military equipment in use in medieval Wales were far more complex than previously thought. In many areas the cross-over between the written descriptions and the artefactual evidence is far reaching in determining the type of weaponry used, for example the shield (Chapter 8), whereas in others, in particular the bow and arrow (Chapter 5), the image created by the study of the archaeological record is significantly different from that gleaned from the historical sources.

In the final chapter (Chapter 9) the evidence will be brought together in order to attain a clearer picture of the what weaponry in use during warfare in Wales was actually like during the period under review and will also examine where further research should take place to further advance our understanding of the nature of weaponry and warfare in Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450.

Chapter 2: The Value of Written Sources to Studying Medieval Warfare in Wales

Introduction

The importance of an interdisciplinary approach is paramount in the study of medieval warfare. The use of archaeological material evidence as a primary source may provide key information concerning types of weapons and where they were found, but in order to achieve a more thorough examination, it is also essential to understand their historical context. Therefore in a project such as this, it is important to be able to use the historical evidence as an adjunct to the archaeological material in order to attain a clearer picture of weaponry and warfare in Wales c.1100 to c.1450.

This chapter aims to identify and discuss the value of some of the key written sources available for the study of the nature of warfare in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450. There are both merits and problems associated with using written sources to further our understanding of weaponry and warfare in the medieval period and some of the more general problems have been discussed in the previous chapter. Here, each source will be examined in turn, starting with sources written in Wales and in most cases written by Welsh authors, including the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* and *Brut y Tywysogyon*, before moving on to those that were written by Norman, English and other external authors such as Froissart. In the concluding discussion the sources will then be considered in order to determine the value of using written evidence to better understand medieval warfare in Wales between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, before moving on to compare this evidence with the archaeological material in later chapters.

In addition to a general discussion of these sources, it is also the intention of this chapter to explore how the information provided by medieval writers about Wales, in particular those of Norman and English origin, may be considered within the context of post-colonial writing. In the influential text, *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft et al (1989, 2) define the term 'post-colonial' as covering all cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. Although traditionally, the post-colonial era has been associated with European conquest and expansion into Third World countries, primarily during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the definition above, can also be applied to other periods of history and other locations. Notably, in an archaeological context,

post-colonial theory has been applied to the study of Ancient Greece and the colonisation of the Middle East, allowing scholars to see the process of colonization as not only a meeting of different cultures who maintain their separate identities, but about the creation of hybrid and creole cultures resulting from sustained colonial contact (Gosden 2001, 241).

With this in mind, a similar situation can be considered for medieval Wales, with scholars such as Davies (2000), Aaron and Williams (2005), Meecham-Jones (2008) and Faletra (2014) regarding Wales as England's first colony. Furthermore, Meecham-Jones (2008, 4) argues that although the Norman 'interventions' in Wales may not have begun as national conquests in intention, scale or character, it was the contributions of contemporary writers such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, William Malmesbury and especially Gerald of Wales, that pointed out that such a policy of conquest was both possible and just. In order to justify the 'colonization' of Wales, these medieval writers had to portray the Welsh inhabitants in a particular light. However, it was not enough to describe the people of Wales as backward and barbarian, they also had to be undeserving of their land and therefore the Welsh landscape had to be described as a pleasant land, patterns of writing that Faletra (2014, 6-7) remarks are evident in many medieval texts but none more so than in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Faletra (2014, 7) also remarks that these patterns of writing can be found in many subsequent tropes of English colonialism in America and elsewhere. Therefore, the following discussion of the sources used in this thesis will look to identify any patterns of post-colonial writing, and assess what impact this may have had on their value for understanding warfare in medieval Wales between c.1100 and c.1450.

The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan

The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan is an important source for the study of Wales for it is written at the beginning of the period under review, and all the more so because it is written by a Welsh hand. Two published versions of the text have been used in this project, firstly the middle-Welsh edition translated and edited by Evans (1977; 1990), and secondly the earlier reconstructed Latin version produced by Russell (2005). Originally written following the death of Gruffudd ap Cynan in 1137, most likely during the reign of his son Owain Gwynedd, the surviving versions are very unlikely to represent the original version (Evans 1990, 20-1; Russell 2005, 41). It has long been believed that the original manuscript of the *Life* would have been written in Latin (which is now lost) and translated into Welsh at a later date (Russell 2005, 1). The earliest surviving manuscript which contains the Welsh version of the

Life is to be found in NLW Peniarth MS 17 which is dated to the mid-thirteenth century (Evans 1990, 21; Russell 2005, 1). Subsequent copies of that version also exist in a further thirteen manuscripts, including NLW Peniarth MS 267 which was used to fill in the gaps in NLW Peniarth MS 17 by Simon Evans in his original translation (Evans 1990, 22; Russell 2005, 1). NLW Peniarth MS 267, and the other remaining Welsh editions, are all dated to the sixteenth century and reflect the revival of interest in Gruffudd ap Cynan in north Wales during this period (Evans 1990, 21; Russell 2005, 3). The earliest Latin version of the *Life* exists in NLW Peniarth MS 434, which is also dated to the sixteenth century, and another ten examples of Latin copies survive to this day, which are all presumed to have been translated into Latin from earlier Welsh versions of the text (Russell 2005, 2). Significantly, however, Russell (2005, 1-50) has demonstrated that the version of the *Life* preserved in NLW Peniarth MS 434 is not a translation of an earlier Welsh version, but is actually a copy of the medieval Latin version of the text. This was an important discovery as it meant that, in addition to the mid thirteenth-century Welsh translation of the document, historians now had access to a Latin version datable to the mid-twelfth century, and in all likelihood this version is far closer to the original Latin text produced following Gruffudd's death in 1137. However, Russell (2005, 41) stresses that it is unlikely to be the same as the original due to the detection of several stages of transmission in the document.

This discovery is extremely significant, as not only does it provide scholars with the ability to make comparisons between the Latin and Welsh versions of the text, but it also potentially provides an earlier version of the text which is likely to contain fewer examples of corruption. The importance of this source for the study of warfare in medieval Wales is two-fold. Firstly, the ability to examine the earlier Latin text in particular, provides an opportunity to glean evidence from a more contemporary source, and therefore may provide more accurate descriptions of conflict in late eleventh and early twelfth century Wales. Secondly, the analysis of both the Welsh and Latin versions of the text provides a rare opportunity to examine the evidence from a source produced in native Wales, which can be used as a comparison with sources written by authors such as Gerald of Wales or Walter Map, who were essentially writing for a Norman and Marcher audience. However, it is important to stress that, just because the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* is a significant source for this thesis, it does not mean that there are not problems associated with it. Lewis (1996, 63) suggests that the author of the *Life* magnified the importance of Gruffudd ap Cynan in the politics of north Wales, particularly during the earlier years of his reign, and supports his argument by

demonstrating that other Welsh sources, such as the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, rarely mention Gruffudd until the last two decades of his life. Furthermore, for the most part, Anglo-Norman chroniclers and historians were unaware of his existence. Therefore, if the author was partial to glorifying Gruffudd's exploits and portraying him as a hero, it is possible that there are other inaccuracies and exaggerations within this text that must be taken into account.

The Chronicle of the Princes (Brut y Tywysogyon)

The *Brut y Tywysogyon* is an anonymous chronicle recording the history of Wales between the late seventh century and the eventual conquest by Edward I in 1282, with the addition of a later continuation until 1322 in the Peniarth MS 20 only (Jones 1952, xi). However, to describe the *Brut* as a single entity would be a mistake, as the name *Brut y Tywysogyon* refers to a complex family of texts which create the most detailed narrative of events in Wales from the death of Cadwallon in 682 to the loss of Welsh independence at the end of the thirteenth century. A number of versions of this chronicle have survived; however, Jones (1952, xi) suggests that only three are authentic: Peniarth MS 20, The Red Book of Hergest and *Brenhinedd y Saesson*. Evidence from the study of the surviving manuscripts intimates that all three versions of the *Brut* were translations from an original chronicle written in Latin due to the fact that, although the vocabulary can be different, the content is the same, except for occasional minor variations which hint that there was more than one Latin version available to be copied (Jones 1952, xxxvi-xxxvii). On the other hand, the recent analysis of the *Brut* by Owain Wyn Jones (2013) as part of his doctoral thesis on historical writing in medieval Wales, has cast doubt on some of these original interpretations. Jones (1952, xxxviii) suggests that the original Latin version of the *Brut* was compiled in a religious house in Wales, most likely Strata Florida, towards the end of the thirteenth century and that this manuscript was copied and later translated into Welsh in several locations across Wales sometime after that.

The focus of the scholarly debate surrounding the accuracy of the *Brut* is significant to this thesis as it questions the extent that the surviving Welsh translations actually preserve the wording of the original sources used by the compiler of the lost Latin chronicle. The compiler of the original Latin chronicle is known to have used a number of sources, some of which are named within the text, including the annals of Strata Florida, the Prophecies of Myrddin and the *Ystoryaeu y Brenhined* (Jones, 2013, 190). However, most scholars agree that the majority of text derives from a body of Welsh chronicles which are represented by

four surviving chronicles collectively known as *Annales Cambriae*, the most significant of which is the *Cronica de Wallia* which Jones (2013, 196) argues is the most closely related to the three Welsh versions of the *Brut* and indicates a shared source. Although there are distinct similarities between the two texts, there are also significant differences, the most important being the ‘extra details’ included in the *Brut* which have previously been attributed to the compiler of the Latin text. In particular, Jones (2013, 226-7) refers to the work of J. Beverley-Smith and Kari Maund who, for different reasons, both prioritise the Latin Chronicles over the *Brut*, particularly during the twelfth century. However, Stephenson (2008, 52-7) and Jones (2013, 226-8) have more recently suggested that the *Brut* not only reflects the contemporary source material accurately, but also that the compiler of the Latin *Brut* had a greater range of source material available to reference compared to the *Cronica de Wallia* and the other Latin chronicles. As a result, this would suggest that the surviving Welsh versions of the *Brut* do largely preserve the original wording of the contemporary sources, allowing for comparisons to be made between the descriptions of warfare and weaponry across the period of study.

The value of the *Brut* to a research project such as this is the multiple references to battles, skirmishes and sieges that took place in Wales during the period under review. As the aim of this source is to record the events that took place during the period it covers, there are several references to battle and sieges, not only taking place, but in some circumstances how the battles unfolded and, most importantly, the weapons and tactics that were deployed. One of the best examples of this is the description of the siege and subsequent battle outside Aberystwyth castle in 1136 (see Chapter 5). Although the accuracy of these descriptions must be questioned as a result of the way in which the authors sourced their information, the *Brut* is a useful starting point for understanding the process of the English conquest of Wales and the types of military equipment that may have been used.

Welsh Law Texts

The surviving Welsh law books were produced either by or for medieval lawyers between the early thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Tradition states that the Welsh laws were originally put together during the mid-tenth century under the rule of the Welsh king Hywel ap Cadell, also known as Hywel Dda (Jenkins 1986, xi), who, according to the prologues of many of the later law books, was responsible for the first organization and endorsement of Welsh law, known as *cyfraith Hywel* (‘the law of Hywel’). He is said to have brought

together an assembly of churchmen from throughout Wales at Whitland (in Dyfed) and it is recorded that after forty days and nights of deliberation, the laws were created (Thornton 2004). However, many modern scholars have questioned whether the prologues can be regarded as accurate historical accounts, and Pryce (1986, 182) has emphasized their function in demonstrating both the validity and propriety of the native laws by claiming royal sanction prior to any Norman influence. However, Charles-Edwards (2013, 269-70) has suggested that there is plausibility to the relationship between the laws and Hywel Dda, based on the degree of English, or Anglo-Saxon, influence in parts of the texts, and the authority to give such a royalist shape to the laws.

Today approximately forty manuscripts survive of Welsh law that were written down between the early thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries, of which six are written in Latin, the rest in Welsh (Jenkins 1986, xxi). Each of these manuscripts is slightly different in terms of its content, as each book would have included material that the individual author would have considered useful (Jenkins 1986, xxi). The laws are separated into different tractates which deal with different subjects, such as the Law of Women or the Law of Court, some of which are longer than others and may even divide into sub-tractates and even sub-sub-tractates (Jenkins 1986, xxiv). However, although there is an element of disorder within the manuscripts as to the order and organization of particular laws, there are collections of manuscripts that have the same tractates in the same order and scholars have identified them as representing different Redactions of the law, namely the *Cyfnerth* (*Cyfn*), the *Blegywryd* (*Bleg*) and the *Iorwerth* (*Ior*) Redactions (Jenkins 1986, xxiv).

The manuscript used that forms the main text of Jenkins' (1986) translation is BL Cotton Titus D.II, which is thought to have belonged to Anian, Bishop of St. Asaph (1268-1293) (Jenkins 1986, xxi) and contains a text of the *Iorwerth* Redaction. However it is important to note that, although this manuscript was the text from which the main translation was taken, Jenkins (1986, x1) points out that the text is translated in composite with additions from other Law text manuscripts and redactions.

In addition to the manuscript translated by Jenkins, it is important to note that another native law manuscript of significance to this research is the Latin NLW Peniarth 28, which has been dated by Huws (2000, 175) to the mid-thirteenth century. This is because it contains rare illustrations of both the king and his household, and the various animals and items of

legal value, including the illustrations of men with weapons (for a discussion of the value of manuscript illustrations see Chapter 3).

The main issue with using these texts to study medieval Welsh society is the accuracy of dating. For although they bring together material from a variety of sources which were considered useful to those compiling them, it is important to consider that the various sources used would not have been of the same date. Jenkins (1986, xxiii) goes further and suggests that lawyers would have been reluctant to discard any material as obsolete and therefore they may actually have included material that was out of date, making it unsafe to assume that material included in a manuscript of a particular date, say the mid-thirteenth century, actually provides an accurate picture of Welsh law and society at that time. On the other hand, Charles-Edwards (2013, 267-73) suggested that some elements of the surviving law texts actually predate the tenth century, particularly the section on ‘women’ and ‘suretyship’, the latter of which also shows parallels with early Irish laws. Charles-Edwards (2013, 272) also highlights sections, such as those on ‘corn-damage’ and ‘value of houses, trees, and equipment’, which show nothing to suggest great antiquity. However, in terms of this thesis, the specific dates of manuscripts, although useful, are not fundamental to the value of this source, as it can still provide information on the military equipment included in the laws during the medieval period. Therefore although it would be unwise to assume that the items included could be dated specifically to the mid thirteenth century, it can be assumed that items described, such as the sword or the spear, were in use prior to the date the manuscript was written, essentially providing a *terminus ante quem* for the evidence.

Welsh Literary Evidence

In addition to the historical and other written sources presented in this chapter, there is also a range of literary sources, in particular contemporary Welsh poetry of the medieval period, which can be consulted to gain an insight into arms and armour used by the Welsh soldier during this period. Early medieval poems such as *y Gododdin*, which although believed to have been composed during the sixth or seventh century, exists in its earliest surviving form in a late thirteenth-century manuscript (Koch 1997, ix), can be of use to a project such as this. Described by Koch (1997, xi) as ‘an organism of tradition, rather than a unified authorial composition of the sixth century or any other time’, the heroic death songs contained in *y Gododdin* contain a wide range of detailed descriptions of battles and the weapons used, which can be employed as a comparison to the descriptions in sources of a later date.

However, this type of source can only be used with great caution, due to the ambiguous dating associated with it. Other poems written during the later medieval period are also worth considering, including the works of the Poets of the Princes (*Y Gogynfeirdd*), which have been successfully used in the research of Day (2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2012; 2013) (see Chapters 3 5, 6, 7 and 8), and the later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poems of poets such as Guto'r Glyn (see Chapters 5 and 8). There are also prose tales, such as the Four Branches of the Mabinogi (Davies 2007), that likewise refer to warfare and weapons, which can also be consulted. The research of scholars, such as Sean Davies (2003) and Jenny Day (2010), has successfully exploited this form of evidence to better understand the Welsh art of war from the early medieval period to the Edwardian conquest in 1282. In particular, Day's recent doctoral thesis (2010) has used this form of evidence in depth and therefore, her conclusions can also be drawn upon here for comparison. However, although these literary sources can be a useful source of information on the form and appearance of medieval weaponry, it is also important to remember that they must be used with a certain degree of caution. Like the many visual representations of weaponry that can be found in art of the medieval period (see Chapter 3), the purpose of these poems was not to document the precise nature of these objects. Furthermore, the need for poets to adhere to strict conventions of metre and *cynghanedd* means that sometimes poetic license might well be invoked in order to do so. Therefore, it is highly possible that there are many flaws and inaccuracies in the artistic descriptions contained in them.

Gerald of Wales

The most important sources to consider when studying the nature of war in medieval Wales are the works of the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century writer Gerald of Wales. Born c.1146 at the castle of Manorbier (Pembrokeshire), Gerald was of mixed Norman and Welsh descent. He was the grandson of Gerald of Windsor and the Princess Nest (O'Meara 1982, 11; Thorpe 1978, 10); however, Gerald was also a product of the Marcher society of south-west Wales, and although proud of his kinship with the dynasty of Deheubarth, it was with Marcher society that Gerald best identified himself (Bartlett 2006, 24-9).

Throughout Gerald's career his mixed ancestry was evident in his numerous published works, and sympathies to both the Normans and the Welsh can be identified in the pages of works such as the *Description of Wales* and the *Journey Through Wales*, amongst others. However, there are also many occasions where Gerald is critical about both ethnic

groups, although he is more frequently critical of the Welsh, especially in two chapters in the *Description of Wales* where Gerald described how the Welsh should be conquered and what should be done with the land following its conquest.

He can never hope to conquer in one single battle a people which will never draw up its forces to engage an army in the field, and will never allow itself to be besieged inside fortified strong points. He can beat them only by patient and unremitting pressure applied over a long period (Thorpe 1978, 267)

It is remarks such as this that Bartlett (2006, 21) refers to as ‘callous’ and evidence that Gerald was evidently not ‘Gerald the Welshman’. Furthermore, both Pryce (2011, 122-124) and Faletra (2014, 158) point out that although it may seem that the *Description* is structured to look fairly at both sides of the story, it subtly betrays this premise and is essentially anti-Welsh. For example, the good qualities of the Welsh seem relatively trivial compared to their less admirable ones, and, although Gerald’s military advice may aim at being impartial, his advice to the Welsh to unite under a single prince was patently impractical at this time and Gerald knew this. However, his advice to the English was all about techniques that would be successfully employed during the Edwardian Conquest in 1282, and therefore far more achievable (Faletra 2014, 158-9).

Bartlett (2006, 24-9) eloquently argues that it is to the Marcher society of south Wales this Gerald is most loyal, and even following his growing dissatisfaction with the English crown and his lack of rewards in later life, his loyalty to his Marcher kindred remains steadfast. The best evidence for this comes in the *Expugnatio Hibernica (The Conquest of Ireland)*, which Bartlett (2006, 24) describes as a family epic, recounting the heroic exploits of the descendants of Nest, Gerald’s own kinsmen. Indicative of Gerald’s feelings at this point in his life, his descriptions of the invaders as ‘the Normans, the English and our Men’ (Bartlett 2006, 28), clearly demonstrate that Gerald identified himself as a member of Marcher society and no other. On the other hand, recent consideration of Gerald’s literary works by Faletra (2014, 135-72) questions the extent to which Gerald’s feelings of hybridity were actually that clear cut and suggests that his ethnic and political ambivalences rest upon deeper and more unsettling sorts of ambiguities and equivocations that in turn reveal his obsession with – and aversion to – the very notion of hybridity (Faletra 2014, 139).

The question is however, to what extent Gerald's opinions of the Welsh, the English and the Marcher society to which he belonged, may be interpreted as reflecting a post-colonial perspective. Ashcroft et al (1989, 4-6) describe several stages of the development of post-colonial literatures that correspond with stages of both national and regional consciousness. The first stage of writing tends to be produced by a literate elite whose primary identification is with the colonizing power, who Ashcroft et al (1989, 5) suggest are usually 'representatives', such as gentrified settlers, travellers and sightseers or administrators and soldiers. It is within this stage that early Norman texts by writers such as Henry of Huntingdon, Orderic Vitalis and the author of the *Gesta Stephani* may best be associated (see below). The second stage of writing, according to Ashcroft et al (1989, 5) is produced by natives and outcasts under imperial licence, for example, English educated Indian upper class or African Missionary literature related to the British Empire. It is with this group of post-colonial writers that Gerald is best associated.

It is suggested that it is a characteristic of these early post-colonial texts that the potential for subversion in their themes cannot be fully realised (Ashcroft et al 1989, 6). As a result of the literature in colonies of the British Empire being under direct control of the imperial ruling class, and in this earlier case under the English Crown, in order to have their literature distributed, writers such as Gerald would have been prevented from fully exploring anything anti-imperial, and parallels have been identified in nineteenth-century literature, such as James Tucker's *Ralph Rashleigh* and Thomas Mofolo's *Chaka* (Ashcroft et al 1989, 6). This would suggest that Gerald would, to some extent have had his hands tied, in that to have his works read widely he would have had to have been careful about how he phrased certain things. However, one must consider that towards the end of his writing career, Gerald did become increasingly dissatisfied with the English Crown and therefore it is questionable as to how far Gerald wrote what he did as a result of the political situation or rather his aims to further his own ecclesiastical career (Bartlett 2006, 22).

Although he was the author of at least seventeen books during his life time (many of which, including the *History and Topography of Ireland*, include relevant material to this project) (see Bartlett 2006, Appendix I, 174-80), only two are of primary importance for Welsh military activity.

The Journey Through Wales describes the mission to south and north Wales undertaken in 1188 by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, with Gerald (Archdeacon of

Brecon at the time) as his companion (Thorpe 1978, 24). There are three versions of the *Journey*, contained in seven different manuscripts (Thorpe 1978, 36-9); however it is the final version (c.1214), dedicated to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (1207–1228), which contains the most detail, and it is this version (taken from British Library, Domitian A.I.) that was translated by Thorpe (1978) and is used here. The benefit of the *Journey* to this thesis is that it covers all of Wales, including both Marcher lands and native principalities. This provides the opportunity for direct comparisons between the two ethnic groups and their approach to war from the same author, and more importantly an author that would have been familiar with both subjects.

The Description of Wales, also translated by Thorpe (1978), is likewise important for the study of the medieval Welsh art of war. The purpose of this work was ‘to describe the Welsh people and Wales itself ... [and] to reveal in full the secrets of his native land’ (Thorpe 1978, 46). Therefore, in contrast to the *Journey*, this source attempts to distil the distinctive characteristics of native Wales only, including their approach to war (Bartlett 2006, 147-71). Again, there are three versions that survive in five manuscripts (Thorpe 1978, 49-50) and Thorpe uses the second version (contained in the same manuscript as the *Journey*) in his translation.

The value of both these works, along with others accredited to Gerald, is evident when one considers the detail he provides about medieval Wales during his lifetime, details that would have gone unrecorded in any other format. For example, Gerald is the only contemporary writer to describe the form of Welsh shields (see Chapter 8), and his description of the bowmen of Gwent (see Chapter 5) is referred to time and again by modern scholars researching medieval archery and the longbow (Bradbury 1985; Strickland and Hardy 2005). The value of Gerald’s works on Wales is increased when one considers his first-hand knowledge of the subject matter as a result of his ancestry and upbringing in the Marcher lands of south-west Wales.

However, as Pryce (1986-7, 266) points out, it is important to consider that Gerald was not as familiar with the whole of Wales, and in particular was a stranger in the north, where he lacked the ties of kinship and the ecclesiastical authority that supported him in the south. Not only was Gerald a stranger in certain parts of Wales, it is also important to consider that he was writing for an outside audience, and that his aim was to demonstrate his knowledge and skills of writing to an educated European audience (Davies 2003, 6).

Therefore, his use of comparisons of the Welsh with both the people of England and France may create an over-simplified picture of a diverse society (Pryce 1986-7, 280). Similarly, his use of the classics to emphasize moral and theological points may also cause inaccuracies in the overall image of Welsh society that he projects. Furthermore, there are key areas of Welsh society that are ignored by Gerald, for example he fails to mention the writing down of Welsh law during his lifetime, even though it was almost certainly taking place within his archdeaconry of Brecon (Pryce 1986-7, 280-1).

Faletra (2014, 138, 155-6) also questions Gerald's failure to write a true history of Wales, instead opting for an ethnographic piece, that although of significant interest to modern scholars, does not correspond with what Gerald himself intended the work to be. It is also notable that Gerald does not shy away from relating Irish history as he does Welsh history (Faletra 2014, 159). To return to the discussion above, as to how far Gerald's work can fit into a context of post-colonial writing, Faletra (2014, 156), explains that Gerald's apparent failure to write the history of Wales in the *Description* is the result of a reluctance to engage in a head-on confrontation with the vision of the British past offered by Geoffrey of Monmouth. In essence, for Gerald to have written a true history of Wales he would either have had to agree with the fabrication of the past created by Geoffrey, which as Faletra (2014, 11) argues was constructed in a post-colonial environment to justify the Norman colonisation of Wales, or create a history of Wales which would have contradicted the view held by the English elite, in this case the 'imperial' ruling power. Therefore, when using Gerald as a source for understanding the nature of warfare in Wales during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it becomes important to look for what he does not say just as much as what he does say (Crick 1999, 60-75).

In spite of these potential problems with Gerald's works, as Thorpe (1978, 54-5) points out, the accuracy of Gerald's claims is rarely contested and, although his judgments and opinions cannot always be relied upon, historians rarely find fault with his factual material, although this may not be because Gerald was correct, but rather that there is no evidence currently available to cast doubt on his statements. Therefore, although Gerald's descriptions of weaponry and warfare in Wales are the single most important source, it is also important to use his descriptions in context, and to understand that certain passages should not be taken at face value.

De Nugis Curialium (Walter Map)

Walter Map was a secular clerk, who later became archdeacon of Oxford, who wrote the *De Nugis Curialium* (Courtiers' Trifles) during the latter decades of the twelfth century. Like Gerald of Wales, Map in fact originated from the border between England and Wales, somewhere in the vicinity of Hereford (James 1983, xiii). This Marcher origin has been doubted in the past as a result of his low opinion of the Welsh discussed in the *De Nugis* and the fact that his contemporary Gerald of Wales refers to Map as '*ab Anglia oriundus*' (from England). However, Map himself, calls the Welsh his fellow countrymen, which would certainly support the argument for his Welsh origin (James 1983, xiii).

De Nugis Curialium survives in a fourteenth-century manuscript created for a monk of Ramsey who was resident in Oxford during this time (James 1983, xxxii). However, the precise date when the *De Nugis* was written is more difficult to pinpoint due to the way in which Map wrote it. In 1917 James Hinton argued that it had been written as separate fragments which had been clumsily compiled into another book by someone else (James 1983, xxiv). However, more recent research on the subject has suggested that the majority of the work was written as a whole during the early 1180s, but that further additions were made at a later date, for example the passage referring to the fall of Jerusalem which did not actually occur until 1187 (James 1983, xxvi).

The information that can be gleaned from Map's work could be as significant as that from the works of Gerald of Wales, due to his first-hand experience of the Welsh during his lifetime. Unfortunately, the real value is severely limited by the problems associated with the accuracy of the *De Nugis*. As James et al. (1983, xxxviii) point out,

In recounting history or telling stories of the contemporary world, Map uses a certain licence, [and] enjoys a display of falsification which is often mild and sometimes not so mild. In doing this he was imitating the poets who lay midway between history and Romance.

Map never claimed that the *De Nugis* was a rival to the narratives written by the likes of Gerald of Wales or Orderic Vitalis, and thus, the reliability of the descriptions of Welshmen and their weapons within this narrative may be problematic. This is not to say that they are wrong, but if this source is to be used effectively, the accuracy of any detail attained must be questioned and supported by further research. However, despite the issues described above,

the *De Nugis* has limited value to research into the weaponry and warfare of medieval Wales as a result of a significant lack of references to battles, sieges, or general conduct of soldiers in warfare at this time. Map may described the Welsh as ‘warlike and skilled in arms’ (James 1983, 99), however, at no point does he attempt to emulate the descriptions of Welsh weaponry and tactics included in the works of fellow Marcher, Gerald of Wales. Therefore, the *De Nugis* is of limited use to this project.

The Ecclesiastical History (Orderic Vitalis)

Orderic Vitalis was born near Shrewsbury in 1075 (Chibnall 1969, xiii). His father, Odelerius of Orleans, was a priest in the household of Roger Montgomery and his mother was a native English woman, presumably from the Shropshire area (Chibnall 1969, xiii). This means that he would have had first-hand experience of the conflict taking place on the Welsh borders in his childhood. Orderic was destined for life in the Church, and at the age of ten, his father sent him to the Norman monastery of St Evroult where he spent the remainder of his life (Prestwich 2004; Chibnall 1969, xiii).

The thirteen books of *The Ecclesiastical History* took Orderic over a quarter of a century to complete (c.1114-1141) (Prestwich 2004). It was initially commissioned by Roger du Sap (abbot of St Evroult 1091-1123) to be a history of the monastery from its foundation in c.1050 (Prestwich 2004). However, very early on, the focus moved to be a history of the Norman achievements of the late eleventh century.

The evidence held in the pages of the *EH* is of particular value to students of this period of European history. Prestwich (2004) states that,

he was concerned with the simple truth, impartial between English and Normans, looking for no rewards from victors or vanquished, and while he would have preferred edifying subject matter, he had to recognize that miracles had ceased and that his task was to describe the follies, fashions, and disputes of men as they were and not as he would have had them be.

He had access to the well-established library at St Evroult and borrowed freely from other neighbouring monastic libraries which allowed him extensive access to a vast range of source material, including Bede and William of Jumièges (Chibnall 1969, xvi-xvii). Orderic Vitalis has been criticized for copying some of these early writers at some length, in addition to his

lack of consistent arrangement and chronology (Prestwich 2004), and the accuracy of his words depends on what sources he used and on the distance from the events he was writing about (Chibnall 1969, xxix). Furthermore, Chibnall (1969, xxxviii) points out that, if some information was unconsciously misinterpreted, some was quite deliberately enlivened in accordance with the accepted historical practice of the time. However, as Prestwich (2004) argues 'his history remains of inestimable value for the range, variety, and volume of the information he acquired, and above all for his knowledge and understanding of the lay aristocracy of his day, often expressed in the many imaginary speeches and dialogues he composed'. In terms of this project, Orderic's close association with the Welsh March allows for a greater depth of detail and potentially greater accuracy in his description; however it must be noted that this may also expound his view of the Welsh in a negative way. On the other hand, it was not necessarily his childhood experiences that influenced his writings, but rather his adult life and his close association with the family of Robert of Rhuddlan. Robert's brother was a fellow monk with Orderic at St Evroult and, following Robert's death in 1097, travelled to England to retrieve his body for reburial at the monastery in Normandy. Furthermore, Orderic was asked to compose Robert's epitaph (Lewis 1996, 64). This close relationship between Orderic and Robert's brother is far more likely to have coloured Orderic's opinion of Wales and the Welsh, and it is extremely likely that Orderic would have written what Robert's family would have told him. Interestingly, Lewis (1996, 64) suggests that Orderic viewed Wales as 'peripheral and irrelevant' and he fails to mention key campaigns, such as those in 1114 and 1121, and confines his attention to north Wales and Robert's career. Therefore, whereas the *EH* may be of significance in understanding the late eleventh-century campaigns of Robert of Rhuddlan in northern Powys and Gwynedd, it is limited for understanding the concept of warfare in medieval Wales.

Gesta Stephani

The *Gesta Stephani* is a mid-twelfth century anonymous text that records the events that took place during the reign of King Stephen (1135-1154). Although the author is unknown, suggestions have been made by various historians as to the origin and possible authorship of this source, with R. A. B. Mynors (in Potter and Davies 1976, xviii-xxxviii) advocating its origin in Bath, and providing significant evidence to suggest that the author was Robert of Lewes, Bishop of Bath. Furthermore, Mynors (in Potter and Davies 1976, xix) also suggests that the manuscript was written in two parts: the first covering the years between the beginning of Stephen's reign, in 1135, and 1147, which was written c.1148, and the second

covering the years between 1147 and Stephen's death in 1154, which Mynors suggests was written sometime after 1153. Interestingly, the reason for this division is most likely the result of the author's change in sympathies, from his support for Stephen as the rightful king during the first part of the chronicle, to his later support for Henry (the future Henry II) in the second part (Potter and Davies 1976, xix).

The *GS* was first printed by André Duchesne in his *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui* in 1619 (Potter and Davies 1976, x). The original manuscript that Duchesne translated was found in the episcopal library at Laon, however this was not complete. There were several leaves missing which created four gaps within the text, and damage to the manuscript meant that other parts were illegible, including the final part of the manuscript from 1148 onwards (Potter and Davies 1976, x). In the mid-twentieth century Mynors identified a further copy of the *GS* which was included in MS 792 in the municipal library at Valenciennes, which contained a collection of works relating to English history (Potter and Davies 1976, x-xi). This manuscript contained the complete text of the damaged and illegible passages in Duchesne's manuscript; however, the four missing passages were also missing in this copy, which led Mynors (in Potter and Davies 1976, xi) to conclude that both copies had a shared ancestor. Although still incomplete, the discovery of this manuscript was significant as it did fill significant gaps in the chronicle, most importantly the years between 1148 and 1154.

The importance of the *GS* to this project is not undermined by the still missing passages. Although the *GS* focuses on the reign of King Stephen, and therefore on events that took place in England, there are several references to the Welsh at war, not only in Wales, but also to the Welsh military involvement during the conflicts associated with the civil war in England during Stephen's reign, and the role of Welsh soldiers at the Battle of Lincoln (Potter and Davies 1976, 110-1). The most detailed passage referring to Anglo-Welsh conflict, however, is found towards the beginning of the text where the author describes the Welsh rebellion following the death of Henry I, and the subsequent response of King Stephen and the Marcher lords, in particular Richard fitz Gilbert (Potter and Davies 1976, 14-21). In determining the accuracy of these descriptions, the possible origin of the source in Bath is significant. The comparatively close proximity to the Welsh border could provide the potential for the author's first-hand experience of warfare in Wales. This may also have a negative effect on the accuracy of the content of the *GS*, due to possible prejudice against the

enemy Welsh. However, along with sources such as Orderic Vitalis and Walter Map, these authors' personal experiences on the Welsh March make their descriptions of Welsh warfare all the more important.

In addition to this, the *Gesta Stephani* is one source that must also be considered in a post-colonial context when dealing with the information it provides about medieval Wales. In particular, Faletra (2014, 6-7) uses one particular passage to emphasise this.

‘Now Wales is a country of woodland and pasture...abounding in deer and fish, milk and herds; but it breeds men of an animal type, naturally swift-footed, accustomed to war, volatile in always breaking their word as in changing their abodes.’ (Potter, 1976, 15)

There are two points to be made about this passage that highlight the post-colonial context that the author is writing in. Firstly, the author is demonstrating a difference between the pleasant land of Wales and the unpleasant nature of the people who live there. Secondly, the author builds upon this image later in the source and provides a clear comparison between the conquering Normans and the native Welsh. The aim of this kind of writing, according to scholars such as Faletra, is to justify the Norman colonisation of these lands; the Welsh appear as ‘the indignant and undeserving natives while the colonisers emerge as the industrious bearers of civilisation’ (Faletra 2014, 7). This inevitably has an impact on the value of the information within this source concerning warfare in medieval Wales as the context in which it is written has an underlying motivation to justify Norman colonisation, just like other sources of this date, most notably Geoffrey of Monmouth. Although there may be some truth to what was written, there is a risk that the details may have been exaggerated to emphasise the differences between coloniser and colonised.

Historia Anglorum (Henry of Huntingdon)

Henry of Huntingdon was the son of an unnamed English woman and a Norman clerk, Nicholas, who was archdeacon of Huntingdon between the late 1070s and his death in 1110 (Greenway 2004). He was brought up in the household of Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln (d.1123), and in 1110 was promoted to his father's archdeaconry which he held until his death c.1157 (Greenway 2004).

Henry claimed that the *Historia Anglorum* was commissioned by Alexander the Magnificent, bishop of Lincoln (1123-1148) sometime between 1123 and 1130 (Greenway

1996, 1vii). Henry's aim was to compile a simple handbook of English history from the Roman invasion to the current date which would abbreviate existing histories of England (Greenway 1996, 1viii). The *HA* consists of ten books which present a thematic narrative of the five invasions of Britain by the Romans, the Scots and Picts, the Angles and Saxons, the Danes and the Normans (Greenway 2004). The first seven books were completed by c.1130, and then during the next ten years he wrote two more and began the tenth which dealt with events post-1135, which he continued throughout the reign of King Stephen, ending with the coronation of Henry II in 1154 (Greenway 1996, 1xi). Henry was very reliant on access to earlier sources, including Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana*, and Greenway (1996, 1xxxv) goes as far as to say that about 75 per cent of the *HA* was dependant on these sources among others. This means to use the *HA* as a source for earlier English history, the reliability of it is very much depends on the reliability of the sources Henry used and how well he used them. However, for the period of history being studied here, Henry would have had life experience of some of the events he discusses, although to what extent an archdeacon of Huntingdon would have experienced the life of the medieval Welsh soldier is certainly questionable. Nevertheless, whether he had first-hand experience of Welsh soldiering or not, Henry does provide key information on Anglo-Welsh military engagements during the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries. In particular, his descriptions of the events at the Battle of Lincoln (1141), where Welsh mercenaries were included in the forces commanded by Robert of Gloucester, are of utmost importance as they highlight the inclusion of Welsh soldiers in English armies at an early date.

However, although the descriptions of the Welsh at Lincoln are important, it is necessary to consider whether the details provided are reliable, as it is important to consider to whom Henry pledged his support during this battle. His hostility towards Robert of Gloucester and the troops under his command may have severely impacted upon his descriptions, as one would not expect complimentary passages about one's enemy during a civil war in any period of history. Therefore, the image of barbaric and poorly armed Welsh soldiers provided by Henry is not only indicative of the theme of writing identified in other twelfth-century sources, such as the *Gesta Stephani* (see above), it is also indicative of descriptions of enemy soldiers in many medieval, post-medieval and modern sources concerning military history and battles.

Vita Edwardi Secundi

The *Vita Edwardi Secundi* is a fourteenth-century royal biography documenting the events of the reign of Edward II (1307-1326). It is an anonymous piece; however Denholm-Young (1957, ix) argues that the unknown author must have been very well informed because of the level of detail and that he was not attempting to write a historical narrative, but was writing his memoirs, hence why he reveals no sources of information (Denholm-Young 1957, xiv).

Unfortunately, the original manuscript is now lost. The only extant copy of the *Vita* is in a transcript made by Thomas Hearne in 1729 that was copied from a manuscript, presumably the original from the fourteenth century, lent to him by Mr James West of Balliol College, Oxford (Denholm-Young 1957, xiv; Childs 2005, xv). Therefore the precise date when the *Vita* was written is difficult to determine. However, the transcript made by Hearne containing the *Vita* breaks off abruptly in 1325, and fails to include information on the death of Robert the Bruce or the return of Queen Isabelle and the subsequent rebellion (Denholm-Young 1957, xvi). Therefore it has been presumed by scholars that the *Vita* was contemporary with the period it discusses and that the author ceased writing in 1325 (Denholm-Young 1957, xvi).

The fact that the author of the *Vita* is presumably writing about a period which he has himself experienced is particularly important for historians who wish to use this source to study the early fourteenth century. However, the lack of identifiable sources is problematic, and without knowing for sure who actually compiled the piece, the accuracy of the details within the document cannot be accepted as unquestionably true without further support from other sources. However, it is important to stress that the real value of a source such as this is its date. Written after the conquest of Wales in 1282, the analysis of its content can be compared with sources of an earlier date in order to determine the effects that the conquest may have had, not only on Welsh soldiering ability, but on the opinions of Welsh soldiers by their foreign counterparts and how conquest may have caused these to change. Childs (2005, xxxi) even goes as far as to say that the ‘Marcher passages are also well informed...the author knew exactly why the Marchers hated Despenser [and] his comments on the wild and rebellious Welsh also smack of local prejudice.’ However, the extent of the source which is relevant to Wales is limited, with the key passages describing the revolt of Llywelyn Bren (1316), and although the author provides a brief description of the events that took place, details on tactics and weapons are overlooked.

Chronicles (Froissart)

Born in Valenciennes, Hainault, in 1337, very little is known about the early life and background of the writer Jean Froissart (Jones 2004). In 1357, his then patron, Robert of Namur, suggested that he write a history of the recent wars, in particular those following the Battle of Poitiers (1356) (Jolliffe 1967, xv). By 1361 he was under the special protection of Queen Philippa of Hainault (Jolliffe 1967, xvi) and this period of his life marked a key stage in his writing career as it provided him with access to a number contacts and patrons who remained influential throughout the rest of his life (Jones 2004).

Sourced by constant expeditions to the scenes and by numerous interviews with both eyewitnesses and participants in of the events which are described, Froissart's *Chronicles* are not written in the same style as the earlier chronicles of William Malmesbury (Mynors 1998) and Henry of Huntingdon (Greenway 1996). Instead Froissart presents a lively and vivid narrative, although he is not always focussed on providing an accurate account. Froissart appears to have been excited by chivalry, commending the qualities of valour, loyalty, distinction on the field of battle and a gallant attitude towards women (Jolliffe 1967, xix). Nor does he seem appalled by the barbarous acts of cruelty, wanton destruction and the permanent state of war that characterizes the period in which he wrote (Jolliffe 1967, xix). Of course the focus of his arguments relied quite heavily on who his patron was at the time, and although his early work tended to find sympathy with the English cause, this gradually changed to a more French standpoint in his later writing (Jones 2004). Furthermore, when using Froissart's *Chronicles* to study the fourteenth century, it is important to keep in mind that neither dates, nor proper names and the exact sequence of events were discussed by Froissart, along with other chroniclers of this time, in a 'spirit of exactitude' (Jolliffe 1967, xix), and thus, inaccuracies and mistakes are likely. Importantly, although Froissart's focus is primarily on the events of fourteenth-century conflicts, he also provides details on the weaponry used and the organization of both English and French armies at this time. Furthermore, he does, on occasion, discuss the role and the ability of Welsh soldiers included in these English forces (Jolliffe 1967, 148-9). Like the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, the date that Froissart is writing is equally as important as the details he provides, for he is also writing about Welsh soldiering in a post-conquest environment. The ability to compare references to Welsh soldiers written prior to the Edwardian conquest in 1282, with the descriptions of soldiers fighting in the English armies of the fourteenth century is important in understanding how this event impacted on the Welsh art of war and is essential to this project.

Conclusion

It is clear from the discussions of written sources in this chapter, that not only is there a range of source material that can be examined in researching medieval warfare in Wales, but that there are also varying degrees in the extent to which this material can be used and the value of the information it can provide.

The most important comment to make about the majority of the written sources available is concerning their authorship. Unlike later sources, that are often written by eye witnesses, medieval sources are nearly all written by churchmen, who would not have been present at the events that they describe. Some writers, such as Froissart were known to consult with eye-witnesses to improve the validity of their records, and Gerald of Wales certainly wrote much of his work on Wales as a result of his own experiences. However, this is not the case for everybody. Similarly, when dealing with medieval written sources, both the motives for writing the piece and the conventions authors required to uphold will affect the validity of what is written.

The post-colonial context, in which scholars are starting to consider medieval Wales, also has an impact on the perceived value of written sources. Faletra (2014, 10-11) discussing the content of Norman and English sources concerning Wales writes,

‘To adopt and paraphrase Edward Said, there are no historical facts circulated by the Normans and their political successors that can be viewed as neutral, dispassionate, or veridical statements about Wales.’

Meecham-Jones (2008, 27) goes even further and comments that,

‘The representation of Wales in Medieval English culture was created as, and has remained, a discourse shaped from the repetition of (often artful) forgettings and historical errors, repeated to sustain complex and sometimes mutually contradictory ideological agendas.’

The requirement of Norman and English writers to justify the colonisation of Wales meant that the Welsh people and their lands had to be portrayed in a particular way. The backward and barbarian population of Wales was highlighted in many ways by a variety of medieval writers, including the anonymous authors of the *Gesta Stephani* and the *Edwardi Secundi*, Henry of Huntingdon and Orderic Vitalis. As a result, when using these sources to

understand the art of warfare in medieval Wales, one must be aware of exaggerations and fabrications in order for medieval writers to create the image that was expected of them.

It has even been suggested that in many cases, medieval writers have as gone as far as to erase the Welsh from their records, with Meecham-Jones (2008, 27-47) asking not only why there were no medieval romances set during the wars in Wales, but also why in the Arthurian romances there is a distinct lack of references to Welsh names or locations. It is almost as if by removing the Welsh from the medieval literary dialogue, Wales itself becomes uninhabited and therefore freely available to the Norman and English settlers. This goes further than justifying colonisation and conquest, and instead creates an image of peaceful settlement in an empty land. This also has an impact upon the value of the written sources for studying the military activities in Wales during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as it suggests that much of our understanding of campaigns and military engagements may be severely limited as a result of writers deliberately disregarding key facts in order to downplay the conquest. After all, although the Parliamentary Rolls include some lyrics on the death of Edward I, none of those surviving celebrate his triumphs in Wales, and neither do any of the battles against the Welsh appear to have inspired and equivalent to the poem celebrating Edward's exploits at the Battle of Lewes (1264) (Meecham-Jones 2008, 30).

However, this is not to say that the written sources cannot be considered of value to the study of military history. Previous research by scholars such as Suppe (1994), Davies (2003), Day (2010) and Chapman (2010) have all successfully utilized the written sources to further our understanding of medieval warfare in Wales. On the other hand, the weaknesses of relying solely on written sources have been identified by several battlefield archaeology projects (see Chapter 1) which have promoted the need for a more holistic study of this subject incorporating the written sources with material evidence. In order to use the written sources successfully in a study of military history, it is just as important to look for what the sources do not say, and look for further types of evidence to help fill in the gaps. Therefore, comparisons between the two types of evidence can only look to strengthen our understanding of the information provided in the written sources, such as Gerald of Wales.

Chapter 3: The Value of the Material Evidence to the Study of Medieval Warfare in Wales

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and critically evaluate the various types of archaeological evidence available for the study of warfare in Wales c.1100 – c.1450. There is a considerable range of evidence. Of most significance are the weapons and associated artefacts used by soldiers in Wales recovered from sites linked with military activity in Wales, such as castles and fortified manors, including those which have been excavated using modern archaeological techniques. There are also chance finds and a rising number of artefacts which have been discovered in recent years and reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme by amateur metal detectorists.

In addition to the artefactual evidence, visual representations of weapons and armour are available from a range of sources including sculpture, seal matrices and illuminated manuscripts. The most detailed type of source is are funerary monuments in the form of both sepulchral grave slabs and the later military effigies which were at their height of popularity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The information from the military effigies is especially important as the level of detail on the majority of these carvings allows them to be studied as if they were the real weapons and armour of the deceased.

Artefactual Evidence

The main source of archaeological evidence are the artefacts used by soldiers in Wales during the medieval period, including arrowheads (Chapter 5), spearheads (Chapter 6), and swords (Chapter 7). This section will discuss the provenance of these objects in order to determine what effects this may have on their usefulness for this research. In total 466 objects are recorded in the catalogue from over twenty different sites. The vast majority have been found during the excavation of archaeological sites throughout Wales, mostly castles, but there are some from both domestic and ecclesiastical sites. A smaller proportion of finds have come to light by chance, including those found by amateur metal detectorists and reported through the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

However, prior to this it is important consider any general problems with using archaeological evidence that might affect the material being used in this thesis. The key issue

associated with any archaeological evidence is collection bias. This is because it is highly unlikely that all the artefacts, in this case weapons such as spears, arrows and swords, used in a medieval battle or siege, are available to be analysed in a modern day context. Scholars, including Collins (1975), Schiffer (1987) and Robbins (2012), have all discussed at length the various issues that can affect the way in which an artefact is lost, its survival rate, and most importantly, the way in which an artefact is found by an archaeologist today, all of which are especially relevant to the archaeological study of weaponry.

The ways in which, and the number of weapons that are lost in the historic environment, and thus, available for analysis, can have a significant and negative impact on any current archaeological research if not taken into account by researchers. This is especially pertinent if an attempt is to be made to analyse the quantity and distribution of such items to determine when, where and by whom certain weapons are used. For example, the size of weapons, in particular items such as spears or swords, means that they are unlikely to be lost in any great numbers as a result of them being easier to find in the aftermath of a battle or siege. Furthermore, the poor survival of iron objects in Welsh soils was discussed in detail in Chapter 1, therefore, it is important to stress that out of the original number of items lost, there are a significant number that are unlikely to survive in the archaeological record into the current day. However, this is inconsequential if the sites of battles, skirmishes or sieges are neither located nor investigated, an issue which is clearly demonstrated by the comparatively few sites from which relevant material has been collected (see below). Therefore, despite the large numbers of weapons included in the catalogue of this thesis, it is debateable as to how far this sample is representative of the original number of weapons that were once used in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450, and further emphasises the need for other sources of evidence to be used alongside the archaeological material as a comparison.

Castles

Out of the 466 objects recorded, the greatest percentages have been found during archaeological investigations of castle sites. Often thought of as ‘the land of castles’, the Welsh Castle Database (Thomas 1996-2012), currently contains over 500 entries for Wales and the Marches, although not all of these can be located in the landscape today due to the lack of visible remains. It was during the reigns of William I (1066-87) and William II (1087-1100) that the first castles were constructed in Wales as a direct result of the Norman infiltration into Wales (Kenyon 2010, 2). The earliest castles in both England and Wales were

timber and earthwork castles, comprising the motte-and-bailey and the ringwork (Kenyon 2010, 3). There are many examples of such earthwork castles throughout Wales, and sites such as Rhuddlan (Flintshire), Nevern (Pembrokeshire) and Hen Domen (Montgomeryshire) are fine examples which continued to be occupied into the twelfth century, with both Rhuddlan and Nevern later being rebuilt in stone (see below). Although these earliest earthwork castles were the accomplishments of Norman marcher lords, by the early twelfth century the native Welsh were also recorded as constructing earthwork castles and Kenyon (2010, 4) suggests that one of the finest motte-and-bailey castles to survive in Wales is Tomen y Rhodwydd (Denbighshire) built by Owain Gwynedd in 1149.

Although the majority of early castles were timber and earthwork, there were occasional examples built in stone, including the Tower of London, constructed by William I in 1067 (Hull 2008, 46). In Wales, the earliest stone castle is at Chepstow (Monmouthshire) and was again built by William I, most likely during his visit to south Wales in 1081 (Kenyon 2010, 4). However, by the mid-twelfth century, stone castles were being built more frequently as the Norman position in Wales became more established. These were built by both the Welsh princes and English marcher lords alike. Examples include castles, such as Dolwyddelan, Dolbadarn, Dolforwyn, Criccieth and Castell y Bere, all built by the princes of Gwynedd during the thirteenth century, and castles such as Cardiff, Skenfrith, and Llanstephen constructed by marcher lords in south Wales. The pinnacle of castle building in Wales was in the reign of Edward I (1274-1307) during the wars with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1277 and 1282-3 (Kenyon 2010, 7). Castles such as Aberystwyth (Cardiganshire), Flint (Flintshire), Conwy, Caernarfon (Caernarfonshire) and the concentrically designed Harlech (Merioneth) and the later Beaumaris (Anglesey), were constructed as a ring of fortresses at strategic points in the Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd and are impressive features of defensive design that are unrivalled in the rest of Britain and Ireland (Kenyon 2010, 8).

The focus of academic study on these sites has varied over time, just as much as the form of these sites varied during the later medieval period. From the beginning, castle studies drew on a variety of sources with castellologists, such as Ella Armitage, comparing surviving structures with the written evidence in order to further understanding (Creighton and Higham 2003, 10). However the focus of such early studies tended to be on both the military aspects and the architectural development of castle sites, which Creighton (2002, 6) states cast a long shadow over twentieth-century studies, retarding any ambition towards a holistic

understanding of these sites. This approach to castle studies did change during the 1960s and 1970s, when scholars such as Coulson (1979; 1982; 2003), favoured a thematic approach to castle studies, which included a greater recognition of their social and economic functions (Creighton 2002, 6). More recently, the question most contested by scholars, such as Creighton and Liddiard (2008), Johnson (2002) and Platt (2007), is the purpose of the castle in the medieval world, or more simply why did medieval kings and lords build castles? Creighton (2002, 7) suggests that this debate ‘has sometimes polarized the ‘militaristic’ interpretations of castle function against social interpretations’, although scholars such as Creighton and Liddiard (2002; 2008) have argued that to understand these sites fully both interpretations need to be equally considered.

Unfortunately, the development of castle studies throughout the twentieth century has done little to emphasize the importance of the study of military related finds from excavations of castle sites, problems that are highlighted below. In the early twentieth century, the focus on the architecture of castles emphasized the military nature of castles but neglected the study the artefacts associated with warfare that may have been collected during excavation. The change towards the study of the social and economic functions of castles evident in later excavations, such as Hen Domen, meant that artefacts were of more interest. However, it was items, such as the ceramic collections, that gained precedence. The following pages will critically examine each of the key sites in turn, discussing the approach to the excavations undertaken and any consideration of the relevant artefacts recovered. There will also be an accompanying table of any relevant finds from the catalogue associated with each site discussed.

Castle Excavations pre-1970

Aberystwyth (Ceredigion - SN579816)

Arrowheads	1
Spearheads	1
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	11

Table 3.1. Military Artefacts Recovered from Aberystwyth Castle

Constructed on the orders of Edward I in 1277, Aberystwyth, along with the castles at Flint, Rhuddlan and Builth, was built in response to the Welsh rebellion against the English Crown led by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd of Gwynedd (Hull 1998). These castles, in particular Rhuddlan and Aberystwyth, were the concentrically designed forerunners to the castles built by Edward in the post-conquest period, such as Harlech and Beaumaris, which consist of inner and outer enclosing walls to create a complex ring of defences (Hull 1998). The initial construction of the castle at Aberystwyth was overseen by Edward's brother, Edmund of Lancaster. However, during the 1282 conquest, the still incomplete castle, was captured by the Welsh and burnt (Hull 1998). After regaining control of the castle after the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the English sent Master Miles of St George (an associate of Master James of St George, the king's elite master mason) to complete the project, which was finished in 1289 (Hull 1998).

During the castle's lifespan it was attacked on several occasions by Welsh rebels in 1282, 1294 and in 1404 it was captured during the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr (Hull 1998). The castle remained in Welsh hands until 1408 when Prince Henry (later Henry V) besieged the castle, and eventually took it. Interestingly, prior this, in 1407, Prince Henry had attempted to capture the castle using a bronze cannon, known as '*The Messenger*' (Hull 1998). This initial attack proved unsuccessful as the cannon exploded during the bombardment (Hull 1998); however this is significant as it is thought to be the first use of cannon in Wales.

Excavations at Aberystwyth were started in 1903 by a group of volunteers and inspected by the Bangor architect Harold Hughes, who had originally suggested that the site should be excavated. His description of the excavations (Hughes 1904) suggests that the main focus was to chase walls, in particular the curtain walls, with very little attention paid to the interpretation of the site or the finds that came from it. This fits with the general approach to studying castles in this period where the focus of excavation was to uncover the structures to discover what they would have originally looked like, rather than use the evidence collected to learn more about what life was like within the castle walls, an emphasis that came with later excavations.

In terms of finds, Hughes (1904, 320) records that there were very few artefacts discovered during the excavation. The majority were domestic finds such as pottery (which could be potentially useful for dating) or household equipment, including a quern stone. However, Hughes (1904, 320) does mention that a collection of stone cannon balls had been

recovered from various locations within the castle, including four that were found near the north-east curtain wall. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the excavation, records of finds spots are on the whole rather vague, and, in the case of the other seven cannon balls mentioned by Hughes (1904, 320), no location was recorded. It is also highly likely, due to the undeveloped excavation techniques employed, that finds were lost. This is demonstrated by Hughes's (1904, 317) description of how those excavating the site had completely removed a mound between the north-east curtain wall and St Michael's churchyard without recording it. Not only was the feature removed without any attempt to understand what it was, any finds within the mound also went unrecorded, and presumably were lost. The failure to record any of the finds in detail, and the lack of understanding of both stratigraphy and how that can be used to date the artefacts, now means that any finds that survive today are not as useful for study as they could have been had more detail about their discovery been accessible.

More recently, Aberystwyth Castle underwent extensive excavation between 1976 and 1985 under the direction of the RCAHMW. Publication of the full excavation report is forthcoming; however, Ceredigion County Council (2011) report that the excavation recovered further details on the plan of the castle, including major changes to the plan very early in its construction. Further evidence was also collected concerning the role of the castle as a Royal Mint during the reign of Charles I (1625-49). Very few finds were discovered during these excavations. A small number are on display at the Castle Museum, and other than three coins, there were a limited number of finds that dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, none of which were relevant to this thesis.

Castell y Bere (Gwynedd – SH667086)

Arrowheads	17
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.2. Military Artefacts from Castell y Bere

Situated upon a rocky outcrop on the eastern side of the Dysynni valley is the early thirteenth-century castle of Castell y Bere, believed to have been constructed by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in 1221 (Avent 2004, 37). Built as the result of the dispute between Llywelyn and his son Gruffudd, the site was chosen to control the lands between the Dyfi and Mawddach estuaries and the mountain road over Cadair Idris towards the town of Dolgellau (Davies 2007, 41).

The castle remained in the hands of the princes of Gwynedd until the conquest and was the last stronghold of Dafydd ap Gruffudd; the garrison finally surrendered to English forces on 25 April 1283 (Davies 2007, 41). The site of the castle was of utmost strategic importance, and following the surrender, Edward I gave orders for its security and took action to establish a free borough there to aid this (Avent 2004, 37). However, English plans were soon halted with the revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn in 1294 and records indicate that the castle was besieged and captured by Welsh rebels towards the end of October (Avent 2004, 19). Historical evidence for what transpired after this is vague, as it is unclear whether English forces relieved the castle or not; however archaeological evidence suggests that the occupation of the site ceased towards the end of the thirteenth century (Avent 2004, 20). Therefore, it would be fair to assume that the castle was never reoccupied after this revolt.

The first excavations at the site took place in the mid-nineteenth century, with references to them and the artefacts discovered made in an article by W. W. E. Wynne in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1861). Wynne does not give much information on the excavations themselves, since there is no description of what was dug and by whom. Neither is the information on the finds recovered very detailed. Wynne (1861, 109) lists a great number of arrowheads, including one barbed example, but gives no other details concerning the exact numbers or the forms of these objects, and neither does he make reference to where the arrowheads were found. He also mentions the discovery of part of a cross bow, which he describes as ‘a small circular piece of bone’ and states that he believes it was ‘used for holding the string’, and an object ‘resembling a boat-hook’ (Wynne 1861, 109-10), which was actually a bill- or pike-head, that Butler (1974, 95) dates to the sixteenth century (which puts it outside the field of this study). Wynne’s descriptions are extremely vague and it is impossible to determine whether his interpretations of these objects were accurate without examining them. The finds were deposited in National Museum Wales as part of the Wynne of Peniarth collection; however, the objects included in this collection are recorded as

unprovenanced, with little accessible information and it has proved impossible, in most cases, to say exactly which came from his excavations Castell y Bere.

Further investigations by the Ministry of Works took place at Castell y Bere from 1949 during clearance of the site and consolidation of the ruins, and once more the finds were deposited in the National Museum (Butler 1974, 80). In 1974, Lawrence Butler published a description of the finds from these clearances alongside those commented on by Wynne in 1861. In addition to the bill-head, Butler (1974, 95) referred to one arrowhead described by Wynne, which he describes as Type 17 from the *London Museum Catalogue* (Ward-Perkins 1954, 66), as well as number of other arrowheads, presumably from the Ministry of Works clearances, which he ascribes to various types including Type 7 and Type 8, in addition to one Type 1. These arrowheads are all included in the catalogue but have been reclassified using Jessop's typology (1997) (see Chapter 5). However, the main problem with these finds, as Butler himself states, is that they are all unstratified, and therefore their value for academic study is severely diminished.

Criccieth (Gwynedd - SH500377)

Arrowheads	157
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.3 Military Artefacts from Criccieth Castle

Criccieth Castle, built sometime during the 1230s, is first mentioned in the documentary sources in 1239 when Llywelyn ab Iorwerth imprisoned his son Gruffudd there (Davies 2007, 45). Although thought to have been originally constructed by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, additions were made by his grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and later by King Edward I, who took control of the castle after the conquest of Wales in 1283 (Davies 2007, 46-7). The strength of this castle lay in the fact that it could be supplied by sea and therefore, like Aberystwyth, remained undefeated during the revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn in 1294 (Davies 2007, 45). However, during the Glyndŵr revolt in the early fifteenth century, Criccieth was attacked and burnt to the ground (Davies 2007, 45).

Excavations at Criccieth took place during the early 1940s and were conducted by a team of archaeologists under the direction of St J. O’Neil. The site of the castle was extensively excavated, and unlike the excavations at Aberystwyth and Castell y Bere, more care was taken to retrieve finds and learn more about the development of the castle through the study of the structures uncovered. O’Neil (1945) identified three different phases of building and development as a result of studying the masonry and finds.

O’Neil (1945, 38) attempted briefly to describe the finds and discuss their likely functions. He described a large collection of arrowheads which could be separated into eight different types and also described nine examples that he considered too large to be arrowheads and he therefore catalogued them as spearheads (O’Neil 1945, 40).

Unfortunately, although O’Neil describes the types of artefacts found, not only does he fail to provide numbers or information on their find locations, he also fails to offer any interpretation of the provenance of the finds. For example, it is known that Criccieth began life as a Welsh castle, but in the post-conquest period fell under English control (see above). However, O’Neil does not indicate the location of the finds in relation to the changes in stratigraphy or possible changes in occupation, and fails to acknowledge that evidence for this could have existed. This failure is evident in the poor recording techniques and lack of understanding of what could be interpreted from the evidence collected. Although the methods and techniques of archaeological investigation had improved in the forty years since Hughes’s excavations at Aberystwyth, there were still inherent problems, which mean that the value of the evidence collected from Criccieth is limited.

Degannwy (Conwy – SH795783)

Arrowheads	6
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.4 Military Artefacts from Degannwy Castle

Degannwy Castle stands on the hilltop overlooking the Conwy estuary. The valley of the Conwy River is a natural border between the mountains of Snowdonia and the fertile agricultural land of north-east Wales, but during the medieval period it also symbolised the divide between *Pura Wallia* to the west, and the anglicised Welsh marches to the east Alcock (1967, 190). Historical tradition places Degannwy as the seat of Maelgwn of Gwynedd (d.

547), however archaeological evidence has actually suggested that the site was occupied earlier due to the discovery of both Roman pottery and coins at the site (Alcock 1967, 190), as well as fifth- and sixth-century imported ceramics. The site is mentioned again during the ninth century when the *Annales Cambriae* records that in 812 the site was burnt by lightning and then it was destroyed again during a Saxon attack in 822 (Alcock 1967, 190). During the late eleventh century, records suggest that Robert of Rhuddlan built a castle at Degannwy, although excavation revealed no trace of a motte; Alcock (1967, 195) suggests that the natural defences of the hill did not warrant further man-made earthwork defences. Activity at the site during the twelfth century was minimal. However, by the early thirteenth century the castle was in Welsh hands since records suggest that, sometime before 1210, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth had destroyed the castle as a result of a threatened English attack; the castle was then rebuilt by the Earl of Chester (Alcock, 1967, 196). By 1213 Llywelyn had recaptured the castle and Alcock (1967, 196) suggests that he continued the work started by the earl of Chester three years previously. Between 1228 and 1234, Llywelyn used Degannwy as a prison for his son Gruffudd, and then his son Dafydd destroyed the castle in 1241 following his father's death (Alcock 1967, 196).

The castle subsequently fell under English control and was rebuilt by Henry III between 1245 and 1250 (Alcock 1967, 190). It was then occupied by English forces until the 1260s but in 1263 it was captured and destroyed following a seven year siege by the forces of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (Alcock 1967, 196). Archaeological investigations suggested that there was evidence of rebuilding at the site following the capture in 1263, which Alcock (1967, 200) links to the campaign of Edward I during 1277. However, this was never finished and the castle was eventually replaced by Conwy Castle on the other site of the estuary in 1283 (Alcock 1967, 200).

Excavations were carried out over a total of fourteen weeks between 1961 and 1966 with the aim of providing an outline of the 'structural and cultural development' of the site (Alcock 1967, 192). As a result, this meant that no specific period of the site or structure within it was extensively explored and this can be seen in the excavation report published in 1967. The focus of the report is on the development of the castle as Alcock attempts to identify events recorded in historical documents with the evidence identified in the archaeological record. Although there is a brief description of some of the pottery and small finds associated with both the sixth-century and the possible Roman occupation, Alcock fails

to mention any finds associated with later medieval contexts other than the carved head which he associates with the castle built by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in the early thirteenth century (Alcock 1967, 197). Therefore, although finds have been catalogued as coming from Degannwy Castle, there is no published evidence to provide further evidence of where they were found and with what phase of the castle they might have been associated.

Dolwyddelan (Conwy – SH722523)

Arrowheads	0
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	1
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.5. Military Artefacts from Dolwyddelan Castle

The stone keep at Dolwyddelan overlooks the Lledr valley and was built by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in the early years of his reign to control the mountain pass from the Vale of Conwy into Meirionnydd (Avent 2004, 25; Davies 2007, 60). Details on the life of the castle are sketchy, however records demonstrate that it was used by the court of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd as he sent a letter to the prior of Valle Crucis Abbey from there on 9 August 1275, and it is also believed that part of his treasury was kept there (Avent 2004, 15). The west tower provides evidence for later activity at the site and has often been thought to have been built by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd due to its similarity to structures at Criccieth and Dolforwyn (Avent 2004, 15; Davies 2007, 61). However, it has also been suggested by Avent (2004, 15) that this tower could have been constructed by Edward I after the English took possession of the castle during the campaign to conquer Wales in early 1283. The castle remained under English garrison into the later fifteenth century, when Maredudd ap Ieuan purchased the lease from the executors of Sir Ralph Birkenhead, formerly chamberlain of north Wales (Avent 2004, 20). After this period of occupation, the castle was abandoned and left to decay until extensive restoration work on the keep by Lord Willoughby de Eresby in 1848-50 (Avent 2004, 21; Davies 2007, 61).

There is no record of any modern excavation at the site, which suggests that the one find, a dagger (CC 402), if correctly ascribed, may well be associated with the restoration work completed during the mid-nineteenth century. This is potentially problematic since no

detailed information can be attained as to where it was found and its archaeological context has been lost.

Dyserth (Denbigh – SJ060799)

Arrowheads	27
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.6. Military Artefacts from Dyserth Castle

Dyserth Castle stands upon the summit of a crag within the Vale of Clwyd (Wiles 2007) not far from the motte-and-bailey and Edwardian castles at Rhuddlan (see below). It was built by Henry III sometime after 1241; however the lifespan of the castle was very short as it was destroyed by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1263 after a seven year blockade and siege (Wiles 2007).

Most of the castle was destroyed by quarrying during the early twentieth century (Wiles 2007). However, prior to its destruction, excavation was undertaken, directed by T. A. Glenn, to record elements of the structure, as well as document the different periods of occupation at the site from prehistory to the medieval castle. However, this was not done in any great detail, and the poor quality of excavation techniques at the time mean that the level of information is also mediocre and the accuracy is questionable. Glenn (1914) did publish a brief report on the excavations, although details of the extent and methodology used were not recorded. There is a vague description of the artefacts recovered, which includes both arrowheads and spearheads; however, further details of form, location and even frequency are omitted (Glenn 1914, 466). Although the material comes from an old excavation it remains of some value, as a sizable collection of twenty-seven arrowheads is held in the collection at National Museum Wales (see below). This collection was used by both Ward-Perkins (1954) and Jessop (1997) whilst compiling their arrowhead typologies, and is relevant to this research project, particularly as the artefacts are well preserved compared to other collections from sites such as Flint.

Llantrithyd Ringwork (Glamorgan – ST045727)

Arrowheads	7
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.7. Military Artefacts from Llantrithyd

Llantrithyd Ringwork is situated in south Glamorgan, approximately ten miles from the city of Cardiff, overlooking the modern village of Llantrithyd (CAS 1977, 2). The western edges of the ringwork have been heavily disturbed by quarrying, however a significant percentage of the interior and surrounding ramparts still remain. Little is known regarding the historical background of Llantrithyd, as there are very few references to the site in historical sources. Mr Barry-Davies (in CAS 1977, 74-9) produced a summary of the evidence to accompany the archaeological report published by Cardiff Archaeological Society in 1977. He states that Llantrithyd was most likely constructed by the de Cardiff family who accompanied Robert fitzHamon in his conquest of Glamorgan in the late eleventh century, however the earliest reference to a member of the family, William de Cardiff, holding Llantrithyd appears in the Extent of Glamorgan in 1262 (Barry-Davies in CAS 1977, 74). There are other earlier charters referred to by Barry-Davies that allude to the involvement of the de Cardiffs at Llantrithyd as early as 1126. The manor of Llantrithyd continued to be associated with the de Cardiffs into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

However, although the history of the manor of Llantrithyd stretches into the later medieval period, it is very doubtful that the occupation of the ringwork continued this far. The sites was identified as a possible site for excavation by the Cardiff Archaeological Society in the early 1960s, and seasons of excavation ran from 1960 to 1969 under the direction of Mr T. F. R Jones (1960-7) and Mr P. J. Green (1968-9). Three areas of excavation took place within the interior and the surrounding ramparts which covered a significant proportion of the surviving ringwork. The excavation uncovered evidence of four buildings inside the ramparts, including a circular drystone walled building to the north (building 1), and a large rectangular building that excavators interpreted as a hall (building 3) (CAS 1977, 16-20). It was this latter building that revealed the most significant find from the site: a silver coin hoard, the deposition of which has been attributed to sometime between 1122 and 1124 (CAS 1977, 53-5). The assumption that the coins were hidden within building

3 at this time, and that very shortly afterwards the building was destroyed or demolished is derived from the scatter pattern of the coins across the site. Interestingly, the pottery evidence from the site, also suggested that the occupation of the site was fairly short.

The discovery of nine arrowheads, one which is described as having had its tip distorted upon impact (no. 61), in and around building 3 has led to the suggestion that there may have been a violent attack on the ringwork during the second quarter of the twelfth century. However, there is no historical evidence to support this and instead the historical sources allude to a very peaceful period of occupation during this time (Barry-Davies in CAS 1977, 77). Furthermore, although the collection of arrowheads is interesting, as will be discussed further in Chapter 5, the types discovered are not primarily types associated with military engagement and may equally have been a function associated with the later function of this site as a hunting lodge a conclusion suggested as a result of the collection of animal bones, particularly goshawk and sparrow hawk.

The Three Castles – Skenfrith, Grosmont and White Castle (Monmouthshire)

	Skenfrith	Whitecastle
Arrowheads	0	0
Spearheads	1	2
Swords	0	1
Daggers	0	0
Knives	0	0
Other	0	0

Table 3.8. Military Artefacts from Skenfrith and White Castle

Situated in the valley of the River Monnow between the towns of Monmouth and Abergavenny, stand the castles of Skenfrith, Grosmont and Whitecastle known as The Three Castles, which guarded the routes of communication between Herefordshire and south-east Wales (Knight 2009, 3). The original structures at all three were timber and earthwork motte-and-baileys, which are often attributed to the Norman lord William fitzOsbern, and were constructed during the very early years of the Norman conquest of south Wales (Knight 2009, 4). During the twelfth century, The Three Castles were developed under the supervision of Ralph of Grosmont (Knight 2009, 5). However it was under the control of Hubert de Burgh (d. 1243) that the stone structures, the remains of which can be seen today, were built (Knight 2009, 7). Towards the latter half of the thirteenth century The Three Castles underwent another phase of rebuilding in response to the rebellion of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, whose frontier by 1263 was only four or five miles from Abergavenny (Knight 2009, 11-12). The

records do not indicate that any of the Three Castles were actually attacked by Llywelyn's forces, and by 1267 they were granted to Edmund 'Crouchback', Earl of Lancaster, the younger brother of Lord Edward (soon to become King Edward I), and remained under control of the House of Lancaster until they were abandoned sometime during the fifteenth century (Knight 2009, 12-14). The Three Castles did see military action briefly during the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr at the turn of the fifteenth century, when Owain's son Gruffudd attacked Grosmont in March 1405; however the siege proved unsuccessful as the castle was relieved by English forces commanded by Prince Henry (Henry V) (Knight 2009, 13).

Relevant finds have only been recovered from two of these sites – Skenfrith and Whitecastle. The first excavations took place at Skenfrith in 1954 under the direction of O. E. Craster and were focused on two sections cut through the centre of the castle in order to establish a building sequence (Craster 1967, 138). The excavation strategy was problematic, as large areas of the castle interior would have been overlooked, and it was impossible accurately to identify different phases of occupation throughout the site. However, the main problem with this excavation, and the subsequent report, was the lack of attention paid to any finds that were not ceramic. Included in Craster's report (1967), is a nine page discussion by E. J. Talbot (149-58) on the various types of pottery recovered during the excavation and their significance. Nowhere within the report is there any mention of any other type of find, including weaponry. This is particularly frustrating, especially as within the collection at National Museum Wales there is a spearhead recorded as coming from Skenfrith (CC 446).

The second excavation at Skenfrith was undertaken in 2003 in advance of the construction of new defences on a stretch of river north of the castle which were causing problems with erosion (Evans et al 2007, 73). The excavations identified four phases of archaeological remains, of which two were periods of medieval occupation. The report referred to a total of forty iron objects recovered from the excavation, including eight knives, although nothing definitively military, and seven other objects with a domestic function (Evans et al 2007, 96-9). However, there is no reference to what the other twenty-five iron objects might have been, and one can only presume that they were in such a poor state of preservation that no identification could be made. As with Craster's excavation in 1954, the emphasis seems to have been placed on the ceramics, which would have provided valuable dating evidence for the site. In addition, a great wealth of environmental material was collected, which by 2003 onwards was required in order to ensure the excavation met with

modern standards. Thus the focus of the excavation was on the domestic functions of the castle rather than the military aspects of the site.

The situation at White Castle is even less favourable. In a similar project to that undertaken at Castell y Bere, the finds from this site appear to have been recovered during Ministry of Works reconstruction in 1956. Other than a selection of photographs held by the RCAHMW (Steele 2008), there is no written report, and the finds, which include two spearheads recorded in this catalogue (CC505 and CC506), are all unstratified and therefore their worth to academic research is limited.

Castle Excavations post-1970

Caergwrle (Flintshire – SJ307572)

Arrowheads	2
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	1

Table 3.9. Military Artefacts from Caergwrle Castle

The castle at Caergwrle stands on top of a hill half way between Wrexham and Mold and commands extensive views towards the towns of Chester and Wrexham, as well as over the nearby Halkyn Mountains (Manley 1994, 83). The first reference to a castle at this site (named Hope Castle in English records) appears in the Royal Wardrobe Roll of 1277 when Edward I donated 100 marks to Dafydd ap Gruffudd for the construction of his castle (Manley 1994, 86). Edward had rewarded Dafydd's loyalty to the English crown during the campaigns against his brother Llywelyn in Gwynedd, in 1276, by granting him the Lordship of Hope, as well as the two *cantrefi* of Rhufoniog and Dyffryn Clwyd (Davies 2000, 338; Davies 2007, 36; Manley 1994, 86). It is contested as to whether Dafydd actually constructed a new castle at Caergwrle, or whether he was in fact repairing and developing an already existing structure. Taylor (1965, 76-7) argues for the latter, suggesting that the donation was similar to one made by Edward twenty years later to Richard Siward, for repair work at the castle of Tibbers in Scotland. On the other hand, Manley (1994, 86) discounts this, as the wording of the two references is very different; the documents refer to the *construction* of the castle at Caergwrle, and refer to the *maintenance and repairs* at Tibbers. Furthermore,

Manley (1994, 84) states that the excavations at the site failed to produce any evidence for any structures substantially earlier than the late thirteenth century.

Either way, records indicate that Caergwrle was under the control of Dafydd ap Gruffudd by 1277; however, this did not last long. In 1282, Dafydd attacked nearby Hawarden castle (Davies 2000, 348). Almost immediately, the English crown dispatched Reginald de Grey to take possession of the castle at Caergwrle, which he found deserted on 16 June 1282, and subsequently initiated a nineteen week process of repair on an incomplete structure (Manley 1994, 88). Interestingly Davies (2007, 38) suggests that the Welsh had never completed the castle, whereas Manley (1994, 88) argues that the Welsh had in fact dismantled part of the structure to render it unusable to the approaching English force.

From then on, Caergwrle remained under English control, being granted to Queen Eleanor on 24 February 1283, and she then conferred it on her son, Edward of Caernarfon (later Edward II), who, upon his accession to the throne, passed it to John Cromwell, for him to restore at his own expense, suggesting that the castle was already in a poor state of repair (Manley 1994, 89). Finally, when in 1335, the castle passed to Edward, the Black Prince, his surveyors described the walls and towers as largely thrown down and there was no housing there (Manley 1994, 89). Caergwrle was thus abandoned.

Excavations at the site took place between 1988 and 1990 as part of a 'long term development programme designed to research, preserve, manage and present to the public the historical and ecological aspects of the castle and the hill on which it stands' (Manley 1994, 83). As a result, the excavations focused primarily on the living space within the castle walls and the three remaining towers. Thus, interpretation was concerned with the sequence of development at the site, and although Manley (1994, 83) records that there was limited excavation of the defences, the military aspects of the castle were relatively ignored.

The military finds from the excavation are listed in the published report (Manley 1994, 112) which refers to five arrowheads with brief descriptions. However, there is no attempt to assign them to any particular typology; neither is any comparisons made to other similar finds from elsewhere. Disappointingly, although different phases of construction were established, there was no identification of different phases of occupation, and no differentiation could be made between the Welsh and the English periods of control. The distribution of all the finds was briefly discussed, but Manley (1994, 115) suggested that any

patterns of distribution were more to do with differing rates of survival rather than revealing anything about different periods of occupation. This means that, although the excavation techniques of the late 1980s were far more developed than those on earlier excavations, such as Criccieth and Aberystwyth, the material is almost as difficult to use, especially if trying to distinguish between objects used by the English or the Welsh occupants.

Cardiff (Cardiff – ST180767)

Arrowheads	0
Spearheads	8
Swords	1
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.10. Military Artefacts from Cardiff Castle

Cardiff Castle, situated in the centre of the modern capital city, sits on the east bank of the River Taff, occupying the western half of the Roman fort that was first established between AD 55 and AD 60 (Evans 2004, 43). The first medieval castle built by Robert FitzHamon of Gloucester (Evans 2004, 43), consisted of a motte with a large outer bailey (Webster 1981, 208). In 1140, Robert the Consul, second lord of Glamorgan, replaced the timber stockade in stone; however, it was not until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the castle was under the control of the de Clare family, that the whole structure was consolidated in stone (Evans 2004, 43). The only period of Welsh activity at the site occurred during the Glyndŵr revolt in the first decade of the fifteenth century, when rebel forces attacked both the town and castle on two occasions (Evans 2004, 43). The castle continued to be occupied by English lords throughout the post-medieval period, with landscaping during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Webster 1981, 210), until in 1865, Lord Bute (third Marquis 1848-1900) began an extensive restoration programme overseen by William Burgess (Evans 2004, 43), the results of which are what remains at the site today.

In 1974, the then University College, Cardiff, under the direction of Peter Webster, began a series of excavations which aimed to provide evidence of medieval buildings in the outer ward of the castle that had been illustrated by Grant in 1923, though Grant provided no indication of the source of this knowledge (Webster 1981, 201). The focus of this excavation meant that, when the report was published in 1981, there was no mention of any finds

recovered during the excavations, and neither was there any discussion of the defensive nature or military aspects of the site.

There were minor excavations at the castle again in 2003, required as a result of the need to install a disabled access ramp to the western apartments (Evans 2004, 43). This excavation revealed evidence of six phases of occupation, four of which were dated to the medieval period (Evans 2004, 45). However, although on this occasion a list of finds recovered was published by Evans, the only metal find was a horseshoe, thought to have come from a small pony (Evans 2004, 59), and is therefore irrelevant to this project.

The artefacts from Cardiff included in the catalogue are mainly from the excavations run by Webster in the 1970s. The only exception is the sword about which no further details are known concerning its provenance other than it was from Cardiff Castle. The collection of eight spearheads is an interesting group as a result of the differences and range of forms present, however without further details on publications on where they were found, their associated contexts and date, their value as a source becomes slightly diminished. Nevertheless, they can still be compared and contrasted with other datable material in order to glean useful information about the form of spears in medieval Wales.

Dolforwyn (Powys – SO152950)

Arrowheads	0
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	1
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.11. Military Artefacts from Dolforwyn Castle

Dolforwyn Castle stands on the north bank of the River Severn in Powys, in between the towns of Newtown and Welshpool, commanding views over the districts of Cedewain and Kerry (Butler 1997, 133). Construction was instigated by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1273 in order to consolidate his control over southern Powys and to exhibit his growing authority over Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn (Davies 2007, 55). In addition to the castle, Llywelyn also established a town at the site (Davies 2007, 56). However, the lifespan of the town and castle were short lived, for during the English campaigns against Llywelyn in 1276, Roger Mortimer and Henry de Lacy besieged the castle and, after the surrender of the garrison,

control of the castle passed into the hands of their English ally, Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn (Davies 2007, 56). Occupation continued, but Mortimer soon established a new settlement at Newtown, which meant that the importance of Dolforwyn diminished and the castle was abandoned; by the end of the fourteenth century it was reported already to be in ruins (Davies 2007, 56).

Dolforwyn is one of the few Welsh castles to have been extensively excavated in recent times and therefore the information that was obtained during excavation could prove extremely valuable to the study of Welsh military activities during the medieval period. Investigations into the site began in 1980 under the direction of Lawrence Butler, and the decision was made to excavate the entire castle and consolidate the ruins exposed as a result (Butler 1997, 133). Excavations were indeed extensive and the site has been transformed from layers of grass and rubble to a castle with a clear plan and consolidated walls.

The excavation produced a wealth of evidence on both the structure of this castle and the events that took place within its walls during its fairly short lifespan. Butler (1997, 197-200) identified six different phases of development at the site separated into two periods of occupation, the first by the Welsh between 1263 and 1277, and the second by the Mortimer family between 1277 and 1398. Interestingly, Butler (1997, 197) points out that the division between these periods gains little support from the material evidence. However, he also states that the 'assumed' period of Welsh occupation was barren of any finds referring to it as 'aceramic and non-metallic'.

The finds from the English period of occupation were a little more common. However there are surprisingly few military finds. Butler (1997, 195) lists the ironwork as predominantly structural, and only lists one arrowhead, as well as a knife and an axe-head, both of which he describes as tools which are likely to be domestic rather than military, and one link of chain-mail. There were also eight catapult balls of Montgomery volcanic agglomerate, which were considered to have come from the siege in 1277, and several river-worn pebbles which were interpreted as sling stones (Butler 1997, 195).

The lack of military finds is certainly disappointing; however the main problem with using the material found at Dolforwyn is access. Reports on the excavations at Dolforwyn were published in 1985, 1987, 1990 and 1997; however, to date no information has been published on the finds. This means that there are no details on the one arrowhead that Butler

lists, including its find spot, form, and even its state of preservation. In addition, the finds are now housed within the stores of National Museum Wales (see below), but still awaiting cataloguing and therefore access to the object itself is also extremely difficult. This means that it has been impossible to include the objects from this excavation in the catalogue due to the lack of details that can be obtained. Therefore, although the excavation at Dolforwyn produced a wealth of information on the life and development of this castle, at present the evidence is inaccessible and therefore cannot be used extensively as part of this project.

Dryslwyn (Carmarthenshire – SN554203)

Arrowheads	91
Spearheads	3
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	7

Table 3.12. Military Artefacts from Dryslwyn

The castle at Dryslwyn stands on top of a small, steep-sided hill at the centre of the Tywi Valley, only four miles from Dinefwr, the other principal castle in the medieval kingdom of Deheubarth (Rees and Caple 2007, 43). Archaeological investigations at the site suggest that it was constructed during the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Rees and Caple 2007, 12), before the first documentary references to the castle in 1246 (Rees and Caple 2007, 9). The castle was added to throughout the thirteenth century, although it is almost certain that Rhys ap Maredudd (d.1292) was responsible for the greatest proportion of building work that took place during the 1280s, including remodelling of the great hall and the addition of a third ward (Rees and Caple 2007, 12). However, by 1287, Rhys, who had been loyal to the English crown throughout the conquest of 1282-3, got involved in a series of bitter disputes with the new justiciar of Wales, Robert de Tibetot, and in June of that year launched a revolt, capturing the castles of Dinefwr, Carreg Cennen and Llandovery (Rees and Caple 2007, 16). By August, the English response was swift, they had gathered over 11,000 men and laid siege to Dryslwyn, a trébuchet was constructed and an attempt was made to undermine the castle walls (Rees and Caple 2007, 17). Records show that by 5 September 1287 the castle had been captured, although Rhys managed to escape (Rees and Caple 2007, 17).

The castles at Dryslwyn and nearby Dinefwr then remained in English hands as royal castles until their abandonment, apart from a short period at the beginning of the fifteenth century when both were taken during the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr (Rees and Caple 2007,

20). Interestingly, records demonstrate that this may have led to the eventual abandonment of Dryslwyn as there are no references to subsequent repairs and the archaeological evidence suggests that the castle was deliberately demolished during the first half of the fifteenth century (Rees and Caple 2007, 20).

The excavations at Dryslwyn, and the finds recovered from them, are particularly important to this project due to the fact that the castle was under Welsh control for most of the thirteenth century, and any evidence collected from below the stratigraphic layer associated with the siege in 1287 would, in all probability, be Welsh in origin. Furthermore, any occupation following the siege in 1287 would provide a true comparison between the Welsh and the English material. The excavations began in 1980 and planned to investigate the whole of the inner ward of the castle (Caple 1990, 48). Six different phases of development were identified, of which Phases 1 - 4 were associated with the thirteenth century (Caple 1990, 48-52).

The importance of the excavations at Dryslwyn to this project stems from the assemblage of military associated artefacts that were recovered. In total 102 artefacts were identified consisting of 92 arrowheads, six crossbow bolts, three spearheads and a copper-alloy mace-head (Jessop 2007, 197). In addition to the metalwork, there were 65 stones that were identified as lithic projectiles which were classified as either sling stones (14), hand stones (20), drop stones (26) or trebuchet balls (3), which would have been either thrown out of the castle at the attackers, or thrown into the castle by the besiegers, during the siege of 1287 (Caple 2007, 208-12). The size of the assemblage is in itself significant; however it is the post-excavation analysis that is of the most value, especially when it is compared with the excavations and artefactual assemblages of other important castle sites which were investigated at an earlier date, and, more recently, Dolforwyn, where the lack of post-excavation analysis of the military finds, and the failure to publish any information gathered, limits the information that can be analysed. In complete contrast, the finds from Dryslwyn have been recorded in detail, and there has been an attempt to discuss their importance to the story of the castle. Thus the information from these excavations is of utmost importance to this project.

Flint (Flintshire – SJ247733)

Arrowheads	7
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.13 Military Artefacts from Flint Castle

The castle at Flint stands on the southern shore of the Dee estuary and was established by Edward I during his campaigns against Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in the 1270s and 1280s (Miles 1996, 67). The castle was founded simultaneously with the surrounding town in 1277 (Miles 1996, 68), but remained incomplete until 1284 (Hull 1996). However, the castle must have been fairly substantial by the time of the Welsh revolt in 1282, when it was attacked, and subsequently besieged, by rebel forces, along with the castles at Rhuddlan and Hawarden in the spring of that year (Smith 1998, 451; 465-6). Following the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in December 1282 and the capture of his brother Dafydd in June 1283 (Davies 2000, 353-4), the focus of English military interests moved west and the importance of the castle at Flint diminished (Miles 1996, 71). It continued to be occupied until the seventeenth century when it was besieged by the Parliamentary forces led by General Mytton who, having captured the castle, had it slighted as part of Cromwell's decree of devastation in 1647 (Hull 1996).

Excavations at the site began in 1971, and subsequent seasons were undertaken in 1972 and 1974 as a precursor to a programme of repair, display and landscaping of the site for public access (Miles 1996, 67). The castle was extensively excavated and the results published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1996, twenty-two years after the last season of excavation. As a result of the excavation being a precursor to the site's management for public access, the focus was primarily on the structure, with attention given to the interpretation of its development, and although lists of finds were included, little attention was paid to their analysis and interpretation. In terms of military finds, Miles (1996, 128) refers to seven arrowheads in total (CC 315, CC 416-21). She illustrates two arrowheads, one from the inner moat and one from the outer ward, and a possible crossbow bolt was found in the outer ward near to the outer gatehouse. In addition, she states that another five arrowheads (one from the turf line of the inner moat, one from the soils above secondary metalling in the outer ward, and three from below the floor in the north-west turret of the

outer gatehouse) not illustrated in the report were also collected during the excavation (Miles 1996, 128). However, these were in such poor condition that they were not included in the catalogue.

Unlike a number of other reports from castle excavations in Wales, it is encouraging that Miles included the locations of the finds, as it is possible to surmise that some of these arrowheads, especially those found in the inner moat, may have been deployed during the attack on the castle in 1282. However, as is the recurring theme with all the excavation reports consulted here, there is a lack of any interpretation of the military aspects of this castle in the excavation report.

Hen Domen (Powys – SO214980)

Arrowheads	14
Spearheads	1
Swords	2
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.14. Military Artefacts from Hen Domen Castle

Hen Domen is a motte-and-bailey, timber and earthwork castle situated on the Welsh border between Shropshire and Powys. Originally built by the Normans during the 1070s as a base for the conquest of central Wales, the castle was occupied for over two centuries (Higham and Barker 2000, 11). The first reference to the castle's existence is found in Domesday Book (1086) and places it within the control of Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury (Higham and Barker 2000, 12). Although the castle remained in English hands throughout the majority of its occupation (between 1215 and 1223 the area around Montgomery was under Welsh control so it would be assumed that the castle was included in this), the castle was frequently subjected to Welsh attack, for example in 1095 when the garrison was massacred by a Welsh force (Higham and Barker 2000, 13). During the campaign against the Welsh led by King Henry III in 1223, plans were made for the refortification of Hen Domen; however, rather than develop the existing site, a new location was chosen for a larger stone built structure (Higham and Barker 2000, 13), the remains of which can be found above the town of Montgomery. Nevertheless the archaeological investigations provided indications that, although written evidence for the site is lacking, the castle was re-occupied for another fifty years or so, and acted as a military outpost controlling the Severn river crossing at

Rhydwyman, which was an important meeting place between the English and the Welsh until the 1270s and the eventual conquest of Wales by Edward I in 1283 (Higham and Barker 2000, 13).

The excavations at Hen Domen are the most significant excavations to have taken place on a motte-and-bailey castle site in Britain. The project, with annual excavation periods from 1960 to 1992, was the first full-scale excavation of this type of site, and produced a great deal of evidence from which the life and functions of this castle could be interpreted (Higham and Barker 2000). Both the motte and the complex arrangement of buildings within the northern half of the bailey were extensively investigated but, although there were trenches put across the ditches and outer defences in 1966, 1982 and 1983, and a larger excavation in 1986 (Higham and Barker 2000, 5), the main focus of these excavations was the internal arrangement of the castle.

The lack of attention given to the defences at Hen Domen was the result of the long term aims of the project which were instrumental in the change from researching the military aspects of castle sites to a focus on the domestic elements of life within the walls of a medieval castle (see above). This is demonstrated by the initial aim of the project which was to ‘recover pottery from a site with a documented history as part of a wider study of the region’s medieval ceramics’ (Higham and Barker 2000, 1), and thus providing dating evidence of the upmost importance. However, the potential of such an undisturbed site soon became clear and attentions were redirected in an attempt to further understand life within the castle and document its development during its 200 year occupation (Higham and Barker 2000, 1).

The excavations at Hen Domen successfully highlighted the potential for research at castle sites to understand how they functioned, and to attain evidence about medieval castle life beyond the military. As a result, the lack of attention paid to the military aspects during the excavation and subsequent publications had a negative effect for archaeologists interested in that subject.

There is a fairly sizable assemblage of military artefacts from Hen Domen catalogued in the final report, published in 2000. However, in both the final report (Higham and Barker 2000) and earlier publications in 1970, 1978 and 1987, the military finds have received very little attention. According to Goodhall (in Higham and Barker 2000, 95), excavations on the

motte between 1988 and 1992 recovered six arrowheads, all of varying forms. This is as far as the discussion goes, with no attempt to identify the different types or locate comparable examples. Similarly, the discussion of the finds in the bailey described by Higham and Rouillard (in Higham and Barker 2000, 98) refers to an incomplete spearhead, eight arrowheads, again of varying form and size, and an iron sword hilt with bone panels, but is lacking any discussion of the different types, dates or significance of these objects in relation to the military function of the site.

This site demonstrates clearly how attitudes towards the military aspects of castles have changed since the early excavations, but the excavation and recording techniques employed by Higham and Barker throughout the thirty-two years of excavation mean that, although the military finds are not discussed in much detail in the final report, there is an important opportunity to learn more from these artefacts, especially when compared with the assemblages collected from earlier excavations at castles such as Criccieth and Aberystwyth.

Laugharne (Carmarthenshire – SN302107)

Arrowheads	18
Spearheads	2
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.15. Military Artefacts from Laugharne Castle

Established in the early twelfth century, Laugharne Castle is located at the mouth of the River Taf, south-west of the medieval town of Carmarthen. Archaeological investigations at the site suggest that the early fortification was a ringwork that would have been enclosed by an earthen bank and ditch surmounted by either a timber palisade or a stone wall (Avent 1995, 6). This phase of the structure was most likely destroyed during the revolt of the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth in 1189 when his forces captured Laugharne and the nearby castles of Llanstephen and St Clears (Avent 1995, 7). Following this attack, the castle was extensively rebuilt in stone. However, in 1215 the Welsh rebelled under Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and once again Laugharne, amongst other castles, fell at the hands of the Welsh forces (Avent 1995, 8). Laugharne was eventually restored to English control and, in 1247, the lordship came under the de Brian family (Avent 1995, 9). During the campaigns of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1257-8, Laugharne was subject to attack by the Welsh and Guy de Brian was actually

captured, possibly during the attack on the castle (Avent 1995, 10). However, from then on, Laugharne remained under English control, even during the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr at the beginning of the fifteenth century. During the sixteenth century the castle had become ruinous and was converted into a fine Tudor mansion by Sir John Perrot (1528-92) (Avent 1995, 19). In 1627 the castle passed into the hands of Sir Sackville Crowe, who subsequently conveyed it to Sir William Russell, a Royalist supporter during the Civil War (Avent 1995, 20). Following the siege of Laugharne in October 1644, parts of the castle were deliberately demolished, which Avent (1995, 21) suggests could account for the ruined front of the outer gatehouse and the missing inner ward and north-eastern curtain of the outer ward.

A series of excavations were undertaken at Laugharne by Avent from 1976 to 1993 (Avent, 1995, 23). Interim reports were published (1976; 1977; 1978) for the preliminary excavations during the late 1970s; however, at the time of Avent's death in 2009, the excavations were still unpublished and the author was unable to locate any published findings, other than the guidebook written on behalf of Cadw (Avent 1995). The focus of the excavations during the 1970s was on the later period of occupation, in particular the sixteenth century, which included the Tudor gatehouse. Here, Avent fails to make any mention of military finds, of any date, and thus the artefactual assemblage from Laugharne that is included in this catalogue is not discussed, and could therefore limit its use to this project.

Llanstephen (Carmarthenshire – SN352102)

Arrowheads	1
Spearheads	1
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.16. Military Artefacts from Llanstephen Castle

Llanstephen Castle is found on a spur of land overlooking the Twyi estuary. The masonry castle, constructed during the twelfth century, reoccupies the site which both the RCAHMW and the *Ordnance Survey Map of South Britain in the Iron Age* record as a multi-vallate Iron Age hill fort (Guibert and Schweiso 1972, 78). The first appearance of the site in the historical record occurs in 1146. However, Guibert and Schweiso (1972, 79) argue that the first masonry construction at the castle is dated c.1190, which they interpret as suggesting that the original medieval castle was most likely an earth and timber construction which was

consolidated in stone by the Camville family towards the end of the twelfth century. The castle was subjected to attacks by Welsh forces several times during its history, the last of which took place in 1257 and was immediately followed by extensive building work to improve the defences (Guibert and Schweiso 1972, 79). Despite continuing conflict with native forces, the castle remained under the control of the Camville family until 1338 (Guibert and Schweiso 1972, 78); however, by the end of the thirteenth century, the castle no longer appears to have been of interest to the Welsh princes (Guibert and Schweiso 1972, 79).

The first excavation at the site took place during the 1960s under Murray-Threipland, who focused her efforts on the castle enclosure; however she passed away before any results could be published (Guibert and Schweiso 1972, 79). The site was again the focus of excavation in 1971 when Guibert and Schweiso (1972, 80) dug the outer embankments.

Finds from this site were minimal and Guibert and Schweiso (1972, 83) indicate that there was a ‘poverty of pottery’. As might be expected of an excavation in the early 1970s, it aimed to determine the dating sequence of the site and the most important finds would have been those that could be precisely dated, in particular the ceramics. As a result, there is no reference to any finds of military function. This raises the question as to whether the finds from Llanstephen included in the catalogue were uncovered during their excavation, or whether they came from the earlier excavation by Murray-Threipland. Either way, the lack of a published discussion of these finds continues the pattern of other notable castle excavation reports from elsewhere in Wales.

Loughor (Swansea – SS564980)

Arrowheads	11
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.17. Military Artefacts from Loughor Castle

Loughor Castle is situated on the eastern bank of the River Loughor at the point where it enters the tidal inlet of the Bristol Channel approximately 11km west of Swansea (Lewis 1975, 147; 1993, 99). The site was first occupied during the Roman period with the

establishment of the fort known as *Leucarum* founded during the first century (Lewis 1993, 99). There is no written evidence for the foundation of the medieval castle. However, the commote of Gŵyr was granted to Henry de Beaumont, Earl of Warwick, by Henry I in 1106, and therefore it is presumed that the first castle, a ringwork consisting of a bank and ditch, was built not long after this time (Lewis 1973, 61; 1975, 148; 1993, 120). Although the castle remained under English control throughout its history, entries in the *Brut y Tywysogyon* suggest that the castle was attacked by Welsh forces in both 1151 and 1215 (Lewis 1975, 152; 156; 1993, 120), and evidence of fire and destruction was discovered during the excavation of the site, although Lewis (1993, 120) advises caution when attempting to link the archaeological evidence with the events described in the historical record. After the conquest of Wales in 1282, the importance of the castle greatly decreased. Loughor was granted to John Iweyn in 1302, who rose to importance as an official of Hugh le Despenser in the early fourteenth century; however, following his execution in 1321, it is presumed that the castle fell into decline and is described by Rice Merrick in 1587 as 'ruinous' (Lewis 1993, 122).

Exploratory excavations at Loughor began in 1969 and continued until 1973 with an aim of learning more about the history of this ruined fortress (Lewis 1975, 148). The excavations identified five different phases of occupation between c.1106 and its abandonment in the late thirteenth century (Lewis 1975, 152-7), and also possibly discovered evidence of conflict at the site with the identification of a layer of ash and charcoal in the kitchen building from the first period of occupation (1106-1151) which Lewis (1973, 61; 1975, 152) equated with the Welsh attack on the site in 1151.

In Lewis's (1975) preliminary report there is a brief description of some of the more interesting finds from the excavations, including a number of gaming counters and chess pieces from the first phase (Lewis 1975, 152). There is also a pottery report (Lewis and Vyner 1979). However, there is no discussion of any of the iron work recovered, including the military related artefacts. The final excavation report (Lewis 1993) is a limited improvement. There is an extensive discussion of the variety of finds discovered during the excavation including pottery, animal bone and other environmental finds. However, although Lewis (1993, 147-9) lists the iron objects, including four arrowheads and one spearhead, there is no discussion of these or consideration of their significance. Furthermore, there are ten arrowheads from Loughor included in the catalogue compiled during this project,

suggesting that some of these were not listed by Lewis in the final report, and the spearhead, which Lewis does not illustrate, has not been located by the author. This highlights the general oversight of this material in excavations of castle sites across Wales.

Montgomery (Powys – SO221968)

Arrowheads	15
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.18. Military Artefacts from Montgomery

Montgomery Castle is situated on top of a rocky promontory directly above the town . It occupies an important strategic point on the central March where the Severn Valley narrows as it enters the Welsh uplands and commands the significant crossing of the Severn at Rhyd Wyman (Knight 1992, 97). The castle was originally built by Henry III to counteract the power of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in this area of the Welsh March and replaced the original motte-and- bailey Castle built by Roger de Montgomery at Hen Domen (see above) (Knight 1992, 97-8). Construction of the castle began in 1223, yet Knight (1992, 100) has found no mention of masons on the site until 1224, suggesting that the initial construction was of timber. The king granted the unfinished castle to Hubert de Burgh in 1228; however, following his fall from grace in 1232 it reverted to control of the crown (Knight 1992, 100). Although the site was of high importance to the English during their attempted conquests of Wales, following 1282, the castle was no longer significant and by the fourteenth century lay in ruins. The involvement of the Herbert family at Montgomery started following refurbishment by Bishop Rowland Lee in 1538-43, although this was short-lived as the family left residence at Montgomery in 1580 (Knight 1992, 102). By 1622, the family had returned to construct a large brick house in the middle ward, but during the English Civil War the castle was besieged and taken by Parliamentary forces, and the castle demolished by Order of Parliament in 1649 (Knight 1992, 102-3).

The castle site was excavated in the 1960s by Jeremy Knight during consolidation works and the redisplay of the site for the general public. The main focus of the excavation was in the inner ward as this was the only part of the castle ‘defended in stone’ (Knight 1992, 124); however, other areas of excavation included the middle ward, the outer ditch and the

outworks and barbican. A significant collection of arms and armour associated artefacts were recovered during the excavation, including a collection of fifteen arrowheads of varying types. Unfortunately all the pieces of armour found dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is outside the remit of this thesis.

The main issue with the collection of arrowheads from Montgomery is that, although they are comparable to types found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century contexts elsewhere in Wales, this was not the case at Montgomery. For example, Knight (1993, 228) records that numbers 9 to 14 (and possibly 15) came from a sixteenth-century fill against the inner face of the east curtain wall, no. 16 came from seventeenth-century destruction debris, and numbers 19 to 23 were sealed below a sixteenth-century fill in a fifteenth-century context. This is problematic when trying to establish a date for the objects, but also causes difficulty in ascertaining whether the arrowheads from Montgomery are actually relevant to this thesis as it is possible that they were in use at a later date than concerns this research.

Nevern (Pembrokeshire – SN083402)

Arrowheads	15
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.19. Military Artefacts from Nevern

Nevern Castle is an earthwork with traces of masonry walls which is located on a spur of rock formed by the Gamman stream, on the north side of the valley of the River Nyfer in Pembrokeshire (Caple unpubl., 4). The site overlooks the church of St Brynach, the site of several early medieval carved stone monuments, and was once the centre of the commote and medieval lordship of Cemais (Caple unpubl., 4).

Although the significance of the site is likely to date back into the early medieval period, the history of the medieval castle most likely begins c.1108 when the Norman lord Robert fitzMartin captured the commote of Cemais from Cuhelyn Fardd as part of the conquest of Dyfed initiated by Henry I (Caple unpubl., 7-11). The transformation of the Welsh commote into a Norman barony took place fairly swiftly and fitzMartin built the castle at Nevern as the caput of his new lordship. However, following the unrest caused by the

death of Henry I, the Welsh took full advantage and began the process of regaining the lands previously lost to the Norman invaders. Robert fitzMartin was one of the leaders of the defeated army at the battle of Crug Mawr between the sons of Gruffud ap Cynan (Owain and Cadwaladr) and the opposing Norman and Flemish forces, and although there is no written record of what happened to the area surrounding Nevern Castle, it is presumed that the Norman lords were driven out of their lordships, and that Nevern passed into the hands of the Welsh leader, Gruffudd ap Rhys (Caple unpubl., 13).

However, following the accession of Henry II stability returned to south Wales, and Robert fitzMartin regained his lands in Cemais, possibly following an agreement between Gruffudd ap Rhys and Henry II made in 1158, but by 1159 Robert had died leaving his lands to be inherited by his son William, who at the time was still a minor (Caple unpubl., 13). It is unclear who controlled the lordship of Cemais and the castle at Nevern during William's minority; however in an agreement between the Lord Rhys and Henry II made in 1171-2, which saw Rhys become Justiciar of south Wales, William was restored to his inheritance and a marriage between William and Rhys's daughter Angharad was proposed (Caple unpubl., 14). Following Henry's death in 1189, a period of unrest occurred, and by 1191, Rhys had seized Nevern from his son-in-law despite having sworn an oath to the contrary (Davies 2007, 79; Caple unpubl., 15). By this point however, Rhys was not only in conflict with the Marcher lords present in south Wales, he was also in conflict with his own sons. The medieval writer Gerald of Wales (see Chapter 2) recalls how in 1194, Rhys's sons Maelgwn and Hywel Sais captured their father and imprisoned him at Nevern, but then Hywel took the castle from Maelgwn by deceit, and released his father (Davies 2007, 79; Caple unpubl., 15). However, when in 1195 Hywel Sais lost the castle of St Clears to William de Braose, he feared that Nevern Castle would also fall into the hands of his enemies, and thus ordered its destruction, apparently setting fire to the buildings (Caple unpubl., 16). During this time it is believed that William fitzMartin was fighting in Wales against Rhys and his sons, and in 1196/7 he was advanced 20 marks by the Crown to refortify or re-establish his castle in Cemais (Caple unpubl., 16). However, rather than rebuilding Nevern, William chose to use the money to build on a new site at Trefdraeth, more easily supplied and relieved by sea.

The first archaeological investigations to take place at Nevern were a magnetometry and topographic survey in 2005 following by a resistivity survey in 2007 (Caple unpubl., 6). These were then followed by four seasons of excavation undertaken by a mixture of local

volunteers and students from Durham, Lampeter and Cardiff universities (Caple unpubl., 17). The excavations revealed significant information on the construction and layout of the castle during the twelfth century, and both the environmental and artefactual assemblages have also been important in understanding the local environment and economy of the Cemais lordship during this time.

The military finds consist of a collection of fifteen arrowheads, the majority of which compare to collections found at other Marcher castles such as Rumney, Hen Domen and Loughor (Caple unpubl., 69). There is also a substantial collection of lithic projectiles which were categorised into a number of different types, including slingstones, handstones and dropstones, and are comparable with the collection from Dryslwyn (see above). The discussion of these military objects is thorough and, unlike many castle excavations, their significance in understanding the history of the castle is demonstrated clearly. For example, Caple (unpubl., 69) suggests that, although the greater number of arrowhead types found have been described as multi-purpose by Jessop (1996) (see Chapter 5), the large number of arrowheads collected from around the round tower and defensive structures on the northern boundary, but not the south range, would indicate that these arrowheads were being used in either an offensive or defensive role, and not used for hunting. This discussion and interpretation of military objects is crucial to providing a better understanding, not only of this site, but of conflicts in medieval Wales as a whole, and demonstrates that, where these objects have been ignored by other archaeologists, possibly valuable interpretations have been lost.

Rhuddlan (Denbighshire – SJ025779)

Arrowheads	3
Spearheads	0
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.20. Military Artefacts from Rhuddlan

The later medieval town of Rhuddlan was founded by Edward I in 1278 alongside the concentric masonry castle that was constructed to aid control of north Wales following the campaigns against Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in Gwynedd in 1277 (Quinnell & Blockley 1995, 1-3). However, this stone built castle was not the first to be constructed on the site. Originally

the site of *Cledemutha*, the *burh* founded by Edward the Elder in the early tenth century, it was then the location of the palace belonging to Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (d.1063) (Taylor 2004, 1). In the years following the Norman conquest of England, Hugh of Chester commissioned the construction of a motte-and-bailey castle (c.1073), and this was held by his cousin, Robert of Rhuddlan, as a base from which he could attempt to conquer the rest of north Wales (Quinnell & Blockley 1995, 214). The remains of this timber and earthwork castle can be found at the site known as Twt Hill, and the motte still survives today (Taylor 2004, 1). The castle is not noted as being involved in conflict with the Welsh until the middle of the twelfth century, when records state that Owain Gwynedd seized Rhuddlan in 1140 (Quinnell & Blockley 1995, 216).

Over the next hundred years the castle at Rhuddlan passed from Welsh to English hands on a regular basis. In 1157 Henry II regained control of the site until 1167 when Owain Gwynedd again took the castle and destroyed it after a three week siege (Quinnell & Blockley 1995, 216). At some stage the castle must have been rebuilt as Gerald of Wales records how Dafydd ap Llywelyn entertained Archbishop Baldwin there on his journey through Wales in 1188 (Thorpe 1978, 196; Quinnell & Blockley 1995, 216). It was not until 1241 that the castle returned to English control when Dafydd ap Llywelyn yielded it to Henry III; however, that was short lived as Llywelyn ap Gruffudd took it back during campaigns in 1256 (Quinnell & Blockley 1995, 217-8).

It was only when Edward I defeated Llywelyn in 1277 and subsequently started work on the new stone structure that Rhuddlan remained under English control. The castle, still incomplete, was besieged during the initial attacks of 1282, but, although records of repairs in 1285 allude to damage, the castle was never actually taken by the Welsh rebels (Taylor 2004, 3). Like nearby Flint, the importance of Rhuddlan diminished after the conquest in 1282 following construction of the castles at Conway, Caernarfon and Beaumaris further west. However, Rhuddlan did see military action again during the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in 1400, when the town was attacked, although the castle was not taken (Taylor 2004, 4). It was at this time that Quinnell and Blockley (1995, 225) suggest that there was some slighting of the defences. However it was not until the seventeenth century that the castle was abandoned when, in 1648, Roger Hanmer, high sheriff of Flintshire, was charged with its 'care and demolition' (Taylor 2004, 4).

Although conservation of the remains of the castle began in 1947 (Taylor 2004, 4), it has never been investigated archaeologically. However, between 1969 and 1973 there was extensive archaeological investigation of the town of Rhuddlan focusing on a number of sites to document its history from the Mesolithic to the medieval period (Quinnell & Blockley 1995). Although neither of the castle sites was subject to excavation at this time, the siege of castle and town in both 1282 and 1400 would indicate a possibility of finding military related artefacts beyond the castle walls.

As would be expected from a series of excavations across an entire settlement, a great range of artefacts were recovered, and are discussed in the final report (Quinnell and Blockley 1995). Regarding medieval weaponry, Goodhall (1995, 188) refers to fourteen examples of arrowheads found during the excavations, many of which were associated with late thirteenth-century contexts and were thus related to activity associated with the Edwardian castle. Although he does not specifically link them to any published typology of arrowheads, he described the general forms with any identifying characteristics, including shapes of blades and the presence of barbs on two examples (nos 138 and 139), which he (1995, 188) suggests might have been used in hunting. The interpretation of these finds is comparatively brief, and although comparisons are made with assemblages from castles, such as Dyserth, Criccieth and Castell y Bere, the potential for further interpretation of military activity at Rhuddlan as a result of the analysis of these artefacts has been missed. However, trying accurately to link artefacts found from such a widespread site with a particular phase of activity is difficult, and the importance of this collection of arrowheads is that it provides an alternative view into past military activity to those from within the castle walls.

Rumney Castle (Glamorgan – ST210789)

Arrowheads	16
Spearheads	1
Swords	0
Daggers	0
Knives	0
Other	0

Table 3.21. Military Artefacts from Rumney Castle

Rumney Castle lies above a steep scarp on the north-west slope of Rumney Hill, approximately 4km north east of central Cardiff. The site occupies a commanding position, overlooking the River Rhymney, and played a key role in controlling the westernmost border

of the Marcher lordship of Gwynllŵg (Lightfoot 1992, 96). The earliest reference to Rumney Castle in the historical record is found in the late twelfth century; however Lightfoot (1992, 156-7) has argued that the foundation of the castle was considerably earlier, and places its construction in *c.*1081, at the time when Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of Deheubarth, conceded land in the area to the Normans in an agreement made between Rhys and William the Conqueror. The lordship of Gwynllŵg then passed into the control of Robert fitzHamon in *c.*1093 and there is evidence to suggest that Rumney was granted to Robert de Haia during this time (Lightfoot 1992, 157). Between 1114 and 1147, Rumney, along with the rest of the lordship, was held by Robert of Gloucester and then Robert's son, William, until 1183. During this period there was almost continuous rebellion from the Welsh, especially during the civil wars between Stephen and Matilda in which Robert played such a crucial part. Territorial clashes continued following William's death in 1183. William died without an heir so the lands passed into the control of Henry II and then John, following his marriage to William's daughter, Isabel, in 1189 (Lightfoot 1992, 158). However, John lost his claim to the lordship when he divorced Isabel and, following several remarriages, Isabel's inheritance eventually passed to her nephew, Gilbert de Clare, in 1217 (Lightfoot 1992, 158).

The de Clares continued their occupation of Rumney throughout the thirteenth century and it was highly likely that, whilst the castle was occupied by Maud de Clare between 1267 and 1289, it underwent conversion to a fortified manor (Lightfoot 1992, 159). However, this was short-lived as, following Maud's death in 1189, Rumney passed to her son, Gilbert 'the Red' de Clare, who was a key target during the Welsh revolt in 1294-5. Written evidence is unclear as to the full extent of the damage done at Rumney, although the sources allude to the destruction of two mills on the site (Lightfoot 1992, 159). What is made clear by the historical and archaeological evidence, however, is that the manor at Rumney was no longer of importance to the de Clare family following the revolt and Lightfoot (1992, 159) suggests that the attack in 1295 was the reason for the manor's destruction in the late thirteenth century. This was supported by the discovery of a well concealed coin hoard found during the archaeological investigations at the site that was dated *c.*1288-9 (Lightfoot 1992, 99).

The castle underwent two separate seasons of excavation in advance of development on the site. The first season, in 1978, and the second in 1980-1, were both undertaken by Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust. The castle was extensively excavated, including the

entire summit of the castle mount, except for a 3m wide baulk along the modern property line; a limited portion of the ditch was also examined (Lightfoot 1992, 97). The excavations revealed significant evidence for the layout of the site. A brief chronology was also established, although Lightfoot (1992, 99) did state that the limitations of rescue archaeology and time restrictions, particular in 1978, affected the recovery of evidence and meant that establishing a detailed chronology, including a date for the establishment of the site, was not possible.

Despite the problems associated with rescue archaeology, a considerable number of artefacts were recovered, including a significant collection of metal objects which were written up by Lloyd-Fern and Sell (in Lightfoot 1992, 134-43). Included in the collection are a sizable group of arrowheads, some of which have been compared to those in the *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (Ward-Perkins 1954), and the partial remains of a spearhead blade are also recorded. As the finds were primarily being used for dating purposes, there is little discussion of the function or significance of the items. However, these objects can still provide a useful comparative reference for other research projects.

Other Key Excavations

In addition to castle sites, there are other large scale excavations that have yielded material relevant to this project. Not all soldiers would have lived within castle walls; therefore, to assume that military activity only took place at castle sites in Wales would result in a lot of relevant material being discounted. There are four other important sites that have yielded a number of military artefacts. These are Llandough Roman villa (Glamorgan), Castle Villa Baths, Caerleon, and Theodoric's Hermitage, Margam (all in Glamorgan) and the moated manor at Llys Edwin, Northop (Flintshire). Llandough Roman villa was excavated by Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust in advance of a housing development in 1979 (Owen-John 1988, 125). The main area of excavation was the previously unrecorded Roman villa; however evidence was also collected associated with a monastic grange, a medieval village and an early Christian cemetery (Owen-John 1988, 125). Excavations at Castle Villa Baths were carried out during the nineteenth century and the results published by John Edward Lee in *A Description of a Roman Building and Other Remains Lately Discovered at Caerleon* (1850) (Trett 2006). At present, the author has been unable to find any published material discussing the excavations at Theodoric's Hermitage. Although these sites do not

have any particular link with military activity during the medieval period, the military related artefacts are still relevant. The most significant is Llys Edwin discussed in more detail below.

Llys Edwin

Arrowheads	0
Spearheads	7
Swords	2
Daggers	1
Knives	3
Other	3

Table 3.22. Military Artefacts from Llys Edwin

The remains of this moated site are located on the lands of Celyn Farm in Northop, and were excavated by T. A. Glenn in 1931 on the request of Lady Daresbury of Walton, who claimed to be the descendant of the original occupant, Eadwine, after which the site was named. Walton’s preliminary survey had, according to Glenn (1934, 1), proved the original record of the site made by the Royal Commission to be incorrect (although how and why Glenn fails to mention), and thus Lady Daresbury commissioned Glenn to investigate the site in more detail.

Excavations uncovered a multi-phase site which Glenn (1934, 18) believed had been established prior to the Norman Conquest of 1066 and had been destroyed during the first half of the fourteenth century. The initial structure identified during excavations was a rectangular timber building surrounded by a bank and ditch (Glenn 1934, 2). Glenn (1934, 3) claimed that this was replaced by a half-timbered building in the ‘early Norman period’ (late-eleventh or twelfth century) which was subsequently reconstructed in stone in the years preceding the thirteenth century. The final phase of building, according to Glenn (1934, 3), took place during the first half of the thirteenth century and this saw the period of most alterations and construction on the site.

Although fairly brief, Glenn (1934, 5-9) goes on to describe the site structure by structure and includes a description of the key finds. For example, he refers to a sword blade found very deep within the floor of the hall (Glenn 1934, 5), several knives from the kitchen (Glenn 1934, 7) and three javelin heads and a quarrel head, outside what Glenn refers to as the ‘keep’ (Glenn 1934, 9). However, his interpretation is questionable: for example, he argues that the javelin heads would have been used with a siege engine (presumably something resembling a ballista), which is unlikely. But, considering the date of the

excavation, the records have considerable detail, especially when they are compared to those at Castell y Bere and Criccieth.

Metal Detecting and the Portable Antiquities Scheme

Organized archaeological study of battlefields in Wales may have proven difficult and has on the whole yielded little evidence to date (see Chapter 1). However, the work of amateur metal detectorists in Wales has produced some results. The interest in metal detecting throughout Britain and Ireland can be seen by the large number of clubs and associations that are currently running. On the National Council for Metal Detecting (NCMD) website alone there are over one hundred registered clubs listed throughout Britain, with seven registered in Wales, including clubs based in Swansea, Cardiff, Wrexham, Gwent and Pembrokeshire (NCMD 2007-2011). Furthermore, this does not include the large number of private enthusiasts who are not recorded members of a club or group. Although these clubs are not looking solely for military related items, it would be expected that a proportion of what they find might fall into this category and that some of these items may have come from sites related to battles or skirmishes that are yet to be discovered. The main problem, highlighted by archaeologists, with finds that are sourced in this way is the lack of stratigraphical dating evidence and precise archaeological context, due to the way in which the items are removed from the ground. Nevertheless the majority of the objects are recovered from topsoil, most commonly from ploughed fields, which means they are unstratified and difficult to date, unless similar examples have been found in dated contexts through excavation that can be used to date the finds typologically. However, such objects can still be of significance, and are therefore included in this study.

The increasing popularity of metal detecting amongst amateur enthusiasts has led to an increase in the possibility of finding artefacts without full scale excavation of known historic sites, and when concerned with the landscapes of battle, it is not surprising that archaeologists are realising the potential of such finds (Scott and Fox 1987; Scott et al 1989; Pollard and Banks 2006; Foard 2010). However, with an increase of participation, there is a requirement for greater control and regulation. In England and Wales the only items that are found by metal detectorists that, by law, have to be reported are those covered by the 1996 Treasure Act. The definition of items covered by the Treasure Act can be seen below (HMSO, 1996).

Meaning of “treasure”.

(1) Treasure is—

(a) any object at least 300 years old when found which—

(i) is not a coin but has metallic content of which at least 10 per cent by weight is precious metal;

(ii) when found, is one of at least two coins in the same find which are at least 300 years old at that time and have that percentage of precious metal; or

(iii) when found, is one of at least ten coins in the same find which are at least 300 years old at that time;

(b) any object at least 200 years old when found which belongs to a class designated under section 2(1);

(c) any object which would have been treasure trove if found before the commencement of section 4;

(d) any object which, when found, is part of the same find as—

(i) an object within paragraph (a), (b) or (c) found at the same time or earlier; or

(ii) an object found earlier which would be within paragraph (a) or (b) if it had been found at the same time.

(2) Treasure does not include objects which are—

(a) unworked natural objects, or

(b) minerals as extracted from a natural deposit,

or which belong to a class designated under section 2(2).

It is therefore important to stress that the proportion of finds covered by the Act is extremely low, and does not include any items that might be seen as important to a study of this kind.

Furthermore, in many cases, items found through metal detecting not covered by the Treasure Act are presumed to have been kept as part of the private collection of the person that found them. This causes problems in itself, as it means that there are likely to be significant objects that, without expert knowledge and opinion, go unrecorded and therefore important evidence is lost. In addition, there is the bigger problem of what metal detectorists do with finds they do not want to keep, items which could either be thrown away or sold for profit. The attraction of selling these objects can be clearly seen by the number of ‘metal

detecting finds' that can purchased on the internet through auction sites such as eBay. On the day of writing (14 June 2012), it was possible to purchase many different arrowheads, including one that was certainly medieval, hundreds of musket balls from across the country, some of which would undoubtedly would have come from battlefield sites, and miscellaneous objects, such as buckles and rings (eBAY 1995-2012), some of which might be significant finds, which have so far gone unrecorded.

In an attempt to reduce the number of unrecorded finds, as well as to support the 1996 Treasure Act, in 1997 the Department of National Heritage (DNH), now part of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), secured funding to begin the process of establishing a voluntary scheme for recording non-treasure finds (PAS 2010b). Fifteen years later, the Portable Antiquities Scheme, based in the British Museum, now has call-in centres in Museums across the country and employs a team of experts, including a total of 39 finds liaison officers for help and support (PAS 2010b). In addition, the online database allows information on finds recorded through the scheme to be made accessible to all, and in 2010 boasted a total of 791,385 objects and counting (PAS 2010a).

This is an incredibly large number of finds; however, it is likely that very few finds relevant to this project are being recorded. From the vast number of finds recorded in the database, only three could be included in the catalogue (CC 450 from Chepstow, Monmouthshire, CC 462 from Cynffig, Bridgend (Glamorgan) and CC 478 from Brecon, (Powys). Although this may be an accurate representation of the number of medieval weapons that are being found in Wales by metal detectorists, one must question whether there are more finds being made, but those making the finds are reluctant to make them public knowledge. An attempt was made as part of this project to contact metal-detecting clubs directly, including *Metal-Detecting Wales* in 2010. On initial contact the feedback was quite positive, with a number of metal detectorists claiming to have found objects of interest. However, as soon as questions were asked requiring details of the locations of finds, the help started to dry up. This is not to say that all metal detectorists would respond in such a way, and of course there are many that work alongside archaeologists and record all their items carefully. On the other hand, the suspicious nature of some metal detectorists and their wish to keep their lucrative find spots secret for whatever reason, means that there are finds that will continue to go unrecorded and hidden from academic research unless there is a formal change in the law.

Museum Collections

The majority of finds included in the catalogue have been made available for access in the collections of the National Museum and other major local museums across Wales. It was not an aim of this project to include every medieval weapon found within Wales in the catalogue, but rather to include as many significant collections from a wide range of sites instead. This was primarily due to time restraints, as an attempt to identify every possible weapon that has ever been found would have been very time-consuming and would thus have left very little time for analysis of the artefacts, which was integral to answering the research questions given in Chapter 1. This meant that a range of museum collections were chosen from across Wales, starting with the most significant collection in National Museum Wales, and then moving on to include smaller museum collections, such as those in Flintshire and Carmarthenshire County Museum Services. It is important to stress that several other museums were contacted at the beginning of the project, including Wrexham County Borough Museum, Tenby Museum and Art Gallery, Swansea Museum and Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery; however, out of the fifteen museums contacted,ⁱ only five (including National Museum Wales) responded with suitable material.

The main problem with this approach was that, although objects might be included in many of these smaller collections, either the museum staff were unsure of what they had or the objects themselves were in too poor condition, with a lack of context, which meant that there was little to be learnt by looking at them. Examples of these included the collection of arrowheads that came from Flint Castle which were housed in Flintshire Museums Services stores in Shotton. Some of these artefacts were in such poor condition it was impossible to determine any characteristics in order to classify the items into a specific type. It is relevant to point out that of the museums contacted a significant number had no relevant material in their collections at all; these included museums such as Newport, Brecknock and Wrexham. In some cases, weaponry they had on display was of the wrong date, for example Roman military items were fairly popular. This reflects the apparent lack of interest in the academic study of the archaeology of warfare in Britain, particularly medieval warfare. These objects are rarely put on display, except for exceptional pieces, such as the Dryslwyn mace-head (Carmarthenshire County Museum) or the Slebech sword (National Museum Wales, Cardiff). It would appear that to include items, such as arrowheads and spearheads, in displays is a low priority, and reasons for this vary. Along with other types of archaeological material, medieval weaponry is difficult to interpret in a display setting, as it is often fragmentary and

lacking in context. This means that, although it may be a popular subject with the public, there is a lot of research required by museum staff to create an interesting and formal display. Also, in many cases curators of general collections lack the know-how to do so (pers. comm. D. Seymour). In addition there is the problem of maintaining the right environmental conditions to display archaeological metal (pers. comm. D. Seymour). Therefore, museum staff prefer to use their limited resources and storage space for the more informative, non-archaeological, artefacts. Interestingly, it should be mentioned that during the field work to compile this catalogue, museum staff were not only helpful, but also interested in both the objects and the results of this project, so maybe in the future some of these objects may be exhibited.

National Museum Wales, Cardiff

The largest and most significant collection of medieval weaponry in a Welsh museum is at National Museum Wales, Cardiff (NMW). Artefacts housed in NMW have been collected from sites across Wales, including the castles of Criccieth, Castell y Bere, Degannwy, Loughor and Cardiff. Also included in the collection are items found at non-military sites, such as Llandough Roman villa and Theroderic's Hermitage, Margam. In addition to excavated artefacts, NMW also has a number of donated objects, found either as a result of metal detecting or by chance, such as a spearhead (CC 489) that was dug up in a garden in Aberavon (Glamorgan), and several objects that were part of the Wynne of Peniarth Collection, most of which are, unfortunately, unprovenanced.

The value of a collection of this size and range is clearly important to a project such as this, for it provides access to a variety of objects from all over Wales. It is therefore possible to compare the material collected from sites in north Wales to that from sites in the south. In addition, due to the resources available to the National Museum, the condition of many of the objects is better than those in the care of museums with smaller budgets, as there is better access to conservation. However, in some cases, the objects were excavated long ago and are now in very poor condition, but the majority were both accessible and in sufficiently good condition as to allow detailed recording.

On the other hand, there are problems associated with using the collection at NMW, which can also be applied to museums across Wales and beyond. Firstly, the lack of expert knowledge of the artefacts in their collection by museum staff is problematic, although understandable. Although items, such as swords and daggers included in displays on a

frequent basis, are fairly well documented, other items are not so well recorded and are rarely investigated further. The small bronze arrowhead from Theodoric's Hermitage, Margam (CC 008) demonstrates this well. This item is rare since bronze arrowheads are usually Bronze Age and are widely found throughout Europe. Both the size and form of this example are, however, very different from these, and its resemblance to medieval warheads of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is striking (see Chapter 5). Worryingly, this example was found by pure chance within the collection at NMW, which had it recorded as a spur terminal, which it most definitely is not. Without an experienced eye looking at these objects, it is highly likely that other artefacts of importance might have been misinterpreted and remain in museum stores nationwide awaiting discovery.

Furthermore, there are objects within the collection at NMW which are yet to be catalogued. The most significant of these in terms of this project, are the metal finds from the excavations at Dolforwyn Castle (Powys), which took place during the 1980s and early 1990s (see above). Large numbers of finds would have been collected over the ten years of excavation, yet any hope of accessing specific finds for research purposes would require painstakingly going through every box of finds from that site within the museum. Not only is this extremely time consuming, the fact that nearly twenty years later these objects are still waiting to be processed means that the condition of these artefacts is, in all probability, going to be extremely poor. Therefore, as time passes, the worth of this material is gradually going to decrease.

Flintshire Museum Service

The second significant museum collection that proved useful in this project is cared for by Flintshire Museum Service (FMS), which includes local museums in both Mold and Buckley. Interestingly, this collection also demonstrates the lack of knowledge of these objects; all the artefacts relevant to this study were in store, not on display. The collection included artefacts recovered during excavations at sites such as Dyserth, Flint and Caergwrle Castles, as well as one arrowhead from Rhuddlan Castle (see above), although details from when and where it came are lacking. The collection also included a number of objects which are thought to have come from the excavations at Llys Edwin, which had come to FMS as part of the collection of the private enthusiast, Gilbert Smith, who is reported to have purchased the objects after the excavations in 1934 (pers. comm. D. Seymour.).

The artefacts in this museum collection range in condition and some, including the items from Llys Edwin, are very well preserved. Whereas others, including arrowheads from both Flint Castle and Caergwrle Castle, are in such poor condition that it was virtually impossible to distinguish any characteristic features. Remarkably, it would appear that the objects that were excavated in the first half of the twentieth century are in better condition than those excavated in the past twenty years. Reasons for this are unclear, although to refer back to the work of Nord et al (2002, 289) discussed in Chapter 1, this may be the result on increased levels of pollution in atmosphere. However, it may reflect how these objects have become less important to the archaeologists excavating these sites in the later decades of the twentieth century, and thus, securing their preservation for the future also becomes less important.

Carmarthenshire County Museum

Carmarthenshire County Museum (CCM) also houses a significant number of military related artefacts, some of which are on display, but most are in storage. The most significant items in the collection are the artefacts excavated at Dryslwyn Castle (see above), which not only include a large number of arrowheads and spearheads, but also the copper-alloy mace-head which takes pride of place within the display (CC 463). Other castle sites included in their collection are Llanstephen and Laugharne, with a variety of arrowheads and spearheads from both sites. CCM also have a number of objects that have been donated to the museum from private collections. These include an arrowhead (CC 303) and spearhead (CC 502), both unfortunately unprovenanced but believed to have come from the locality, and a sword (CC 512) donated to the museum by Lady Hills-Johnes in 1918 (pers. comm. G. Evans).

On the whole, the collection from CCM is in better condition when compared with other collections in Wales. This is likely to result from better and more modern excavation techniques, and perhaps a keener interest in those types of object. For example, the weapons collected during excavations at Dryslwyn were given more attention than others from castle sites excavated in the recent past in the excavation report. The details that can be gathered in terms of this project are much greater. However, like the majority of museum collections, there is a lack of background information available about some of the objects, which can be problematic. For example, the sword donated by Lady Hill-Johnes is thought to have been found in the River Cothy by D. Long-Price but, unfortunately, further details, including

information on the specific location of the find, are lost, details that are essential to any interpretations concerning the provenance of this object.

Ceredigion Museum, Aberystwyth

The Ceredigion Museum is a small museum with a limited collection of military related artefacts, all from excavations at Aberystwyth Castle (see above) at the turn of the twentieth century. As a result, the background information on these artefacts is very sparse, and does not give much context to the objects at all. The condition of the artefacts, considering they were excavated over one hundred years ago, is surprisingly good, which means that, although the context of their discovery is poorly recorded, the evidence that can be gleaned from their study is still useful. The most interesting objects within this collection, however, are the group of ten stone cannon balls thought to have come from the siege of the castle by Prince Henry (later King Henry V) during the Glyndŵr revolt. These objects highlight how much material like this has been virtually ignored up until now, for the author knows of no other collection of stone cannon balls from elsewhere in Britain that is of this size. Yet, these examples remain tucked away in a room in Ceredigion Museum with little attention paid to them, and the potential information that could be gained from their study has been unrecognised.

Powysland Museum, Welshpool

Finally, Powysland Museum has a very small collection of four objects on display. Other than the decorated dagger from Dolforwyn Castle (CC 453), which is on loan from NMW, the two sword blades (CC 508 and CC 516) and one arrowhead (CC 366) are not in the best condition, particularly the sword blade (CC 508), which was found on the Breidden and is barely recognisable as a sword. Details on the context of these objects are rather vague. However, there are some details that were made available which make it important to include them in this project.

Therefore there are a small number of museums throughout Wales that have significant collections of relevant material within them. However, the value of that material is variable. In some circumstances the condition of the artefacts is so poor that no significant findings can be made, and in others the context of the artefacts is so vague that the merit of their analysis is limited. Nonetheless, the majority of the artefacts in museum collections are integral to understanding the assortment of weapons that were in use in medieval Wales.

Visual Representations

In addition to the evidence gathered from the analysis of artefacts recovered from the ground, there are numerous representations of warfare and military equipment found in medieval art. These survive in a variety of formats, including funerary sculpture, such as sepulchral slabs and effigies, illustrations from contemporary manuscripts, and even paintings and embroideries, such as the Bayeux Tapestry which depicts events leading up to and including the Battle of Hastings in 1066. Although it is debatable how accurate such depictions of weapons in these artistic representations may be, their analysis is essential in the study of medieval warfare, especially for objects, such as swords or shields, where so few examples now survive.

Funerary Sculpture

The most common form of art to depict examples of medieval military equipment is funerary sculpture in the form of sepulchral slabs, or in the later period, military effigies. Military funerary monuments are found throughout western Europe, with many notable examples found in Wales. The most extensive study of funerary monuments in Wales, including military, civilian and ecclesiastical examples, was published by Gresham in 1968, and focuses on the examples which he believed were created by the North Wales School of Sculpture. Gresham (1968) dates these between 1100 and 1450, and catalogues over fifty sepulchral slabs depicting weapons and a further twenty examples of military effigies, all of which can be referred to for further information regarding the form and appearance of military equipment, most frequently the sword and shield, and occasionally the spear. In addition to these examples in north Wales, there are numerous other funerary monuments found throughout Wales, including effigies in St David's Cathedral (Pembrokeshire) that are believed to represent the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth (d.1197) (Fig. 3.1) and Rhys Gryg (d. 1234) (Fig 3.2) (Turvey 1999, 5-26), and the wooden effigy of a knight in Abergavenny that Blair (1994, 47) argued represented John, second Baron Hastings (d. 1325).

Although it is important to include this type of evidence in a study of medieval weaponry, it is also essential to understand the weaknesses and problems associated with it. The accuracy of the representations of weapons included on these sculptures is debatable and, in order to determine the extent of any inaccuracies, the initial question of where the sculptor attained his information from must be answered. There are several options available, including depicting the arms and armour owned by the knight being commemorated, or

perhaps the sculptor would have a standard military kit that could be individualised but was not representative of the equipment owned by the deceased. Gresham (1968, 51) argues that effigies in particular were stock productions of workshops and not made to measure, thus supporting the latter option. In addition, Steer and Bannerman (1977, 167) offer evidence gathered from late medieval monumental sculpture in the West Highlands of Scotland, where the same pattern is used over and over again and the shapes are often distorted to fit the available space. This would suggest that the types of armour and weapons on medieval funerary sculpture are stylised, most likely reflecting the general form of the most common items, but rarely depicting specific examples, limiting the use of this source of evidence.

On the other hand, although there are similarities between the depictions of items such as swords and shields on funerary monuments, there are also occasional subtle differences which would suggest that sculptors did attempt to make the monuments individual, even if they came from the same workshop. However, even if the sculptors did use the equipment owned by the deceased, Gresham (1968, 51) also points out that the armour could have been that which was worn during the owner's prime, and therefore, was old fashioned when copied at the time of his death, unless he died in youth. This highlights the other key issue with using funerary monuments to study medieval military equipment: dating.

On the whole, few of these monuments are inscribed with the name of the individual, and even where this does occur, as on the Ruabon effigy (Gresham 1968, no. 172), inscribed with the personal name Hywel, there is little hope of deciphering who this Hywel may have been, let alone when he might have died. In addition, the effigies of the Lord Rhys and his son Rhys Gryg (Figs. 3.1 and 3.2), located in St David's Cathedral, underline how relying on the name of the subject can cause further issues. Rhys died in 1197, his son in 1233; however, the first military effigies did not appear in England until the mid-thirteenth century (Dressler 2004, 14), nearly fifty years after the Lord Rhys's death. Furthermore, the existence of plate armour on both examples would imply a much later date, and thus it would be fair to assume that both effigies were sculpted long after the death of those they commemorated. This does not mean that the information that can be gleaned from their study is useless, but that it cannot be used accurately to reconstruct the arms and armour of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As a result, the dating of funerary sculptures relies on the analysis of their features, such as clothing and the objects depicted.



Fig. 3.1. Military Effigy of the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth
(Source: Author)



Fig. 3.2. Military Effigy of the Rhys Gryg (Source: Author)

The first English mail-and-surcoat effigies date to *c.*1240, and continue well into the fourteenth century, before plate-armoured effigies replaced them (Dressler 2004, 14). The initial workshops were based in the west of England, before moving to London in the third quarter of the thirteenth century; however, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, workshops producing effigies could be found throughout the country (Dressler 2004, 15). This is supported by Gresham's (1968) dating of the north Wales sculptures, the earliest of which is *c.*1295 (Tremeirchion: Gresham 1968, no. 168). To acquire a more definite date, scholars such as Gresham (1968) and Dressler (2004) have used specific items such as swords and shields to aid in the dating of specific monuments. One must consider, however, if the study of military effigies has provided scholars, such as Oakeshott (1960; 1991; 1997), with the majority of their dating evidence for items such as swords, and, if so, to what extent their evidence can then be used and relied upon to attain an accurate date for other examples of sculpture.

Other forms of sculpture

In addition to funerary monuments, there are other forms of sculpture from the medieval period that can also be consulted when studying medieval weaponry. These include early medieval stone crosses, such as the Conbelin stone, Margam (Redknap and Lewis 2007, no. G79). Stone crosses, although dating to the ninth to eleventh centuries and earlier than the period being researched here, can be a useful source of comparable material. However, where the objects themselves fail to survive, it is possible to envisage what they may have looked like by comparing them with evidence from an earlier date (see Chapter 8). This can often provide indications of what might have been going on in-between. However, it is important to remember that, as with all sculpture, the depictions may well be stylised and the accuracy may therefore be questionable.

Architectural sculpture is one such example. There are two known examples of this that are related to a Welsh context, one in Herefordshire, and the other from Merionethshire. Incorporated into the twelfth-century Romanesque south nave doorway at Kilpeck Church (Herefordshire) there are two carved warrior figures (CRSBI 2012) that have, in the past, been referred to having been Welsh in origin (Fig. 3.3). First mentioned in a letter by the antiquarian, Mr John Gage Rokewode (1844, 62-3), little academic attention has been given to these two soldiers, and no thought given to explain when and why they had become identified as Welsh. The sculpture at Kilpeck Church has been the topic of much

interpretation including King (1995), Chwojko and Thurlby (1997) and Zarnecki (1951; 1953). However, even in the most comprehensive study of the Herefordshire School of Sculpture published to date, Thurlby (1999, 45) fails to mention any link to their alleged Welsh identity and instead remarked how one may be witnessing ‘the perceived role in twelfth century society of the patron, Hugh of Kilpeck, in the fight of good against the entangling forces of evil.’

The second example of architectural sculpture was identified during excavations at Castell y Bere (Fig. 3.4), and consists of two pieces of worked stone that appear to depict the hands of soldiers holding what Butler (1974, 99) interprets as lances. There is no doubt that these two pieces of sculpture portray hands holding what look like hafted weapons. However, the details of the actual blades are missing, and therefore the exact type of weapon cannot be identified.

Seals

Another form of artistic depiction of medieval arms and armour that can be helpful if used with care, are the images on medieval seals, in particular equestrian seals. There are a number of seals that survive from medieval Wales, including depictions of an armed rider on horseback on the seals of both Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Owain Glyndŵr (Williams 1993, 34-5). However, the earliest use of seals to authenticate written documents in Wales is currently thought to take place in the second quarter of the twelfth century, and the earliest extant seal of validation of a native Welshman so far identified, belonged to Cadell ap Gruffudd (d.1175), ruler of Deheubarth (New 2013, 331). The details of the depictions on these seals are obviously limited by their size; however, they can be used to determine the types of weapon or shield that the medieval knight may have been carrying at the time. Some examples of heraldic designs may even include items, such as the bow and arrow, which was particularly prevalent on seals in south-east Wales during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (pers. comm. Elizabeth New). Furthermore, as New (2013, 327) points out, unlike many sources, researchers usually know when, where, for what reason and by whom a seal was used, and this information, can be extremely useful when studying the evolution of weaponry, for example the changing appearance of shields (see Chapter 8).

Although evidence for medieval weaponry available from seal matrices is important, the level of accuracy and detail is severely limited. Furthermore, the similarity of some of the Welsh equestrian seals to those of the elite in England and Europe is worth considering. For

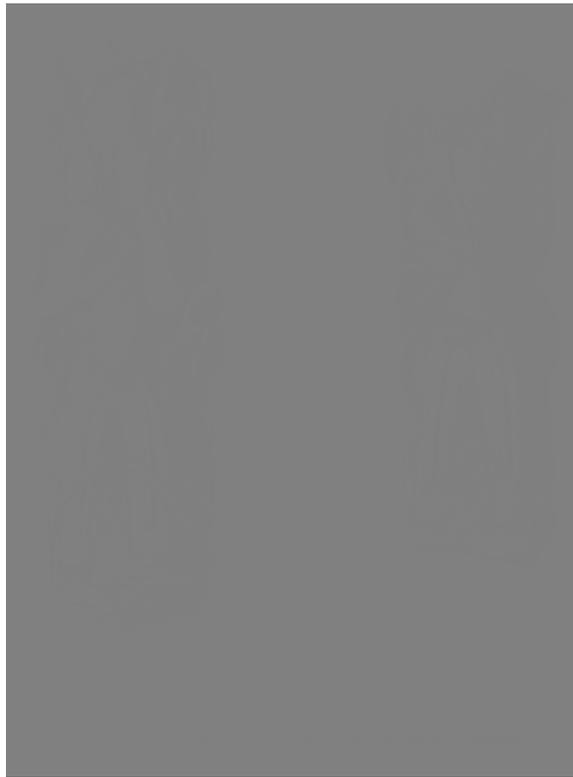


Fig. 3.3. Two warriors carved into the doorway at Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire
(drawn by G. R. Lewis, CRSBI 2012)



Fig. 3.4. Carvings of soldiers identified
during excavations at Castell y Bere
(Butler 1974, **PLATE XXIII**)

example, on the reverse of the great seal of Owain Glyndŵr is an equestrian scene that is very similar to that of King Henry IV of England (1399-1413) and that of Charles VI of France and Burgundy (1380-1422) (pers. comm. Elizabeth New). Likewise, the double-sided seal of Dafydd ap Llywelyn is identical to the first great seal of Henry III apart from the device on the shield, visually comparing his status with that of the English king (Pryce 2005, 88). Not only are there similarities between the seals of the rulers of Wales with those from medieval Europe, New (2013, 332-4) also argues that the use of equestrian seals by the native rulers and both the Welsh and Norman nobility in Wales and the Marches, was part of a much wider European sigillographic tradition of the representation of power. Furthermore, New (2013, 333) states that in the period up to 1180, over 90 per cent of male aristocrats in France exhibited the image of a mounted warrior on their seals. Therefore the images chosen on the seals of the Welsh elite may be more about setting themselves on the wider European stage than producing an individual and accurate portrayal of their knightly alter-ego.

Illuminated Manuscripts and Embroideries

There are also a small number of manuscript illuminations that are a relevant source of information for this project. Some medieval illuminated manuscripts depict instruments of war (Figs 3.5 and 3.6). These present images of battles, sieges and also the use of weapons in tournaments which are all of significant worth when studying the subject of medieval warfare. Valuable examples of illustrations concerning medieval military equipment can be found in manuscripts such as the *Luttrell Psalter*, an early fourteenth-century manuscript commissioned by Lord Geoffrey Luttrell (Camille 1998, 9), and in other documentary sources, including the works of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259) (BL MS 16 and BL MS 26, Vaughan 1993) and the *History and Topography of Ireland* by Gerald of Wales (NLI ref. MS 700, O'Meara 1982). These manuscripts may not specifically deal with weaponry found in Wales; however, their use as a comparative source, providing images that can then be compared to objects, either found or described in a Welsh context, is important in a holistic study of medieval weaponry that was used in Wales.

In a Welsh context, manuscripts such as the late thirteenth-century *Littere Wallie* written by an English Exchequer Clerk in c.1292 (preserved in the Liber A) (Edwards 1940) and the mid-thirteenth century manuscripts NLW Peniarth MS 21 (*Brut y Brenhinedd*) and Peniarth MS 28 (Laws of Hywel Dda), both of which were produced in Wales (although as Huws (2000, 175) suggests, Peniarth MS 28 may have been based on an English model),

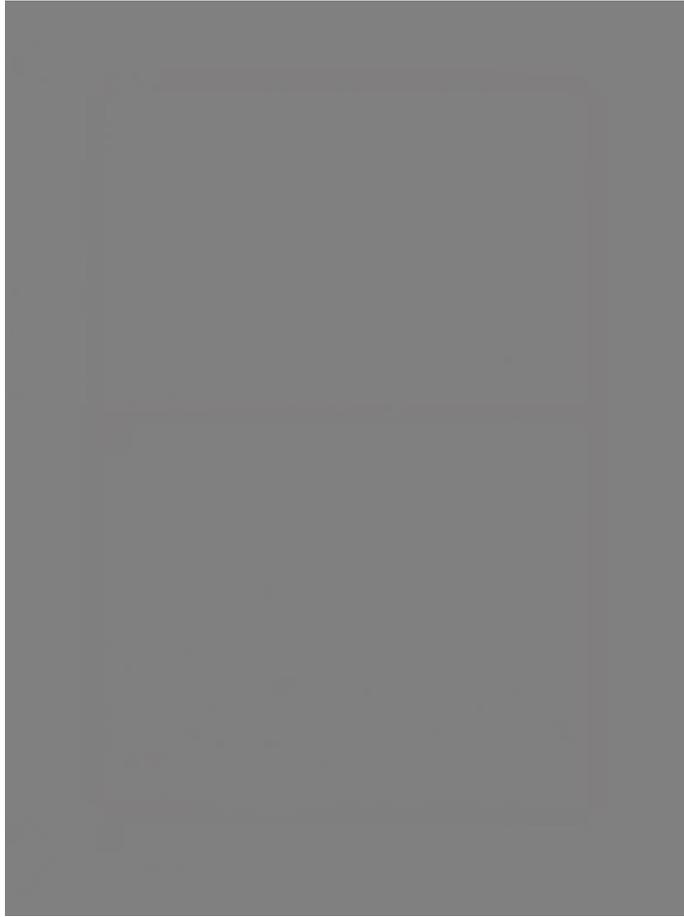


Fig. 3.5. Illustration of warfare in Royal MS 2 B VII, f.56 (Porter 2000, 34)



Fig. 3.6. Illustration of warfare including mounted archer in Lansdowne MS 782, f.10 (Porter 2000, 20).

contain a selection of illustrations of Welsh soldiers and the weapons that they carried which are potentially of significance and worth consideration. In particular, the illustrations of both a Welsh bowman and a spearman in the *Littere Wallie* have been frequently referred to by scholars, such as Bradbury (1985, 15), Davies (2007, 20) and Strickland and Hardy (2005, 35), to demonstrate the appearance of Welsh soldiers as well as the form and size of the weapons they carried. However, it is important to note that illustrations such as these are rare and caution is advised when using them to learn more about the art of war in medieval Wales, since their accuracy cannot be verified.

Although manuscript illustrations can offer a great deal of information regarding the military equipment carried by soldiers in the medieval period, as with all formats of medieval art, they should only be used with caution when assessing the accuracy of the objects being depicted. As Porter (2000, 6) points out, illustrators and artists did not set out to provide documentary evidence of medieval weaponry; neither did they show the level of concern for historical accuracy that one might expect today. Therefore, although they are a source of information that should not be ignored, neither should the details gleaned from their study be accepted as accurate without the support of other forms of evidence as well.

In addition to the numerous depictions of conflict in illuminated manuscripts, the Bayeux Tapestry, an embroidery commemorating the events leading to William the Conqueror's accession to the English throne in 1066, also contains detailed images that can be consulted when studying medieval military equipment. Although earlier than the period being studied here, like the manuscripts discussed above, the images included in the Bayeux Tapestry are crucial in understanding the weaponry used by the Norman army, and therefore allude to the types of military equipment used by the Normans during their early military engagements in Wales. The Bayeux Tapestry was created during the eleventh century, very soon after the events it depicts took place (Musset 2002, 16). Interestingly, Musset (2002, 17) indicates that, rather than tell the tale of the Norman conquest of England in 1066, the tapestry's real purpose was to depict the story of the oath taken by Harold Godwinson in 1064 (which the Tapestry suggests took place in Bayeux) and highlights how the breaking of that oath, which was taken on sacred relics, resulted in the catastrophic defeat of Harold and his people at the Battle of Hastings. What makes the Bayeux Tapestry particularly interesting is that it provides a rare level of detail into this transitional time in England's history. For example, it is the first English source to show the use of kite-shaped shields which were to

become so popular during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Wilson 2004, 223). Created such a short time after the events it depicts, not only does it highlight the differences between the Anglo-Saxons and the Norman invaders, it also provides priceless information on the form of arms and armour in use at that time (Mann 1957; Wilson 2004). Furthermore, it provides significant information on the construction of what is essentially a Viking fleet of ships in Scene 36 (Musset 2002, 184), and even the construction of an earthwork motte-and-bailey castle in Scene 45 (Musset 2002, 214). It is this level of detail that makes it such an important source for the study of medieval military history.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that there is a wealth of material evidence that can be examined to research the realities of medieval warfare in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450. Not only are there significant collections of artefacts recovered from excavations across the country, there is also a range of depictions of military equipment in medieval art that can be used as a useful comparison to both the artefactual data and the written sources. However, despite the worth of this material to a project such as this, the military associated material recovered from the majority of castle excavations has been largely ignored and forgotten in both the published material and in the museum collections. The focus of much archaeological research has either been on the structures themselves, chasing the walls of castles or determining when they were built and by whom. Or they have focused on the domestic functions and the people that lived within them, for example what they were eating, their leisure activities and so on. With the exception of the recent excavations at Dryslwyn and Nevern, any weaponry that has been found, has, in the majority of cases, been catalogued with little significant analysis. As a result this has held back research on and understanding of the nature of warfare in medieval Wales, and meant that scholars for the most part have had to rely on the written sources for their information.

However, although there are problems associated with the archaeological material, particularly in establishing date and context, its worth, especially when used alongside evidence from written sources, is of utmost importance to further the understanding of military engagements in medieval Wales. Artefactual evidence can present the researcher with clear differences in form from that which may be alluded to by other sources, but can only be proved by the survival of the objects in the archaeological record. Furthermore,

information on where objects are found can also provide clear evidence of who was using what weapon, or where military engagements took place. Therefore, having identified both the strengths and weaknesses of the material and written evidence (see chapter 2), both sources can now be used together to create a clearer image of the nature of war in medieval Wales.

ⁱ These included National Museum Wales (Cardiff), Carmarthenshire County Museum, Ceredigion Museum, Llangollen Museum, Flintshire Museum Services, Gwynedd Museum and Art Gallery, Newport Museum, Haverfordwest Town Museum, Tenby Museum and Art Gallery, Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery, Llanidloes Museum, Powysland Museum (Welshpool), Radnorshire Museum, Swansea Museum and Wrexham County Borough Museum.

Chapter 4: The Context of Warfare in Medieval Wales

Introduction

The intention of this chapter is to grasp a better understanding of the approach to war in medieval Wales. In the following chapters, the details of specific weapons that can be identified in both the historical and archaeological records will be discussed. However, in order to understand how these items may have been used, and by whom, it is first essential to have a firm understanding of the nature of how conflicts were fought in Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450. The tactics of the various forces found in Wales during this period, including the Normans, and later the English, Marcher society, the Irish, the Flemish and of course the native Welsh, will be examined. Topics such as open battles, ambushes and skirmishes, night attacks, sieges and castle building are all discussed readily in sources such as the works of Gerald of Wales, Orderic Vitalis and the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, amongst others, and to a lesser extent by historians such as Turvey (2002), Suppe (1994) and Davies (2003). In this chapter, both primary and secondary evidence will be brought together in order answer questions on the approaches taken by military forces in Wales during this period and how they may have differed between different communities. The chapter will be divided into two separate sections, the first dealing with the nature of the conflicts that took place in Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450, examining the various military campaigns that are recorded in the sources, where they took place, when and between whom. The second half of this chapter will look at the approaches taken by these forces during military action.

Military Engagements in Wales c.1100-c.1450

Between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450, the Welsh landscape would have witnessed numerous military engagements and campaigns. The following section is a brief overview, using secondary sources, of the chronology of military activity in Wales during the period under review, in order to understand the historical context of how and when military tactics and equipment discussed later in the thesis would have been deployed. The almost constant military action between the rulers of England, the Marcher lords and the Welsh kingdoms between 1067 and 1283 was supplemented by conflicts between individual Welsh kingdoms, sometimes members of the same family, and even between the Marcher lords. To describe this period as a war between the English and the Welsh would therefore be to oversimplify the situation, for in truth the conflicts that took place were far more complicated, with blurred lines when it

came to who was fighting whom. In addition to this, there were often mercenary troops such as the Hiberno-Scandinavians, and even the Flemings, who would add a further dimension to the Welsh environment.

Following on from the events of 1066, the focus of King William and his most trusted followers was to consolidate the newly conquered lands in England. In some areas this was a more straightforward task, however in others, the Norman lords were met with organised resistance. One particular area of resistance was in the Welsh March, in particular the areas of Shropshire and Cheshire. It is here that the Normans are likely to have first experienced military engagements with Welsh soldiers in the late 1060s. Referring to the events in 1069, Orderic Vitalis in *The Ecclesiastical History* writes

...The Welshmen and the men of Chester besieged the royal stronghold at Shrewsbury, and were assisted by the native citizens, the powerful and warlike Edric the Wild, and other untameable Englishmen... (Chibnall 1969, B. IV, Vol. II, 229)

However, once these English lands had been subdued, King William soon set his sights on the conquest of Wales itself. By the 1070s the earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford had been established by William, who granted their control to three talented and proven confidants, Hugh of Avranches, Roger de Montgomery and William fitz Osbern (Davies 2000, 28). The aim of these appointments was 'to fight the bellicose Welsh' (Chibnall 1969, B. IV, Vol. II 261). Interestingly, however, Carr (1995, 30-1) argues that the initial foundation of these border earldoms was not for the purpose of conquest, but rather for defence, creating a secure frontier against any possible Welsh attack. Carr supports this argument by demonstrating that William had never actually planned to conquer either Scotland or Wales, and that it was Edward the Confessor's relationships with the Welsh rulers that William sought to inherit, not their lands, and, that by instigating political alliances with Welsh rulers, such as Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth, William secured this inheritance successfully. However, following William's death in 1087, the situation changed as the new king, William Rufus, needed the continuing support of the powerful earls against his elder brother, Robert of Normandy, who was also pressing his claim to the English throne (Carr 1995, 34). Also of significance was the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr at Aberhonddu, which Carr (1995, 34) describes as 'an end to a clearly defined and workable political relationship'. It was this which allowed the Norman conquest of Welsh lands to begin in earnest.

The initial targets of the Norman campaigns were the lands in the south; however, it was in the north that the greater advances were made. This may have partly been the result of the lowlands in and around the Dee having already been settled by Mercians prior to the Norman arrival, but Davies argues that it was mainly due to the ‘vigour and ruthless enterprise of two remarkable men, Hugh of Avranches, earl of Chester (d.1101) and his cousin, Robert of Rhuddlan (d.1088-93)’ (Davies 2000, 30). The extent to which Robert of Rhuddlan was seen to have been successful in north Wales, is demonstrated by evidence from Domesday Book, where Robert is described as providing an annual payment of £40 for lands held by him in north Wales. Carr (1995, 32-3) compares this to the £40 payment made by Rhys ap Tewdwr as an annual tribute to the English king, essentially implying that, by paying the same tribute, Robert was recognised by the king as ruler of Gwynedd.

However this was soon to change. Following the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, Deheubarth was weakened, encouraging the level of Norman activity to increase in south Wales. Norman advances were made in the south-east, consolidating control in Gwent and also extending their military arm into Usk, however, the greatest Norman gains were in Glamorgan under the leadership of Robert fitz Hamo (Carr 1995, 35). There were also encroachments into Radnor, Builth, Maelienydd and Elfael. For the first time there was also considerable success in south-west Wales where castles, such as Pembroke and Cardigan, were established.

The first major Welsh response is recorded to have come in 1094 whilst King William II was absent in France (Carr 1995, 40). Welsh forces rose up in both north and south Wales, although the greatest success came in the north, where Gruffydd ap Cynan of Gwynedd and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn of Powys had combined forces against the Norman attack. King William II led two campaigns against the Welsh in 1095 and 1097. However, both failed, and although the campaign led by both Earl Hugh of Chester and his namesake, Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury, in 1098, was initially successful, forcing both Gruffudd ap Cynan and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn to escape to Ireland, the luck appears to be on the side of the Welsh during this time. In 1093, Orderic Vitalis records that the forces of Gruffudd ap Cynan killed Robert of Rhuddlan (see Chapter 6) and both Orderic and Gerald of Wales, as well as the authors of the Latin and later Welsh versions of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, also describe the attack by Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, on Norman forces in 1098, which resulted in the death of Hugh of Shrewsbury, and thus the Normans were forced to withdraw allowing the exiled

princes to return (see Chapter 5). As if to rub salt into the wounds, the Norman conquest in north Wales suffered further setbacks when in 1101 Earl Hugh of Chester died leaving a minor as his heir and finally, in 1102 Earl Robert of Shrewsbury and his brother Arnulf, earl of Pembroke, forfeited all their estates and were exiled following an unsuccessful revolt against Henry I.

The nature of these early campaigns is described by many of the sources discussed in Chapter 2, in particular the *Brut* provides a clear picture of the way in which the Normans went about the business of conquering medieval Wales. Throughout this period earth and timber castles were constructed, changed hands on a regular basis, as did the lands associated with them, and many were destroyed and rebuilt. Carr (1995, 37-8) states that the Norman approach to warfare was based on castles and open country, and that once a lordship was established the castle became a combination of military headquarters and the seat of government, a point that will be discussed further below.

Under the kingship of Henry I, Norman advances in Wales picked up, albeit in a different form to those in the 1090s, and Carr (1995, 41) describes Henry as ‘one of the most effective and masterful English kings in his dealings with Wales and the Welsh’. However, during the ‘Anarchy’, the civil war between Stephen and Matilda (1135 – 1154), the focus of English military power was averted from Wales and thus created an environment for the Welsh to fight back. The Normans were required to retreat from their lands in Wales, most dramatically in the southern kingdom of Deheubarth. For example, in 1136-7 the Welsh recovered control of virtually all of Ceredigion along with all its castles except Cardigan (Davies 2000, 45).

It is important to add that during this time, although the Welsh were concerned with salvaging the lands lost in previous decades, soldiers from Wales and the March were also being recruited into the army led by Robert, earl of Gloucester, and were even present at the Battle of Lincoln (1141) where Stephen was eventually taken prisoner after being felled by someone throwing a stone, which Bennet (2000, 96-7) suggests could have been one of the ‘Welshmen’ in the rebel ranks. The effect of the Marcher lordships was that soldiers in lands such as Glamorgan and Dyfed, who may once have looked to native Welsh rulers for leadership, had, by the mid-twelfth century, given their allegiances to earldoms, such as Gloucester or Pembroke. Carr (1995, 36) eloquently describes Marcher lordships as ‘Welsh lordships in Wales, ruled by Anglo-Norman lords by right of conquest and lying between

England and those parts of Wales under native rule'. Although these men may have spoken Welsh and may have had Welsh names, and most likely dressed and were armed like native Welshmen, their identity was far more mixed and the term Marcher no longer just referred to the land and its ruler.

Following the revival of Welsh fortunes during the civil war, the English soon recovered their position during the reign of Henry II, who led a series of campaigns into Wales, including campaigns in 1157, 1163 and the failed campaign in 1165 when his decision to choose an overland route into Wales via Oswestry, the Ceiriog Valley and across the Berwyn Mountains resulted in disaster (Davies 2000, 53). Davies (2000, 53) compares Henry II with Edward I and questions how far the former would have pressed home his attack in 1165 had circumstances been different. He suggests that Henry could have completed the conquest of Wales just over one hundred years earlier than his great-grandson had he chosen to follow the tactics employed in his earlier campaigns. However, by the 1170s Henry had become more concerned with the ambition of his marcher lords in Ireland and subsequently changed his policy towards the Welsh princes (Davies 2000, 53). This can be seen in Henry's relationship with the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth, when in 1171, Henry appointed Rhys justiciar of Deheubarth (Davies 2000, 54). This policy remained after his death and it was not until the reign of his son John that an English king led a campaign into Wales once more.

Over the next hundred years there were campaigns in Wales by English kings, including John and his son Henry III, however none was to achieve the success of Henry II. Land and castles in Wales changed hands on several occasions (see Chapter 3), however the increasing problems of those rulers with their own barons in England meant that the conquest of Wales became less and less of a priority. Instead, the years between 1172 and 1277 witnessed a strategy of consolidation rather than the acquisition of new lands (Davies 2000, 213). Furthermore, during the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries English military forces were focused elsewhere, principally on the conquest of Ireland, and marcher lords, such as Richard 'Strongbow' de Clare, even recruited soldiers from their lands in south Wales in order to accomplish the task (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 90-1). As a result, the native Welsh rulers were also able to consolidate their power over their own kingdoms and particularly, in the case of the rulers of Gwynedd, attain greater influence over the other Welsh kingdoms (Davies 2000, 214). Between 1218 and 1240 Llywelyn ab Iorwerth of Gwynedd was a superior force within Wales, commanding more power and influence than

any other Welsh prince since the arrival of the Normans (Davies 2000, 244), which Davies (2000, 245) states was founded on military might and leadership.

However, the most prominent period of military activity in Wales took place during the reign of Llywelyn's grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d.1282) as a result of his turbulent relationship with Edward I. In 1276, Edward led his first campaign against the Welsh prince, a campaign that lasted just under a year until Llywelyn submitted to the king's terms on 9 November 1277 (Davies 2000, 333). Just five years later, the English king embarked on another campaign against the Welsh prince, but this would be his last. In late March 1282 the Welsh had rebelled against the English following an attack on Hawarden Castle by the forces of Dafydd ap Gruffudd, Llywelyn's brother (Davies 2000, 348). There were successful attacks on English forces following the start of the uprising; however, as Davies (2000, 350-1) points out, Welsh success was limited because of scattered and localised Welsh forces who found difficulties in mounting a sustained resistance against the advance of English forces. On 11 December 1282, Llywelyn was killed, reputedly run through with a lance by an English knight, Stephen de Frankton, within a few miles of Builth during the Battle of Oerwin Bridge (Morris 1901, 183; Davies 2000, 353). Although Dafydd continued his efforts following his brother's death, they were in vain and he was eventually captured in June 1283 and handed over to the English crown by his own men (Davies 2000, 354). Thus, the conquest of Wales, begun so many years before in the later eleventh century, was finally completed by Edward I.

It is perhaps important to stress that, in the years between the arrival of the Normans and the Edwardian conquest, the Welsh were not only in conflict with the English. Throughout the medieval period the ongoing battle for supremacy between the different kingdoms of Wales, created many instances of conflict between the native Welsh that were recorded by the chroniclers. For example, Mynydd Carn (1081), Aberconwy (1194) and Bryn Derwin (1255) are all battles which took place between native Welsh forces in the fight for supremacy, demonstrating that the Welsh were not just at war with the English during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but that they were also at war with themselves.

Times of peace, no matter how rare, would also have had an impact on the nature of warfare in medieval Wales, as although the most likely time for military development is during action, other circumstances could also have provided an environment for exchange of ideas and development in tactics and weaponry. It has been mentioned how Welsh and

Marcher soldiers were recruited into the armies of Robert of Gloucester during the civil war between Stephen and Matilda in the early twelfth century, as well as their inclusion in the invading armies in Ireland during the later-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries.

Furthermore, Welsh forces were also involved in English campaigns elsewhere during this period. For example, Owain ap Cadwgan of Powys accompanied Henry I to Normandy in 1115 and was knighted by the king, most likely the first native Welsh ruler to receive the accolade (Carr 1995, 41). Furthermore, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is recorded as accompanying King John during a campaign against the Scots in 1210 (Davies 2000, 241), and presumably he would have been escorted by his own native troops during that campaign. Such alliances would doubtless have brought the different cultures into contact, where ideas could be exchanged, including those concerning the nature of warfare.

Following the conquest of Wales in 1282, there was considerable English settlement in order to subdue and control the native population. Not only were castles such as Caernarfon, Harlech, Caernarfon and Conwy constructed in north Wales, but towns were also built up around these sites to consolidate the conquest (Davies 2000, 371-3). Following 1282 Welsh history is characterised by occasional rebellions against the English settlement and control of Wales. In 1287, Rhys ap Maredudd, who had remained loyal to the English during the events of 1282-3, rose in revolt following the acquisition of his lands by the English crown. This rebellion was short lived, and ended with the siege of Dryslwyn Castle towards the end of that year (Davies 1993, 164-5). Then in 1294, the Welsh rebelled again, this time under the leadership of Morgan ap Maredudd, and again in 1316 led by Llywelyn Bren (Davies 1993, 166). These revolts tended to be small scale, localised affairs which failed to replicate the events prior to the Edwardian conquest, and thus Wales remained firmly under English control. During the fourteenth century, English military forces were focused elsewhere, and as a result, Welsh soldiers were recruited into English campaigns in both Scotland and France, and took part in battles such as Crécy (1347), Poitiers (1357) and Agincourt (1415) (Chapman 2010).

The final period of conflict in Wales relevant to this thesis began at the beginning of the fifteenth century. On 16 September 1400, Owain Glyndŵr was proclaimed Prince of Wales, an act of defiance against the English Crown, the cause of which was almost certainly a quarrel with his neighbour Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin (Davies, 1995, 102). Following this, between 18 and 23 September, supporters of Owain attacked English settlements across

north-east Wales, including Ruthin, Denbigh, Rhuddlan, Flint, Holt, Oswestry and Welshpool (Davies 1995, 102). Although the English response was swift, they failed to completely extinguish the revolt, and support for Glyndŵr soon spread into the south and west during the following months. During the following years, until the final dousing of the revolt in 1409, the Welsh rebels, under Glyndŵr's leadership, won a number of significant victories against the English, capturing castles such as Aberystwyth, Conwy and Harlech, and defeating English forces in a number of skirmishes and battles, such as the Battle of Bryn Glas on 22 June 1403, which Davies (1995, 107) names as the most momentous event of the revolt. However, by the summer of 1406, support for Glyndŵr was waning and although rebel activity continued spasmodically for some years afterwards, by early 1409 Glyndŵr was nothing but 'a desperate and hunted guerrilla leader' and 'Wales was no longer a society in revolt' (Davies 1995, 126).

Throughout the period in question, in particular between the end of the eleventh century and the Edwardian conquest in the later thirteenth century, Wales can be described as a continual landscape of war. Despite the initial political relations in the reign of William the Conqueror, following his death in 1087, the greed of rulers created an environment where there was continuous conflict between Welsh, Marcher and English rulers. Although significant royal campaigns can be identified during the reigns of King Henry I and II, and again during the reigns of King John, and most importantly during that of Edward I, this was not the limit of warfare taking place in Wales. The establishment of Marcher earldoms created an environment where skirmishes, sieges and the occasional pitched battle was a natural way of life. Carr (1995, 37) describes one key aspect of Marcher lordship as being the right of the lords to levy private war against their neighbours, making Wales a land of opportunity without direct control from the English Crown. However, more importantly, this feature was not brought to Wales by the Normans, but instead inherited from their Welsh predecessors, who also continued to wage war amongst themselves, essentially for personal gain.

Approaches to Warfare in Wales c.1100-c.1450

It has been established that, Wales, during the period under review, was an area of almost continuous conflict up until the early fourteenth century; however, the nature of these conflicts is not always fully appreciated. To more fully understand the role of the weaponry

discussed in the following chapters, it is necessary to understand the way in which these conflicts were fought and the tactics that were employed by the Norman, English, Welsh and other forces involved. However, it must be made clear that this section does not aim to provide a thorough re-evaluation of the approach to warfare in medieval Wales. Davies (2003, 85–142) presents a clear and thorough description of Welsh military tactics employed during the medieval period, he specifically examines at tactics such as ravaging, evasion and ambush, pitched battle and night fighting, and uses the descriptions of conflict in the primary sources, both English and Welsh, to endeavour better to understand the overall approach to warfare by the medieval Welsh. He also attempts to assess the importance of siege warfare (Davies 2003, 207–17). As his primary focus is to understand the nature and conduct of the native Welsh during conflicts of this time, he does not attempt to understand the more complicated picture which is presented as a result of the different cultures and peoples who are involved in the conflicts of medieval Wales, including the Normans, the Irish, the Flemish and the Hiberno-Norse. Therefore, the following discussion will present the main arguments put forward by Davies, but also look to compare these with the tactics employed by other communities in Wales in order to better understand the context in which the weapons discussed in the following chapters were used.

Descriptions in the medieval written sources concerning the involvement of Welsh soldiers in conflicts both in Wales and elsewhere are very rarely complimentary. Amongst Anglo-Norman writers, references to ‘barbarians’ (Orderic Vitalis, *EH* Book VIII, Vol. IV, Chibnall 1969, 139), ‘cruel and savage armies’ (*Gesta Stephani*, Potter and Davies 1976, 172) and ‘wild men from the woodlands’ (*Edwardi Secundi*, Childs 2005, 57) are often found associated with Welsh soldiers who are also described as poorly armed and lacking in military experience, especially in comparison to the opposing Norman and English forces. On the other hand, writers, such as Gerald of Wales (*Description of Wales*, Book I, Chapter VIII, Thorpe 1978, 233-4) and Walter Map (*De Nugis Curialium*, Hartland 1923, 99), allude to a far more capable military force who were both well trained and experienced in the practice of war. Therefore, with two contrasting opinions of the nature of native Welsh warfare, an attempt must be made to distinguish fact from fiction. However, if one takes into account the suggestions made in Chapter 2 regarding the colonial context to the medieval sources, the image of barbarian Wales can be seen as a significant tool in justifying Norman and English military activity in Wales.

Prior to any discussion of the tactics of warfare practised in medieval Wales, it is essential to briefly consider approaches to warfare in the medieval period as a whole. Warfare was central to medieval society, kingship relied upon success on the battlefield, knights played a principal role in medieval society representing their own social class, and medieval writers devoted the majority of what they wrote to it (Nicolson 2004, 1). How war was fought also varied from one region to another depending on both geography and tradition (Nicolson 2004, 5). The approaches to war also changed over time. However, although the weapons and tactical disposition of them may have differed in the finer details, in Europe at least, the similarities in the basic approach to warfare are clear. Although most people would associate medieval warfare with pitched battle employing armour clad knights fighting from horseback with sword and lance, the reality was very different. Pitched battle, throughout the medieval period was a last resort, and actually featured very rarely in the campaigns of medieval kings and their vassals. For example, during the ‘Anarchy’ (1135-54), the conflict between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda featured very few pitched battles and on occasion they were actively avoided; at Wallingford in 1153 the barons on both sides persuaded their principals not to engage in battle (Bennet 2000, 101). Furthermore, the key to England’s military strategy during the Hundred Years War was the *Chevauchée*, and pitched battle was only fought when the circumstances were right. Instead medieval kings and their military elites engaged in tactics that focused on two simple strategies: the control of land via the construction of fortifications and the weakening of the enemy by cutting off supplies and ravaging the land, both strategies that were used extensively in the conflicts of medieval Wales.

Yet, with this in mind, the question has to be asked as to why so many scholars, such as Nelson (1966) and Nicolle (1995) discussed in Chapter 1, have considered the contemporary descriptions of the Welsh conduct in war, specifically their avoidance of pitched battle and their reliance on guerrilla tactics, in such a negative light. As Davies (2003, 85-9) argues, the differences between the approach to warfare in Wales and that fought elsewhere in Europe were not significantly different. Furthermore, the avoidance of pitched battle is not a concept that is unique to the medieval period, with many examples of military commanders from earlier and later campaigns employing tactics that would favour ravaging and evasion over drawing up in the field. ‘Fabian Strategy’, so named after the Roman dictator Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus during the Second Punic War (218 – 201 BC), is one such example, where the Roman military strategy sought to promote the

avoidance of pitched battle against the invading Carthaginian armies (Liddell Hart 1954, 31). Interestingly, Liddell Hart (1954, 32) even suggests that the key condition of the strategy was that the Roman army should ‘keep away to the hills, so as to nullify Hannibal’s decisive superiority in cavalry’, which could be suggested to be almost identical to the situation the Welsh would have found themselves in against the invading Normans. However, although successful tactics there was resistance to the avoidance of battle amongst contemporaries, to the extent that Fabius was himself, described as ‘cowardly [with] unenterprising spirit’ (Liddell Hart, 1954, 32). Similarly, occasionally called the ‘American Fabius’, George Washington evoked a similar tactic of avoiding battle and harrying the enemy from afar whilst fighting superior English forces in the Wars of Independence (1775-83), initiating a ‘War of Posts’ and stating ‘on all occasions avoid a general action or put anything to the risqué unless compelled by necessity into which we ought never be drawn’ (Scythes 2015). Therefore, it may be fair to assume that although tactics such as these were practised throughout history, they were not necessarily celebrated by contemporaries, and therefore our modern understanding is tainted by an artificial emphasis on heroic victories on the battlefield over a more practical and commonplace strategy of evasion.

However, this is not to say that pitched battles did not happen in medieval Wales and occasional examples are recorded in the written sources throughout the period being discussed. Notable examples between Norman and Welsh forces, and later English and Welsh forces include Crug Mawr (1136, Ceredigion) and Coleshill (1157, Flintshire) in the twelfth century and the Battle of Oerwin Bridge in 1282. During the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in the early fifteenth century, the Battle of Pilleth or Bryn Glas (1402, Powys) is the most well-known. There were also notable battles which took place between Welsh forces at Mynydd Carn (1081, Pembrokeshire), the mouth of the Conwy (1194) and Bryn Derwin (1255, Gwynedd).

The written sources may record the battles that took place, but rarely do the details provided go any further than the approximate location, who it was between and who was killed. Considering that the records that survive were in most cases written by churchmen, particularly those dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this is not surprising as it would be very unlikely that these were made from either eye-witness accounts or informed testimony. In some cases the level of detail does stretch beyond this, to provide details on the numbers involved (although the accuracy of these is questionable), the tactics used and the

types of weaponry deployed. For example, *Brut y Twysogyon* records that at the Battle of Crug Mawr in 1136 the Welsh had a vast army of ‘about six thousand foot soldiers and two thousand mailed horsemen ready for battle...and against them came Stephen the constable...and all the Flemings and all the knights from the estuary of the Neath to the estuary of the Dyfi’ (Jones 1952, 51). Interestingly, the *Gesta Stephani* records the Norman army as numbering only 3000, which would suggest that the Welsh outnumbered the Norman army at more than two to one. However, Brooks (2005, 152) argues that the entire knight service of England was only 5000 horsemen, placing doubt on the numbers quoted by the *Brut* as England had a much broader demographic from which to recruit than the Welsh kingdoms. However, although the numbers may be questionable, the details of the Welsh deployment of cavalry and infantry together are interesting.

The Anglo-Saxon use of cavalry prior to the Norman conquest of England (1066) has been disputed by scholars who have argued that the conquest was achieved as a direct result of the Norman tactic of fighting from horseback, and this idea has also been considered relevant to elsewhere in Britain, including Wales (Davies 2003, 155-6). This is supported by Gerald of Wales who wrote that the Welsh leaders rode into battle ‘on swift mettlesome horses which are bred locally’ but would ‘often dismount, as circumstance and occasion demand, ready to flee or to attack (Thorpe 1978, 234), suggesting that Welsh forces preferred to fight on foot. However, as Davies (2003, 177) points out, the written sources concentrate on the nobility at war, and rarely describe the tactical deployment of infantry by either Welsh, Norman or English forces. This is particularly interesting if we are to believe that the Welsh learnt how to use cavalry from their Norman attackers. For example, in the *Description* Gerald wrote,

The Welsh have gradually learnt from the English and the Normans how to manage their weapons and to use horses in battle, for they have frequented the court and been sent to England as hostages (Thorpe 1978, 266).

Therefore if the Welsh fought only on foot, why are there so very few references to this in the written sources?

Nevertheless, Davies (2003, 156) argues that, just as the Anglo-Saxon use of horses in battle prior to 1066 has been underestimated, the Welsh use of cavalry has similarly been ignored, as there is evidence stretching back to the post-Roman period. Indeed, early

medieval poetry, such as the *Gododdin*, recalls the Welsh tradition of horsemanship, and Davies argues that this counters any argument suggesting the Welsh learnt how to use horses in battle from the Normans. The papers collected in *The Horse in Celtic Culture* (Davies and Jones 1997) also clearly demonstrate that the Welsh were familiar with using horses in warfare prior to the arrival of the Normans in the late eleventh century. For example, Jones (1997, 82-101), Bromwich (1997, 102-120) and Davies (1997, 121-140) all argue that evidence collected in sources, such as the Triads of the Horses, the Mabinogion and other medieval Welsh court poetry, demonstrate the importance of horses in Welsh military. Horses feature prominently in court poetry, often portrayed as eager, foaming steeds in the thick of battle, trampling on the fallen enemy, the battlefield ringing with the sound of their pounding hooves (Jones 1997, 83). Similarly, the importance of the warhorses belonging to the traditional heroes in the Triads is demonstrated by the inclusion of the horse's individual or 'personal' names alongside the names of their owners (Bromwich 1997, 103). References to the value of horses in the Welsh law texts also suggest that the importance of the horse to Welsh soldiers predates the Norman conquest of England. Although terms such as palfrey (*palefroi*) and rouncy (*rhwrisi*) are borrowed words from French the term used for destrier is *amws* which is also a borrowed word but comes from Latin (Jenkins 1997, 69-71). The inclusion of this Latin term in the law texts suggests that the value of warhorses was known to the Welsh prior to the arrival of the Normans in 1066. However, Davies (1997, 137) also states that there is Anglo-Norman influence evident within these sources and questions to what extent the descriptions of warhorses and men fighting from horseback is actually a true reflection of contemporary Welsh fighting techniques, and therefore care must be taken when attempting to determine to what extent the fighting techniques described are a record of techniques used prior to Norman influence or after.

The Norman use of cavalry may have been similarly overestimated, with scholars such as Bradbury (1992, 192) arguing that in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, Norman battle tactics actually involved a combination of dismounted knights, archers and cavalry. Strickland and Hardy (2005, 69-83) likewise refer to several examples of Norman military engagements where dismounted knights and archers were favoured, including the Battle of the Standard in 1138 (see Chapter 5). Therefore, if Norman warfare post 1066 included a combination of dismounted and mounted troops, it would be unlikely that they would have only looked to deploy heavy cavalry during the campaigns in Wales, which Gerald of Wales claims were so unsuccessful (Thorpe 1978, 268-9). Therefore, these

descriptions may have more to do with creating an image of Welsh inferiority and the conquering English bringing better tactics to a backward society, patterns that can be mirrored in other colonial literature, particularly that dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Chapter 2).

Interestingly, the role of the horse may also be intrinsically linked with the increased role of the castle in the conflicts of medieval Wales, a concept that will be discussed further below. In a letter from Peter, Bishop of Hereford to King Henry III, dated 28 December 1262, the bishop informs Henry that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd has ‘recently entered the land of Roger Mortimer with 300 horse and 30,000 foot and has taken Roger’s castle of Knocklas’ (Edwards, 1935, 15). Here there are very few mounted soldiers within Llywelyn’s retinue compared to that of Owain Gwynedd and his brother Cadwaladr referenced above. At first, this may seem to be evidence in support of Gerald’s claim of the Welsh having learnt how to use cavalry from their Norman and English adversaries. However, looking in more detail at Llywelyn’s expedition into Mortimer’s lands, his intention was not to engage in pitched battle, but rather to attack and control the castles in this area. The role of the horse in siege warfare would have been minimal and instead there would have been a greater need for foot soldiers. Although 30,000 may be an exaggeration, having a large retinue of infantry would be fit for purpose in a campaign such as this. Therefore, it may be suggested that as the focus of the Welsh princes turned towards castle warfare (see below), there was also a move away from the traditional use of cavalry.

The use of horses, or lack of them, is not the only tactic that Gerald of Wales ascribes to the Welsh that may be inaccurate. Chapter 3 of Gerald’s *Description of Wales* is entitled *Their weakness in battle: how shamefully and ignobly they run away*, and he states that

If the enemy resists manfully and they are repulsed, they [the Welsh] are immediately thrown into confusion. With further resistance they turn their backs, making no attempt at a counterattack, but seeking safety in flight (Thorpe 1978, 259).

Gerald goes on to compare this to Livy’s description of the Gauls and describes this Welsh tactic as cowardly. However, the *Brut* records on two occasions Norman forces using the same tactic, which the author describes as their ‘usual custom’. The first of these occasions takes place following the Battle of Crug Mawr in 1136:

And after fierce fighting, then the Flemings and the Normans, according to their usual custom, took to flight as their place of refuge (Jones 1952, 51).

The second refers to events following the Battle of Coleshill in 1157 and states:

On the following day there was a battle between them [the Normans] and the men of Anglesey; and the French, according to their usual custom, fled and some were captured, others were slain, others were drowned...and a few of them escaped back to their ships (Jones 1952, 60).

If the Welsh are displaying cowardice as a result of fleeing the field of battle, surely, so are the Norman and Flemish forces? However, descriptions of battles elsewhere in Europe often recall the defeated force fleeing the field, and one may go as far as to describe it as a natural reaction to defeat. Gerald's comments about Welsh cowardice should therefore be seen in a wider context, with special regard to what was discussed in Chapter 2. Gerald's motive for writing the *Description of Wales* means that it cannot be seen solely as an ethnographic piece, but should also be regarded as an opportunity to celebrate the success and role of his kinsmen, the Marcher lords, in the conflicts both in Wales and in Ireland. Neither is he openly looking to celebrate Welsh military prowess. Furthermore, as Davies (2003, 4) argues, Gerald's inspiration for his ethnographic works, particularly the *Description*, was from classical writers such as Livy and Tacitus, which helped to form his work into a thesis and anti-thesis framework, portraying the Welsh as both unspoilt examples of humanity and barbarous beasts, whereas the truth was probably somewhere in between. Therefore, if this is taken into account, Gerald's discussion of the Welsh running away is not only a direct comparison to the descriptions of warfare in the classics, it is also the anti-thesis to his previous comment 'From their first fierce and headlong onslaught, and the shower of javelins which they hurl, they seem most formidable opponents' (Thorpe 1978, 259).

Although pitched battles did take place in medieval Wales, they do not appear to form the mainstay of the conflicts during this period. Instead, the armed forces that were present were employed in campaigns that involved ravaging and small scale combats including ambushes and night attacks, or they were involved with the construction or siege of castles.

The importance of ravaging and raiding during military campaigns can be identified as early as the fifth century AD with the writer Vegetius emphasising the importance of securing provisions and destroying those of the enemy in his *De Re Militari* (Davies 2003,

90). The Welsh use of strategies including raiding enemy territories, ravaging lands, and harassing and ambushing enemy armies whilst evading pitched battle is referred to by many medieval writers and the significance of this has been discussed in detail by scholars such as Suppe (1994) and Davies (2003) (see Chapter 1). In particular, campaigns into Wales by English kings, such as Henry II, John and Henry III, were all met by the same strategy of ambush and evasion, and medieval writers, such as Henry of Huntingdon and William of Newburgh, claim that Welsh success was the result of their ability to hide in their natural defences rather than their martial prowess (Davies 2003, 96). However, it is clear that this strategy was not unknown to the Norman and English armies during the period under review. For example, as early as 1102, Robert of Bellême used the same tactics of ravaging and evasion during his revolt against Henry I and even employed Welshmen to help him (Davies 2003, 97). Furthermore, the medieval writer Matthew Paris refers to the English adopting a scorched-earth policy against the Welsh during Edward I's campaigns in 1256-7, criticising the English for using this tactic during the harvest season by saying 'his followers laid waste the rich and abundant crops of corn and other produce of the earth, to the injury of themselves as well as others' (Davies 2003, 110). One can also argue that the English exploitation of the *Chevauchée* during the fourteenth-century wars against Scotland and France was no more than a development of the ravaging and evasion techniques employed in Wales during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

At the centre of warfare in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450 however, was the castle. In 1149, *Brut y Twysogyon* records that 'Owain ap Gruffudd ap Cynan built a castle in Iâl. And Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd ap Cynan built a castle at Llanrhystud' (Jones 1952, 57). Prior to this Cadwgan ap Bleddyn was recorded as having been slain at Welshpool where he had 'thought to stay and build a castle' (Jones 1952, 35). These are the first references to Welsh lords building castles in the written sources, however there are earlier references in the *Brut* that refer to Welsh lords and their association with particular castles that go as far back as 1105 when Hywel ap Goronwy was expelled from the castle at Rhyd y Gors by Richard fitz Baldwin at the request of Henry I (Jones 1952, 26). These were not the first castles to have been constructed in Wales. Castles reached Wales on a significant scale with the arrival of the Normans post 1066. However, the first motte-and-bailey castles to be constructed in England were located on the Herefordshire-Welsh border at the sites of Hereford, Richard's Castle and Ewyas Harold, when Edward the Confessor invited several Norman nobles into the area following the banishment of Earl Godwin in 1051 with the purpose of curtailing the constant

raiding of Welsh forces in this area (DeVries and Smith 2012, 214). Following the Norman Conquest in 1066, motte-and-bailey castles were constructed throughout England and Wales as an aid to that conquest, and alongside them Marcher lords also began to construct more permanent stone built structures, the earliest of which was Chepstow in 1071.

The debate concerning the function of castles has been discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, however, the defensive features of these fortifications cannot be ignored and thus reasons for their construction must have included a military role. Suppe (1994, 26) describes castles as capable of protecting the land upon which they were situated as well as the people and property within. However, he also states that castles could also be strategically offensive by providing a secure base for staging an attack, a refuge for attacking forces against a counter-attack, and a permanent military presence in lands conquered (Suppe 1994, 26). Therefore, both defensive and offensive capabilities played a role in the construction of castles in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450, although following the construction of Edward I's castle in north Wales after 1282, castle building in Wales and the Marches declined significantly.

The construction of castles in Wales and the Marches led to a change in the approach to warfare in Wales, a change that is clearly seen in sources such as the *Brut*. Prior to the period under discussion, the military engagements described in the *Brut* are predominantly pitched battles or skirmishes: for example in 1075, the *Brut* records 'That year the battle of Camddwr took place between Goronwy and Llywelyn, sons of Cadwgan, and Caradog ap Gruffudd, and Rhys ab Owain and Rhydderch ap Caradog, who fell there together' (Jones 1952, 16). Then in 1078 the *Brut* also records '...the battle of Pwllgwdig, in which Trahaearn, king of Gwynedd, obtained victory' (Jones 1952, 17). However, when in 1094, the same source records '...the Britons...threw off the rule of the French, and they destroyed their castles in Gwynedd...' (Jones 1952, 19), it marks a change in the descriptions of conflicts referenced in the sources.

From this point on until the end of the chronicle in the late thirteenth century, the majority of descriptions related to military engagements are in some way or another related to castles. In some circumstances this may be referring to the construction or alteration of specific castles; in others the *Brut* is referring to attacks on or the besieging of castles and this clearly demonstrates that castles in Wales were continually changing hands (see Chapter 3).

Written sources, such as the *Brut*, but also Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History* and the anonymous *Gesta Stephani*, frequently record attacks upon and the destruction of castles in Wales. However, although the event is often recorded, the way in which a castle was taken is rarely noted. There are exceptions to this, however, where medieval writers describe sieges: for example, the *Brut* records that in 1150-1 Cadell and Maredudd and Rhys (sons of Gruffudd) took the castle of Llanrhytud 'after a long siege' which was then retaken by Hwyl ab Owain by force (Jones 1952, 57). Similarly, the same source states that in 1158 Rhys ap Gruffudd 'conquered the castles which the French had set up all over Dyfed and he burned them all' (Jones 1952, 61). It was not just the Welsh who were besieging castles however, as the historical sources also refer to both Norman and English attacks on castles, including sites such as Cilgerran in 1165 (Jones 1952, 64), Dolforwyn in 1282 and Dryslwyn in 1295 (see Chapter 3). Therefore, it becomes clear that castle warfare in medieval Wales was not a one-sided affair and that both sides were actively using these fortifications as part of their military strategy.

There are also several instances where the historical record can imply the use of siege artillery, for although it is presumed that such equipment would be used during a siege, without clear reference to the types of weapon used, it is unclear how castles were taken, for treachery and surprise must be accounted for as well. For example, whilst describing Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's attack on Builth Castle in 1260, the *Brut* states that 'as the men from the castle were opening the gates for the others who were without, behold Llywelyn's men leaping in by night and taking the castle' (Jones 1952, 112). However, the *Brut* also describes several occasions where siege artillery was present:

1193-1193In that year the warband of Maelgwn ap Rhys manfully breached the castle of Ystrad Meurig with slings and catapults... (Jones 1952, 75)

1203 ...the castle of Llandoverly and the castle of Llangadog were taken by catapults and slings by Gwenwynwyn and Maelgwn.... (Jones 1952, 82)

1213-1213 But Rhys Ieuanc came before the castle [Dinefwr]...he had ladders placed against the walls, and armed men to scale the walls. And on the first assault the whole castle was taken except for the tower. And in that all the garrison gathered together and they defended strongly with missiles and stones and other engines. And from without archers and crossbowmen were shooting missiles, and sappers digging, and

armed men making unbearable assaults till they were forced before the afternoon to surrender the tower. (Jones 1952, 87-8)

1233-1233... And he [Llywelyn ab Iorwerth] manfully laid siege to the castle of Brecon every day for a whole month with catapults, and he threw the walls to the ground. (Jones 1952, 102)

These references indicate clearly that siege artillery was present in Wales and that it was used equally on both sides. However, it is important to stress that the descriptions of siege artillery in the sources tend to become more detailed the later the source, particularly where the attacking force is Welsh. This may be the result of a better understanding of the equipment from the writers; however, it may more likely be that during the first half of the twelfth century the use of siege artillery was restricted, either due to the cost or lack of knowledge, and that it was only when greater Norman and English influence is seen in the Welsh art of war that the use of siege artillery was introduced into the Welsh kingdoms.

Unfortunately written descriptions of the range of siege artillery used in Wales are not forthcoming. However, although no siege engines have survived in the archaeological record, sites, such as Dolforwyn, Dryslwyn and Nevern, have all provided significant archaeological evidence for the use and range of siege artillery present (see Chapter 3). This principally takes the form of lithic projectiles that would have been used to throw at and drop on an attacking force by defenders. Similarly, machines such as the trebuchet or mangonel would have been armed with larger stone projectiles and fired into the castle by the besieging force. The range of lithic projectiles found at sites such as Dryslwyn (Caple 2007, 208-13) and Nevern (Caple Unpubl. 88-9) suggest that different sized stones would have had specific functions and that the selection of these projectiles was not random. Furthermore, the discovery of lithic projectiles that would have been used by both the defending and attacking forces suggests that Welsh, as well as Norman and English forces were familiar with this military technology.

Conclusion

Examination of both primary sources and more recent secondary publications, notably Suppe (1994) and Davies (2003), has demonstrated that there were very few differences in the way that warfare was approached between the native Welsh and their Norman and English counterparts. The avoidance of pitched battles and the reliance on raiding and ravaging

enemy lands were military strategies employed by both Welsh and English forces throughout the period under review. Similarly, the introduction of castles by the Normans may not initially have been a key feature of Welsh warfare initially, however, by the late eleventh century Welsh lords were holding and attacking Norman castles, and by the mid-twelfth century they were also building them. As a result, the castle became a central feature to warfare in Wales throughout the medieval period. However, although pitched battles were not as frequent as one might expect, they did take place in Wales during the period being discussed, but even here the differences between Welsh and Norman or English forces is difficult to identify from the sources alone. In particular, the suggestion that the Welsh were not familiar with using horses in battle has been reconsidered, with evidence suggesting that cavalry were just as likely to be found on the Welsh side of the battlefield as the English. However, what is unclear is to what extent the weaponry used during these campaigns differed depending on whether soldiers were fighting for or against the native Welsh, and it is this direction that the discussion of the nature of warfare in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450 must now take.

Chapter 5: The Bow and Arrow and the Crossbow

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to determine exactly what roles the bow and arrow and the crossbow played in the warfare of medieval Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450, and to analyse the available evidence to further understand their forms and functions. The bow and arrow has long been linked with the medieval Welsh soldier, an image that has been created as a result of historical research. The architect of this was Gerald of Wales who, writing in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, provides considerable detail on the organization of medieval armies in Wales and the equipment they carried. His writing has formed the basis of the historical image of the Welsh archer and the integral part he played in the warfare of the medieval period. For example, according to Gerald in the twelfth century Welsh archers played an important role in the conquest of Ireland under the command of Richard ‘Strongbow’ de Clare (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 90-6). In addition, it has also been suggested by early twentieth-century historians, such as Morris (1901) and Oman (1924), that the role played by Welsh archers during the Hundred Years War was vital to the English victories, including Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt. This view has meant that the importance of archery in medieval Wales has remained relatively unchallenged.

More recently, however, this image of the Welsh archer has begun to be questioned by scholars, such as Bradbury (1985) and Strickland (Strickland and Hardy 2005), and most recently by Chapman (2010, 60), who has gone so far as to say that the reason for the inclusion of many Welsh soldiers in English armies of the fourteenth century was not because of any skill with the bow, but rather their unique ability with the spear (see Chapter 6). This is further supported by the fact that archers were recruited from all over England and Wales and therefore puts doubt on any particular skill that Welsh archers may have had which English archers did not. Furthermore, references to the use of the bow and arrow in written sources other than those by Gerald of Wales are relatively scarce, particularly in the praise poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This casts doubt on the validity of the image created by Gerald of Wales.

Scholarly discussion on the role of the crossbow in medieval Wales has not been so forthcoming. Historians, such as Strickland and Hardy (2005, 113), have suggested that on the peripheries of the Anglo-Norman realm (Wales and Ireland) the longbow remained the

ideal weapon for both the local topographical conditions and against opponents who were lightly armed and swift on foot, thereby limiting the extent to which the crossbow would have been useful in these parts. However, this is not to say that the crossbow did not have a role to play, and evidence from written sources, such as the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, would suggest that the crossbow was used, particularly in siege warfare.

The Historical Context

Considering the importance attached to the bow and arrow in medieval Wales by historians such as Morris (1901), it is surprising how few references there are to its use in warfare by chroniclers such as Orderic Vitalis, Henry of Huntingdon and even Froissart. Although many of these medieval writers refer to the untamed savagery and barbarian nature of the Welsh art of war (see Chapter 4), rarely do they describe the equipment that they used, and where they do, interestingly they often refer to soldiers fighting with spear or sword rather than with bows and arrows (see Chapters 6 and 7).

The table below (5.1) demonstrates the various contexts in which arrows and archers are mentioned in the written sources. The most significant point to make is that the only reference to the use of arrows in pitched battle comes from Gerald of Wales and this is a non-specific description to Welsh military techniques. However, this is not to say that archers would not have taken part in pitched battles in Wales, as well as elsewhere in medieval Europe (see below). Limited descriptions of battles from this period are problematic, particularly during the late eleventh and early twelfth century. When compared to the accounts of battles in later medieval sources, such as Froissart, whose detailed accounts of battles such as Crecy or Poitiers provide far more detail on the ways in which battles proceeded than authors of chronicles such as the *Brut y Tywysogyon* or the *Gesta Stephani*., these earlier accounts provide very little useful information of the deployment of particular weapon types in battles in Wales. However, if this is the case, why do these earlier sources record more detail about sieges and ambushes than pitched battles? The rarity of pitched battles during this period of history is the most likely reason for this lack of references, as the main focus of warfare at this time would have been centred on castles (see Chapter 4). This would also be supported by the number of references to archers in both castle garrisons and in descriptions of sieges. The increased number of descriptions greatly increases the probability that weapon types will get mentioned.

Source	Pitched Battle	Siege	Ambush / Skirmish	Castle Garrison	Other
Gerald of Wales	Description of how the Welsh shoot arrows as they retreat from battle (Thorpe 1978, 259-60)	Archers from Gwent attack on Abergavenny Castle (Thorpe 1978, 113)	Magnus Bareleg's attack on Hugh of Shrewsbury – Naval (Thorpe 1978, 188)	Archers in the garrison of Cardiff Castle (Thorpe 1978, 122-3); Archers in the Garrison of St. Clears took the cross (Thorpe 1978, 140)	William de Broase's account of man-at-arms pinned to his horse by Welsh arrow (Thorpe 1978, 113); Gerald's description of Welsh bows (Thorpe 1978, 113); Prisoner in Haverfordwest Castle making arrows for sons of the earl of Clare (Thorpe 1978, 142); Description of the bow as chief weapon in South Wales (Thorpe 1978, 182)
<i>Brut y Tywysogyon</i>		Welsh forces attacking Aberystwyth Castle in 1116 (Jones 1952, 43); Rhys Ieuanc siege of Dinefwr Castle in 1213 (Jones 1952, 87-8)	Maredudd ap Bleddyn ambush King Henry I in 1121 (Jones 1952, 48); Owain ap Cadwgan ambushed and killed by Flemish archers in 1116 (Jones 1952, 44-5); Cadell ap Gruffudd ambushed by English knights and archers in 1151 (Jones 1952, 57)	Garrison defending Aberystwyth Castle in 1116 (Jones 1952, 43);	
<i>The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> (Latin)		French defenders during siege of Aberlleiniog in 1096 (Russell 2005, 77)	Magnus Bareleg's attack on Hugh or Shrewsbury in 1098 – Naval (Russell 2005, 83)	Archers included in the garrisons of castles in Anglesey, Arfon, Bangor and Meirionnydd (1094) (Russell 2005, 73)	
<i>The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> (Welsh)			Magnus Bareleg's attack on Hugh of Shrewsbury – Naval (Evans 1990, 78)		
<i>Gesta Stephani</i>			Ambush on Richard fitz Gilbert in 1136 (Potter and Davies 1976, 16)		English forces sent to subdue Welsh rebellion in 1136 (Potter and Davies 1976, 16)
<i>Gesta Regum Anglorum</i> (William Malmsbury)			Arrow shot at King Henry I during Welsh ambush in 1121 (Mynors 1998, 727)		
History of William Marshall					Welsh archer shot Frenchman in the head during a parley at the Castle of Gisors in 1188 (Holden 2002, 377-9)

Table 5.1 The context in which arrows and archers are mentioned in the written sources

The Cambro-Norman writer, Gerald of Wales, is unprecedented in his descriptions of the Welsh and their use of the bow and arrow. For example, in his *Journey through Wales*, Gerald refers to the use of the Welsh bow on eight different occasions, the most well-known of which is his description of the capabilities of the bow used by the men of Gwent:

...the men of Gwent, for that is what they are called, have much more experience of warfare, and are more famous for their martial exploits and, in particular, are more skilled with the bow and arrow than those who come from other parts of Wales (Thorpe 1978, 113).

Gerald then goes on to describe their exploits in more detail with reference to their attack on Abergavenny Castle:

...two men at arms were rushing across a bridge to take refuge in the tower...the Welsh shot at them from behind and with the arrows which sped from their bows they actually penetrated the oak doorway of the tower, which was almost as thick as a man's palm... (Thorpe 1978, 113).

Towards the end of this account of the power of the bows of Gwent, Gerald describes how William de Braose claimed that, whilst at war with the Welsh,

...one of his men at arms was struck by an arrow shot at him by a Welshman. It went right through his thigh, high up where it was protected outside and inside the leg by his iron cuishes, and then through the skirt of his leather tunic; next it penetrated that part of the saddle which is called the alva or the seat; and finally it lodged in his horse, driving in so deep that it killed the animal... (Thorpe 1978, 113).

These descriptions imply that the bow used by the Welsh was capable of causing great injury, and this will be returned to later in the chapter. However, the fact that Gerald singles out the bows of the men of Gwent above those of other parts of Wales suggests a greater skill, or even preference for, this weapon in that area.

This is not to say that the bow and arrow were not utilized in other parts of Wales, since Gerald refers to its use throughout the country. For, although he later says 'just as the bow is the chief weapon in south Wales' (Thorpe 1978, 182), when describing the use of the spear in the north and elsewhere, when discussing further exploits with the bow and arrow, he

fails to single out specific geographical areas and therefore implies that its use was widespread throughout. In his description of the Welsh in pitched battle Gerald writes

Their courage is best seen when they are in retreat, for they will frequently turn back and, like the Parthians, shoot their arrows from behind (Thorpe 1978, 259-60).

This would suggest that archers were just as commonly included in the armies of the north as they were in the south. Of equal importance to this account is Gerald's classical parallel with the Parthians. Thorpe (1978, 260) suggests that this is a reference to the 'Parthian shot' as



Fig. 5.1. Fifteenth century Turkish horse-archer demonstrating the 'Parthian shot' (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 97)

illustrated in Fig. 5.1. However it is highly likely that Gerald may have been referring to the tactics used by the Parthian army against Roman forces at the battle of Carrhae in 53 BC. Following Crassus's orders for the Roman light troops to attack, the Parthians rode away, shooting arrows as they fled. A similar tactic was then used when Crassus ordered his son Publius to attack, when again the Parthians feigned retreat before being joined by more

troops when they turned to face the chasing Roman cavalry and this shock tactic defeated the Roman force (Anglim et al 2002, 114). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Gerald was well educated and his works demonstrate his broad knowledge of the classics (Davies 2003, 4). Furthermore, his works were aimed at an educated European audience and therefore had to be written in a way that those beyond Wales would understand (Pryce 1986-7, 280; Davies 2003, 4). Therefore, by comparing the Welsh at war with descriptions in the classics, the question should be asked as to how much the Welsh actually fought like this, and how much Gerald adapted his descriptions to suit his purpose.

Interestingly, Gerald's comparison between the Welsh and the Parthians may on face value appear to be a negative description of barbaric techniques. However, it can also be seen as a celebration of Welsh archery. The Parthian horse-archers were renowned for their skill and formidable accuracy of their composite bows, therefore to be compared with such infamous archers from antiquity can hardly be considered a great insult. Furthermore, the

question of comparing the Welsh with an army that was made up entirely of mounted soldiers must be considered further. In the *Expugnatio*, Gerald repeatedly refers to *arcarii equestres* and *sagitarii pedestres*, which Strickland and Hardy (2005, 91) translate as ‘mounted and foot-archers’. Gerald suggested that these mounted archers made up significant numbers of the invading Norman armies with Maurice Fitz Gerald landing in Wexford with 30 mounted archers and 100 foot-archers and Raymond le Gros also landing in Wexford with 100 mounted archers and 300 foot-archers (Scott and Martin 1978, 50-1; 140-1). Most significantly, it is those traveling with Raymond le Gros that Gerald states were ‘chosen from the best fighting men in Wales’. Therefore, it is possible that in comparing Welsh archers to the Parthians in the *Description*, Gerald is also referring to their skill with the bow and arrow both in and out of the saddle.

The effective use of the bow and arrow by Welsh soldiers is supported by a range of other sources in addition to Gerald of Wales. Most notably, the *Brut y Tywysogyon* records the presence of Welsh archers at both the attack on Aberystwyth Castle in 1116 and the siege of Dinefwr in 1213 (Jones 1952, 43; 88). The siege of Dinefwr is particularly interesting as the author notes:

...And in that the garrison gathered together and they defended strongly with missiles and stones and other engines. And from without archers and crossbow-men were shooting missiles, and sappers digging, and armed men making unbearable assaults till they were forced before the afternoon to surrender the tower (Jones 1952, 88).

There are very few references to the Welsh use of the crossbow in the written sources. However, its use by English armies is well documented, and for much of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries crossbowmen formed a substantial part of English armies, both at home and in France. For example in 1217, William Marshall marched against the French and their rebel allies at Lincoln with 406 knights and 317 crossbowmen (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 114). Crossbowmen also formed substantial elements in the armies of King John in Ireland in 1210, Henry III’s forces at Taillebourg in 1242 and Edward I’s armies in Wales (1282-3), Flanders (1297) and Scotland (1306) (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 114). However, in conflicts concerning the Welsh it is the longbow that is more often referenced. This is not to say that the Welsh were not familiar with the crossbow and Strickland and Hardy (2005, 439) refer to two examples of Welsh crossbowmen in English service. The first, refers to Ralph the crossbowman, who took service with Henry III in 1244 after being retained by Llywelyn

‘Prince of Wales’ (*Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the National Archive*, Vol II, 226), and the second records how one of Edward I’s messengers (a Welshmen called Llewyn) defected to the Scots during the siege of Stirling Castle and took with him his crossbow, which he offered to use against the English (Stephenson 1839, 178-9). Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the embrasures at both Castell y Bere and Criccieth were designed for crossbowmen and not for the longbow (Avent 1982, 13; Carr 2000, 70-1; Strickland and Hardy 2005, 123).

The crossbow may have been slow to fire in the open field, but it was particularly useful during siege warfare where it was much easier to use behind parapets and on wall walks without exposing the crossbowmen in the process (Caple 2007, 193). The increasing experience of the Welsh in both building castles and siege warfare during the thirteenth century (see Chapter 4) may have led to an increased familiarity with the crossbow during this period. However, the bow and arrow remained an ideal weapon in the wooded, boggy or mountainous terrains of Wales and was utilized extensively by Welsh forces throughout the medieval period.

To consider the bow and arrow to be a ‘Welsh’ weapon would be inaccurate as there is also significant written evidence for its use in conflicts by Norman, English and Marcher forces. Evidence from the Bayeux Tapestry clearly indicates the Norman use of archers against the Anglo-Saxon forces at the Battle of Hastings (see Fig 5.2). Furthermore, one of the most enlightening examples is



Fig. 5.2. Archers illustrated in the border of the Bayeux Tapestry – Scene 56 (Musset 2002, 255)

its use by Norman archers at the Battle of the Standard in 1138 (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 75). Following the invasion of northern England by the Scottish king, David I, Archbishop Thurstan of York and many of the leading northern barons gathered an army at Northallerton. This army was unremarkable in its make-up and was formed from retinues from the Norman

lords and a force of knights sent from King Stephen, alongside the county levies from Yorkshire. However, what was remarkable was the decision of the Anglo-Normans to dismount and fight on foot, with ‘the spearmen and archers so distributed through them that they were protected by the arms of the knights, and could with equally greater vigour and security either attack the enemy or receive his attack’ (Ailred of Rievaulx, Howlett 1886, 191). The effect of the storm of arrows on the poorly armed Scots and Galwegians is described by Ailred of Rievaulx as follows:

‘the southern flies swarmed forth from the caves of their quivers, and flew like closest rain; and irksomely attacking the opponents’ breasts, faces and eyes, very greatly impeded their attack. Like a hedgehog with its quills, so you would see a Galwegian bristling all around with arrows, and none the less brandishing his sword and in blind madness rushing forward now smite a foe, now lash the air with useless strokes’ (Howlett 1886, 196).

The events at Northallerton in 1138 demonstrate that the Normans understood the value of using archers, especially against poorly armed opponents, such as the Scots. Interestingly, Strickland and Hardy (2005, 78-9) suggest that the reasons behind the limited number of occasions where archers were deployed in this way during twelfth- and thirteenth-century battles may be linked to the size of armies and the limited number of battles that actually took place during this period; but more tellingly, they lay the blame with the reluctance of knights to actually kill other knights. Therefore, the indiscriminate killing by archers was considered to be an acceptable tactic against the barbaric enemies of the Normans, that is the Scots, the Irish and even the Welsh (see below); however, where ransoms could be made by capturing noble opponents, archery was side-lined in favour of the spear and the sword.

In a Welsh context, in the early twelfth-century *Gesta Stephani*, the author refers to King Stephen sending ‘knights and archers whom he had hired at great expense’ to subdue the rebellion of the Welsh in 1136 and that Baldwin fitzGilbert had also hired 500 archers during his operations against the Welsh in the same year (Potter and Davies 1975, 16-7; 20-1). In his description of the battle of Orewin Bridge (1282), Walter of Guisborough records

The Welsh stood in squadrons on the crest of the hill...And our men climbing up, shot arrows and many missiles. Having engaged in some close combat many fell to our archers (who were supported between the cavalry) (cited in Brooks 2000, 157).

There are several other instances where archers were utilized by Norman and English forces against the Welsh in combat. The most notable is the description in the *Brut* of the Welsh attack on Aberystwyth Castle in 1116, when the Norman garrison used archers to defend the castle during the Welsh siege:

...And then the garrison...sent archers to the bridge to shoot at them and annoy them...And when the Britons saw the archers so boldly approaching...they sallied imprudently against them (Jones 1952, 43).

The *Brut* also records how Owain ap Cadwgan, Prince of Powys, was ambushed by Flemish archers in the same year (Jones 1952, 44-5) and that Cadell ap Gruffudd, son for Gruffudd ap Rhys of Deheubarth, was attacked by knights and archers from Tenby in 1151 (Jones 1952, 57). The inclusion of archers in the garrisons of castles in Wales and the Marches is also evident if the Pipe Rolls are considered. For example, ten archers were stationed at Wrockwardine in 1172-3, a further ten at Chepstow in 1185, and a large company of forty mounted archers was stationed at Gloucester Castle in 1193 (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 87-8). Strickland and Hardy (2005, 88) also refer to the existence of numerous small-holdings held for archer service in the Marches, and further afield, including a *serjeantry* tenure in Suffolk worth 20 shillings for service with a bow and arrows for the king when he was on campaign in Wales, which Strickland and Hardy suggest reveals the ‘recognition of the need for such missilemen in campaigns against the Welsh.’

It is not just Norman and English archers that are referred to in the written sources. In the *Journey*, Gerald of Wales describes the death of Hugh de Montgomery on the island of Anglesey in 1098 at the hands of Magnus Barelegs, King of Norway as follows,

Some pirates from the Orkneys made their way into one of the island ports in their longships. When he heard of their approach, the earl [Hugh], who was on a mettlesome horse, dashed wildly into the sea to attack them. Magnus, who was in command of the expedition, stood on the prow of the leading ship and shot an arrow at the earl, who was completely clad in iron from the top of his head to the soles of his feet, all except for his eyes. The arrow struck his right eye and penetrated his brain, so that he fell mortally wounded into the sea (Thorpe 1978, 188).

There is also reference to this event in both the Latin and Welsh versions of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, which are as follows:

But the king [...] an arrow from the prow of his ship and it struck Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, in the eye and he was laid low on the ground lifeless, though he was in full armour, and for a while struggled with the weapon (Russell 2005, 83).

And the king himself, unruffled from the prow of the ship, hit with an arrow Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, in his eye, and he fell a humped back to the ground mortally wounded from his armed horse, beating his arms...the French turned their backs to the arrows of the men of Llychlyn... (Evans 1990,78).

Interestingly, the later Welsh version has the additional references to the arrows of the men of Llychlyn, further emphasizing the use of archery by the Norsemen.

Day (2012, 5-6) states that bows appear frequently as enemy weapons in medieval Welsh poetry. For example, in the poem *Afallennau Myrddin*, Norman or Viking archers are being used to cover the enemy landing on the beach,

[In] seven ships they will come and seven hundred across [the] waves

They will land [*or* attack] upon the beach beneath [the flight of] arrows (Day 2012, 8)

Day (2012, 6) also points out that patrons are often killed by arrows, although it is not always clear whether these events happened during battle or whether it was in ambush, or even murder. Furthermore, Day states that English archers are often mentioned by the poets. For example, in Hywel Swrdwal's (c. 1430 – c. 1475) elegy for Watgyn Fychan of Brodorddyn, he writes

Was it not bitter, God's curse upon their houses,

For our land when the knave of an Englishman

With point of an arrow attacked

The eldest son of my lord

...

May the Englishman with the arrow's bow

Be hanged, according to his nature (Day 2012, 6).

Therefore, it is important to stress that it was not only the Welsh who were using the bow and arrow during conflicts in Wales.

The scarcity of references to the use of the bow and arrow by the Welsh in historical sources is also mirrored in the poetry of this period. Interestingly, Day (2012, 1) points out

that the descriptions of archery in Welsh poetry are often referring to it as a leisure activity, in hunting or as target shooting, rather than its use in warfare, and that ‘descriptions of patrons actually fighting with a bow, even in a generalised, stereotypical context are rare’ (Day 2012, 12). Unlike the spear or the sword which are found in early medieval poems such as the *Gododdin*, the earliest references to the bow and arrow date to the thirteenth-century court poets, suggesting that either it was not a common weapon prior to this date, or that it was not considered heroic enough to be included in praise poems for Welsh warriors at this time.

Day (2012 9-10) does, however, highlight a change that takes place during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when there is an increase in the number and variety of references to archery in the poems. For example, the poem of Einion Offeiriad (d. 1349), ‘In praise of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd’, reads

Rhys is a blameless archer and is not angry towards us, with swift arrows, in the onrush of battle, [his] design [is] archery with sharp weapons... (Day 2012, 3).

This would suggest a change in attitude towards archery in the later medieval Welsh mind, possibly as a result of the success of archers during the Hundred Years War. However, Day (2012, 12) does go on to state that, although the bow and arrow had become an accepted inclusion in poetic writing, it still did not rival the number of references to the sword or the spear. This is likely to be not only because those that were wealthy enough to patronise poets would have been unlikely to have fought as professional archers, but also because the bow and arrow was just not considered to be heroic or chivalric in nature (Day 2012, 12).

This may well help to explain why references to the bow and arrow are also scarce in written sources, other than those written by Gerald of Wales. If, like the poets, medieval writers were concerned with recording heroic acts, it is highly likely that the bow and arrow would feature less frequently than either the sword or the spear. This is because, in order to kill with the sword, and in most circumstances, the spear, the combatants were required to be in close proximity, whereas the bow and arrow was used at a distance and therefore failed to afford the dramatic interaction of close quarters combat (Day 2011b, 11), nor did it hold quite the same threat to one’s life. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the elite Welsh warriors, the princes and their highly trained *Teulu*, would have fought with the bow and arrow on a regular basis, perhaps because of the reasons already stated. The distaste for archery amongst the Norman elite is also emphasized by Gerald of Wales when he takes his own nephew, Gerald de Barry, to task for neglecting his books in favour of archery (Strickland and Hardy

2005, 84). Even during the Hundred Years War, when the longbow and archery were at their height, it was uncommon for men from the gentry to enlist as archers although, as Day (2012, 12) points out, this was not completely unheard of; for example, the poet Guto'r Glyn began his military career as an archer. However, this was not the norm, and it is more likely that archers during the period concerned would have come from the lower classes and would have made up the national levy, men who in Wales, would have been members of the *Llu* (Davies 2003, 50). This does not mean that the roles of archers were insignificant. In poems from the fifteenth century, particularly those by Lewys Glyn Cothi, professional archers are mentioned, albeit in a background role, to demonstrate their importance in wars of this date (Day 2012, 10). However, although the archers were important, their status meant that the exploits of these soldiers would have been of little interest to medieval writers. Hence archers in Wales are rarely mentioned in the sources, other than those written by Gerald of Wales.

On the other hand, Strickland and Hardy (2005, 91) suggest that the inclusion of mounted archers in the invading armies in Ireland may suggest that some archers were of higher rank and thus able to afford mounts and presumably higher wages. Furthermore, Gerald's comparison between the Welsh archers and the Parthians also suggests that a certain amount of prestige could be associated with skilled bowmen (see above), and, more importantly, the view of archer in Scandinavian society, clearly demonstrated by the description of how Magnus Barelegs killed Hugh of Shrewsbury with a well-aimed arrow, would also suggest that the use of the bow and arrow was not limited to lower ranking soldiers in all medieval society. It must be deemed possible that Orderic Vitalis was actually referring to Magnus's use of the bow in order to highlight his barbaric nature to his Norman audiences; however, there are many other references to Viking leaders using this weapon in medieval Sagas which would lend support to the accuracy of Orderic's description (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 56). Considering the close connections between the Welsh Kingdoms and the Hiberno-Norse in Ireland, it may be that archers in Wales were given a greater status, but that this is not replicated in the written sources as a result of the influence of the Chivalric codes.

Nevertheless, there is a further poetic reference dating to the second half of the fifteenth century which is worth mentioning here. In a poem by Dafydd ab Edmwnd (number LVIII) he sang

Bearing a good bow upon a journey

And winning a golden arrow a hundred times (Day 2012, 2; pers. com, J. Day)

Although it is unlikely that golden arrows were made for practical use, Day (2012, 2; pers.com) suggests that this may have been a prize in an archery contest. Whether this is a metaphorical prize or a reality remains to be proven, however this does suggest that skill with a bow and arrow was highly praised even if the writers and poets fail to emphasize this.

References to the use of the bow and arrow in medieval Wales may be rare, especially before the Edwardian conquest, but references to the form and appearance of this weapon are even harder to identify. The form of medieval bows has long been a debated subject. The fundamental questions asked by scholars, such as Strickland and Hardy (2005, 34) and Soar (2010, 31), concern the development of the 6ft longbow so synonymous with the English victories during the Hundred Year War in the fourteenth century, and ask whether it was the result of a military revolution begun during the reign of Edward I, or was it simply the same weapon that was used by archers throughout the medieval period and was deployed on a far larger scale from the beginning of the fourteenth century, meaning that it was the sheer number of archers that won battles such as Crecy and Agincourt, not a superior weapon. This question is particularly relevant to Wales, as scholars such as Oman and Morris suggest that it was the use of the longbow in Wales that stimulated Edward I to integrate this weapon into the English armies of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (see Chapter 1). However, without a wealth of datable archaeological material with which to answer this question (see below) scholars researching the form of the medieval bow in Wales and elsewhere have been overly reliant on the written record to understand the form of this weapon.

Illustrations of bows vary considerably throughout the medieval period, providing images of bows of differing height, shape and thickness sometimes even within the same source. For example, the Bayeux Tapestry provides numerous images of archers at Hastings, including some archers that are shown drawing bows half their height into the chest on the central panels (Fig. 5.3), alongside images of bows as tall as the archers in the bottom margin of the battle scenes (Fig. 5.4) (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 44-6). From a Welsh point of view, the most significant images are the illustrations



Fig. 5.3. Archers on Bayeux Tapestry shooting with a half-bow – Scene 51 (Musset 2002, 235)



Fig. 5.4. Archers on the Bayeux Tapestry shooting with longbows – Scene 56 (Musset 2002, 253)

found in the thirteenth-century manuscript the *Littere Wallie* (see Chapter 7). The archers in these illustrations are clearly using a bow of shorter length and are only drawing in to the chest rather than to the ear (Fig 5.5). These illustrations have been used by scholars such as Oman (1925), Morris (1901), and more recently, Clifford Rogers (1993, 249), to prove the existence of the shorter 4ft bow. However, as Strickland and Hardy (2005, 37) have argued, these images are very likely to be caricatures of England's 'barbarian' opponents and question the validity of this source. Furthermore, the validity of other illustrations contained in this manuscript is also questioned later in this thesis (Chapter 7) and therefore the author would similarly argue that the proportions of medieval bows cannot be determined by using these depictions alone.

It is important to stress that the term 'longbow' in any form is not found written in the historical record until the mid-fifteenth century and it was not until the sixteenth century that the term is commonly used (Soar 2010, 33). Neither are there any references to be found to a 'short bow' in written sources. Instead, the existence of such a short bow has been formed by modern scholars as a result of studying illustrations of bows in manuscripts and art, however, a detailed discussion by Strickland and Hardy (2005, 34-48) articulately demonstrates that such a weapon is very much a misunderstanding of the evidence and that the idea of a short, weaker bow predating its longer famous cousin is pure fiction. Furthermore, it is suggested that in order to obtain the ideal combination of strength and safety from breakage, it is essential that any bows made of wood such as yew, elm or pine are made to an overall length of 5ft (Strickland and Hardy 2005,39). On the other hand, this comment is contradicted substantially by the discovery of seven yew bows from medieval Waterford (Halpin 2009, 458) that all measured approximately to 4ft. Therefore, it would appear that the term 'self-bow', that is a bow made from one piece of wood and does not include composite construction (Strickland and Hardy 2005,

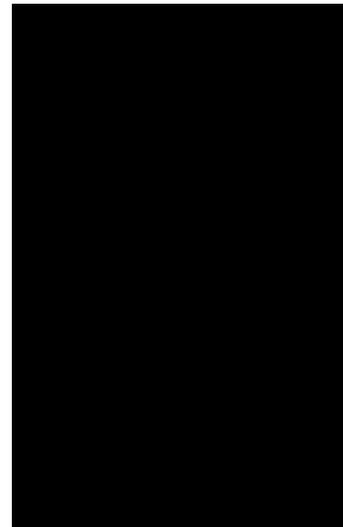


Fig. 5.5. Illustration of Welsh Archer in *Littere Wallie* (Liber 'A') (Newark 1996, 231)

37), is far more accurate when referring to medieval bows; however, this is not to say that all medieval self-bows were the same design and certainly does not mean that smaller medieval bows did not exist.

To return to Gerald of Wales, again the most useful source in this area, in his description of the bows used by the men of Gwent says:

...the bows they use are not of horn, nor of sapwood, nor yet of yew. The Welsh carve their bows out of dwarf elm trees in the forest. They are nothing much to look at, not even rubbed smooth, but left in a rough and unpolished state. ... (Thorpe 1978, 113).

Medieval bows have been suggested to have been made from a variety of materials; however it is from the yew that the infamous self-bows of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were made. Gerald's suggestion that the Welsh bows were made from elm is not to be disbelieved. Bows made out of elm were commonplace throughout the medieval period, and during the sixteenth century, when yew was in short demand, bowyers were required by statute to make two bows of elm for every one made in yew (Soar 2010, 12). However, this statute was revoked in 1566 as a result of the unpopularity of the elm bows amongst English archers. This is the result of elm having a lower elastic modulus than yew and thus elm bows cannot achieve the firing distances of their yew counterparts (Soar 2010, 26). This may distinguish the Welsh bows from the bows used by the English, and also casts doubt on the interpretations of Morris (1901) and Oman (1924) that the fourteenth-century longbow originated in Wales (see Chapter 1), as the warbow of English fame was undoubtedly made from yew (Soar 2010, 42) and not elm. However, Strickland and Hardy (2005, 42) cite the evidence from a court case in 1315 relating to the murder of Robert of Essington in Staffordshire to demonstrate the variety of bows that were available and used by archers in the early fourteenth century. Four of the assailants are described as attacking the deceased with bows, one, named John, son of Roger de Swynnerton, had 'a bow of Spanish yew, two ells in length (7ft 6in) and of the thickness of four men's thumbs'. Another, Roger of Byshebury, 'shot a bow called Turkeys's of Spanish yew, one ell and a half in length', and the other two drew bows, one made from Irish yew and the other of elm. Therefore, although elm was considered inferior to yew, it does not mean that it was not used, and may suggest that the type of bow used by archers was very much a personal choice and not necessarily based on the most powerful material.

In terms of the power and ability of the Welsh bows, Gerald goes on to say

You could not shoot far with them; but they were powerful enough to inflict serious wounds in a close fight (Thorpe 1978, 113).

This extract would appear to contradict his earlier description of arrows which could not only penetrate the wooden doors at Abergavenny Castle, but were also capable of penetrating the armoured thigh of an English man at arms, through his saddle and into his horse, thus killing it! Interestingly, this might suggest that there would have been more than one type of bow in use in Wales at the time Gerald was writing, using a variety of materials that had different characteristics. However, the experimental work of Stretton (2010b, 127-152) suggests that it is not necessarily the bow that determines the distance the arrow will travel or the energy it delivers on impact, but that the type of arrowhead also has an effect (see below). Therefore, it could be that the differences suggested by Gerald's descriptions actually refer to the types of arrow archers were using rather than the types of bow. Unfortunately, references to the bow and arrow in historical sources fail to allude to any features on the types of arrowheads used and therefore it is only an assessment of the material remains that might answer this question.

On the other hand, Strickland and Hardy (2005, 43-4) reiterate a difference in the translation of Gerald's work that was first suggested in Morris in his *Welsh Wars of Edward I* (1901, 16). Both scholars suggest that Thorpe's translation of the Latin '*non tantum...sed etiam*' should actually be read as 'not only...but also' therefore suggesting that the passage should read 'not only could you shoot far with them, but also they are powerful enough to inflict serious wounds in a close fight'. This would certainly make more sense, and compliment the stories, which are likely to have been exaggerated in the telling, that Gerald relates about the bowmen of Gwent and the power of their bows. This would also explain why Welsh archers made up such a significant element of the armies sent to conquer Ireland.

The Archaeological Evidence

Since no bows have survived in the archaeological record in Wales, in this section, the most common find, the metal arrowhead, will be considered. Within the catalogue, there are 438 examples of arrowheads that have been found across Wales dating from the period between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. The majority have come from castle excavations and may therefore be regarded as representative of the types of weapon that were being stored and used on those particular sites, and a proportion may also represent conflict and sieges that had taken place on these sites.

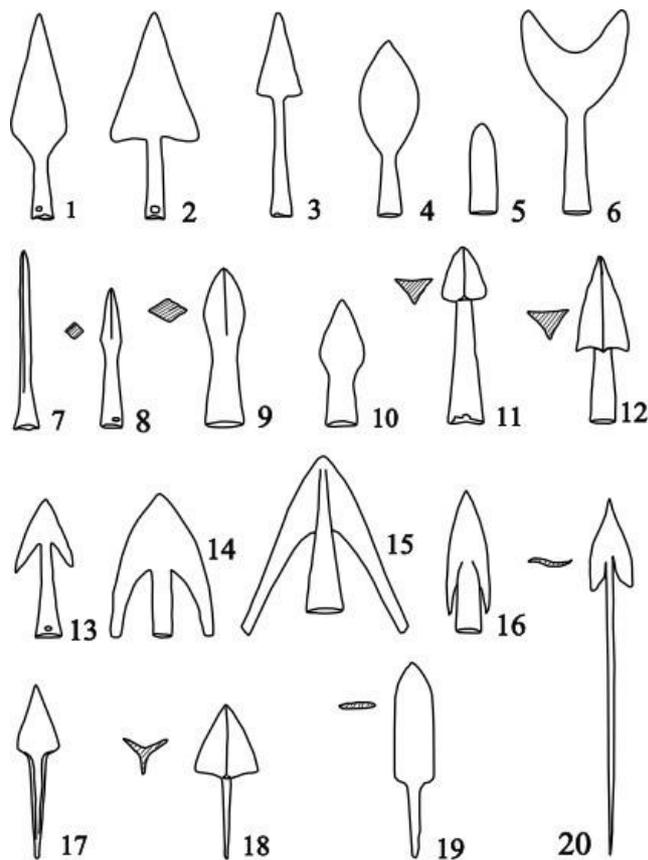


Fig. 5.6. Ward-Perkins Arrowhead Typology
(Redrawn from Ward-Perkins 1954, 66)

Typology

In order to organize these objects into groups of different type, date and function, a typology of arrowheads must be identified. To date, there is no typology of Welsh arrowheads available for use. The first typology of British arrowheads was put together by Ward-Perkins in 1954 (Fig. 5.6). *The London Museum Medieval Catalogue* was written as a general handbook of artefacts contained within the London Museum collection and was to be used as a guide for the student of medieval archaeology. For arrowheads Ward-Perkins created a typology consisting of twenty different types, some designed for hunting and others for warfare. As well as examples from the London

Museum collection, Ward-Perkins also used datable examples from six other sites, including Dyserth Castle in north-east Wales (1954, 68-70). Unfortunately, as Jessop points out (1997, 192), of the six sites, four were excavated in the early part of the twentieth century when recording techniques were less accurate, and two sites were from Sweden and not British at all. Even Ward-Perkins indicated that the typology he presented was not 'exhaustive ... [but] it will, perhaps serve as a convenient basis for classification' (1954, 70). He also admitted possible mistakes, including the potential inclusion of non-medieval types (Ward-Perkins 1954, 70). Furthermore, the typology was constructed with a very limited number of objects coming from a very small number of sites and also included types where no actual example existed apart from in illustrated manuscripts or sculpture. However, in spite of this, Ward-Perkins's typology served as the standard typology for medieval arrowheads into the late 1990s and is still used by some scholars today.

When Jessop published a revised typology in *Medieval Archaeology* in 1997 he used a good range of artefacts from sites all over Britain and Ireland (Fig. 5.7). Using Ward-Perkins's typology as a basis, Jessop incorporated new examples from sites as far apart as Urquhart (Inverness), Dryslwyn (Carmarthenshire) and Portchester

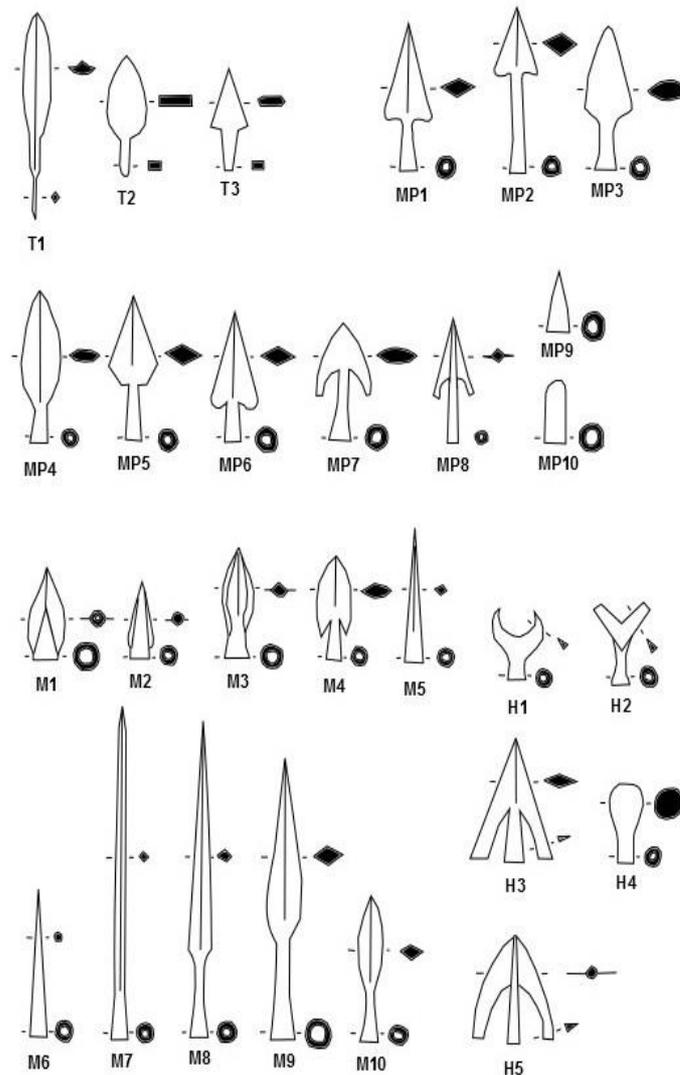


Fig. 5.7. Jessop Arrowhead Typology (Redrawn from Jessop 1997, 194)

Castle (Hampshire) to create an updated version with added accuracy by using material from more modern excavations. Jessop's typology includes twenty-eight different types of arrowhead separated into four functional groups, and is therefore of much more use to this project than that of Ward-Perkins. Nevertheless it does have flaws. Though the twenty-eight groups at first appear very distinct, when using the typology to categorise the arrowheads in this catalogue, the author found that in some cases the descriptions were lacking in detail, making it difficult to assign some arrowheads to specific types. This is almost definitely due to the differences caused by the many hundreds of smiths working on arrowheads during the medieval period. This means that while most arrowheads clearly fit into one type or another, others are more difficult to classify and could either be placed in no type at all or in several. As a result there are a small number of arrowheads in the catalogue that have not been

assigned to a specific type. However, as Jessop has included examples from a number of Welsh sites, comparisons can be made between his classifications and those made by the author during this project, making it easier to understand the form of specific types which are unclear from using Jessop's illustrations and brief descriptions alone. Despite the fact that Jessop's typology is, at times, difficult to use due to the vagueness of his descriptions, it is the most comprehensive typology available to date and, compared to the outdated alternative from Ward-Perkins (1954), the benefits of using it to classify arrowheads in this catalogue are far reaching.

Jessop divided his typology into four main groups. Firstly, there are 'tanged' arrowheads, which Jessop (1997, 195) predominately dated between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Instead of using a socket to attach the arrowhead to the wooden shaft, in this type a metal tang is attached to the sharpened head of the shaft and either tied, or in some cases, such as the examples from Dyserth Castle (CC 389), has a spirally twisted tang that is presumed to have functioned like a screw. As for the shape of the blade, they can all be described as relatively plain in design with T3 being a triangular and T1 and T2 leaf shaped. Only T1 has what is reminiscent of a diamond cross-section and could therefore be a little more sophisticated than the other two types. Even so, the shape of the three tanged types would certainly point to an earlier date. The lack of these types of arrowhead in later contexts (post 1300) supports this and suggests that when the socketed forms of arrowheads that make up the other three groups became more widespread, this type of arrowhead was replaced (Jessop 1997, 193).

Jessop's second group (H1-H4) is a collection of arrowheads that are presumed to have been used purely for hunting. There are two main shapes that assign an arrowhead to this group. Firstly, there are the crescent-shaped examples (H1 and H2) which Jessop refers to as 'forkers' due to their shape. These types are likely to have been used for hunting fowl, and experiments by Mark Stretton (2010b, 127-52) would support this. Secondly, Types H3 and H4 have exaggerated barbs and are known as 'broadheads'. These would have been used for hunting bigger game as the longer cutting edge would certainly have increased blood loss and weakened the intended target (Jessop 1997, 199). It must be mentioned here that, although the intended function of these arrowheads was for hunting fowl and game, that does not mean that they would have been ineffectual on a human target. Although arrowheads, such as the crescent-shaped Type H1, are extremely unlikely to have been used for anything but hunting birds, tests have proved that, if there was nothing else available and at the right

range, these types of arrowhead would have had some impact on armoured knights (Stretton 2010b 127-52). It has also been suggested that these types of arrowhead were very effective in naval battles for cutting sails and rigging (Stretton 2010b, 145-8).

The last two groups of arrowheads are of key importance to this project. These are the military and multi-purpose arrowheads that could and would have been used in warfare as well as for hunting. The multi-purpose or MP arrowhead group can be described as containing types of arrowhead that do not fit into either of the other three groups. They are all socketed and some examples have common attributes with both the arrowhead groups designed for hunting and for warfare, hence the description of multi-purpose.

The final group, the military arrowheads, can be divided into two sections; bodkins and warheads. Firstly, types M5 to M10 are bodkins, long, slender arrowheads with a comparatively small cross section (Jessop 1997, 198). These types vary in length but fundamentally they all share the same form. Jessop (1997, 198-9) has argued that they are in use throughout the medieval period with the earliest being M6 and M7, which are found in contexts as early as the eleventh century (Goltho Manor and Weoley Castle), and ending with M8, M9 and M10, which die out during the fifteenth century. It is considered (Jessop 1997, 198) that the 'bodkin' arrowhead was designed with one function in mind, and that was to pierce the armour of the opposing force. The simple design of a sharpened point meant that with enough power the arrowhead had the ability to pierce the metal and leather protective garments worn by knights on the battlefield, as well as being simple and relatively cheap to manufacture (see below).

The other types in this group are warheads (M1 - M4). These arrowheads are all socketed and have either wings or narrow barbs attached. Jessop (1997, 197) suggests that, although these are designed to be used in battle, they would not have been as effective as bodkins, and would only have been effective against early forms of armour and body protection. However, there is a flaw with this theory and that is the dates of the contexts with which these arrowheads are associated. The earliest of these warheads is type M4 which is described as fourteenth century, and the latest M2, which Jessop dates to the fifteenth century. Recent research by the Royal Armouries has, however, added to this debate. By studying the metallography of three types of arrowhead, their findings may completely turn our understanding of armour-piercing arrowheads on its head. Documentary research suggested that medieval arrow smiths were being asked to produce arrowheads with hardened

heads for effective use during combat (Starley 2005, 208-9). However, it was unclear what form these metallurgically superior arrowheads took. Three types of arrowhead – the traditional armour piercing bodkin type (M5-M10), the barbed and socketed heads described as Ward-Perkins Type 16 (Jessop’s type M4), and square-sectioned quarrel tips were tested, with surprising results (Starley 2005, 214). It was found that the barbed and socketed warheads (M4) were more frequently made of the hardened steel, thought to be most effective in use against plate armour, not the bodkin or quarrel which had been expected. This would suggest that the type of arrowhead that was ideally suited and designed to pierce the very best plate armour was in fact the warhead. Although further investigation is needed (the above study only included tests on a small sample of thirty arrowheads), these results would certainly explain the later medieval date for them provided by Jessop, and would imply that Types M1- M4 were developed alongside plate armour from the end of the thirteenth century onwards.

The Welsh Examples

Type	Aberystwyth	Caerwrile	Cardiff	Castell y Bere	Criccieth	Deganwy	Dryslwyn	Dyserth	Flint	Hen Domen	Laugharne	Llanstephen	Llantrythid	Loughor	Montgomery	Nevern	Rhuddlan	Rumney	Barry	Caerleon	Cefn Glas	Llandough	Margam	Merthyr	Mynydd	Newtown	Welsh St. Donats	UNPROV.	TOTAL	
T1																		1											1	
T3								3										1												4
H3							1	1		1					1															4
MP1											2	1	4	2				6		1								1	17	
MP2								1					2	3				2						1					9	
MP3						3		2	1	1	8	1	3	2		4				2		1							28	
MP4							3	2		5		1		2		1								1			1		16	
MP5	1									1			2																4	
MP6						1	1	1		3				1				1									1		9	
MP8							11								2														13	
MP9							1																						1	
M1																						1	1							2
M2								1							1															2
M3							1												1											2
M4								1						1									1							3
M5							3	2										1												6
M6				3	1	1	16				4		2			1													28	
M7				5	39	1	4				1					1	1												52	
M8			1	9	94		32	8			1			1	5		1												152	
M9							3	1										1											5	
M10					2		16	1							2						1	1	1						24	
n/a		2			21			3	6	3	1	1	2		4	8	1	3						1					56	
Total	1	2	1	17	157	6	92	27	7	14	17	4	15	12	15	15	3	16	1	3	1	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	438	

Table 5.2. Arrowheads found in Wales

There are in total of 438 arrowheads from medieval contexts in Wales in the catalogue. Of these only one (in the collection from Carmarthenshire County Museum) is unprovenanced (CC 303). In addition, a total of fifty-six arrowheads (12.8 per cent) have been impossible to assign to a distinct type from Jessop's typology, either because they are fragmentary or because the specific arrowhead's characteristics do not fit into one particular type description. Therefore there are 382 approximately datable arrowheads available for attempting to determine how this weapon was used between c.1100 and c.1450 in Wales.

Bodkins

The majority of arrowheads found fall under the broad category of the 'bodkin' (M5 to M10) (Table 5.2). Although Ward-Perkins (1954, 68) originally stated that the transition to bodkin type arrowheads took place during the thirteenth century with the development of plate armour, this is now thought to be incorrect. As has already been seen, the earliest types, M6 and M7, appear to have been in use from the eleventh century and were phased out during the fourteenth, with others, such as M8 and M9, were in use between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (Jessop 1997). All six types of bodkin seem to be in use in Wales during the thirteenth century which would be expected as this was a period of intense conflict in Wales between the princes of Gwynedd and the English Crown. Other reasons for the occurrence of different types of bodkin are unclear and will be further discussed later; however it is possible that the differences could be related to geography or function.

Warheads

In total eight examples of warheads (M1-4) were identified (see Table 5.2). These were in widespread use during the latter part of the period and are widespread on sites throughout Britain. That there are very small numbers of such arrowheads found in Wales dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is not surprising as this is the post-conquest period and therefore not a period of constant warfare between English and Welsh forces. Other than the occasional localised revolt, the only prolonged period of conflict was during the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr (c.1400-12), and it may be that these later arrowheads are representative of that conflict.

The bronze arrowhead, CC 008, is of particular interest. It is identified as Type M1, with a conoidal central socket and wings attached either side, which Jessop (1997, 198) dates to the late fourteenth century. It can be described as a standard warhead in design, but

fairly small, with an overall length of only 26mm, and a width of just 16mm. Jessop (1997, 198) describes the dimensions of this type of arrowhead as 25-45mm in length and 10-20mm in width. Therefore, in form this example of an M1 arrowhead corresponds with other iron arrowheads of the same type found at Llandough Roman villa (CC 009) in Wales and Carrisbrooke castle, Pevensey castle and Sandal castle in England (Jessop 1997, 198). However, the material used to make it would limit its effect on the battlefield, as bronze is a softer metal than iron and would have had less impact on the type of armour in use at this time. Thus, it is assumed that this example of a warhead was not made to be used in conflict, but had some other ceremonial or symbolic function (see below).

Multi-Purpose

The other four common types of arrowhead are all multi-purpose, meaning that they could be used in both military and hunting contexts. They are described by Jessop as follows:

Type MP1: 11th – 15th century. This form has a triangular blade and a diamond cross section, with a socket. Large sizes can occur. London Museum Medieval Catalogue Type 2. Function: Hunting (Jessop 1997, 196).

Type MP3: 10th – 16th century. This is a very common form. It is triangular in shape, but has rounded shoulders. It is socketed, with a diamond or oval cross section. Function: Military/Hunting (Jessop 1997, 196).

Type MP4: mid-13th century. This form is a thin leaf shaped blade, diamond in cross section, with a short socket. London Museum Medieval Catalogue Type 4. Function: Uncertain (Jessop 1997, 196).

Type MP8: mid-13th century. This form is similar to MP7. It has a central socketed spine with flat barbs attached, which can vary in size. Function: Hunting (Jessop 1997, 197).

Firstly, the thirteen examples of the arrowhead type MP8 included in this catalogue have come from just two sites, Dryslwyn Castle in south-west Wales, and Montgomery Castle in the Marches. This would suggest that this type is not necessarily in widespread use across Wales in the thirteenth century. Similar examples are cited by Jessop as being found at other sites, including Urquhart Castle in the Scottish Highlands and Clough Castle and Seafin Castle, Co. Down in Ireland. These sites are spread across Britain and Ireland, but it is important to stress that they are all found in areas of Norman or English occupation, except Urquhart which did not fall into English hands until the end of the thirteenth century when, according to Jessop (1997, 197), this type of arrowhead was no longer in common use.

Therefore is it possible that this represents a type of arrowhead that had its origins in English armouries and was subsequently imported into their strongholds and territories in ‘Celtic’ lands.

The MP3 arrowhead is far more widespread, with twenty-eight examples in the catalogue which have been found on castle sites throughout Wales including Dyserth, Hen Domen and Flint in the north, and Nevern, Llanstephen and Llantrithyd in the south. Labelled as ‘Type 1’ by Ward-Perkins (1954), Jessop (1997, 196) describes it as common. In extensive use from the tenth to the thirteenth century, examples of this type of arrowhead have been found across England as well as Wales, including sites in Durham, Salisbury and Hereford and Castle Acre Priory in Norfolk (Jessop 1997, 196). This arrowhead has what can be described as an archetypal arrowhead design, similar to the design of arrowheads made thousands of years before those recorded in this catalogue, as it is quite simply a generic triangular-shaped blade sharpened to a point. It is likely to have been used for a variety of purposes in both hunting and conflict, hence the frequency of finds in archaeological contexts. The MP1 arrowhead is very similar to the MP3 arrowhead apart from the lack of rounded shoulders, and therefore it would be expected to have a similar function. Seventeen examples have been found across Wales and can be compared to others found at sites such as Winchester, Castle Acre Castle and Bramber Castle, West Sussex (Jessop 1997, 196).

The final type, MP4, is also likely to have been used widely across Britain and sixteen examples have been recorded in the catalogue from Welsh contexts. MP4 arrowheads have also been found on sites in England such as Rayleigh Castle, Essex, and Portchester Castle, Hampshire. Like the MP3 arrowhead, this is a shape that is found right back into antiquity, although, according to Jessop (1990, 196), this specific shape only appears to have been in use during the mid-thirteenth century. Described as leaf-shaped, it is a simple design which could have been used in warfare, as well as in hunts, although it would be fair to presume that it was not exclusively designed for either function.

Four other types of multipurpose arrowhead described by Jessop have also been identified within Wales, MP2, MP5, MP6 and MP9, however, in much smaller quantities. As indicated above, a specific function is uncertain as they could equally have been designed for hunting or to be used in battle. Interestingly, MP9 has been suggested to have been used for archery practice as parallel examples have been found on the manmade mound of Baillie Hill in York (Jessop 1997, 197). A single example of this type of arrowhead was identified in the

collection from Dryslwyn Castle. Therefore, the question should be posed as to whether this isolated example means that very little archery practice taking place in medieval Wales, or more likely, whether they were indeed practising, but with alternative arrows.

Therefore a good range of arrowheads have been found in the Welsh contexts and are included in the catalogue; in fact there are far more than was originally expected considering the poor preservation conditions that are known across Wales (see Chapter 1). However, it is likely that a large number of others may have gone unrecorded, either because they have not survived due to the acidity of the soils, or because they may still remain to be found due to the comparative lack of investigation of military sites in Wales (see Chapters 1 and 3).

Discussion

The bow and arrow, along with the spear, is one of the oldest weapons used by man. Initially developed as an aid for hunting, allowing early humans to kill their prey from a safe distance, it is likely that the effectiveness of this weapon against enemies in warfare soon became apparent. Even as early as the Neolithic, evidence is being found for the use of the bow and arrow in conflict; for example at the site of Crickley Hill in Dorset, archaeologists have recovered over 400 flint arrowheads which have been interpreted as being used in a large scale attack on the site by enemy warriors (Cunliffe 2013, 165). To still be using the same weapon thousands of years later during medieval war campaigns is in itself impressive. However, it is highly likely that this weapon, and the way it was used, had developed during this time to become more accurate and deadly, and to become more efficient against the ever developing protective garments that soldiers wore to avoid the effects of this, and other weapons.

What is without doubt is that in Wales during the period between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450, the bow and arrow was used in warfare throughout the country. The analysis of the written sources, including praise poetry, has demonstrated that, although it was utilized by Norman, English and Welsh armies throughout the medieval period, it would appear that it was not until the centuries following the Edwardian conquest that this weapon became more highly regarded by the military elite. Prior to that, the bow would have been used by lower ranking soldiers of Norman, Marcher and Welsh origins, rather than by the Welsh princes and their *teulu* or the Marcher knights.

Since a considerable variety of different types of arrowheads have been found in Wales, reasons for this must be explored. Discounting the hunting arrowheads, no less than seventeen different types have been recorded in the catalogue (Table 5.1), all of which could have been used in warfare. One answer may be date. As developments were made in tactics and in armour, the way the bow and arrow was used is likely also to have changed. Some types may well have developed into others, for example M5 and M6 arrowheads could definitely be suggested to have been the forerunners of the heavier and longer M8 and M9. Furthermore, just by looking at the shapes and forms, it would be easy to assume that the M1 warhead would in time have developed into the M3.

The function of particular types of arrowheads may well be another reason for differences in design. Jessop (1997) has already shown how certain arrowheads were designed for use on the battlefield and others were designed for use in the hunt. Furthermore, it is likely that hunting arrowheads, such as H1 and H2, would have been more suitable for hunting fowl and Types H3 and H4 were reserved for larger game, such as boar and deer (Jessop 1997, 199). In addition, research by Starley (2005) has illustrated that warheads may have been developed to use against enemy soldiers protected by plate armour. Interestingly, experiments performed by Stretton (2010b, 130-1) demonstrated how the performance of certain arrowhead types were more affected by weather conditions than others, and that the heavier bodkin heads could not travel quite as far as other examples, including the leaf shaped arrowheads. This may suggest that different types of arrowheads were designed for different battle situations.

However there are subtle differences between some types of arrowhead in the catalogue that require more thought, and the information which can be gleaned from the distribution of such finds may be key as these differences may resemble regional or even personal preferences across Wales. An example of this are the differences in distributions which are evident between the M1 and M2 arrowheads, where examples of M1 arrowheads have come from non-military sites at Margam and Llandough in south Wales, and examples of M2 have been found at Dyserth and Montgomery Castles in the north. According to Jessop (1997, 198) there is very little difference between the two types other than the fact that the wings attached to the M2 arrowheads are far thinner than those of the M1 creating a far narrower head (see Fig. 5.7). Although the M2 arrowhead is suggested to be slightly later than the M1, the difference may be explained by regional variation. Unfortunately, however, there are too few examples of these types of arrowheads recorded in the catalogue to

successfully test this theory, and a more representative sample in the future would hope to facilitate this.

Furthermore, the distribution patterns of other arrowheads included in the catalogue do not at this time lend themselves to suggest any specific preferences in particular areas of Wales, as the distributions tend to be general across the whole of the country. This may be the result of bias in the results due to the large numbers of arrowheads that have come from only three castle sites, Dryslwyn, Castell y Bere and Criccieth. The comparatively small pool of sites from which the catalogue has been put together has also been limited due to the small number of military and castle sites excavated in Wales do date. Therefore, it is important to state that, although it has been difficult to draw conclusions surrounding regional and possible ethnic differences, the addition of further examples may provide clearer results.

The most notable suggestions made by Gerald of Wales refer to regional differences between the equipment preferred by soldiers in the north compared to those in the south, with a particular preference for the bow and arrow in the southern kingdoms. Day (2012, 11) suggests that the dearth of references to the bow and arrow in court poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries reflects the lack of use of this weapon in the northern kingdoms. This is because the majority of poems that survive from this period are from poets patronised by the princes of Gwynedd, therefore the poets do not include references to the bow and arrow in their work because the armies of Gwynedd did not use them. However, the discovery of large collections of arrowheads from sites in north Wales including Criccieth and Castell y Bere (see below), both castles built by the princes of Gwynedd, would question this interpretation. Neither does this prove that men in the south were using the bow and arrow more frequently. Interestingly, evidence collected from seals would suggest that there is a link between the bow and arrow and the identity of the men of south Wales. A number of seals have been identified that include either the bow and the arrow, or both, in their iconography, and this only occurs on examples from the southern kingdoms (pers. comm. Elizabeth New), suggesting the importance of this weapon to soldiers in south Wales. However, if Gerald's suggestions are to be proven, the answer may lie in the archaeological material. To be precise, if the bow and arrow was more commonly used in south Wales, it would be expected that the proportion of arrowheads found in Wales in archaeological contexts would be greater towards the southern counties.

Unfortunately, the distribution of arrowheads in the catalogue (Fig. 5.8) is not entirely clear in determining an answer to this question. It would appear, on the surface, that there are a greater proportion of find spots scattered along the southern coast, with only a small

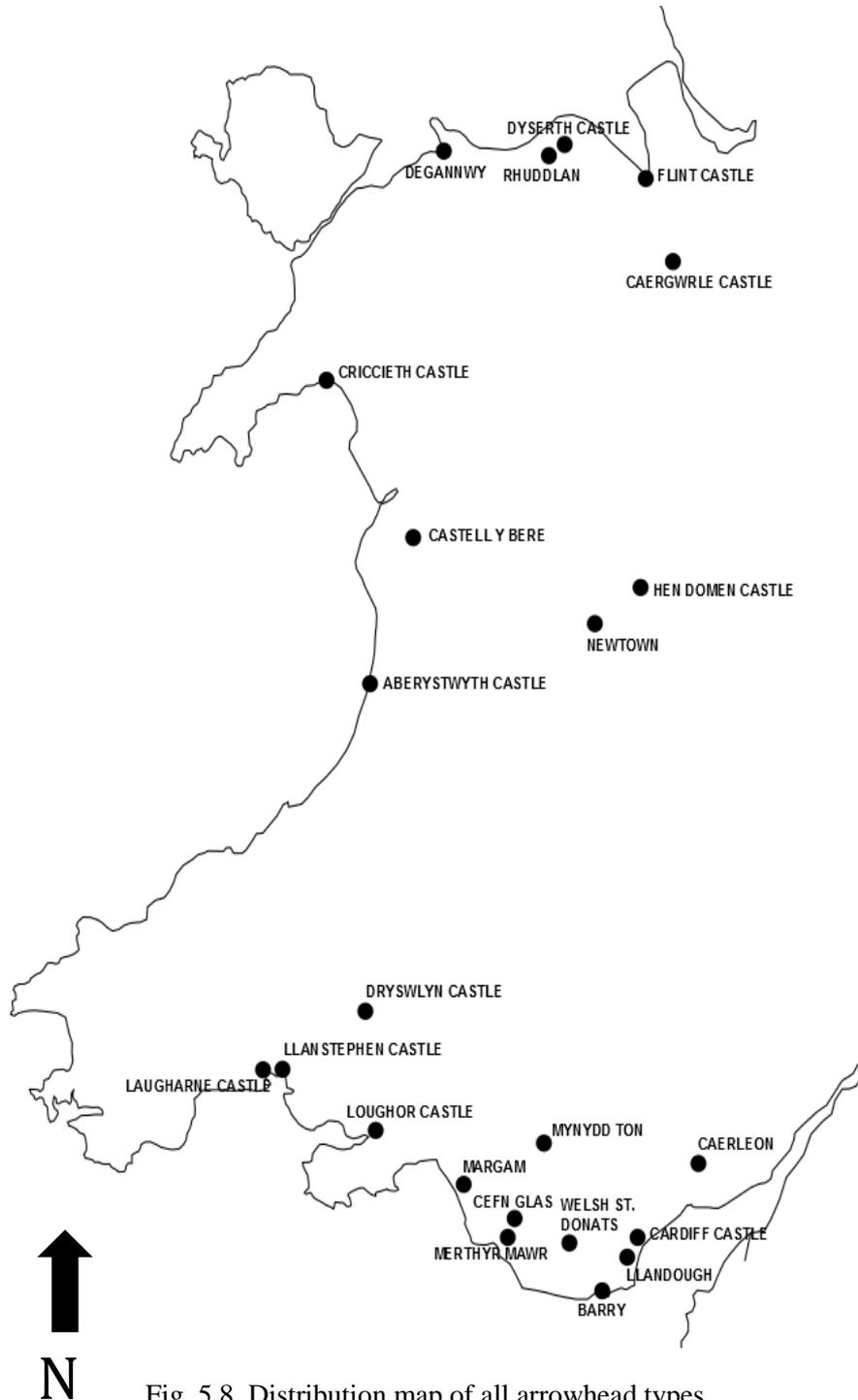


Fig. 5.8. Distribution map of all arrowhead types

number in the north. However, two of the three largest assemblages of arrowheads come from the north (Criccieth and Castell y Bere). In addition, if the numbers of arrowheads from each site are looked at in more detail, out of 438 arrowheads, 249 were found on northern sites.

This could be used as evidence to suggest that there was a slightly greater use of arrowheads in the north, contradicting the descriptions of Gerald of Wales, the conclusions of scholars such as Day (2011b; 2012) and the evidence from seals. However, this is circumstantial, and with the current data sample, no firm conclusions can be made.

If the bodkin type arrowheads (M5 – M10) are taken out of the equation, out of 84 arrowheads only 31 have been found on sites in north Wales, which would therefore suggest a greater proportion of other types of arrowheads in the south, but, more importantly, it also implies that the bodkin arrowheads are primarily a northern phenomenon. However, it is important to stress that the greater number of excavations of castle sites in south Wales compared to those in the north may have influenced these results. Nonetheless, what is striking from the analysis of the archaeological material, is the predominance of the bodkin type arrowhead in the catalogue, and of those examples, how many have come from key castle sites such as Dryslwyn, Criccieth and Castell y Bere, particularly the latter two which were constructed by the princes of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century (see Chapter 3). To understand the possible reasons for this, it is important to understand what these arrowheads were used for.

As has already been discussed above, both dating evidence collected by Jessop (1997) and the experimental tests performed by Stretton (2010b), provide evidence to suggest that the bodkin arrowhead (M6-7) was actually developed to be used against soldiers wearing mail armour during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, it is important to point out that during the same tests performed by Stretton, the leaf-shaped arrowhead (MP4) performed as well as the bodkins against the mail shirt and, although it failed against the breastplate, it was in fact the only arrowhead out of those tested to penetrate the brigandine.ⁱ Stretton (2010b, 135) suggested that this was because the narrow thinner blade was able to slide up between the riveted plates. This is particularly interesting when comparing the shape of the MP4 arrowhead with those of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century warheads (M1 – M4) in Jessop's typology (see Fig. 5.7). The similarity in the shape would suggest that these types of arrowhead would have also been effective against brigandines, but with the hardened tips suggested by the research of Starley (2005) (see above), they would have been equally effective against plate armour too.

The different capabilities of different types of arrowhead may also explain why Gerald of Wales describes the bow used by the men of Gwent as powerful enough to inflict

harm in a close fight but failing to cover much distance, then, contradicts this with his descriptions of the immense power of the bow that can fire arrows through wooden doors (see above). The experiments of Stretton discussed earlier have clearly demonstrated that some types of arrowhead are better at penetrating different armour than others, and it would be presumed that this would also be relevant to the ability to penetrate wooden doors. Furthermore, Stretton (2010b, 130) demonstrated, that, although not largely different, the distance travelled by each of his test arrowheads was different, with the leaf-shaped and bodkin arrowheads travelling the furthest, making over 220 yards, and the heavier quarrel-type bodkin the shortest distance of 210 yards. Stretton only tested six different types of arrowhead, however in the catalogue twenty different types have been identified. Therefore the variation of the distance travelled by particular arrowheads may well be greater than Stretton's experiments suggest. Thus it is highly plausible, that that contradictions identified in the work of Gerald of Wales may be caused by a difference in equipment used, details that Gerald may not have known or even understood.

Nonetheless, the question must be asked as to why the bodkin type arrowheads were developed at all if other types, such as MP4, were just as effective against mail armour, and could additionally have been used for other purposes, such as hunting. The answer to this lies in the efficiency of the manufacture of arrowheads. For example, at the battle of Agincourt (1415) it is recorded that one and a half million arrows were taken on campaign (Stretton 2010a, 125). The time taken to make those arrowheads as bodkins would have been equivalent to 100 smiths making 100 arrows a day for 150 days, whereas, if they had made arrows such as broadheads (H3), for example, it would have been closer to 100 smiths making 33 arrows a day for 450 days (Stretton 2010a, 125). This may well explain why in times of conflict the bodkin type arrowhead was used to the extent that it was. Not only was it effective against both mail, and to some extent, plate armour; it was also quicker and therefore cheaper to manufacture in large quantities than other types of arrowhead.

This would also explain why castles, such as Dryslwyn, Criccieth and Castell y Bere, have such large numbers of bodkin type arrowheads in their assemblages. To start with Criccieth and Castell y Bere, their importance in the defence of Gwynedd in the years preceding the Edwardian conquest, and the subsequent English occupation of these sites following the events of 1282/3 (see Chapter 3), is reason alone for a heightened level of military activity within their walls represented by the large numbers of military arrowheads. Similarly, Dryslwyn played a central role during the rebellion against the English crown in

1287 and this resulted in the siege and subsequent capture of the castle by English forces in July of that year (See Chapter 4). These events would also explain the occurrence of such a large number of military arrowheads on the site. Furthermore, at sites less involved in known conflicts, for example the moated manor at Llys Edwin (Northop), or even the Three Castles of Grosmont, Whitecastle and Skenfrith (Monmouthshire), military activity on site is likely to have been rare and therefore so is the evidence of it, including arrowheads. In addition, it does not seem to have been as important to have stored such large numbers of military arrowheads on these sites; instead smaller assemblages of multi-purpose arrowheads would have sufficed as they were effective enough against armoured men in the case of attack, but could also be used for other purposes such as hunting.

This would also explain the relative scarcity of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century warheads in the catalogue. Other than the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr (1400-12), this period was fairly peaceful in Wales, with the majority of conflicts taking place in England (the Wars of the Roses), Scotland and France (the Hundred Years War). Furthermore, trained archers are highly likely to have been part of the English armies during these conflicts, rather than remaining in the relatively unthreatened castles at home in Wales. Therefore the requirement for military arrowheads was elsewhere, leaving Welsh castles fairly devoid of these types of weapon.

Further understanding of the role of different arrowhead types is achieved when looking at arrowhead assemblages from elsewhere in Britain and Ireland. As part of this project arrowhead assemblages from excavations such as at York (Ottaway and Rogers 2002, 2967-9), Winchester (Goodhall in Biddle 1990, 1068-85), London (Ward-Perkins 1954, 65-73), Norwich (Shepherd-Popescu 2009, 526; 635; 719), Perth (Caldwell et al 2012, 191), Waterford (Halpin 1997, 538-52) and Dublin (Halpin 2008, 75-125), as well as castle excavations at Beeston (Ellis 1993, 157), Pevensey (Lyne 2009, 81) and Trim (Halpin 2011, 339-42), were all looked at as comparisons for the Welsh material. Interestingly, the only assemblages to have a similar proportions of military type arrowheads, in particular the bodkin types M5 to M10, were in Dublin, which accounted for 52 per cent of this assemblage (Halpin 2008, 125), Waterford, again with bodkin arrowheads accounting for 70 per cent of the total assemblage (Halpin 1997, 540) and Trim Castle where 60 per cent of the assemblage were bodkin types and only 24 per cent were flat triangular types (Jessop's MP1, MP2 and MP3) (Halpin 2011, 339). In Dublin, Halpin (2008, 125) also remarks how the majority of these bodkin type arrowheads actually came from pre-Norman contexts, which he interpreted

as demonstrating the importance of this type amongst the Hiberno-Norse in Dublin in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Furthermore, Halpin (2008, 107) noticed that, although the triangular shaped arrowheads, such as MP3 and MP4, were present in tenth- and eleventh-century contexts, there was a much stronger presence in contexts dated after the Norman conquest, and also remarks how at castles, such as Trim, Ferrycarrig (Co. Wexford), Ballyrone, Castleskreen, Clough (all Co. Down) and Maynooth (Co. Kildare), the triangular shaped arrowheads occur in the initial period of the Anglo-Norman conquest, practically to the exclusion of all other types (Halpin 2011, 339). In fact, Halpin (2011, 341) suggests that the socketed bodkin type (which he refers to as Type 7) is the most common type of medieval arrowhead found in Ireland accounting for 49 per cent of the examples dated from the late twelfth to the thirteenth century. In support of this, assemblages from Beeston Castle, York and Winchester differed to the Irish collections as a result of yielding a greater proportion of the triangular shaped MP3 arrowheads, and similar patterns were also seen in the material from Pevensey Castle, Norwich, Perth and London.

The most interesting evidence to come out of the Irish collections however, was not only the large number of socketed bodkin type arrowheads coming from pre-Norman contexts, but the significant number of tanged bodkins that were also found associated with Viking occupation (tenth to twelfth centuries) in Dublin, Waterford and Limerick (Halpin 1997, 541). The author knows of no such types, which Halpin (1997, 52) catalogues as Type 6 in his typology of Irish arrowheads, to have been found in either English or Welsh contexts and it would appear that in Ireland they are limited to these three sites only. However, similar types of tanged bodkin type arrowheads have been found in Scandinavian contexts (Halpin 1997, 52; Strickland and Hardy 2005, 55). Although both tanged and socketed forms of arrowheads are found alongside each other in Ireland, the tanged forms would appear to predate the socketed types with the socketed forms first appearing in the middle of the tenth century (Halpin 1997, 54). Furthermore, Halpin (1997, 53) suggests that the low level influence of the Scandinavian types in the Irish material, even in the tenth century, must be the result of another outside influence, but discounts both the indigenous Irish population and Anglo-Saxon England as a result of a lack of comparative evidence amongst these societies, and although Jessop (1997, 98) dates both the M6 and M7 type arrowheads to the eleventh century, the examples of this date are restricted to a very small number from Goltho Manor and Winchester.

A significant use of the bow and arrow, and perhaps a more advanced technology, amongst the Hiberno-Norse in Dublin is unsurprising considering the competency of Viking forces with this weapon, particularly during naval warfare (see Strickland and Hardy 2005, 55-7). It is also clear that the bow was not a weapon limited to the more humble members of society as there are numerous references amongst the written sources which suggest kings were just as likely to using the bow during battle including Magnus Barelegs will aimed arrow that killed Hugh of Shrewsbury at Aberlleiniog (see above). The bow is also widely referenced in the heroic verses in Viking tradition (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 56), which is in stark contrast to the Welsh heroic verses. There are also significant numbers of arrowheads found in Viking warrior graves in Britain and Ireland (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 55) which all point to the importance of this weapon amongst Viking society.

Interestingly, there are also a number of bows that have survived that also demonstrate how the superiority of the Viking archer. For example, the 6ft yew self-bow that was recovered from Ballinderry Crannog 1 (Co. Offaly) which is believed to have been a tenth century Viking age bow. There are a significant number of diagnostically Viking objects that have been recovered from this site including two iron socketed spearheads, an iron axehead and a ninth century sword (Johnson 1999, 68). However, the lack of understanding of Viking settlement away from Dublin has meant that the site has been considered native Irish in provenance, although Johnson (1999, 69) has tentatively suggested that the number of Viking artefacts could be representative of a Viking or mixed population occupying the site during the tenth century. Strickland and Hardy (2005, 40) compare this bow to a sixteenth example recovered from the Mary Rose to demonstrate how there is very little difference between the two despite the 500 year plus age gap.ⁱⁱ Furthermore, a tenth century Danish example from Hedeby that measured 1.92m in length was calculated to have had an estimated draw weight of 100lb. To put this into context, the draw weights of the majority of the Mary Rose bows have been calculated to between 100lb and 180lb (Strickland and Hady 2005, 17). Incidentally, the Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus in his description of the battle of Bravalla refers to ‘the men of Gotland, skilful archers, would string their bows so hard that their shafts could pierce even shields. No instrument proved more deadly. The arrowheads penetrated breastplates and helmets as if they had been defenceless bodies’ (Ellis Davidson 1979, 242). This description of the power of the Swedish bows is reminiscent of the description of the bows of the men of Gwent described by Gerald of Wales in the *Journey* (see above).

On the other hand evidence from the excavations in Waterford would appear to offer an alternative point of view concerning Viking archery. During the excavations six bow fragments and one entire bow were recovered (Halpin 1997, 546). All seven examples were made of yew and it was suggested that the total length of all the examples would have been approximately 4ft, much smaller than the examples from Ballinderry and Hedeby. Although three examples could not accurately be dated to the Viking occupation in Waterford, four of the fragments could be securely dated to the thirteenth century and it is possible that the others were also likely to have been Anglo-Norman. Therefore it may be that these bows were actually representative of Anglo-Norman weapons. However, Halpin (1997, 549) also suggested that the average size of the arrows used with these bows would also have been smaller, with 69 per cent of the assemblage clustering in the smaller range,ⁱⁱⁱ meaning that the bows used to launch them would also have been smaller than later medieval examples. As the smaller arrows came from both Viking and Anglo-Norman contexts it would suggest that both were using the smaller bows. If this is the case it would suggest that the length of the medieval selfbow varied considerably and perhaps depended upon the circumstances in which it was being used.

If this is taken into account with the information discussed above, the conclusions are striking. It is unclear from the archaeological evidence alone whether the large numbers of military arrowheads found in Wales are representative of Welsh defence, or were brought into Wales during the numerous stages in the conquest by English armies, which started with the arrival of Normans in 1070 and was completed by Edward I in 1282 with the occupation that followed towards the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. It may be that the bodkin type arrowheads (M5-M10) in the assemblages at sites such as Dryslwyn are actually representative of the attacking English forces rather than the defending Welsh, or vice versa. However, it is also notable that the majority of arrowheads that have been recovered from Marcher castles, such as Rumney, Llantrithyd and Hen Domen, have all been triangular in form, a type which seems to be English, with very few bodkin types identified, a pattern that has also been identified in English castles such as Beeston and Norwich. On the other hand, collections from predominantly Welsh castles, such as Castell y Bere, Criccieth and Dryslwyn, have produced large numbers of bodkin type arrowheads just like Waterford, Dublin and Trim. This may be the result of greater military activity at these sites, as discussed above. However, evidence from Ireland and Marcher castles in Wales would suggest that Norman archers preferred the triangular or leaf-shaped arrowheads, whilst

it was the Hiberno-Norse that favoured the bodkin. Furthermore, the Welsh, particularly from Gwynedd are known to have had strong links with the Hiberno-Norse in Dublin (see Chapters 4 and 6) which may explain why such large numbers of this type of arrowhead were found on these castle sites. It is not possible to suggest that these types of arrowhead were unique to the Welsh and the Hiberno-Norse, as Jessop (1997, 198-9) identifies examples of this type of arrowhead from eleventh- and twelfth-century contexts from English sites, such as Castle Acre, Goltho Manor and Brandon Castle. Interestingly, Goltho Manor was built during the late ninth century, and although it is likely that it was Saxon in origin, significant Viking settlement in the area during the late 860s and early 870s would place the site within a Scandinavian context from the late ninth to the early tenth century. However, the evidence does suggest that there was a greater use of this type of arrowhead amongst Welsh and Hiberno-Norse archers than those who originated in England and Normandy, who were using the multi-purpose types, particularly during the thirteenth century.

If one returns to the written sources, and arguments presented by scholars such as Morris (1901) and Oman (1927), this evidence is particularly interesting as it may suggest a more advanced use of the bow and arrow in Wales than in England, as they are using more advanced technology, although it must be stressed that, although bodkin type arrowheads are being used in Ireland as early as the tenth century, there are no such early examples known from Wales and therefore suggests that this development in arrowhead technology did not take place in Wales but was imported from another source. As discussed above, the experiments by Mark Stretton would suggest very little difference between the effectiveness of the bodkin type arrowheads and the leaf-shaped arrowheads in penetrating mail armour. Instead the only benefit from bodkin arrowheads is that they are cheaper and quicker to manufacture. Furthermore, if as Gerald suggests, the Welsh are using bows made from elm, this inferior material would certainly question the arguments put forward by scholars that suggest that the Welsh above any other medieval society, were more advanced in their use of this weapon. Therefore, rather than suggesting that the Welsh were more advanced with their bow and arrow technology, the heightened use of bodkin arrowheads may represent larger numbers of archers in these parts. Similarly, the poorer economy of medieval Wales, especially compared to that of England, would also suggest why the Welsh would prefer a cheaper form of weapon and therefore using bows from a type of wood that was as readily available as elm, and arrowheads that were quick and simple to make would clearly fit with

this image. This continues to contradict the work of Jenny Day, however, but does go some way to support some of the descriptions of Gerald of Wales, though not all.

Whilst the evidence for the use of the bow and arrow in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450 is strong, the evidence for the use of the crossbow is less so. The analysis of the written sources revealed very few occasions where the crossbow was referred to directly by medieval writers. This is also supported by the archaeological evidence, where, compared to over 400 arrowheads, only six crossbow bolts were identified in the catalogue. On the one hand this would be expected, as the use of the crossbow in the terrain of medieval Wales would have been much less practical than the longbow. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, the increasing role of the castle in warfare in Wales during this period would suggest that the use of the crossbow should also have increased, as a result of its suitability during siege warfare. Reasons for such limited archaeological evidence for the crossbow may be explained by incorrect classification, as it is quite likely that many of the arrowheads identified in the catalogue could have been used by archers armed with both a crossbow and longbow.

Although this project is primarily interested in the military role of weapons including the bow and arrow, an analysis of the historical, literary and archaeological material has provided evidence to show that it was not only an object of war, but could be used in leisure activities as well. Day (2012, 1) has intimated that the bow and arrow was commonly used in hunting, and in particular, for shooting at targets, by looking at the references to archery in the medieval Welsh poems up to *c.*1500. Archaeologically, the evidence for hunting is not that substantial, with only two arrowheads in the collection being classified as definite hunting types, although other multi-purpose types may also have been used for the purpose of hunting as well. Furthermore, there is only one arrowhead (CC 384) from Dryslwyn which is a type associated with archery practice and shooting at targets. However, there is also the possibility that arrows used for archery practice did not have to be specifically designed for that purpose and surely any accomplished archer would want to practise with a variety of arrowhead types.

Finally, there is one item in the catalogue that is particularly interesting in terms of the reference to a ‘golden arrow’ in the poem by Dafydd ab Edmwnd (see above). The golden arrow in the poem is suggested to represent a prize in an archery contest; however, it was presumed that this reference was to a metaphorical golden arrow (Day 2012, 2). Nevertheless, CC 008 (Fig. 5.9) could represent archaeological proof that these ‘golden’ arrows existed.

The arrowhead is classified as Type M1, which would have dated to the late fourteenth century. However, what makes this arrowhead unique is not its size or shape, but the material it is made from. Bronze arrowheads were commonly used in antiquity with examples found in the Middle East, Asia and around the Mediterranean, as well as a rare example from Britain found as part of the Penard hoard in Essex (Smith 1921, 138; PAS 2010e). On the other hand, bronze arrowheads are completely unheard of in a medieval context. Therefore, it is highly likely that this arrowhead was not made to be used in war, but had a completely different function. Though it is possible that the object was made as a talisman, or a decorative item, it is more likely that it was made as a ‘golden arrow’ to be presented to an archer as a prize for his skill. This supports the idea that not only was the bow a weapon or war, it was also an object to be used at leisure, and in both circumstances, skill was not only acknowledged but also rewarded.



Fig. 5.9. CC 008 – Bronze M1 Arrowhead (Source: Author)

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the evidence for the use of the bow and arrow and crossbow in Wales and their role in the conflicts that took place between c.1100 and c.1450, as well as other functions including leisure pursuits and hunting. Both the written and the archaeological evidence support the established view of the bow and arrow as an important element in Welsh conflicts during this period. The survival of a collection of 438 arrowheads in the sample of sites clearly points to its sustained use throughout the period by soldiers in both English and Welsh armies in Wales. Furthermore, the archaeological material that has survived certainly points to the idea that, although there is not as much attention given to the bow and arrow in literary sources, since it does not appear to have been generally considered to be an elite weapon, except amongst the Hiberno-Norse, its importance within the tactical deposition of armies in Wales should not be ignored.

On the other hand, the evidence provided by Gerald of Wales, who claimed of a greater association of the bow and arrow with south Wales, is not as clearly supported by the archaeological remains. There may be a large number of arrowheads included in the catalogue; however, relatively few have come from Gwent or even south Wales, and the

majority have been associated with Marcher sites rather than the native Welsh. What the distribution of arrowheads does suggest is that in areas where conflict was more common, the numbers of military arrowheads found were greatest. Furthermore, by comparing the assemblage with other arrowhead collections from England, Ireland and Scotland, there is a suggestion that the armour-piercing bodkin type arrowheads were used much more extensively by Welsh and Hiberno-Norse archers, whereas the collections from Norman and English contexts were dominated by the triangular multi-purpose types, which may support the idea that the military role of the bow and arrow was either less advanced in these areas, or that the number of archers deployed was far fewer than in the Welsh kingdoms.

Evidence for the use of the crossbow in Wales has been less forthcoming. Written and material evidence appears to favour the traditional bow in Wales, particularly amongst native forces. It is plausible that a number of artefacts catalogued as arrowheads may actually have been used with crossbows, however there are very few examples of definite crossbow bolts to have been identified in Welsh contexts. The focus on castles in Welsh conflicts (see Chapter 3) would suggest that the crossbow, a weapon well suited to siege warfare, would have been deployed; however, direct evidence so far is limited.

The bow and arrow was a weapon that was most likely deployed throughout Wales. However, it appears unlikely that it was considered an important a weapon for use by the military elite, particularly in the pre-conquest period. Instead it would appear that the prince and his *teulu* were practising their skills with the sword and the spear, just like the Norman and English knights, weapons considered more suitable to the heroic warrior (see Chapters 6 and 7). On the other hand, the bow was being used by the everyday soldier in the levy or the Welsh *llu*.

ⁱ During the tests, Stretton (2010b, 129) used six different types of arrowhead described as a short bodkin, a long bodkin, a quarrel-type bodkin, a leaf-shaped blade, a crescent-shaped blade and a barbed broadhead blade. He fired these from self-yew replica warbow with a draw weight of 144 pounds at 32 inches and fired the arrows at a variety of forms of armour including a metal breastplate, a riveted mail shirt and a high quality brigandine.

ⁱⁱ The Ballinderry Crannog bow measures 1.85m long, 2.86cm thick and 3.8cm wide, whereas as the Mary Rose example measures 1.88m long, 3cm thick and 3.25cm wide. Therefore it is very likely that both bows would have had a very similar draw weight.

ⁱⁱⁱ Halpin (1997, 549) calculated that the maximum external diameter of the socket is approximately the same as the diameter as the shaft. He suggested that there was a functional relationship between the diameter and the length of the arrowshaft as arrows must be thick enough to remain relatively rigid under the force released by the bow. Therefore the deeper the draw and longer the bow, the thicker the arrowshaft.

Chapter 6: The Spear

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to ascertain the types of spear used in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450, and to determine the role this weapon played in the warfare of that period. The spear is considered to be one of the most versatile weapons of the middle ages. Not only could it be carried by any soldier regardless of status, it could also be used by both foot and mounted soldiers. Furthermore, it could be used in the hand to thrust and stab your opponent, or it could be thrown from a distance in the form of a javelin. This versatility would certainly explain why the spear was such a common weapon, not only throughout the medieval period, but in preceding centuries and later. However, although the many potential uses of the spear have been acknowledged, how the form of the spear differed depending on its function is not entirely understood, particularly in a Welsh context. For example, Davies (2003, 150) mentions that there are more than fifteen terms used for the spear in the early medieval poem, the *Gododdin*, and claims that the numerous variations cannot all be explained by poetic metre. However he fails to give any further explanation of what the different terms may represent and how different terms might relate to different forms and functions.

There is a wealth of material that can be considered in order to learn more about the spear in Wales c.1100 to c.1450 which comes from both written and archaeological contexts. In order to create an accurate impression of the form and role of this weapon in medieval military culture, a wide range of sources must be examined including written references to its use in battle, artistic representations of the spear in sculpture and, most importantly, the archaeological remains collected and examined from sites throughout Wales. The following chapter will look to use all these sources, firstly discussing the imagery suggested in historical documents and Welsh poetry before an analysis of the archaeological evidence. Finally, the results will be examined in a wider analysis of the spear in medieval Wales.

The Historical Context

Descriptions of battles and skirmishes in sources can provide key information on how the spear would have been used, as well as how it would have looked. In addition, as demonstrated by the work of Jenny Day (2011c), the references to descriptions of the spear that can be found in the numerous works of the medieval Welsh poets can also be particularly

enlightening. After all, statistically, in all the references to weaponry that have been identified in medieval Welsh prose, the spear is the most common (pers. comm. J. Day).

There are a number of references to the use of the spear in Wales *c.*1100 to *c.*1450 found in a variety of written sources, Latin, French and Welsh, which can offer an insight into how this type of weapon was used. The most notable examples concerning its use by the Welsh are in the works of Gerald of Wales. In particular, in the *Journey* (see Chapter 2), Gerald describes several incidents of men with spears. For example, when describing the encounter between a travelling knight from Brittany and the abbot of Llanbadarn, Gerald writes;

...what he actually saw was a band of about 20 young men, all armed and equipped according to local custom. He asked which was the abbot. They pointed out to him a man with a long spear in his hand... (Thorpe 1978, 180-1).

Gerald's use of the phrase 'according to local custom' is particularly interesting as it presumes that the reader already knows what that is. Furthermore, his suggestion that the abbot is carrying the spear is somewhat surprising considering his role is not military. Therefore, to what extent is Gerald describing what he saw, or is he actually creating a story to prove his point? Later, in the same source, Gerald describes how, when Bishop Reiner was preaching the crusade in the area around Oswestry, he came across a certain young man who answered the call by saying

I will take notice of what you say until, with this spear which I hold in my hand, I have first avenged my master's death (Thorpe 1978, 201).

Interestingly, towards the end of the *Journey*, Gerald comments that 'about 3000 men were signed with the cross, all of them highly skilled in the use of the spear and the arrow, most experienced in military affairs...' (Thorpe 1978, 204). This would indicate that, although the spear was commonly carried and used in battle in Wales during the twelfth century, not all of those that carried the weapon had battle experience. Therefore this may suggest that men carried the spear in Wales a symbol of something other than military experience. Again, the question has to be asked as to how far Gerald was using the references above to make a point, rather than describing true events. Gerald's descriptions of the Welsh as being well prepared for war (see Chapter 4) may be key, as the familiarity of the

spear to those without military experience, including men of religion, would support this view.

Gerald does refer to the use of the spear by Welsh soldiers in battle. Again, in the *Journey*, Gerald describes the death of Henry, son of Nest of Deheubarth and King Henry I, who fell in the line of battle ‘pierced by a number of spears’ (Thorpe 1978, 189-90). The use of the spear is also described in *Brut y Tywysogyon* in 1116 during the Welsh attack on Aberystwyth Castle (Jones 1952, 43). In this passage a group of Welsh spearmen are described as attacking a Norman knight who had fallen from his horse during the defence of the castle.

The deployment of spearmen in Welsh conflict is further supported by the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, where in both the Latin and the later Welsh versions, Gruffudd uses spearmen during the battle of Mynydd Carn. However, in this the spears are placed in the hands of Irish mercenaries, with the Latin version describing ‘the Irish carrying iron-tipped spears’ (Russell 2005, 69), and the later Welsh version describing ‘the Irish with their lances’ (Evans 1990, 67). Interestingly, further on in the text of the later Welsh version of the *Life*, there is an additional reference to ‘the men of Gwynedd armed with spears and shields’ (Evans 1990, 67) during the same battle, which is not found in the earlier Latin version. It is highly likely that, rather than the author of the Latin version forgetting to mention the role of the spearmen of Gwynedd, that the author of the later Welsh version is attempting to emphasize the link between Gruffudd and the kingdom of Gwynedd, and is including the spearmen to establish this. Therefore, it can be surmised that the spear was a symbolic weapon amongst the warriors of Gwynedd at this time, an image that is further supported by the writings of Gerald of Wales in his *Journey*. Gerald writes ‘Just as the bow is the chief weapon in South Wales, so here in Gwynedd they prefer the spear.’ (Thorpe 1978, 182).

An analysis of the written sources can provide further detail on the ways in which these spears were used and the form they took. Gerald of Wales, when describing the arms and armour of the Welsh in the *Description of Wales*, refers to ‘long spears’ amongst a list of items carried by the Welsh during warfare (Thorpe 1978, 234). Gerald repeats this description in the *Journey* when describing the habits of soldiers in north Wales, where he states ‘They use very long spears in this area’ (Thorpe 1978, 182). He does not go into any further detail, although one would presume that he is referring to the overall length of the metal spearhead together with its wooden haft. The illustration of a Welsh spearman in the

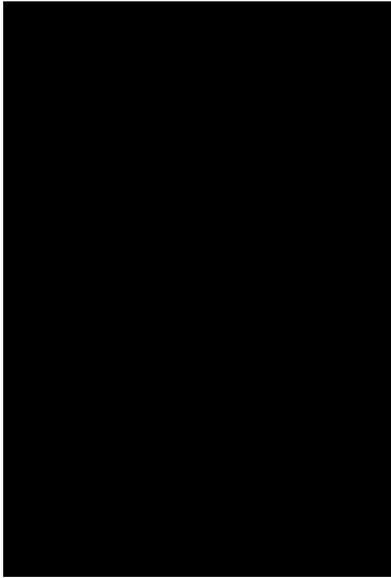


Fig. 6.1. Illustration of Welsh Spearman in *Littere Wallie* (Liber 'A') (Newark1996, 233)

thirteenth-century *Littere Wallie* (Fig. 6.1) depicts a man with a spear with a large diamond-shaped blade on top of a wooden haft, and the whole thing stands above the height of the soldier. Although it is notoriously difficult to determine the size of objects from medieval manuscripts as the priority of most medieval illustrators was to fit everything into the scene, rather than create an accurate representation of what they could see, the indication from this illustration would be that the spears used in Wales were significantly taller than the soldiers who used them.

However, Gerald goes onto say that 'a cuirass of chain mail offers no resistance to one of these lances when it is thrown a short distance as a javelin' (Thorpe 1978, 182).

Depictions of javelins in other medieval sources, such as the Bayeux Tapestry, show spears of shorter length which were presumably easier to throw (see Figs. 6.3 and 6.4 below). This casts doubt on whether and how very long spears could have been used as javelins and thus questions the reliability of Gerald's descriptions once more (see Chapter 5).

Although traditionally the medieval spearman is thought of as using his spear to thrust at his opponent, either on foot or on horseback in the form of the couched lance, there is a substantial amount of evidence from written and illustrative sources that describe the throwing of spears, particularly in a Welsh context. The most notable description of the use of a Welsh javelin is to be found in Book VIII, vol. IV of *The Ecclesiastical History* by Orderic Vitalis (see Chapter 2) where he describes the death of Robert of Rhuddlan, probably at the hands of the men of Gruffudd ap Cynan:

When they [the Welsh] saw him [Robert] with only a shield for protection, accompanied by only a single knight, with one accord they flung their javelins at this valiant lord, bore down his shield with the weight of their missiles, and fatally wounded him (Chibnall 1969, 140).

The fact that the Welsh javelin throwers aimed at Robert's shield is reminiscent of the tactics employed by both Roman soldiers using the *pilum*, and Frankish warriors described as using the *angon*, both of which were spears thought to have been thrown primarily to disable

the use of the enemy's shield and thus weaken the opponent prior to the main attack, and therefore may be significant in understanding the way in which javelins were used in Wales.

The Roman *pilum*, according to Polybius, who is the first writer to describe the weapon in the second century BC, was a throwing spear used by Roman infantry,

...they have two throwing spears (*pila*) ... one of these spears is thick, the other slender. Of the thicker ones, some are round and a palm's length in diameter, others a palm square. The slender spears, which they carry along with the thick ones, resemble moderately sized hunting spears, and for all of them the length of the shaft is three cubits. A barbed iron head is fitted to each spear and this is the same length as the shaft. They attach the head very securely to the shaft, letting half its length into the shaft and fixing it with many rivets. Consequently in battle the iron head will break before it becomes detached, although at the bottom where it meets the wood it is only about a finger's breadth and a half (Histories 6.23, Campbell 2004, 24-5).

A description of the *pilum* is also found in the *De Re Militari*, written during the fifth century AD. The weapon appears to have evolved during the centuries; however, it is still recognisable. Vegetius writes,

They had likewise two other javelins, the largest of which was composed of a staff five feet and a half long and a triangular head of iron nine inches long. This was formally known as the *pilum*, but now it is known as the *spiculum*....The other javelin was of a smaller size; its triangular point was only five inches long and the staff three feet and one half. It was anciently called *verriculum* but now *verrutum* (*De Re Militari*, II, Milner 1993, 15).

Depictions of *pila* have been identified on Roman carvings such as a funeral *cippus* at Mayence (Mainz, Germany) and a monument at St Remi, in Provence (Lacombe and Boutell 1870, 65). Similarly, small numbers of this type of weapon have been recovered from the archaeological record, including sites such as the Roman fort at Newstead in northern Britain (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 109). The evidence for the form of the *pilum* varies throughout the period of the Roman Empire, but parallels can be made with other throwing spears, for example the Frankish *angon*.

The angon, a throwing spear used by Frankish infantry, is first described by the late sixth-century Byzantine writer Agathias as follows:

The angons are spears which are neither very short nor very long; they can be used, if necessary for throwing like a javelin, and also, in hand to hand combat. The greater part of the angon is covered with iron and very little wood is exposed. Above, at the top of the spear, on each side from the socket itself where the staff is fixed, some points are turning back, bent like hooks, and turned toward the handle. In battle, the Franks throw the angon, and if it hits an enemy the spear is caught in the man and neither the wounded man nor anyone else can draw it out. The barbs hold inside the flesh causing great pain and in this way a man whose wound may not be in a vital spot still dies. If the angon strikes a shield, it is fixed there, hanging down with the butt on the ground. The angon cannot be pulled out because the barbs have penetrated the shield, nor can it be cut off with a sword because the wood of the shaft is covered with iron... (Bachrach 1970, 436-7).

The description of the angon indicates that the primary role of this weapon was as a throwing spear, used not only to cause injury to the enemy directly, but, like the Roman *pilum*, to weaken him by making his shield unusable as a form of defence. Although the validity and accuracy of Agathias' descriptions have been doubted by historians, such as Bachrach (1970) and DeVries and Smith (2007, 29), there are further descriptions of similar spears, for example by Sidonius Apollinaris in Gaul in the fifth century, and in a tenth-century poem entitled the *Waltheri* (DeVries and Smith 2007, 30), to suggest the existence of such a weapon, if not exactly in the form described above.

Interestingly, the spear described in the poem *Waltheri* (DeVries and Smith 2007, 30) is said to have had three cords attached to the end so that, when the spear became lodged in an enemy shield, it was possible for three Frankish warriors to pull the shield from the enemy's hands. Although a questionable source, in his descriptions of the Irish dart, Walker (1810, 120) states that this throwing spear also had a thong of leather attached to the end which meant that 'either the beast was retained, or the spear recovered'. Unfortunately, no examples of the wooden staffs attached to these weapons survive to test the theory; however, the fact that two completely different descriptions of a similar weapon note such an addition, might suggest an element of truth, and cords may have been a common addition to a weapon of this kind. This does, however, further emphasize the purpose of these spears to remove the

main form of defence for any soldier – his shield – as well as making sure that the spear was retained, and may suggest that the spears described by Orderic Vitalis were both similar in form and function to these earlier examples.

On a side note, it must be stressed that there is no reference to the death of Robert of Rhuddlan in either version of *The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, nor do any other medieval writers associate Gruffudd with Robert's death. This might put doubt on the accuracy of Orderic's testimony and subsequently question whether the Welsh did bring down Robert of Rhuddlan in this way. On the other hand, as discussed in Chapter 2, Orderic Vitalis was well informed about the events involving Robert of Rhuddlan as a result of his close association with his family at St Evroult. Therefore, it is highly likely that, as Lewis (1996, 64) suggests, the event described by Vitalis is accurate in many ways but his inclusion of Gruffudd ap Cynan was historical fiction, the result of Gruffudd being the most significant Welsh leader who fought against Robert, and thus a suitable candidate for his killer in Orderic's opinion.

In the original Latin version of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* the word used throughout the text when referring to spears is *iacula*. Literally translated this means 'missile', however it can be used to denote the use of a javelin (Latham 1975, Facs. I, 1498). Therefore, by using the word *iacula*, the author of the Latin *Life* is emphasising that the spears used by Gruffudd's troops were different, and it is highly likely that they would have been thrown, perhaps distinguishing them from the standard lance used by the English armies. This is particularly relevant as the majority of references to spears in Latin texts generally either use the word *hasta* or *lancea*, to denote the use of the spear. Interestingly, *lancea*, in *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin* (Latham 1975, Facs. I, 1546) is translated as 'lance' or 'spear' and is used by medieval writers such as Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* II) in the early eighth century, Knighton (*Chronicon* I) in the fifteenth century, and, importantly, Gerald of Wales. However, in the *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, written in the early seventh century, Isidore describes the *lancea* as

...a spear with a strap attached to the middle of its shaft; it is called *lancea* because it is thrown equally in the 'scales', that is, with the strap equally balanced (Barney et al 2006, 363).

This would indicate that the original *lancea* was also a throwing spear. Therefore, when Gerald of Wales refers to the Welsh use of the *lancea*, is he referring to its use as a throwing

spear or is he just using a general term for a spear? The *Etymologies* would have been known to many medieval writers, particularly those with access to extensive libraries, such as Orderic Vitalis (see Chapter 2). However it is important to note that in the *Topography of Ireland*, Gerald of Wales writes ‘*lanceis non longis et jaculis binis*’ which O’Meara (1982, 101) translates as ‘...short spears, two darts...’. Here, Gerald uses the term *jaculis* to refer to the darts or javelins (the same term used by the author of the Latin *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*) thrown by Irish soldiers and *lanceis* to refer to a short spear, presumably used as a thrusting weapon. Therefore it would be reasonable to assume that medieval writers, such as Gerald, are not using the term *lancea* in its original form as suggested by the *Etymologies*.

In a passage taken from *Brut y Tywysogyon*, referring to a Welsh attack on the Norman army in 1118, the author describes the Welsh deployment of ‘missiles’ against the Norman host:

...in order to engage him with bows and arrows and to cause confusion among his host with missiles....And those young men met the king and his men; and with a great tumult and shouting they sent missiles and keen arrows amongst the host (Jones 1952, 48).

Initially, one would consider the word missile to denote arrows, however in this context little sense would be made from sending arrows and keen arrows amongst the host. Missiles could equally refer to the use of sling stones; however, considering the evidence above, the author of the *Brut* could just as likely be referring to the use of javelins by the Welsh forces in this passage. Furthermore, in a passage describing the death of Payne fitz John in the *Gesta Stephani*, the author refers to Payne pursuing the Welsh and being ‘shot through the head with a javelin’ (Potter and Davies 1976, 25). The significance of this passage is not only another reference to the Welsh use of javelins, but that the Latin word used to refer to these weapons is *missili*. On the other hand, Strickland and Hardy (2005, 86) have argued that this passage actually refers to Payne being shot with an arrow. This illustrates how the Latin terminology and the translation of these sources can cause significant issues for the scholar wishing to study medieval weaponry through the study of written sources alone as our understanding of the different terms used by medieval writers by either be too simplistic or even inaccurate.

There is however further evidence available which would certainly support the use of the javelin by Welsh soldiers in other contexts. Evidence collected from Welsh literature is particularly supportive of the Welsh use of the javelin, specifically examples from praise poems of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century poets of the princes and the early medieval heroic poem the *Gododdin*. References to the throwing of spears have been identified in a number of these poems and as a result, Day (2011c, 7-8) argues that, during the pre-conquest period, throwing a spear in battle was a uniquely Welsh activity and that ‘the image of the prince throwing the spear was one which conveyed courage and skill in battle’ for it is not only common to find references to throwing spears in the poetry, but quite often it is the princes themselves who are associated with the activity. For example, in his Elegy for Owain Gwynedd, Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr wrote (late twelfth century) ‘they threw bright iron spears’ (Day 2011c, 4), but in Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch’s Elegy for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (late thirteenth century), he wrote ‘Head of a king, irons would be scattered from his hand’ (Day 2011c, 5). Furthermore, evidence from the *Gododdin* could also indicate that the Welsh threw spears, both on foot and when mounted,

He threw [lit. sowed] spears from the grasp of his hand

From [the back of] his steaming slender bay (Day 2011c, 1).

The ability to throw spears from horseback during the early medieval period has been questioned (Higham 1991, 236-41); however, Rowland (1995, 22) has successfully argued that the techniques identified in the *Gododdin* are comparable with those employed by the Roman light cavalry, proving that this technique is credible for post-Roman armies in Britain as well.

Interestingly, Day (2011c, 5) points out that the references to javelins in the praise poetry are often associated with the verb *hëu* which literally translated means ‘to sow’. This would suggest that each soldier would have carried, and thrown, more than one javelin during battle. This would complement the image portrayed by Gerald of Wales in the *Description*, when he describes the ferocity of the Welsh in battle as follows:

...from their first fierce and headlong onslaught, and the shower of javelins which they hurl, they seem most formidable opponents (Thorpe 1978, 259).



Fig. 6.2. Painting of Sir Neill O'Neill preparing to throw dart (Hearn 2001)

This reference would suggest that the Welsh were releasing a large number of javelins at the beginning of a battle, in a similar way to the tactics employed by the later English armies in the Hundred Years War; however in descriptions of the latter, it is the longbow that creates the shower of missiles, not the javelin. Furthermore, there are a number of sources that relate to both Irish and Scottish use of javelin-type weapons which suggest that soldiers would have carried multiple spears into battle. In Ireland, Gerald of Wales describes how the native Irish warriors carried short spears and two javelins (see above). Later references to the *Galloglagh* in Ireland (West Highland mercenaries) also describe how these men had boys who

carried three javelins which were thrown at the enemy before they closed in with their axes during skirmishes well into in the sixteenth century (Caldwell 1981, 256). Similarly, in Scotland, evidence suggests that soldiers were using the dart or javelin, even later, with pictorial evidence coming from the portrait of Sir Neill O'Neill (Fig. 6.2) from the late seventeenth century now housed in the Tate Gallery, London. In the painting Sir Neill poses ready to launch the dart, whilst stood behind him is his squire holding at least four more darts in preparation to be thrown. Therefore, it is likely that soldiers trained to use the javelin would have carried multiple examples into battle.

However, there is evidence to support the use of javelins by other forces during the period under review, suggesting that this was not a uniquely Welsh tactic. The best evidence for the Norman use of the javelin comes from the Bayeux Tapestry, which depicts both Saxon and Norman soldiers throwing spears at the Battle of Hastings



Fig 6.3. Norman knights attacking Dol Castle (Scene 17) (Musset 2002, 135)



Fig 6.4 English foot soldiers throwing javelins during the Battle of Hastings (Scene 51) (Musset 2002, 236)

(1066) (see Figs. 6.3 and 6.4). However, although Orderic Vitalis also states in the *EH* that throwing spears from the saddle was a knightly skill that was to be practised (Chibnall 1969, ii, 30), Brown (1992, 172) questions how effective this skill was arguing that the knights depicted brandishing spears above their heads on the Bayeux Tapestry are not about to throw them, but instead are about to strike an over-arm thrust at the enemy infantry. This creates confusion concerning the way in which Norman knights were actually using their spears at Hastings. As discussed above, the use of javelins from horseback is not as ineffective as Brown suggests, as Rowland's (1995) arguments counteract this. Yet, use of the over-arm thrust is equally plausible.

The images of spears, included in the Bayeux Tapestry (see Appendix C), are not only useful in understanding how spears were used in the late eleventh century, but to a certain extent, what form they took. Analysis by the author indicates that in total 188 spears are illustrated on the tapestry, used by mounted knights and foot soldiers but also carried by several messengers and guards in the non-battle scenes. Amongst these, two distinct forms of spear are illustrated. Firstly, and most commonly depicted, are leaf shaped spears akin to the WP6 spearheads described below (Fig. 6.5). There are 101 illustrations of this spear type. The second type is a barbed spear and this occurs 86 times (Fig. 6.6). As a significant amount of the tapestry depicts events taking place in France, it is understandable that more of the spears illustrated would be associated with the Normans and as Table 6.1 illustrates this is the case.



Fig. 6.5 Barbed spear on the Bayeux Tapestry (Scene 10 – Mussett 2002, 115)



Fig. 6.6 Leaf shaped spear on the Bayeux Tapestry (Scene 8 – Mussett 2002, 105)

	Leaf Shaped	Barbed
Norman	86	63
English	11	23
Unknown	4	0

Table 6.1. Who uses barbed and leaf shaped spears on the Bayeux Tapestry.

Even so, it is also apparent that the English are pictured more often with barbed spears and that the Normans are illustrated more often with leaf shaped spears, although both sides are

illustrated using both types of spear throughout the tapestry dispelling any theories suggesting that spear types could be used to distinguish between the two sides. More importantly, it suggests that during the late eleventh century both the leaf shaped spearhead and the barbed spearhead were familiar to soldiers both sides of the Channel.

There does not appear to be any link between the form of the spear and its function either as Table 6.2 demonstrates.

	Barbed	Leaf Shaped	Unknown
Carried – no specific function	32	52	0
Carried by guards	3	1	0
Held Overarm	23	30	1
Held Underarm	6	11	0
Loose (Thrown)	2	7	0
Other	20	0	0

Table 6.2. How both barbed and leaf shaped spears were used on the Bayeux Tapestry

The majority of the spears illustrated on the tapestry, regardless of form, are carried by either soldiers or messengers and no specific function can be determined. This may infer that the spear is being used by the designer to symbolise rank as in nearly all the scenes, other than some of the battle scenes from Hastings, knights are consistently depicted carrying spears. The second largest group of spears are those held over arm, presumably illustrating their use as javelins as in most of the scenes the spears are held either above heads or slightly behind suggesting that they are about to be launched into the air. Interestingly, one example in Scene 57 shows a mounted knight holding his spear above his head whilst striking down at his opponent, the tactic Brown argues was much more likely than actually throwing spears as javelins (see above). However, there are also a number of loose spears illustrated in Scenes 19 and 51 which have obviously been thrown from both attacking forces towards the other. Thus, it is extremely likely that both tactics were in use during this period, but are indistinguishable in the Tapestry illustrations.

It is important to note however, that the use of either the barbed or leaf shaped spear is not consistent through the many illustrations included on the tapestry. For example, in Scene 37, twenty barbed spears are depicted being loaded onto the boats to be taken to England; yet once William's fleet arrives the majority of spears illustrated in Norman hands are leaf shaped, and during the scenes depicting the Battle of Hastings only four barbed spears are depicted. Furthermore, prior to the battle, in Scenes 46 and 47, William is depicted holding a

banner which is suggested to have been that of St Peter sent to him by the Pope (Mussett 2002, 216). However, in Scene 46 it is attached to a shaft tipped with a barbed spearhead and in Scene 47 it is a leaf shaped spearhead. Therefore, it is extremely questionable as to whether the type of spears illustrated had any intended pattern and it is much more likely that the random use of both leaf shaped and barbed spear throughout the tapestry is more to do with the designer's personal preference rather than a clear distinction between different types of spear and their relationship with different functions.

On the other hand, although the spears depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry are used in a variety of ways, it is clear that both the English and Norman forces were familiar with the art of throwing their spears, both on foot and from horseback. Furthermore, when comparing the number of instances where Norman knights were carrying their spears overarm, to throw as javelins, to knights carrying spears underarm in a couched positionⁱ, it would suggest that the it was far more common for knights to throw their spears at the enemy at this time.

Following on from Hastings, evidence for the Norman and English use of javelins is even more limited, particularly in Wales. A reference in the Latin *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* refers to the 'French under siege hurl[ing] spears (*iacula*)' against their attackers suggesting that the Normans would have used javelins alongside other missiles, such as the bow and arrow or stones, against besieging forces. Interestingly, the reverse of Gilbert de Clare's (d.1148) equestrian seal depicts him holding a large feather javelin which Strickland and Hardy (2005, 90) compares to illustrations in manuscript illuminations, such as the Trinity Apocalypse (MS R.16.2, c.1255-60), which depict a throwing spear that was favoured in Ireland. Strickland and Hardy suggest that this image may have more to do with Gilbert's association with Ireland than it does with the Norman use of javelins. However, considering that Gilbert was the first earl of Pembroke, and that he took a significant number of Welsh soldiers with him in his attempt to conquer Ireland (see chapter 4), it is possible that this image may also have been symbolic of his connections with Wales and Welsh javelins just as much as the Irish. Yet, it would be wrong to presume that following on from the Battle of Hastings the Normans no longer used javelins and would not have been familiar with the tactic of throwing spears in Wales as well as elsewhere.

Written evidence is also less forthcoming when discussing other types of medieval spear in use in Wales. In a Welsh context, written sources, particularly the praise poetry, provide very little evidence for spears as thrusting weapons or as lances. Although not all the

references collected are specifically describing javelins, neither do they specifically refer to either the horseman's lance or the infantryman's spear. Day (2011c, 1-4) has identified a number of Welsh poems that refer to the use of the couched lance. However, although there are possible examples of this in the praise poems of the court poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the only definite references to the use of the couched lance by Welsh soldiers are found in later post-conquest poetry. For example, in his 'In Praise of Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd Deuddwr of Collfryn', Guto'r Glyn wrote

He pointed the tip of his spear, terrible was he in his hunched posture
Towards his neck, the fat lump
Topped the heinous lord
Off his steed, was he not a most oppressive chief?
Then he from the March, roughest of men
Uttered a cry and 'mercy!'
He threw the second, staunch supporter
Threw the third, offerer of combat (Day 2011c, 1).

The clarity and increased frequency of these references in later medieval poetry would indicate that this technique was being employed more commonly amongst Welsh soldiers during this period. In addition, Day (2011c, 11) also points out how the references to javelins and the 'sowing' of spears disappear from the praise poetry by the fifteenth century. This would imply that the change in techniques described in the poetry would mirror a change in the techniques employed on the battlefield at this time.

It would be fair to assume, however, that Norman, English and Marcher soldiers would have been familiar with the use of the couched lance far earlier than the Welsh. Evidence from the Bayeux Tapestry has led scholars such as Brown (1992, 172), Bradbury (1992, 186) and Nicholson (2004, 102) to suggest that the occasional depictions of the couched lance on the tapestry (see above) indicate that this tactic was still in development and that it was not until later in the twelfth century that its significance really increased. However, specific references to the use of the couched lance in Wales are not as forthcoming. The *Brut* describes the presence of mounted knights at Aberystwyth in 1116 (Jones 1952, 43) and the Latin version of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* also refers to Norman horsemen and knights on several occasions, including the description of the death of Hugh of Shrewsbury (Russell 2005, 83). However, although there are other references to mounted knights in

Wales, there are no direct descriptions of the couched lance, and therefore it can only be presumed that this was the weapon being deployed by these forces. Similarly, there are also many references to infantrymen in medieval Wales, but again no direct references to the use of the spear by these forces, although it is presumed these were the weapons being used.

On the other hand, one must consider to what extent the couched lance would have been useful in the context of warfare in Wales during the period under review. As discussed in Chapter 4, the focus on the castle as the key focus of conflict during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would question the usefulness of mounted troops to both English and Welsh military forces. Furthermore, as Gerald of Wales points out his *Description of Wales*, the terrain in Wales is particularly problematic when fielding large numbers of cavalry, as the

Source	Pitched Battle	Siege Warfare	Ambush/ Skirmish	Other
Gerald of Wales	Death of Henry Fitz Roy (1158) (Thorpe 1978, 189-90)			Carried by Abbott (Thorpe 1978, 180-1); Description of (Thorpe 1978, 182; 204; 234; 259); Man with scar from lance (Thorpe 1978, 190-1); Tale of Revenge (Thorpe 1978, 201)
Orderic Vitalis			Death of Robert of Rhuddlan (1093) (Chibnall 1969, 139)	
<i>Brut y Tywysogyon</i>		Siege of Aberystwyth Castle (1116) (Jones 1952, 42)	Madog ap Rhirid launches night attack on Iorwerth ap Bleddyn near Caereinion (1111) (Jones 1952, 35); Maredudd ap Bleddyn launches ambush on Henry I (1121) (Jones 1952, 48)	
<i>Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> (Latin)	Irish at Battle of Mynydd Carn (1081) (Russell 2005, 69)	French defenders during siege of Aberlleiniog (Russell 2005, 77)		
<i>Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> (Welsh)	Battle of Bron y Erw (1075) brandished by Gruffudd ap Tudur 'a youth from Anglesey' (Evans 1990, 63); Irish and Welsh at Battle of Mynydd Carn (1081) (Evans 1990, 67)			
<i>Gesta Stephani</i>			Death of Payne Fitz John near Carmarthen (1137) (Potter and Davies 1976, 25)	
Walter Map				Used by Welshman to kill wolf (James 1983, 185)

Table 6.3. The contexts in which spears are mentioned in the written sources

large flat space required are few and far between, especially in the northern kingdoms of Gwynedd and Powys. Therefore, perhaps the scarcity of references to the couched lance in medieval Wales is actually an accurate portrayal of the realities of warfare at this time and other types of spear were the most prevalent. To explore this further, a better understanding of the contexts in which spears were being used in medieval Wales is required.

Table 6.3 (above) summarises the contexts in which spears were used according to the written source. Despite source, such as the *Brut*, the *Gesta Stephani* and Orderic Vitalis's *The Ecclesiastical History* recording multiple military engagements taking place, either in Wales, or elsewhere with Welsh involvement, very few of these records include descriptions of weapon types or how they were used. References to the use of spears in battles or sieges are minimal with only one reference in *The Ecclesiastical History*, three in the *Brut* and the only reference in Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* describing how a Welshman used a spear to kill a wolf. Even in the works of Gerald of Wales, the majority of the references are inconsequential, with only one record associated with a specific engagement; the death of Henry Fitz Roy in an unnamed battle in 1158. In addition to those cited above, there are also a number of references in the written sources to 'footsoldiers', such as the reference to Owain Gwynedd and Cadwaladr's force of 'six thousand footsoldiers' during their 1136 campaign in Ceredigion in the *Brut* (Jones 1952, 51) and the description in the *Gesta Stephani* of 516 knights and footmen who stood against the forces of Hwyl ap Maredudd in 1136 (Potter and Davies 1976, 16-17). It is presumed that the spear would have been a common weapon amongst soldiers of this type, especially as in most cases a distinction is often made between footsoldiers and archers. However it cannot be suggested that the spear was used unanimously amongst footsoldiers in Wales as other weapons, such as swords, knives (see Chapter 7), hammers and maces (see Chapter 8) may also have been carried by higher status footsoldiers at this time.

From the few records available, it can be argued that spears were used by Welsh and English soldiers both in pitched battle (including ambushes and skirmishes) and sieges. However, the details in which these weapons were used cannot be fully determined by using the written sources alone. For example, although Gerald describes Henry Fitz Roy falling 'pierced by a number of spears' there is no information on the type of spears, whether these were thrown or stabbed at close range, and neither is there any information on the number of spearmen involved in the battle. Similar details are omitted in the *Brut* in the reference to the

death of Iorwerth ap Bleddyn where the author states ‘and the men outside received him [Iorwerth] with spears’. Answers concerning the number and type of spears used in these contexts are impossible to ascertain from such vague descriptions.

Analysis of the written source material has highlighted that not only was the spear in common use in Wales during the period *c.*1100 – *c.*1450, but that the term ‘spear’ is simplistic since the Latin texts use a variety of terms when describing this when. Furthermore, the descriptions of how spears were used demonstrate that there were a number of ways soldiers used spears in medieval conflicts. It would appear that the most common use of the spear by native Welsh soldiers was as a javelin, thrown at the opponent from a distance by soldiers on foot or mounted, and that it was not considered cowardly for the princes and other members of the military elite to participate in such activities. It is also presumed that other techniques were also employed by all soldiers involved in the conflicts of medieval Wales, with use of this weapon both as a couched lance on horseback, and as a thrusting and stabbing weapon used by infantry. Although the source material may suggest that different types of spear that may have been in use, it fails to provide sufficient detail on the forms of these spears. Therefore it becomes apparent that an assessment of the archaeological material may provide greater understanding in this area if spearheads are analysed.

The Archaeological Evidence

Within the catalogue, there is a total of thirty-seven spearheads located from twenty different sites, some of which have come from castle excavations while others that have been found, either by amateur metal detectorists, or as random finds from gardens and fields (Table 6.4). The aim of the following analysis of the archaeological material is to examine the forms of the spears used in Wales *c.*1100 - *c.*1450, details that are missing in the documentary sources.

Typology

The first point to consider is that spearheads have been given little attention in academic archaeological research, and this has made analysis particularly difficult. To date, the only published typology of British spearheads is that compiled by Ward-Perkins as part of the *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (1954) (Fig. 6.7). This is clearly out-dated and focuses primarily on material found in London and surrounding areas; thus material from Wales has been particularly difficult to compare with it. As a result, out of the thirty-seven examples of

spearheads in the catalogue, approximately one third do not clearly fit into one of the nine types categorised by Ward-Perkins.

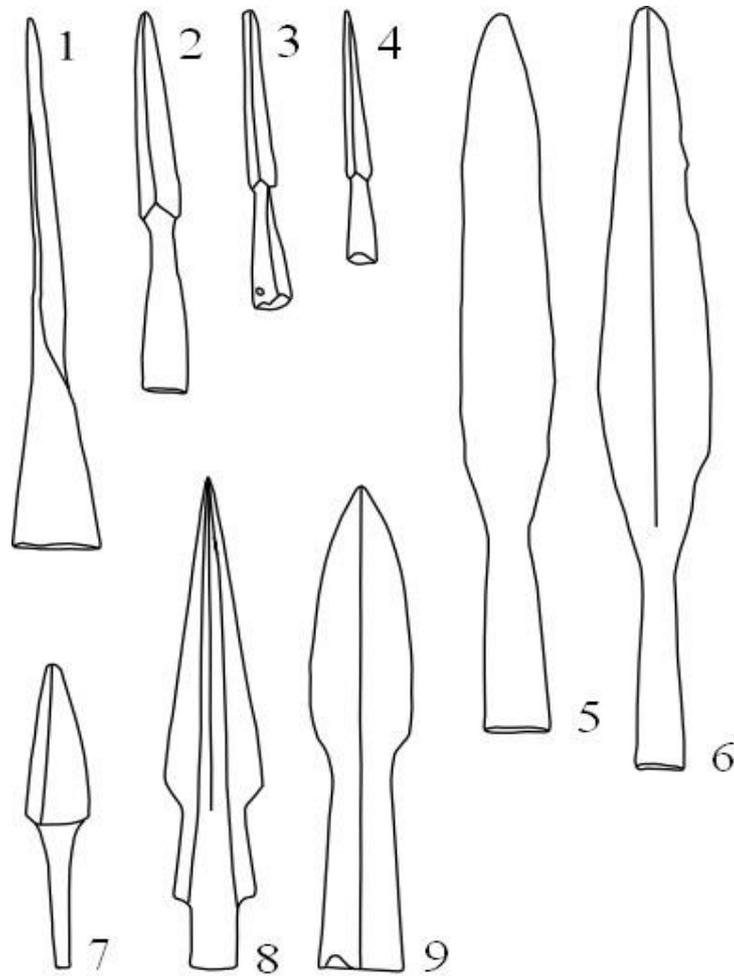


Fig. 6.7. Ward-Perkins Spearhead Typology (Redrawn from Ward-Perkins 1954, **Plate XVI**)

In addition to the typology constructed by Ward-Perkins, Halpin (2008) has successfully used the two Scandinavian spearhead typologies created by Petersen in 1919 (Fig. 6.8), and Solberg in 1985 (Fig. 6.9), to identify and date spearheads from medieval contexts in Dublin. These typologies are far more detailed and extensive than the one published by Ward-Perkins. However, Petersen's typology is even more outdated than that of Ward-Perkins, and both Petersen and Solberg focus on Scandinavian types of spearhead,

primarily dating from the Viking period, which may cause problems for the analysis of British spearheads dating from post 1066. Therefore, although some parallels can be drawn, neither of these typologies can be directly applied to medieval spearheads from Wales.

Although outdated, at least the Ward-Perkins typology does focus on spearheads of the correct date and roughly the right provenance and therefore is judged the most useful for this project. However, in an attempt to make the most of the archaeological material collected, including the spearheads that do not correlate with any of the types described by Ward-Perkins, some amendments will be made, and variations within the specific types considered. It is not the purpose of this thesis to construct a new typology as the sample from Wales is too small at present, and there are significant issues associated with the dating of a large number of the Welsh examples as well. Nevertheless it is a recommendation that prior to any future research into spearhead forms in Britain and Ireland a new consideration of spearhead types would be of the utmost importance (see Chapter 9).

In his typology Ward-Perkins describes nine distinct types of spearhead in use in Britain during the medieval period. Of those nine, only two have been identified in the catalogue and will be referred to as WP2 and WP6. With such a small number of types identified by Ward-Perkins, it has become clear that there are also a number of variations that can be identified within each type, including the overall size, the shape of the blade and the proportionate size of both blade and socket. These variations will be discussed where necessary but remain in the category of the types originally described by Ward-Perkins.

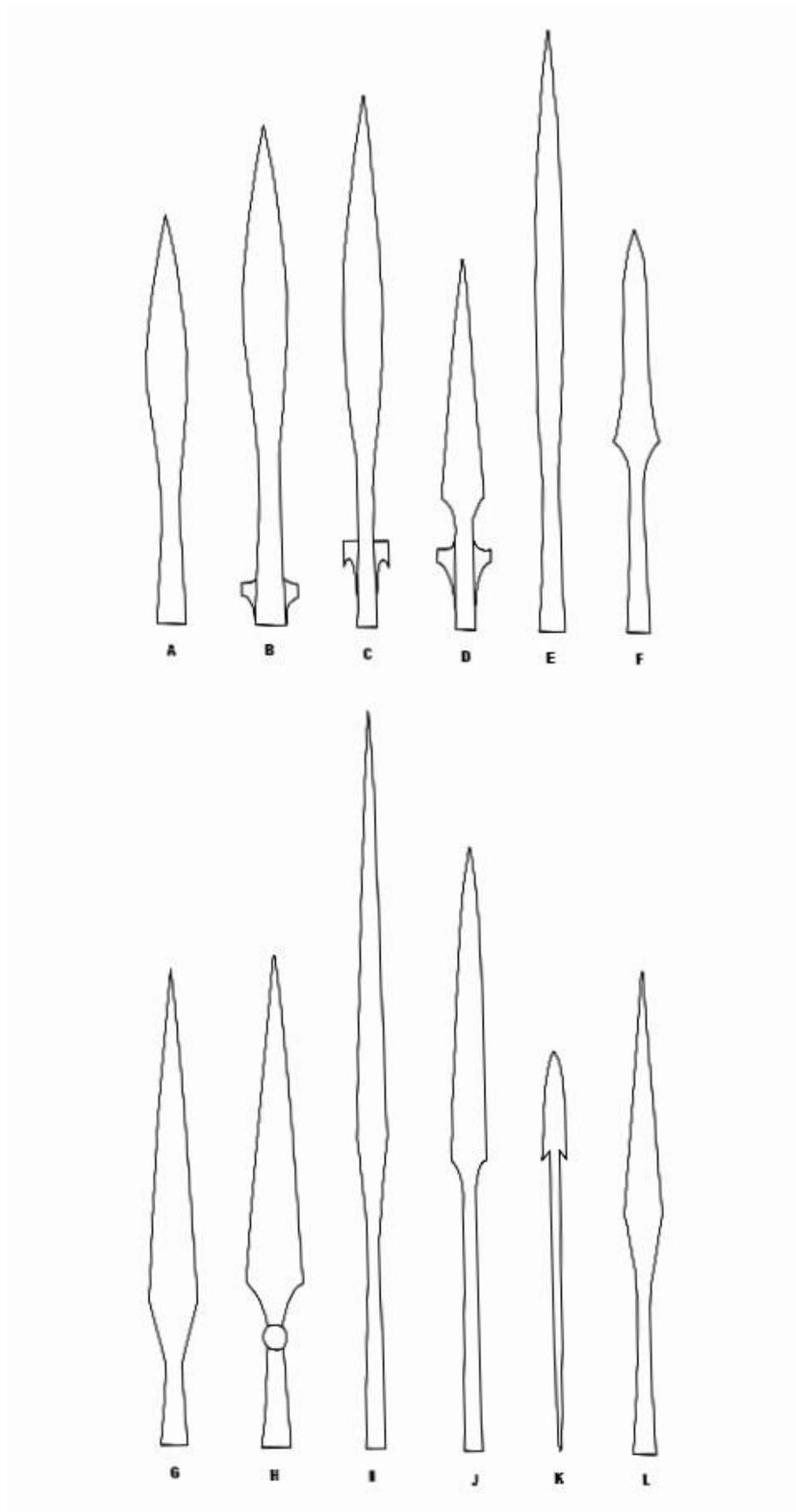


Fig. 6.8. Petersen's Spearhead Typology (Redrawn from Halpin 2008, 148)

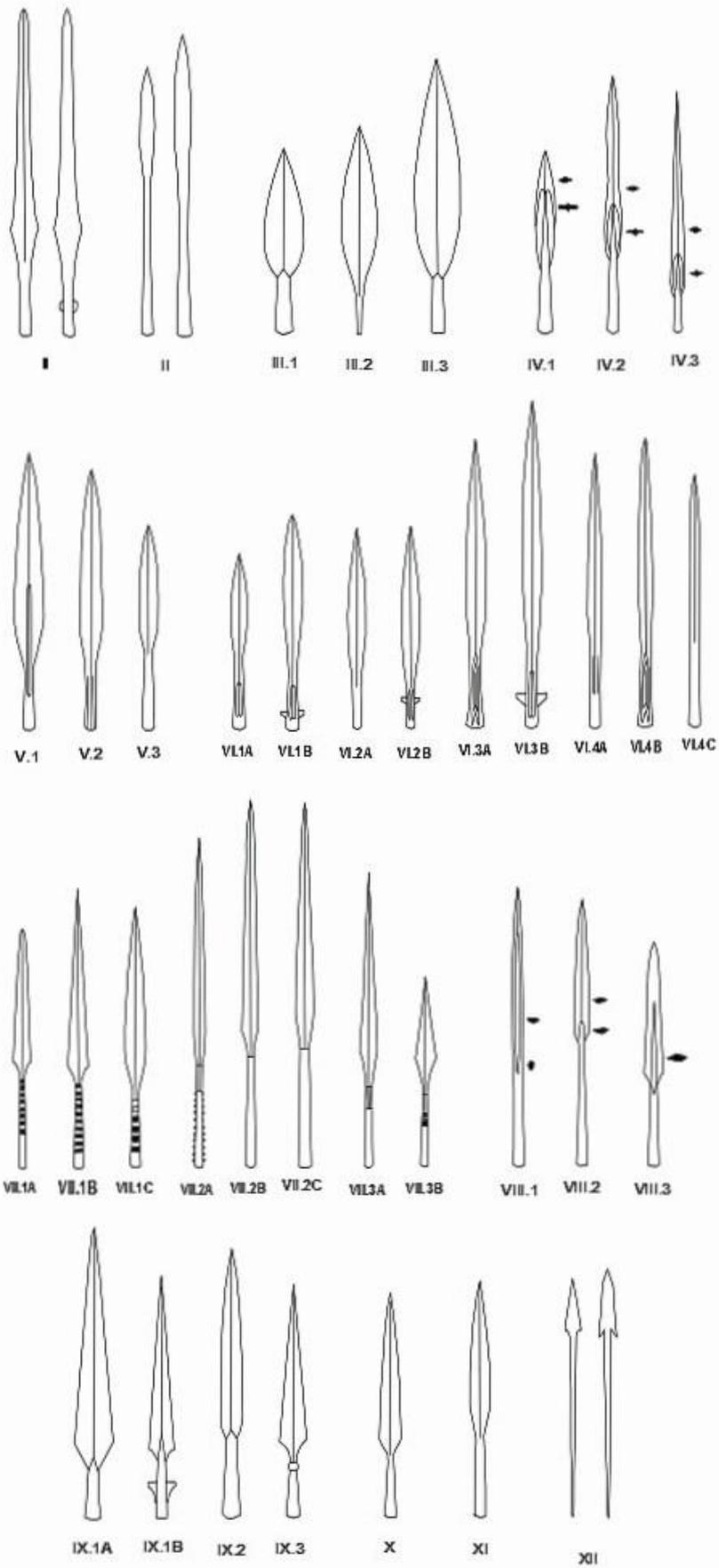


Fig. 6.9 Solberg's Spearhead Typology (Redrawn from Halpin 2008, 149)

The Welsh Examples

TYPE	Aberystwyth	Cardiff	Dryslwyn	Hen Domen	Laugharne	Llanstephen	Llys Edwin	Rumney	Skenfrith	Whitecastle	Aberavon	Brecon	Caerau	Caerleon	Clwyd	Ebbw Vale	Llandough	Tyforstown	UNPROV.	TOTAL
WP1																				0
WP2			2																	2
WP3																				0
WP4																				0
WP5																				0
WP6		7	1		2	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	3	28
WP7																				0
WP8																				0
WP9																				0
Unknown	1	1		1			1			1					1	1				7
TOTAL	1	8	3	1	2	1	6	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	37

Table 6.4 Spearheads found in Wales

By far the most common type of spearhead found in Wales is WP6, with over half of the spearheads in the catalogue belonging to this group. The WP6 spearhead is a long, slender, leaf-shaped blade with a diamond cross section and round socket. Ward-Perkins (1954, 74) broadly dates this type of spearhead to the earlier Middle Ages, most likely before the development of plate armour, which begins to develop towards the end of the thirteenth century. These conclusions were made as a result of comparisons by the same author with the development of arrowheads, suggesting that the ‘solid needle like forms’ categorised as numbers 1- 4 were developed alongside armour piercing arrowheads for the same purpose, and therefore this particular Type 6 must have been in use at an earlier date. However, as was illustrated in the previous chapter, armour piercing arrowheads were in use earlier than Ward-Perkins originally believed and could therefore suggest a weakness in this argument. It would also appear that WP6 spearheads were still in use in Wales during the thirteenth century, at least, as far as the finds at Dryslwyn Castle suggest, since the first written record of Dryslwyn is in 1246 (Rees and Caple, 2007, 9). Ward-Perkins (1954, 74) also suggests that the long, slender blades he records as Types 5 and 6 are ‘approximate to Viking types’ and would therefore indicate that they were developed from Viking examples sometime during the eleventh century, although no precise ideas of when this may have happened are given.

WP6 spearheads are not unique to Wales however, with examples found throughout Britain and Ireland. The example used by Ward-Perkins (1954, 73-4) to form his typology came from the banks of the River Thames in London. Further examples have also been found in Dublin (Halpin 2008, 134) and Perth (Caldwell et al 2012, 189). In addition to published

examples, a search of the Portable Antiquities Scheme online database (www.find.org.uk/database) also came up with similar leaf-shaped spearheads from North Yorkshire (SWYOR-E4OFD2), Cumbria (LANCUM-096780), Milton Keynes (NMS-2314D4) and Somerset (SOM-D58A95), although the nature of their discovery means that dating for at least two of the examples is unknown. Interestingly, it must be stressed that the number of medieval spearheads found throughout Britain and Ireland is limited compared to examples from the Roman and early medieval periods. This may be an indication of the more common use of this type of weapon during warfare in these periods. However, it must also be considered that a significant number of Anglo-Saxon spearheads have come from pagan graves; a tradition that dies out following the conversion to Christianity in the sixth and seventh centuries. Furthermore, whilst researching the spearheads recorded in this catalogue, it was evident that far less is known about the form of spearheads in the mid and late medieval periods compared to earlier examples. Considering the similarity between Roman and medieval examples (see below), it must also be envisaged that there may be a number of medieval items that have been incorrectly dated to earlier periods.ⁱⁱ

The size of the twenty-six examples of spearheads varies considerably. Concerning length, the smallest example is CC 502, an unprovenanced spearhead in Carmarthenshire County Museum collection, which measures just 151mm, and the longest is CC 504, again an unprovenanced example from the Wynne of Peniarth collection at National Museum Wales, which measures 410mm. However, the vast majority of the WP6 spearheads are of a similar length between 160mm and 280mm with an overall mean length of 244.6mm. The widths of the blades of these spearheads range from the smallest, CC 489 found in Aberavon, measuring just 17mm across, to the largest, CC 491 from Laugharne Castle, which, even though incomplete, in its current state still measured 50mm. The mean average width of the group is 30.7mm, indicating that it was more common to have a wider blade. Finally, there is little variation in the diameter of the sockets. The smallest, CC 485 from Cardiff Castle, measured only 12mm, and the largest two, CC 490 from Laugharne Castle and CC 505 from Whitecastle, both measured 25mm. The average diameter for the group was 18.9mm.

Although half of the spearheads in the catalogue can be described as fitting into type WP6, it is important to note that there are many distinct differences between them, whether that is in terms of size, length, or even shape, for, although all the recorded spearheads are roughly leaf shaped, the specific design seems to vary considerably. For example, the two



Figs. 6.10a and 6.10b. CC 502 (unprovenanced) and CC 486 (Cardiff Castle) (Source: Author)

spearheads CC 502 and CC 486 (Fig. 6.10a and b) are both WP6 spearheads, however the form is strikingly different. Although both are similar in length (CC 486 168mm and CC 502 150mm), the width of the two blades is very different, with CC 486 being less than half the width of CC 502. Similarly, although CC 502 is in a much better state of preservation, it is clear that the leaf-shaped design is far more pronounced in this example and sharpened to a more prominent point. These are not the only differences that have been identified as some examples, such as CC 493 from Llys Edwin, have slightly longer sockets in proportion to the blade, and similarly others, such as CC 479 from Caerau, appear shorter and squatter than the other examples.

Furthermore, some (CC 478) have more pronounced shoulders that compare them with Petersen's Type L spearhead (see Fig. 6.8). The reasons for these differences may be the result of differences in date, function, personal preference, or manufacture; however with such varied forms available, it does put into question the simplicity of Ward-Perkins' typology.

Therefore, in order to better understand these variations it is important to consider the differences and attempt to subdivide the WP6 group of spearheads into a smaller number of types. There are two dominant forms of shape that can be identified within this sample; leaf shaped and angular. These correspond directly with two key shapes identified by both Petersen (Types A and G; 1919) and Solberg (Types VI and VIII; 1985). However, there are other variations present amongst the sample, including the length of the blade, the width of the blade and even the overall length of the spear head, which need to be taken into account. With this in mind the following comparisons were made to identify any clear patterning in the sample in the attempt to identify specific characteristics that may refer to separate subtypes amongst the WP6 spearheads.

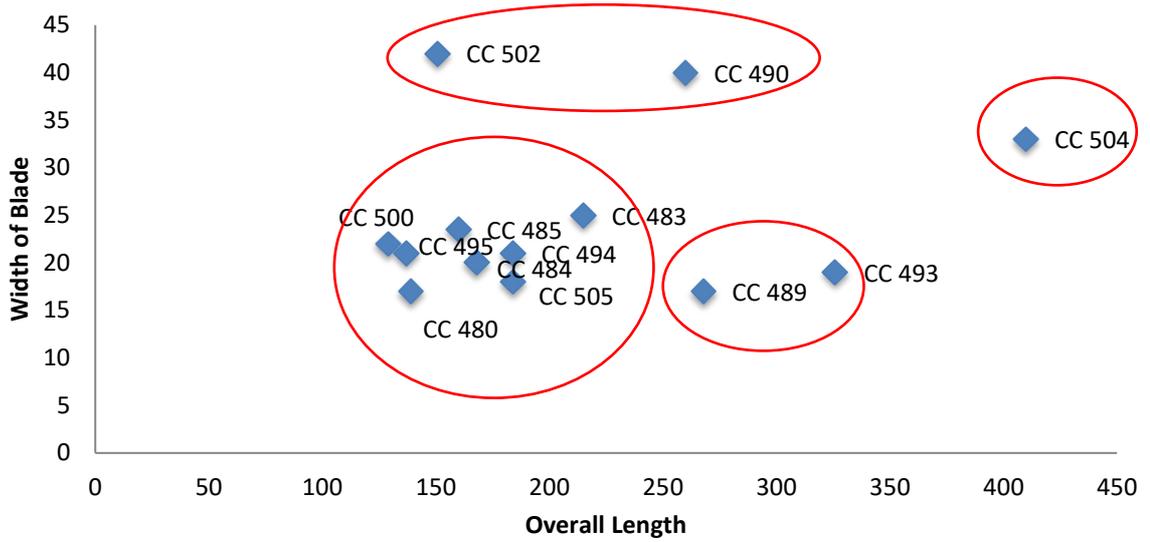


Fig. 6.11. Comparison between the overall length and the width of leaf shaped spearheads.

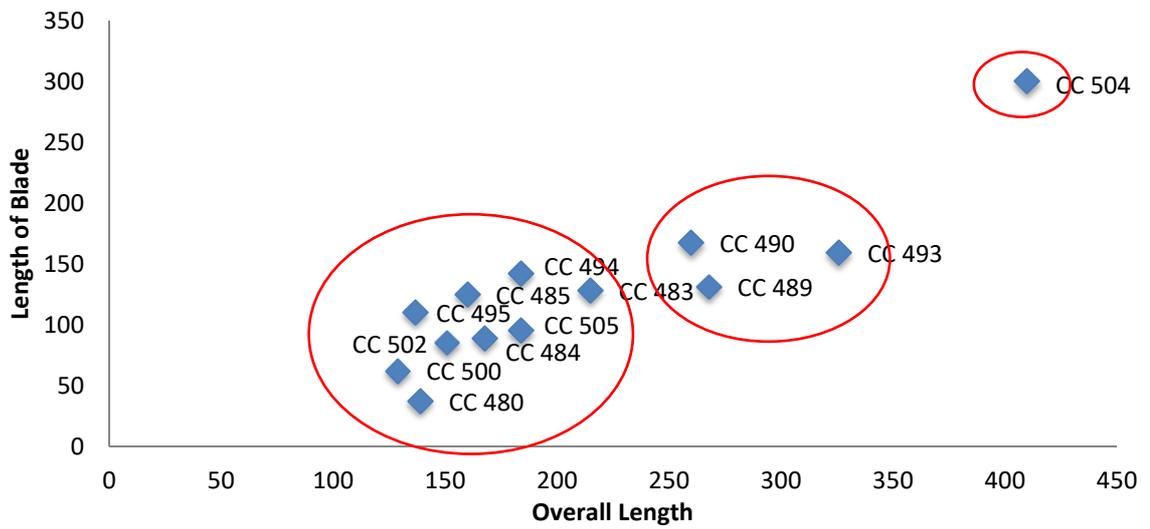


Fig. 6.12. Comparison between the overall length and the blade length of leaf shaped spearheads.

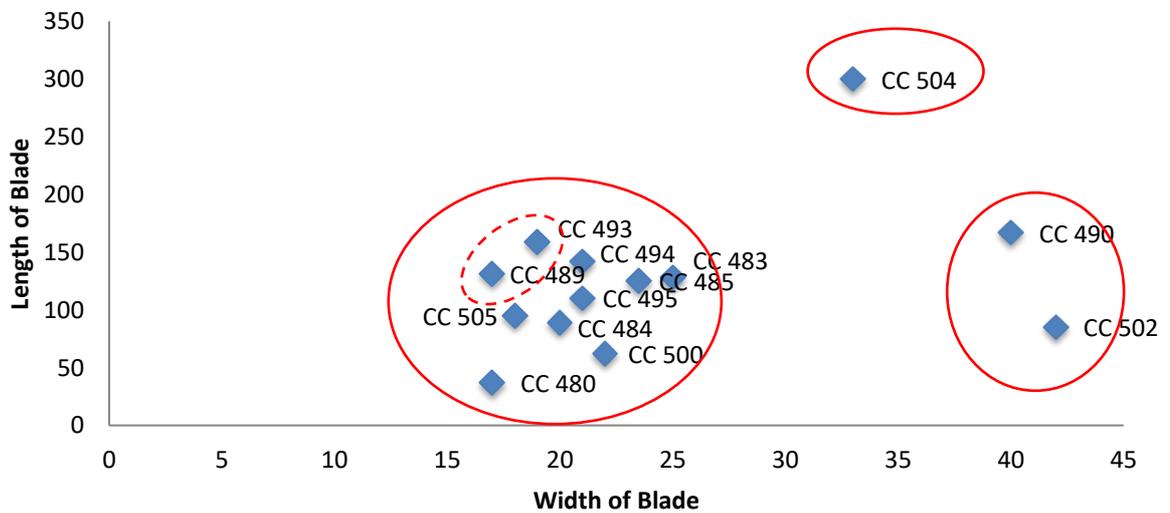


Fig. 6.13. Comparison between the length and width of the blades of leaf shaped spearheads.

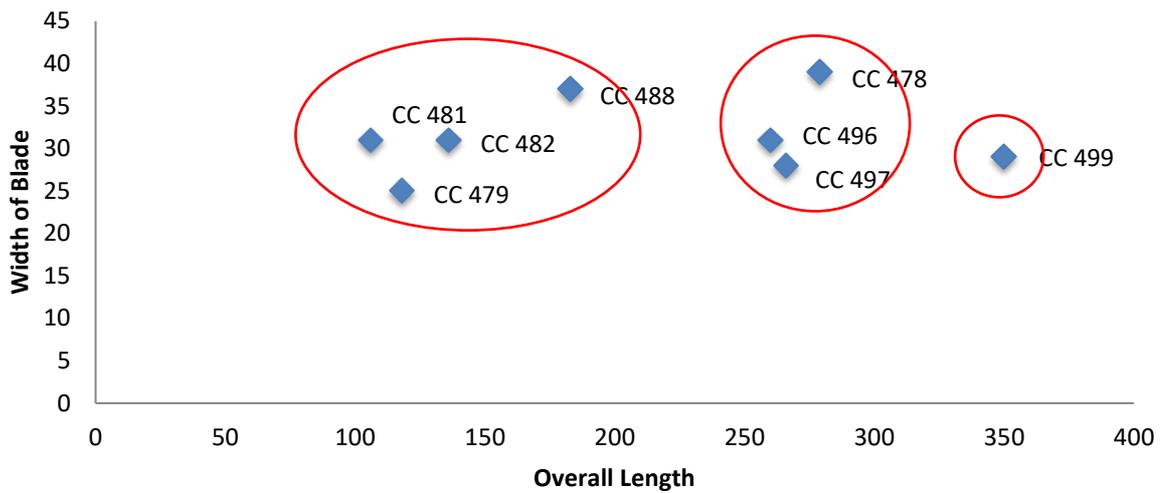


Fig. 6.14. Comparison between the overall length and the width of angular spearheads.

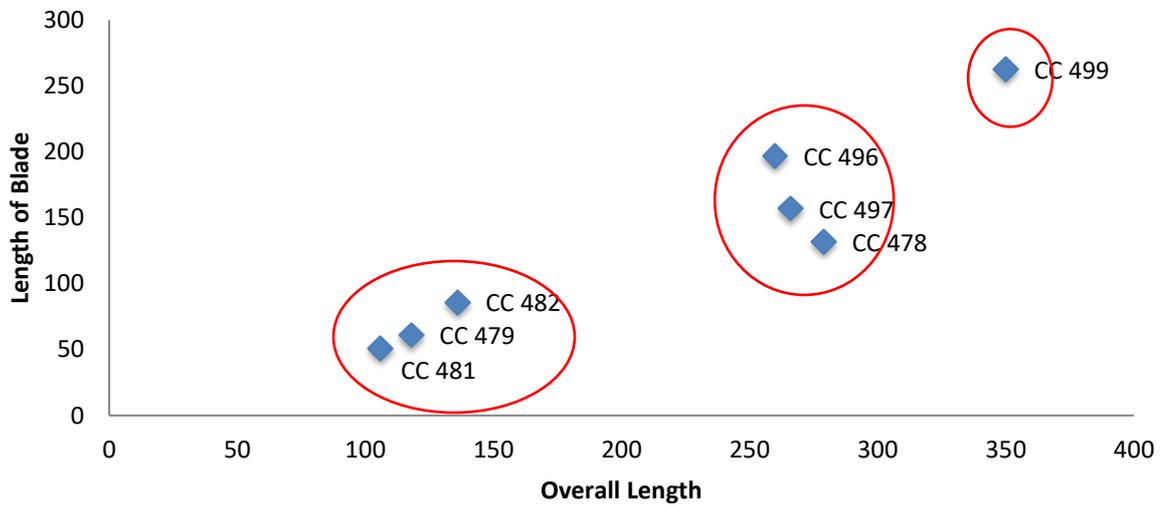


Fig. 6.15. Comparison between the overall length and the blade length of angular spearheads

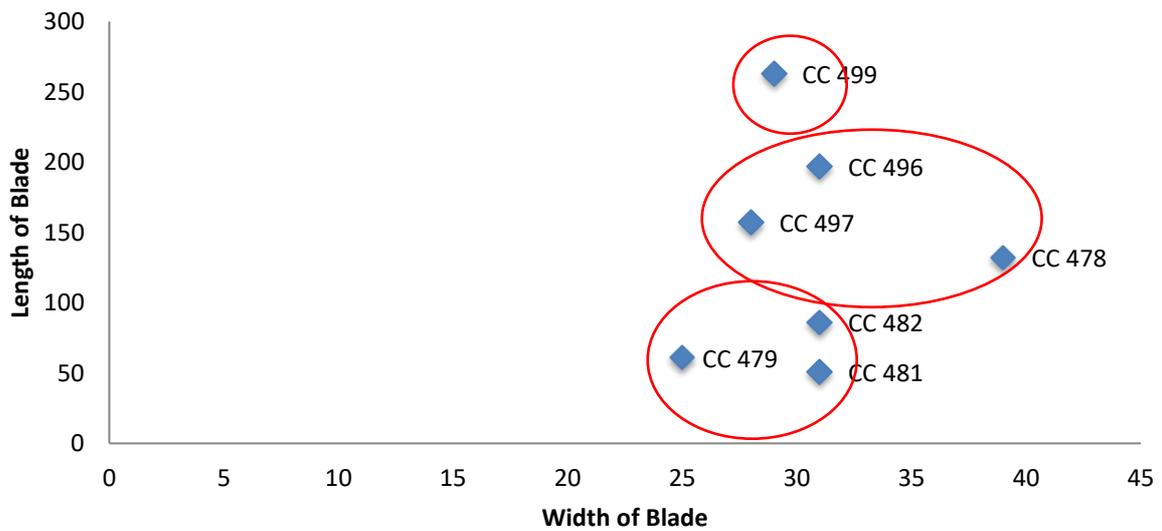


Fig. 6.16. Comparison between the length and width of the blades of angular spearheads

Leaf Shaped				Angular			Fragmentary Examples
Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V	Group VI	Group VII	
CC 480	CC 489	CC 490	CC 504	CC 479	CC 478	CC 499	CC 486
CC 483	CC 493	CC 502		CC 481	CC 496		CC 487
CC 484				CC 482	CC 497		CC 491
CC 485				CC 488			CC 492
CC 494							CC 498
CC 495							CC 501
CC 500							CC 503
CC 505							

Table 6.5. Subgroups of Spearhead Type WP6

Firstly, looking at the leaf shaped blades, there are four groups that may be identified in the diagrams above. The greatest proportion of this sample of spearheads is described as Group I. These spearheads are not particularly long examples (between *c.*100mm and *c.*200mm), and neither are they particularly wide (between *c.*15mm and *c.*25mm). Examples come from Cardiff Castle (CC 480; CC 483; CC484; CC 485), Llys Edwin (CC 494 and CC 495), White Castle (CC 505) and Skenfrith Castle (CC 500). Very similar in their appearance are the two examples included in Group II. The two examples from Aberavon (CC 489) and Llys Edwin (CC 493) have a very similar width to their blades (between *c.*15mm and *c.*20mm) compared with Group I, but their overall length is longer (between *c.*250mm and *c.*350mm). However, the results of Fig. 6.12 clearly show that the lengths of their blades are

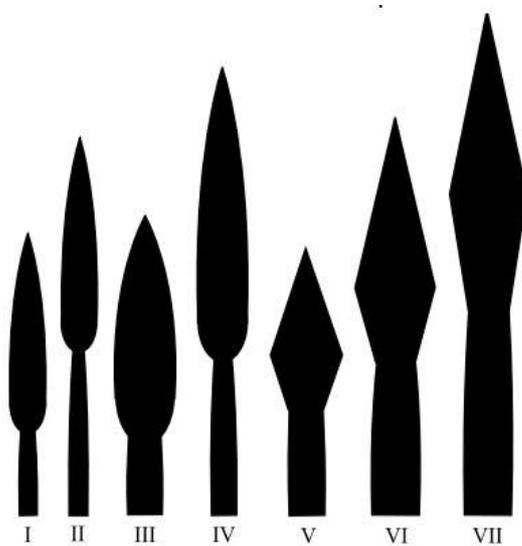


Fig. 6.17. Subgroups of Spearhead type WP6

not as significantly different and therefore it is the lengths of their sockets that separate them from Group I. The third group is characterized by a significantly wider blade than Group I (between *c.*35mm and *c.*45mm), although their overall length or the length of the blade is not any different (between *c.*150mm and *c.*250mm). These two examples come from Laugharne Castle (CC 490) and an unprovenanced find from Carmarthenshire County Museum (CC 502). Finally, Group IV, has only one example, an unprovenanced spearhead from the Wynne

of Peniarth Collection (CC 504); this is both significantly longer (*c.*400m) and wider (*c.*35mm) than Group I (although not as wide as Group III). An illustration of these variations can be seen in Fig. 6.17.

The angular spearheads can also be divided into three groups as a result of the analysis above. However, unlike the leaf shaped spearheads, the angular types appear to vary only in length, with all eight examples having very similar widths. Group V, are the shortest of the collection at between *c.*100mm and *c.*200mm long, including examples from Caerau (CC 479), Cardiff Castle (CC 481 and CC 482) and Dryslwyn Castle (CC 488). Group VI are slightly longer, between *c.*250mm and *c.*300mm long, with examples from Brecon (CC 478) and Llys Edwin (CC 496 and CC 497). Interestingly the example from Brecon is the widest of the sample. Finally, the spearhead from Pant Asaph (CC 499) is the sole example of Group VII and is the longest of the angular spearheads measuring 350mm.

These variations in the form of the WP6 spearheads are strikingly similar to the variation in the forms of Roman spearheads, which Bishop and Coulston (1993, 69) describe as ‘ubiquitous in any period and notoriously difficult to classify’. Fig. 6.18 shows a collection of third-century spearheads that not only vary in form but resemble the differences identified in the medieval material from Wales and further afield. Interestingly, just as the medieval spear could be used as both a thrusting weapon and an throwing weapon, Roman examples were also used in this way, and although no distinct types of Roman spear have been identified, it has been suggested that the narrower examples were designed for throwing and deep penetration, whilst the broader forms were for thrusting where ease of withdrawal was a priority (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 126).



Fig. 6.18. Roman Spearheads from Waddon Hill, Hod Hill, Longthorpe, Rheingönheim, Newstead and Corbridge (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 68)

Although the shape of both Roman and medieval spearheads is very similar, there is a distinct size difference. Fig. 6.19 is a comparison between the medieval spearheads found in Wales and a collection of eighteen Roman spearheads of various types housed in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne (Manning 1976, 18-20). Although there are some

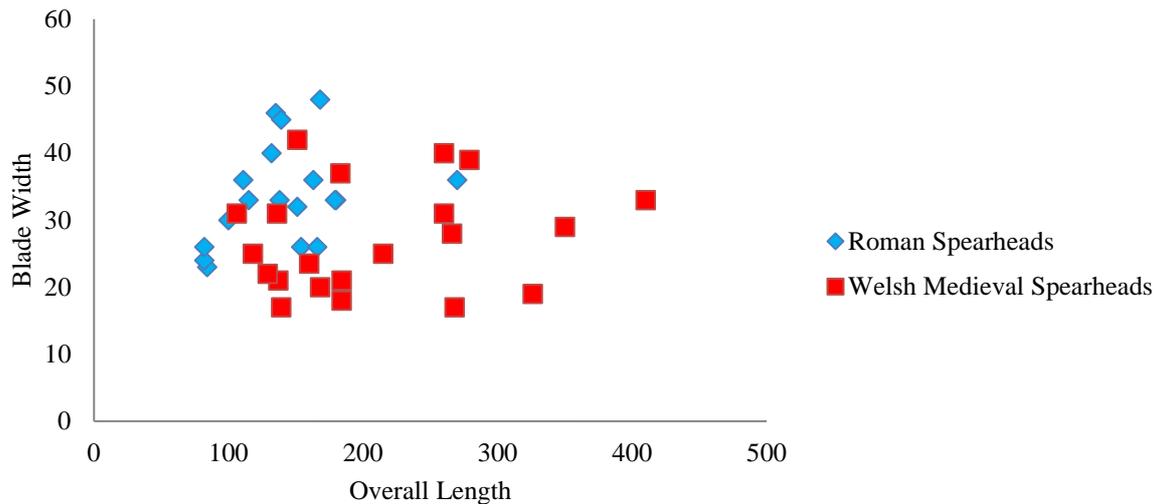


Fig. 6.19. Comparison between the size of Roman and Medieval spearheads

overlaps, the medieval examples are on the whole significantly longer than the Roman examples. Reasons for this increase in size are unclear. It could be suggested that this was related to an improvement in technology, perhaps as a result of better armour or improved fighting techniques. However, there is also the question of the relationship between size and status.

Similarly, a comparison with Anglo-Saxon and Viking spearhead types, such as those catalogued by Petersen (1919) and Solberg (1985) also demonstrate similar variations in size and shape. Interestingly, however, amongst spearheads of this date it is the angular shaped spearheads that are more common than the leaf-shaped examples (Siddorn 2005, 30). Spearheads of this date are also known to have had additional wings attached to the socket, which Siddorn (2005, 30) suggests could have been used to hook over an opponent's shield in order to pull him towards you. This would have been particularly useful within the context of an Anglo-Saxon or Viking shield wall. Therefore, the lack of these types of spear amongst the medieval Welsh material may suggest that this tactic was not being utilised (in this area).

Evidence from stone sculpture points to the leaf-shaped type of spearhead being the most common type used by soldiers in Wales. Images of spears or spearheads can be found on at least six examples of sepulchral slabs and military effigies surviving in churches and other ecclesiastical buildings in north Wales and the borders. Examples include sepulchral slabs from Valle Crucis Abbey (Denbighshire) (Gresham 1968, nos 53, 54, 124), Aberderch (Gwynedd) (Gresham 1968, no. 16), Gresford (Wrexham) (Gresham 1968, no. 136) and Farndon (Cheshire) (Gresham 1968, no. 145). There is also the well preserved military effigy



Fig. 6.20. Spear carved onto the dexter side of the effigy of Patrick de Barton (Farndon) (Gresham 1968, 187)

of Patrick de Barton in Farndon (Gresham 1968, no.176) that includes a full length spear along the right side of the body (Fig. 6.20). Although these may well be simplified or even idealized designs (see Chapter 3), it must be noted that each one may be described as a WP6 spearhead with a leaf shaped blade. This certainly strengthens the argument that suggests this type of spearhead was a common type in medieval Wales, since it was known by sculptors and patrons alike. The likelihood of sculptors having a wide knowledge of the various types of spears in use at that time is doubtful; instead it is more likely that they would have illustrated items that they were familiar with. There may be examples of effigies where the sculptor used the weapons and armour of the deceased as a model. However, as Gresham (1968, 51) argues, it is more likely that these funerary monuments were stock productions and therefore illustrated the standard attire of the medieval knight rather than specific examples. Furthermore, patrons of effigies and grave slabs, who may have been the family of the deceased or even the deceased himself, commissioning the piece prior to his death, would be likely to have wanted a certain amount of accuracy in

their pieces in order to display the correct image. After all, the sculpture would be meaningless if the sculptor produced a completely inaccurate representation. This would further suggest that the sculptor would have used recognisable images, not only to those familiar with the object in question, but also to a wider audience.

The other type of spearhead described by Ward-Perkins found in Wales is WP2. WP2 is one of the four types described by Ward-Perkins as solid and needle-like (Ward-Perkins 1954, 74), a form which he presumes was developed for the same reason as bodkin arrowheads: to pierce plate armour developed in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This type of spearhead is smaller than the WP6, with the two examples in this catalogue (CC 476 and CC 477) recording an average length of 78mm compared to 247mm for WP6. However, its narrow diamond cross-sectioned blade is reminiscent of the narrow diamond cross-sectioned arrowhead types M5-10 (armour piercing ‘bodkins’), thus making Ward-Perkins’s assumptions more credible. If this type of spearhead was developed alongside the

bodkin type arrowheads due to its similarity in form and therefore function, it would actually suggest an earlier date for its development as the bodkin types of arrowhead were in use between the eleventh- and fifteenth-centuries (see Chapter 5). In terms of dating evidence from Wales, only two examples of this type are recorded in this catalogue, both of which are from Dryslwyn Castle which would suggest a thirteenth-century date as the main period of military activity at the castle was likely towards the end of this century before it fell into English hands after the siege in 1287 (Rees and Caple 2007, 13). Only one, CC 476, is complete, measuring 95mm in length and 17mm wide. The second, CC 477, is missing both the tip and socket, but measures 61mm in length and 17mm in width. With only two examples it is impossible to determine whether this size is uniform, however Ward-Perkins (1954, 74) records that the example included in his typology from Bishopsgate, London as measuring 7.7 inches in length which equates to 195mm, nearly twice the length of the complete example CC 476. Moreover, the fact that this type of spearhead is not a common find in Wales with only a very small sample of two spearheads, makes it questionable as to whether it was in mainstream use in this area, and suggests that it might be representative of an English, or foreign import.

On the other hand, CC 477 came from a definite Welsh context (Phase 2d – Caple 2007, 206) which would suggest that the Welsh garrison at Dryslwyn during this period was using this type of spearhead. This is not to say that the WP2 spearhead was a Welsh weapon, as it is plausible that this type of spearhead could still have been introduced by English or Marcher forces in the area, however, it does provide evidence that the Welsh were familiar with this type of weapon and were using it, if only in limited numbers. Furthermore, the suggested preference for the bodkin type arrowheads by Welsh soldiers compared to the triangular and leaf-shaped forms associated with Norman and Marcher sites (see Chapter 5) may be significant. If Ward-Perkins is correct in linking the development of the bodkin type arrowheads with these needle-like spearheads, it should be considered that Welsh forces may also have preferred this type of spearhead. However, the archaeological evidence from other sites in Wales clearly shows that it was the WP6 type of spearhead which was more common. Therefore, without further evidence for the use of the WP2 spearhead being discovered in Wales, the two examples from Dryslwyn will remain unique to that site and cannot be considered a typically Welsh type of spearhead.

Although the spear is primarily thought of as a weapon of war, there were variations that were designed to be used in hunting. Three examples of such objects have been identified that could have been used with that primary function. The first is CC 470 found at Llandough Church, Vale of Glamorgan, and the second is CC 475, found at Aberystwyth Castle. The third, CC 457, better described as a harpoon, was found at Llys Edwin, Northop.

The first, and latest of the two spearheads, CC 470, is recorded in the collections in National Museum Wales as a boar spear and is likely to date to the fifteenth or sixteenth century if other similar examples are considered (Cameron-Stone 1934, 122). It consists of a short leaf-shaped blade with slight wings at the heel which make it comparable with other boar spears found in England and Europe. In addition, CC 470 has two semi-circular notches cut out of the edges. The total length of the spearhead is 208mm with the blade measuring 113mm. The width of the blade is 49mm and the diameter of the socket 21mm. As its name suggests, this type of spear was primarily used for the hunting of large game, such as boar and deer; however, there is nothing to suggest that it could not have been used in warfare if the situation warranted it.

CC 475 (Fig. 6.21), found at Aberystwyth Castle, is of a completely different design to the boar spear CC 470. The form of this spearhead is unique, and therefore its date and function are difficult to decipher. It is a socketed spearhead; however, instead of having a solid blade similar to other types discussed in this chapter, the blade is made from a central point with two barbs which protrude to approximately one quarter of the length of the socket. The overall length of the object is 110mm with a width of 50mm at the widest point of the barbs. The diameter of the socket is 40mm. The form of the spearhead is very similar to some hunting arrowheads discussed in the previous chapter, particularly the thirteenth-century type H3 (see Chapter 5, Fig. 5.3) described by Jessop (1997, 200), which included examples CC 004 from Dryslwyn Castle and CC 005 from Dyserth Castle. Apart from the sheer size of CC 475, it could be mistaken for this type of artefact. However, with a socket with a diameter of 40mm it would be inconceivable that it was shot from a bow. This similarity to hunting arrowheads has led to



Fig. 6.21. CC 475 – Barbed Spearhead, Aberystwyth Castle

the conclusion that its role is connected to hunting in some way, although its similarity to other hunting spears is limited. Therefore another function should be explored. Its location may hold the key. Aberystwyth is a coastal town and castle and it may be suggested that this is in fact some kind of harpoon type device for catching fish or even larger sea living creatures, such as whales, dolphins or seals. This would certainly account for the size and the barbs, as where boar and other land living prey can be tracked, it would be crucial for a hunter to keep hold of prey such as fish as they certainly could not be tracked if lost.

On the other hand, the interpretation of CC 475 as a hunting spear may be entirely incorrect if evidence from medieval art is to be considered, in particular images from the Bayeux Tapestry. The spear, or lance, is the most commonly pictured weapon on the Bayeux Tapestry (Musset 2002, 48) and two distinct types of spearhead have been identified; the first, often found in the hands of Norman knights, are leaf-shaped spearheads very similar in form to the WP6 spearhead discussed above; and the second, usually depicted in an English context is barbed (see above). Furthermore, in Scene 51 barbed spears are shown as javelins thrown by the English towards the Norman cavalry. When compared to the description of the Frankish angon by Polybius (see above), the similarities are striking. Therefore it is distinctly possible that CC 475 is a military form of spearhead, perhaps originally of Anglo-Saxon origin, rather than a hunting spear.

Furthermore, when compared to CC 457 (Fig. 6.22) from Llys Edwin, which is certainly a harpoon, almost identical in form to harpoons in use today, it casts additional doubt on the interpretation of CC 475 as a



Fig. 6.22. CC 457 - Harpoon

hunting spear. CC 457 consists of a narrow socketed blade with one barb attached to the side. The length of this artefact is 158mm and measures 26mm in width. If this is compared with other medieval and modern day harpoons, the similarities are striking. For example, there is a harpoon recorded in the Portable Antiquities Scheme Database as LIN-7A0D88 (Fig. 6.23)



Fig. 6.23. Post-Medieval Harpoon from PAS database (PAS 2010c)

that was found just outside Lincoln. The overall length of this harpoon is 440mm with a rectangular cross section measuring 13mm by

10mm (PAS 2010c). Although this is larger than the Llys Edwin example, the similarities in form would indicate a similar function but the difference in size may indicate a difference in prey. This evidence makes it less likely that CC 457 was used for harpooning fish, although, with other sea creatures such as seals or dolphins all inhabiting waters around the Ceredigion coast line, it is still possible that this spearhead was associated with the hunting of such animals, rather than being used in warfare.

Discussion

The above sections have examined the evidence for the role of the spear in warfare in medieval Wales by analysing the written sources, illustrations, particularly the Bayeux Tapestry, and the archaeological evidence. However, in order to fully understand the role that this weapon played it is important to compare and contrast the evidence to attain a clearer picture of the spear between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450.

The first and most obvious conclusion that can be made from both the written and material evidence is that the spear was in widespread use in Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450. Evidence from the written sources places spears in the hands of Welsh and English soldiers throughout the period under examination, with writers such as Gerald of Wales, Orderic Vitalis and the poets of the Welsh princes all referring to examples where the spear was used in conflict (see above). Furthermore, the archaeological record also provides artefactual evidence from deposits associated with Welsh castle occupation, for example Dryslwyn, and from Marcher castles, such as Cardiff and Hen Domen. Although the proportion of spearheads in the catalogue is fairly small in comparison to the number of arrowheads (see Chapter 5), there is still a significant collection of these objects which alludes to frequent use of this weapon in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450.

However, where the written and material records differ in the image presented is in the distribution of the finds, particularly within the Welsh kingdoms. References in Gerald of Wales have suggested that the use of the spear was more prevalent within the Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd, in contrast to the southern kingdoms where the bow and arrow was favoured (see Chapter 5). In support of this are the fourteenth-century sources recording the recruitment of Welsh spearmen, particularly from north Wales, into the English armies during the reign of Edward II and the early years of Edward III (Chapman 2010, 186). Chapman argues that, although the Welsh did provide archers in English armies at this time, so did

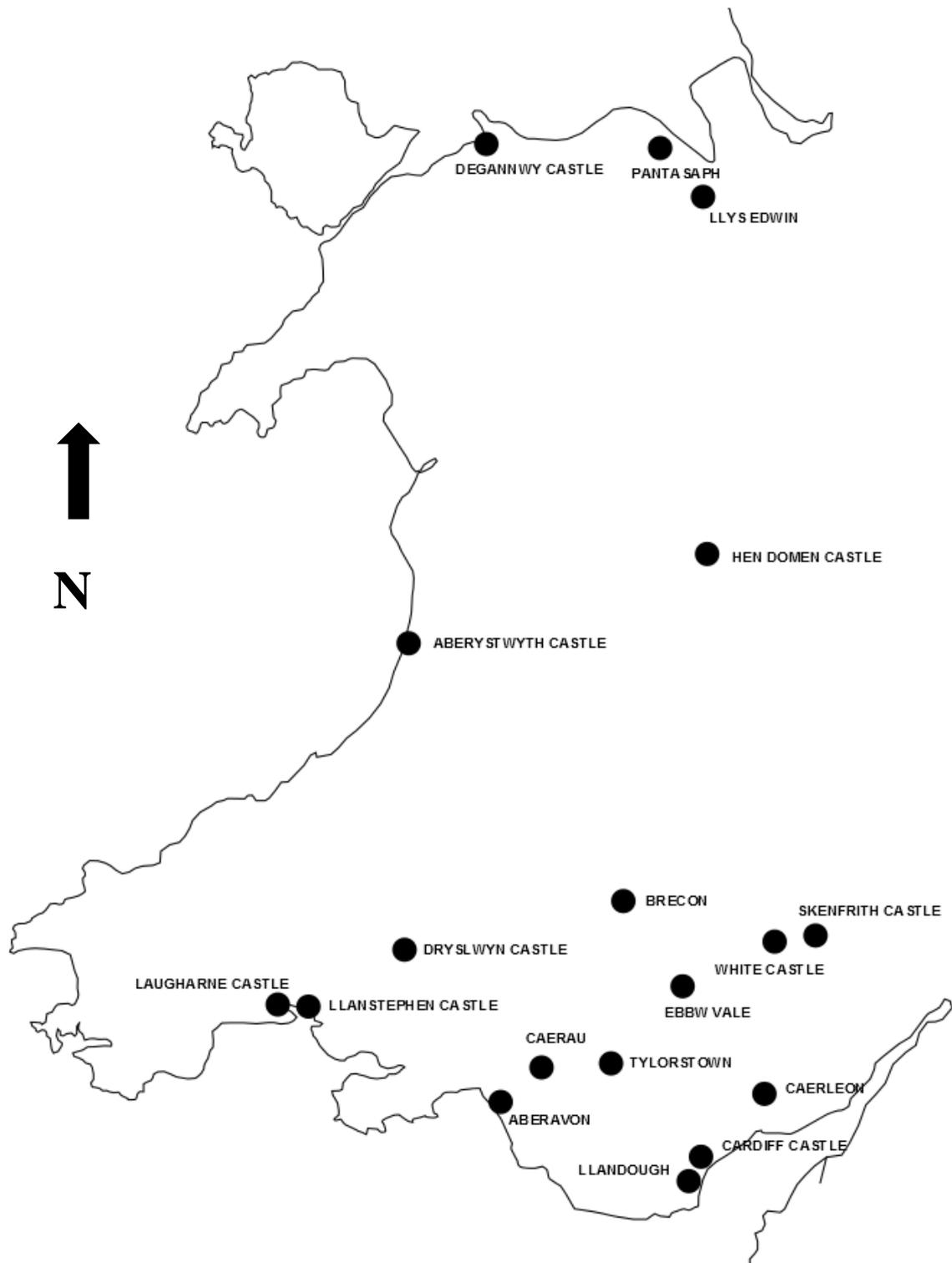


Fig. 6.24. Distribution map of all spearheads in Wales

every county of the English realm. Instead, it would appear that Welsh spearmen were being sought after by the English Crown as late as 1341. Furthermore, it could be suggested that the description by Orderic Vitalis of the death of Robert of Rhuddlan is also supportive of a preference for the spear in north Wales over the bow and arrow.

Yet, artefactual evidence, and the analysis of the distribution of the admittedly limited number of spearheads in Wales fails to provide any support to these claims. Instead, the distribution of finds (Fig. 6.24) demonstrates how the greater proportions of spearhead findspots are actually located in south Wales. There are several reasons that could explain this pattern of distribution. Firstly, it is possible that the greater number of spearheads found in south Wales are the result of more frequent fighting taking place in the Marches, particularly during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see Chapter 4). On the other hand, castle sites such as Criccieth and Castell y Bere were at the centre of English campaigns in North Wales, particularly during the reign of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and one would therefore expect a significant collection of spearheads from these sites, yet there are no definite examples identified in the catalogue. Secondly, it may well be that the claims made by Gerald of Wales were incorrect and that actually the spear was favoured in south Wales. Again, this seems unlikely as in other areas Gerald's descriptions have been considered to be fairly accurate (see Chapter 3) and would question why spearmen from north Wales were recruited by the English in the fourteenth century, for surely, if the spear was favoured in south Wales, that is where the main recruitment would have been. The third and most likely reason is linked to modern day archaeological investigations and how the greater proportion of sites that have undergone excavation and that are likely to yield relevant material have been located in South Wales. Therefore as the greater number of excavated sites are located in south Wales, it is understandable that there would be more finds from this area as well.

However, this does not explain why no spears have been identified in the material from both Criccieth and Castell y Bere, both sites that produced significant numbers of arrowheads. One possible explanation is that some of the artefacts catalogued as arrowheads could actually be spearheads that have been incorrectly identified. However this seems extremely unlikely as the only arrowheads to have come from both sites are bodkin types, predominantly M6 and M7 (see chapter 5). One possible explanation for the number of finds is that, rather than coming from any military engagement, they are actually remains of arrowheads that were in store at the castle to be used by the garrison if and when they were

needed. If this is the case, the absence of any spearheads may be explained by the fact that spears were personal items and that individual soldiers would have supplied their own weapons, whereas items such as arrowheads, would have been mass produced by the lord, prince or king. This would be supported by the fact that all the spearheads in the catalogue are individual and, although they have similar characteristics, no one example can be described as exactly the same as another. However, both castles are known to have been besieged during their history, Castell y Bere during the Edwardian conquest in 1283 and Criccieth successfully withstood the siege of Welsh forces during the rebellion of Madog ap Llywelyn in 1294 (see Chapter 3). Therefore it could be suggested that spears were not a popular weapon to have been used during a siege situation, and that the bow and arrow, a weapon that could be used from a greater distance from the enemy, was favoured by both attacking and defending forces.

Sculptural evidence may provide the supportive evidence that the artefactual record does not. Indications from the analysis of sepulchral slabs and effigies that depict spears do appear to support Gerald's claims concerning the use of the spear in the north. The designs of the spearheads on these pieces of sculpture are quite simple, and say very little about the different types of spear used in medieval Wales. However, out of all the examples identified by the author, not one of them has come from a location in the south; instead they can all be found at sites that were once part of medieval Gwynedd or Powys. This could be the result of there having been more research into funerary sculpture in north Wales compared with the south, particularly the work of Gresham (1968). However, it could also be a depiction of the association that Gerald describes in the *Journey* and, although these examples of sculpture all date to long after the death of Gerald of Wales, its importance cannot be ignored. Yet, the question must be asked as to which came first. The earliest stone sculpture depicting spears is dated approximately 100 years after the time Gerald was writing. Therefore it is plausible that this material may have been influenced by Gerald's comments and that the associations with the spear in North Wales became more pronounced in the psyche of soldiers in this area after the twelfth century.

Although there is a plenitude of evidence in the written sources to suggest the use of the spear in medieval Wales, there is very little useful descriptive evidence that can be gleaned on the form that the weapons took other than one rather unhelpful reference to 'long spears' from Gerald of Wales (see above). Neither do the variety of terms used by medieval

writers and poets, such as *hasta*, *lancea* or *iacula*, reveal much information other than suggest a variety of spear types were known to them but it does not denote whether the terms refer to differences in form or function. Again, the reliance is on the archaeological and art-historical material in determining the form of spears that may have been in use in medieval Wales. Evidence from illustrations, such as those in the *Littere Wallie* or the Bayeux Tapestry, offer some idea as to how different spears may have looked, although the problem with using these sources is identifying to what extent the illustrations have been stylized rather than reflecting an accurate image of the weapons used. Only two distinct types of spearhead were identified in the material from Wales, WP2 and WP6, and at first glance, this would indicate that there was very little variety in the forms of spearheads used in medieval Wales, suggesting that the variety of terms used by writers and poets were not related to form. However, looking more closely at the spearheads catalogued as type WP6, there are a number of minor variations in both shape and size which reflect a greater variety in the form of spearheads used in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450 than first thought. It is possible that the small differences in size and shape are attributed to the work of different smiths and manufacturing techniques, or perhaps personal preferences from soldier to soldier.

Nevertheless, it is also important to stress that the written sources allude to a variety of techniques that were employed when fighting with a spear, and it must be considered that these may also provide a valid reason for both the variety of terms used by medieval writers and the small differences identified in the forms of spears in the archaeological record. The written sources refer to spears being used by both foot soldiers and cavalry, and also describe spears being used as a thrusting weapon, or lance on horseback, or as a throwing weapon.

The most specific function of the spear to be found in the written sources is that of the javelin. The use of javelins by Welsh forces is clearly supported by the works of writers, such as Gerald of Wales, Orderic Vitalis and the anonymous authors of both the *Gesta Stephani* and the Latin and Welsh versions of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*. Arguments made by Day (2010; 2011c) concerning the content of medieval praise poetry also allude to the important role this weapon played in the Welsh art of war. Furthermore, evidence from Chapman (2010) may also allude to Welsh use of javelins. The only reference to the deployment of Welsh spearmen in the fourteenth century is in the campaign diary included in Froissart's *Oeuvres* where two companies of spearmen were suggested to have been intended to protect the flanks of the archers at Clairfontaine on 23 October 1339 (Chapman 2010, 59). This is a

very small force (Chapman suggests approximately 80) to be responsible for the protection of the archers. The fact that they are placed on the flanks of the archers is particularly interesting, but also, as Chapman (2010, 60) points out, is the fact that the skill of these Welsh spearmen could not be found amongst the English levies. It is possible that the spearmen were used as a static barrier between the attacking force and the archers in much the same way as the stakes driven into the ground at the battle of Agincourt (1415), a tactic that Strickland and Hardy (2005, 326-7) state was first encountered by European soldiers at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396. However, if this is the case, why did it take nearly 100 years for spearmen to be replaced with stakes? Surely the need to utilize all available forces would have caused this to occur far earlier. Instead, it is highly possible, given the evidence for the use of the javelin in Wales that these spearmen were actually throwing spears, and placed on the flanks of the archers, not to protect them, but to add further missiles to the attack, a tactic that was practised with great skill by the Welsh.

However, the way in which the javelin was used in battle, appears to vary. On the one hand, the descriptions conform to those of more ancient weapons, such as the Roman *pilum*



Fig. 6.25. Early Medieval Spear and Javelin head from Four Crosses (Powys) (GAT 2004-2012)

and the Frankish angon, where spears were aimed at an enemy's shield, with the added weight making the shield unusable. Both the *pilum* and angon were designed with this function in mind with a long thin neck between the blade and the socket that would bend on impact. This also had the added benefit of rendering the spear unusable thus preventing the enemy throwing the javelin back at you. Yet, if one consults the archaeological

material, none of the spearheads identified from Wales corresponds with the appearance of *pila* and angons found throughout Europe. An example of a possible sixth- or seventh-century javelin from Four Crosses, Llandysilio (Powys) (Barford et al 1986, 103-6) is the closest comparison (Fig. 6.25) but this is dated approximately 400 years earlier than the period being studied here. There are examples of spearheads in the catalogue, including CC 480 from Cardiff and CC 493 from Llys Edwin, that appear to have slightly longer neck and sockets in

comparison to their blades; however, neither are direct comparisons with the javelin from Four Crosses.

Therefore, if the Welsh were using javelins in a similar way to their Roman and Frankish counterparts, why does the archaeological evidence fail to support this? The most prominent description is that of Orderic Vitalis in his account of the death of Robert of Rhuddlan (see above). Although Orderic did not witness the event, it has been presumed that he was well informed as a result of his connections with Robert's family and therefore the accuracy of this description has not been questioned. However, as well as Orderic's connections with the Norman elite, he also had access to the extensive library at the religious house of St Evroult. It has even been remarked that, although Orderic was no classical scholar, he had learned the liberal arts from a noted master, and was occasionally liable to insert a classical quote or allusion, and obviously knew how to ransack florilegia (Chibnall 1969, 258; Ray 1972, 1120). Therefore it is distinctly possible that the details provided to Orderic about Robert's death were embellished with details of javelins from antiquity to provide a clearer image of the event to his audience. As a result this may cast doubt on the accuracy of this passage.

On the other hand, descriptions of Welsh javelins by other medieval writers and evidence collected from literature (particularly praise poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) suggests that javelins were used against people as well as their shields. Furthermore, the image of 'sowing' spears fashions an image of soldiers throwing several spears, either on foot or from horseback, perhaps producing a similar effect to the bow and arrow. Although not conclusive, it has been suggested that Roman spears with long narrow blades would have been used as javelins as their shape would have achieved greater penetration on impact (see above). If one considers the form of the WP6 Group I spearheads discussed above, their long narrow blades would correspond with the Roman examples suggested to have been used as throwing spears and therefore a similar function could be attributed to the medieval examples. Interestingly, examples of this type of spearhead are not only the most common type of spearhead to have been found in Wales, but have also come from a variety of sites, including CC 484 from Cardiff. The origin of this spearhead is more likely to allude to Norman or Marcher use of this weapon than the native Welsh, although this is not conclusive as native soldiers would have been included in castle garrisons throughout the period concerned. Furthermore, the similarity of CC 475 from Aberystwyth to

the depictions of Anglo-Saxon javelins on the Bayeux Tapestry must also be considered, as this could suggest a different type of javelin used in Wales, which like hunting arrowheads, was designed to result in greater blood loss from a longer cutting edge and its barbs would make extraction more difficult.

It also needs to be considered as to how far the context in which the javelin was being used will affect its form. For example, would a *pilum* type javelin, primarily designed to prevent an opponent being able to use his shield, be of use in a siege situation? It is much more likely that the type of javelin used in sieges would be directed at another person and therefore it may be that inflicting harm to an opponent from either deeper penetration, or greater blood loss, would be a more important outcome in this situation. Furthermore, how would the form of a javelin differ depending on whether one was throwing it from the ground or from the saddle? Without any written accounts with more specific details on exactly how these javelins were used it is difficult to surmise any answers. It may be possible to perform experimental tests, like those Stretton performed with a variety of arrowhead types (see Chapter 5), and therefore identify which types of spearhead would be more suitable for specific situations during conflicts.

The use of the javelin amongst Welsh forces does not appear to have continued for very long after the Edwardian Conquest in 1282, and although Welsh spearmen were specifically recruited into the English armies of the early fourteenth century, Chapman (2010, 227) demonstrated that by the middle of that century the recruitment of Welsh soldiers had fell into decline, something he suggests to have been linked to the adoption of the *chevauchée*. However, Jenny Day (2011c, 11) has highlighted how references to javelins in Welsh praise poetry begin to decline following the Edwardian conquest and disappear by the fifteenth century. Reasons for this may be linked to the changes in the way the Welsh elite saw themselves in comparison to their English and European counterparts (discussed in more detail in Chapter 8), however, there is also a possibility that the effectiveness of this weapon began to decline as a result of the development in plate armour from the later thirteenth century onwards. Although no tests using medieval spearhead types have been conducted, it is possible to make assumptions on how these narrow leaf shaped spearheads may have performed against different types of armour by comparing them to the tests conducted by Mark Stretton (2010b, 127-52) on similar shaped arrowheads. In these tests the leaf shaped arrowhead shot cleanly through the mail armour but against the plate it slammed into the

breastplate, scored the surface and then shattered into many pieces. Therefore, if a similar shaped javelin acted in a similar way, it would mean that, as more and more soldiers were wearing plate armour, the effectiveness of the javelin in battle would have greatly decreased, eventually making it obsolete.

Evidence for the Norman or English use of javelins in Wales is unclear, as the written sources do not refer to their deployment in any particular way. Similarly, although the use of the couched lance by Norman and later English knights in battles from the twelfth century onwards is well documented, there is also a lack of written evidence to confirm its deployment in Welsh conflicts. Even though Gerald of Wales refers to the Welsh learning how to use horses in battle from the English in his *Description of Wales* (see Chapter 4), evidence suggests the limited use of the lance by Welsh soldiers as well.

Neither do the written sources provide much evidence for the use of the spear by Norman or English foot soldiers. References to foot soldiers may be found in sources, such as the *Brut* (see above). Nevertheless, the identification of spearheads from Marcher castles, such as Cardiff, Skenfrith, White Castle and Llanstephen, places spearheads of varying shapes and sizes in Norman and English hands. Furthermore, the majority of spearheads included in the catalogue are associated with Marcher sites rather than Welsh. The fact that the written sources do not specifically mention occasions where Norman, English and Marcher forces used spears does not mean that they were not using them, as what other weapons could infantrymen use? Other than the sword (see Chapter 7) and other hafted weapons, such as the axe or the hammer (see chapter 8), the most commonly used weapon would have been the spear. This is clearly demonstrated from the wealth of manuscript illuminations that depict medieval warfare which so often picture foot soldiers fighting with spears during pitched battles, castle sieges and occasionally even naval warfare (Porter 2000). However, it may be suggested that the Norman and English skills with the spear were in some way less well developed than their Welsh counterparts as a result of the active recruitment of Welsh spearmen into English armies following the conquest in 1282 until the middle of the fourteenth century.

Conclusion

It is fair to say that as a result of a detailed analysis of both the written sources, illustrations and the archaeological material, a greater understanding of the forms and roles of the spear in

medieval Wales has been attained. Assessment of the historical sources and literature of the medieval period has revealed that not only were there a variety of spear types and tactics used in warfare, but also that it was the throwing spear that was most commonly used in by native Welsh soldiers. It has also been argued that this effective use of the javelin was eventually realised by the English in the post-conquest period and thus Welsh spearmen were incorporated into the armies of the fourteenth century alongside the archers and their longbows. However, evidence for the types of spears used by Norman and English forces in Wales has been less than specific. It is presumed that weapons, such as the couched lance that are traditionally associated with Norman and English armies, were used in Wales, although there are no direct references to their use.

The archaeological material does not entirely reflect this emphasis on the javelin as the majority of spearheads in the catalogue are types, or similar to types, found throughout Britain, Ireland and beyond. No objects have been found that can be directly compared with the javelins of Roman or Frankish origin such as the *pilum* or angon, which could represent a continuity of tactics and weaponry from the early medieval period up until the fourteenth century, an image supported by praise poetry from Wales with javelins first being referred to in the *Gododdin* and eventually disappearing by the end of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, the similarity of the medieval assemblage to spearheads identified in Roman contexts that have been suggested to have been used as javelins must also be considered. These types are only subtly different to those used for thrusting or stabbing and it is quite likely that they could have been used in both functions.

However, in order to learn more about the medieval Welsh spear and the variety of forms it may take, more examples need to be identified in the archaeological record, specifically from Welsh contexts. There is still more to be learned about regional and ethnic differences and how these weapons developed through time, and also how differences in manufacture might influence the differences in form; however, without a larger sample of artefacts, it becomes almost impossible to make firm conclusions.

To conclude, the spear was a common sight in the hands of the medieval soldier of all levels, in Wales and beyond, and he could use it on foot or on horseback, but a Welsh soldier would be more likely to throw it from a distance than his English counterparts. It would appear that there may be an element of truth in the statement of Gerald of Wales referring to the affinity of the spear to the soldiers of north Wales. Nonetheless, when it came to the

request of the English Crown for Welsh soldiers to join the armies of the fourteenth century, spearmen were recruited from all over Wales, suggesting that the skill with the javelin was not confined to the men of Gwynedd, but was widespread throughout the former kingdoms of the Welsh princes.

ⁱ Nicholson (2004, 102) describes the deployment of the couched lances as follows: ‘Formed into a tightly grouped squadron, the cavalry would lower their lances so that they stretched out horizontally in front of them, far beyond their horse’s nose (‘couched’ means ‘stretched out’)’.

ⁱⁱ When searching the PAS database for examples of medieval spearheads, it was evident that there were several examples recorded as both Roman and early medieval spearheads that were very similar in form to spearheads recorded in this catalogue. Without further investigation the dates provided have been accepted but without a clear typology for medieval spearheads in Britain the task of recording these objects remains difficult and mistakes must surely occur, especially when identifications are made by non-subject specialists.

Chapter 7: The Sword, The Dagger and The Knife

Introduction

The intention of this chapter is to discuss the role the sword, and other commonly used hilted weapons, the dagger and the knife, in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450. Modern representations of the medieval knight commonly portray him sword in hand, regardless of date. Academically, the sword is widely discussed, looking at its role throughout history, not just as a weapon capable of inflicting great injury, but also its symbolic role, as an object through which wealth, status and military prowess were made visible.

Archaeologically, the sword has been the subject of more research than other medieval weapons, although this is far from extensive. This is likely to be because there are comparatively few examples of the medieval sword that survive to this day, and in a lot of cases, the majority of evidence is gleaned from sculptural representations rather than surviving objects. Where swords and daggers have been recovered, it is intriguing how many have been chance finds, particularly from rivers, rather than from excavated contexts on castle sites. This may well be indicative of the value and importance of these objects, as they would rarely have been left behind when a castle was abandoned.

Therefore, in order to determine the types of hilted weapons that were in use in Wales during the period concerned, as well as the roles that these weapons played, it is essential to examine all the information available, including that presented in the historical and literary sources of the period, representations on sculpture and in illuminated manuscripts and the archaeological remains recovered from excavations of castle sites as well as chance finds. In this chapter, each weapon will be looked at independently, starting with the sword, followed by the various types of dagger that were in use, and finally the evidence for the use of the knife in a military context will be considered, before making a conclusion on what the role of hilted weapons in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450.

Typology

Before looking in detail at the evidence for different types of sword, dagger and knife, it is important to determine differences between them, and therefore a typology is needed. There are many publications that discuss different types of sword throughout history, from the work of the antiquarian Richard F. Burton (1884), to the most recent study of the evolution of the

sword by Loads (2010). Burton's history of the sword, from the earliest examples made in wood, bone and horn, to those used by soldiers throughout the Roman empire, provides readers with a detailed discussion of the early development of the sword as both a weapon and a symbol of power, and despite having been written nearly 140 years ago, is still a valuable reference work with over 300 illustrations and evidence drawn from literary, archaeological, anthropological and linguistic sources. Most recently Loads (2010) discusses the evolution of the sword through specific examples, including the swords owned by the Egyptian Pharaoh Tutankhamen, King Henry V (1413-1422), Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) and ending with those of George Custer and J.E.B. Stuart towards the end of the nineteenth century. Although neither deals specifically with the medieval sword, they both identify what the role of the sword has been to many different cultures and the themes which are relevant to the study of swords of any age. The medieval sword has been one of the most popular to study, with the likes of Ward-Perkins (1945, 21-55) who devoted a large section of his *Medieval Catalogue* to the various types of bladed weapons found in Britain from this date. However, the most extensive research into the medieval sword is found in the publications by Ewart Oakeshott (e.g. 1960; 1997), whose *Records of the Medieval Sword* (1991) provides a comprehensive typology created as the result of a study of hundreds of medieval swords, including archaeological finds and artistic representations, found throughout Western Europe.

In his typology (Fig. 7.1), Oakeshott lists twelve datable types of medieval sword blade alongside eight precursors from which the medieval sword evolved, and a large number of what he describes as miscellaneous, unclassified or complex-hilt swords that could not be assigned to a specific type. Within the twelve types, there are also several sub-types; for example, type XIII has two further sub-types XXIIIa and XXIIIb. In addition to the different types of blade in use during the medieval period, Oakeshott discusses the different types of hilt, namely the varying designs of pommel and cross which could be used in any combination (Oakeshott 1991, 8). However, by the end of the thirteenth century, sword families (specific combinations of pommel and hilt) develop which tend to cut across the various types of sword. Interestingly, previous typologies of the medieval sword by Petersen in 1919, and Behmer in 1939, have tended to focus on the different styles of hilt to determine dating. Oakeshott (1960, 203-4), however, has argued that with the amount of variation introduced in the later medieval period, to rely on this technique is problematic as it is more likely to be indicative of trends in fashion rather than development over time.

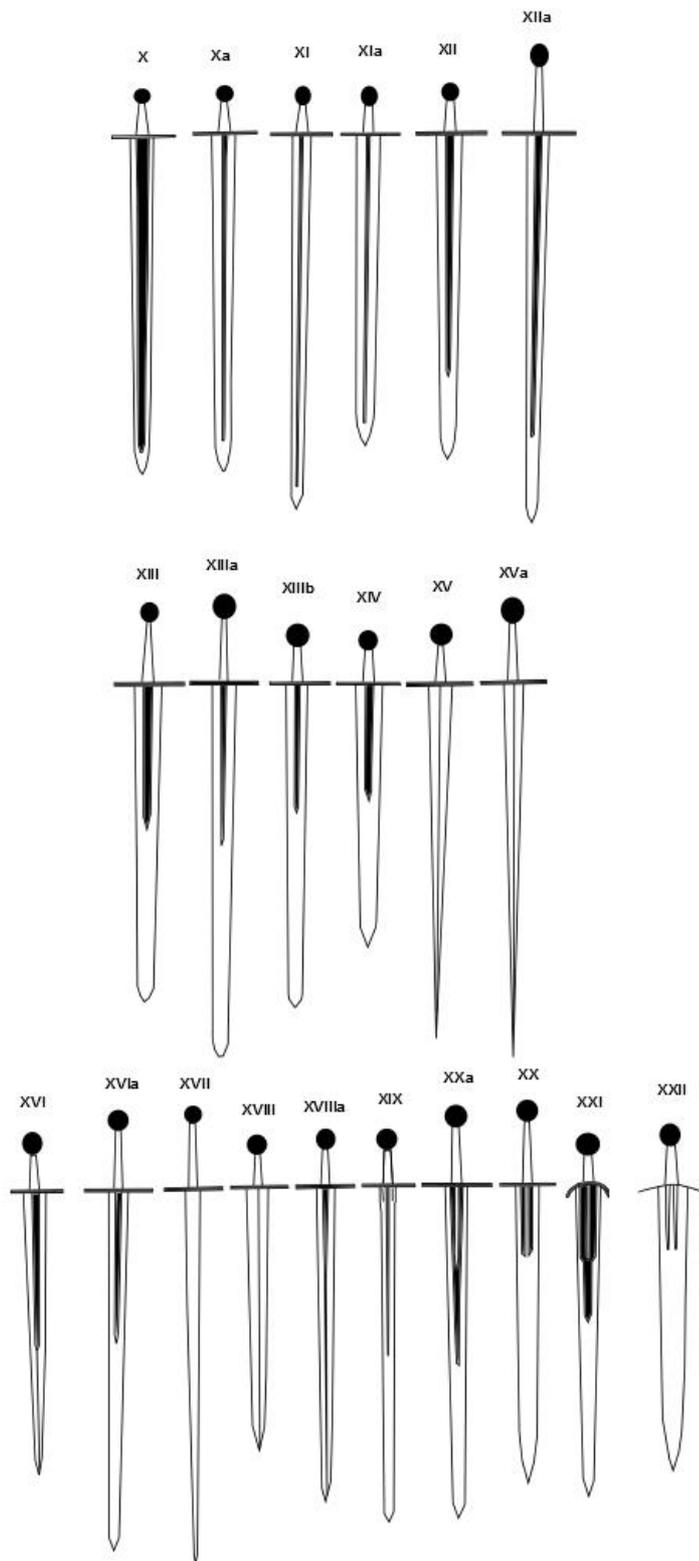


Fig. 7.1. Oakeshott Sword Typology
(Redrawn from Oakeshott 1991, viii-ix)

The typology Oakeshott created is extensive and, although there may be lesser types he failed to identify, there seems no academic reason why it should be revised for the purpose of this project. However, though the details of the various types of medieval sword are far-reaching, the various types of dagger and knife in use during the medieval period were not given the same attention by Oakeshott, and therefore an alternative must be found for the discussion of these objects.

Ward-Perkins' catalogue (1954) provides information on the main types of dagger and knife housed in the Museum of London, which include a number of datable examples. This is not, however, a detailed typology, as was mentioned in earlier chapters, and this was never the aim of Ward-Perkins in publishing the material; instead it was meant as a handbook for students studying medieval archaeology (Ward-Perkins 1954, 20). This means that the content is limited in scope and, combined with the fact that it was written 60 years ago, would suggest that there have been important discoveries made since. Despite the possible problems associated with this text, it is still a good place to start when looking at medieval daggers and knives, and when used with caution, is very useful to this study.

The Sword

The sword is one of the most widely recognisable medieval weapons. This object could cause great injury and death, but was also symbolic of its owner's wealth and status, for only elite warriors of the medieval period would have carried such an expensive weapon. The form of the sword varied throughout its history, determined by its function. Shorter, broad bladed weapons were ideal in thrusting, close combat situations, whereas the longer blades were perfect for use in the saddle, where the knight would have room to swing and slice at his opponent. Furthermore, the grander the sword, whether that grandeur is measured by the sheer size of the object or by the degree of decoration around the hilt and occasionally the blade, the greater the status of the owner. For example, the sword that once belonged to King Edward III (1327-1377) is ornately decorated and befits a king in every detail, clearly reflecting his status in the medieval world.

In the context of Wales in the period under study, written references to the sword are not rare, but neither do they imply a widespread use in a practical context. Instead, references tend to fall into one of two patterns. Either, they generally refer to conflict or battle and use

the sword to symbolise this, or they single out the role of the hero by placing a sword in his hand using it to emphasize his role in victory.

The first pattern of references tend, on the whole, to be found in English documents, and are often used to symbolise cruel and savage acts of violence at the hands of the Welsh. For example, when the anonymous author of the early twelfth-century *Gesta Stephani* records the massacre of English settlers on the Gower by a Welsh war band, led by Hywel ap Maredudd, he says that ‘they surrounded them on every side and laid them all low with the edge of the sword’ (Potter and Davis 1976, 16). Similarly, Orderic Vitalis mentions the sufferings of the Church at the hands of Welshmen under the command of Robert of Gloucester during the civil war between Stephen and Matilda and claims that they ‘were daily slaughtered like cattle by the swords of the Welsh’ (Chibnall 1969, 537). Even the Anglo-Welsh writer and churchman, Gerald of Wales, continues this pattern when he writes how Rhys ap Gruffudd ‘ravaged the provinces of Pembroke and Rhos by fire and sword’ (Thorpe 1978, 138). These references could, in theory, accurately represent how the soldiers of Wales were armed with swords in battle; however this is unlikely due to the cost involved in making and therefore purchasing a sword. Additionally, where the chroniclers of the medieval period do record battles with a Welsh involvement, the favoured weapons tend to be either the bow and arrow or the spear (see Chapters 5 and 6). Therefore, it must be surmised that these references are more about creating an image of war, symbolised by the use of the sword, and are therefore figurative in nature rather than an accurate portrayal of the weapons in use.

Even where the sword is placed in the hands of an individual soldier, the motive is, again, likely to be symbolic rather than an accurate description. In Welsh sources in particular, the hero is quite often described as using a sword, which as a result, emphasizes his heroic nature. This is best demonstrated by references to the use of the sword by Gruffudd ap Cynan in both the Latin and Welsh versions of the *Life*. In the earlier Latin version, Gruffudd is recorded as using a sword in battle. There is no description of the type of sword he uses, although it does suggest that he was using his sword both in the saddle and on foot (Russell 2005, 65, 69). Instead it is the dramatic nature of the language used that is important. For example, phrases such as ‘death dealing sword’ (Russell 2005, 65) and ‘like a giant or a lion laying low enemies with every blow of his sword’ (Russell 2005, 69) accentuate the heroic nature of Gruffudd in a way which the bow and arrow or the spear would fail to do. By the later Welsh version of the text Gruffudd’s sword is twice described as a ‘flashing sword’

(Evans 1990, 63 and 67), again making the weapon appear heroic and almost magical, traits that can then be transferred to its owner.

References to the sword in Welsh poetry further emphasize the symbolic nature of the sword alongside evidence of its use in a practical context. Swords are referred to in poems of all dates, including the early medieval poem *Y Gododdin* and the fifteenth century poems written by the soldier poet Guto'r Glyn. The importance of these weapons to the medieval soldier is highlighted by Welsh poets in a variety of ways, such as the naming of swords. However, the assignment of individual names to the swords of the poets' patrons continues throughout the medieval period including the material of poets such as Guto'r Glyn, who also refers to the names of the swords of heroes in the past, for example those of Julius Caesar (*Angau Coch* or *Angau Glas*), Roland (*Durendardd*), Otiel (*Cwrseus*) and Arthur (*Caledfwlch*), in a number of his poems (Day 2013, forthcoming). Furthermore, the figurative comparisons made in Welsh poetry between the sword and the patron emphasizes the status of the sword in medieval Wales. This is not confined only to military men, but is also used in some examples to describe men of the Church, for example in Guto'r Glyn's praise of Abbot Rhys ap Dafydd of Strata Florida, he describes Rhys as 'the sword of all the world's abbots' (Day 2013, forthcoming). In circumstances such as this the sword is thought to represent both justice and righteousness (Day 2013, forthcoming). The naming of swords is not a phenomenon unique to medieval Wales however, as examples can be found in other medieval cultures as well. Named swords, as well as other objects, appear widely in medieval literature, including the works of Chrétien de Troyes, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (Bliss 2008, 77-8). Named swords can also be identified in Anglo-Saxon and Viking literature, the most notable being *Hrunting* the sword, which Unferth gives to *Beowulf* before the fight with Grendel's mother (Davidson, 1962, 129).

Interestingly, the clearest references to the importance of the sword as a symbol of status and prestige can be seen in the numerous descriptions of golden swords in medieval Welsh poetry, from which Day (2010, 306) infers that the poets may have used these terms to praise either a splendid sword, or even the exploits of the warrior, and were not necessarily used to describe the form of decoration of swords in a literal sense. Day (2010, 306) also points out that the poets do not refer to swords of other materials such as silver, which she suggests demonstrates that the poets were not attempting to convey literal differences in status, rather that they regarded all of their patrons as worthy enough to carry and use a

golden sword. Therefore it can be assumed that the symbolic nature of the medieval sword was of equal importance to its practical capabilities, to the court poets at least.

On the other hand, evidence from Anglo-Saxon swords may suggest that to dismiss the existence of golden swords in medieval Wales is a mistake as Davidson (1962, 58-9) refers to several fifth- and sixth-century swords where gold has been inlaid or plated onto the hilt, including King Childeric's sword and other examples from Pouan and Klein-Hüningen. In a British context examples of gold swords decoration include those which have been identified in the recently discovered early seventh-century Staffordshire hoard (Staffordshire Hoard 2009, accessed 15/07/2014). Therefore, it is plausible that the references to golden swords in the praise poetry are actually referring to decoration on the hilts rather than the entire objects, and are not symbolic at all.

The sword is also referred to within the Welsh Law texts, and evidence from these once again demonstrates the importance of this weapon as it is valued so highly. It is listed along with other military equipment, including the spear (four pence), the bow and twelve arrows (four pence) and the battle axe (two pence):

A sword, if it is ground on the stone, twelve pence; if it is dark blue-bladed, sixteen pence; if it is white-bladed, twenty-four pence (*Ior.*, Jenkins 1986, 194).

Not only is its value between three and six times more than that of the spear or the bow, demonstrating that it was the weapon of the wealthy, the differences between a dark blue and a white blade are of particular interest. Jenkins (1986, 300) acknowledges that this has previously been interpreted as meaning a dark blue or white hilt, presumably decorated with some kind of coloured enamel. However, Jenkins (1986, 300) emphasizes that the texts specifically refer to the colour of the blade and he therefore suggests that the blue bladed sword acquired its colour during the tempering process, whereas the white blade had been polished and burnished, further demonstrating that the sword was an image of wealth and status. The cost of manufacturing a sword of quality was high, represented by the passing down of swords through the generations in both Anglo-Saxon and Viking culture (Davidson 1962, 214). Davies (2003, 149) provides evidence for similar practices in medieval Welsh culture suggested by the horseman said to be holding the sword of Echel, a Welsh hero of the past, in the poem *Gwahodd Llywarch i Lanfawr*. Furthermore, the description and the value

of the sword in the *Cyfrnerth* redaction of the medieval law texts should also be considered when discussing the symbolic nature of the medieval sword in Wales.

A sword which has gold or silver on its hilt is worth twenty-four pence; a sword without gold and without silver on it is worth twelve pence (Jenkins 1986, 194).

In respect of the evidence gleaned from poetry referring to golden swords, this could be a further indication of varying levels of decoration on swords, reflecting the status and wealth of its owner, thus confirming the representational nature of the sword in medieval society.

In attempting to determine the forms of swords used by soldiers in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450, neither the documentary nor literary sources provide much information beyond the extent of their decoration. However, the form of the sword used by the elite in Wales can be suggested from the analysis of sculpture as this provides actual representations of the forms and decoration that might be found in Wales. The sword is the most common weapon to be included on sepulchral slabs in Wales and is found on every effigy that has been consulted for this project. On the examples catalogued by Gresham (1968), he records eight examples that show the sword in the scabbard, hanging over the front of the body and only two where the sword is naked across the thighs (Llanarmon yn Iâl, no. 173 and Dolgellau, no. 179) (Gresham 1968, 53). Interestingly, by the late-fourteenth century the sword is depicted hanging vertically down beside the left leg and a dagger is added hanging on the right which Gresham (1968, 53) suggests was used to balance the belt from which both objects hung. He states that the average length of the early fourteenth-century sword was approximately 3ft. (900mm) but that this increased to 4ft. (1200mm) during the latter part of the fourteenth century. Gresham (1968, 53) also points out that these later effigies depict swords that he describes as ‘suitable for wielding with two hands’. The accuracy of these representations is debatable, as with all evidence gleaned from this source; however, it can still provide key information. Furthermore, the widespread inclusion of swords on funerary monuments, particularly on effigies, demonstrates how the sword was an integral part of the knight’s equipment.

Similarly, if the evidence available from the study of equestrian seals is considered, nearly all those of Welsh origin, and a significant proportion of English and marcher seals, have the horseman pictured sword in hand, as for example, on the great seal of Llewellyn ab Iorwerth (Fig. 7.2). Therefore, this would suggest that amongst the elite, the sword was not

only in fairly common use, it was also an important symbol of military identity; the motif of the mounted warrior brandishing a sword was a powerful image that spoke of military might alongside secular authority (McEwan and New 2012, 67). However there is little evidence to suggest that the sword would have been used by all soldiers in medieval Wales.

Archaeologically, the evidence for this project supports this view. To date, there are only nine examples of medieval swords (Fig. 7.3) known to the author that are recorded to have come from a Welsh context. The only example to have come from a military site is CC 511 which was found at Cardiff Castle. Both CC 513 and CC 514 were recovered during the excavations at Llys Edwin. However, the remaining six artefacts have all been chance finds from sites across Wales (Fig. 7.4). For example, CC 509 came from Llowes, CC 510 from Bailey Hill, CC 508 was found on the Breidden hillfort, and CC 516 was found near Offa's Dyke where it passes through the village of Llandrinio (all Powys). Interestingly, both CC 512 and CC 515 were found in rivers, the first in the River Cothy in Carmarthenshire and the second coming from the River Cleddau in Slebech (Pembrokeshire). How they came to be deposited in the river will be discussed further below; however, it is interesting that of all the swords referred to by Oakeshott (1991), a reasonable proportion have also been recovered from rivers across Europe.

Within this group of swords, five examples are incomplete, with only the blade surviving; the other four are complete with hilts, although CC 512 has a broken blade which is missing approximately a third of its length, though this is only an estimate. Of the complete examples, the shortest is 722mm in length (CC 510) and the longest is 1680mm (CC 515). Where only the blade survives, the length ranges from 319mm (CC 514) – although this is also missing its tip so would originally have been slightly longer – to 780mm (CC 509). Although these measurements suggest a wide range in the lengths of these swords, three out of five of the blades measure between 425mm and 475mm. Interestingly, discounting CC 512, all three of the other complete swords have blades that are slightly longer, with an average blade length of 610mm. The reasons for these differences in length will be discussed



Fig. 7.2. Equestrian Seal of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (GAT 20047-2012)

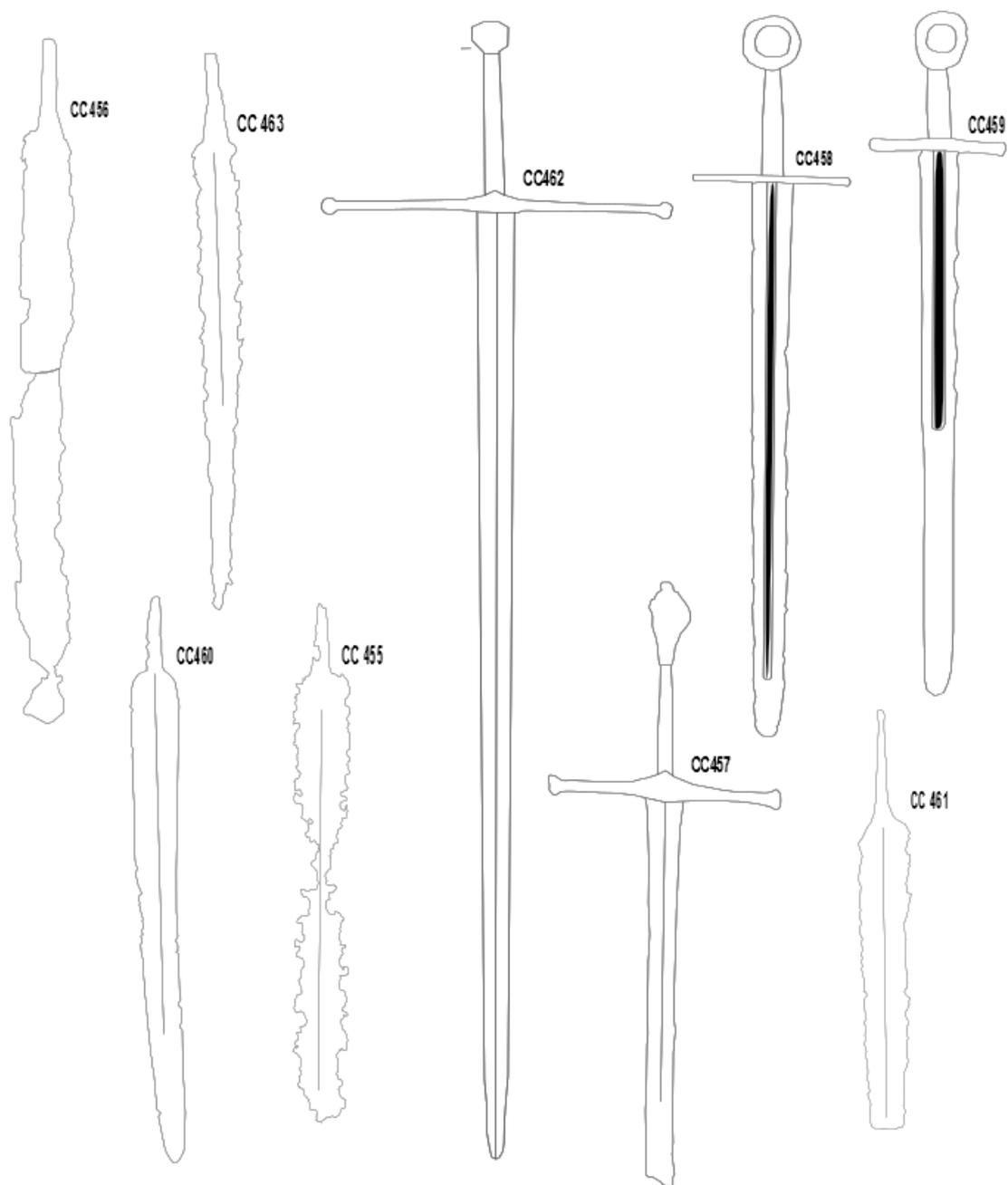


Fig. 7.3. Illustrations of all nine swords included in the catalogue (Source: Author)

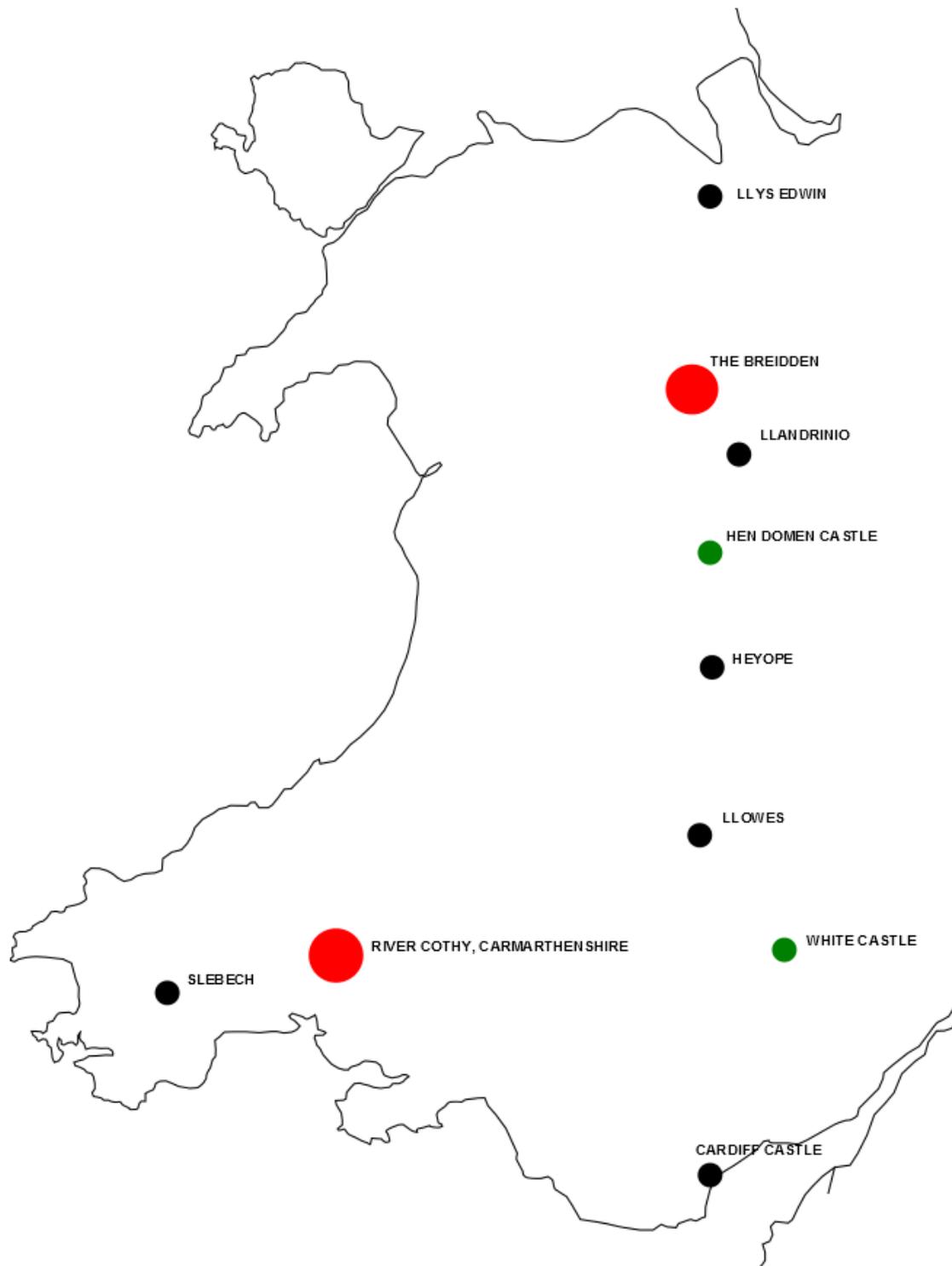


Fig. 7.4. Distribution map of Swords
(Black = complete swords, Red = unknown find spot, Green = sword accessories)

below; however, it is plausible that the longer examples survive complete because they would have been used by the wealthier soldiers and are therefore of better quality. However, only technical analysis would demonstrate this. In addition to the length of the sword, it is also interesting to note that, although the width of the blade varies slightly, with a minimum of 24mm (CC 514) and a maximum of 50mm, four of the swords are recorded with this latter measurement (CC 509, CC 510, CC 511 and CC 515) meaning the average width is 42mm. This suggests, that in most cases the sword was individualised in length, but was fairly standard in width throughout the period concerned. Although the blades are varied, the form and size of the hilts are fairly standardised with the shortest measuring 162mm (CC 510) and the longest 200mm (CC 511). This would suggest that they are all the standard one or one-and-a-half handed swords used by the majority of knights throughout the medieval period. However, CC 515 does not fit into this group, as its hilt measures 490mm in length which, when added to the blade length of 1190mm, creates a very large sword, commonly described as a hand-and-a-half sword, which came into use during the fifteenth century (Oakeshott 1991, 171).

The accurate dating of these swords is particularly difficult. Most have been chance finds, including CC 515, found in the Cleddau, and CC 512, found in the Cothy (precise location unknown), which means that stratigraphical dating from a sealed archaeological context is impossible. Others have been found during excavations, however, as is the case at Llys Edwin, though the excavation report is vague at best (see Chapter 3), and so it is impossible to find exactly where the objects were found on the site, let alone work out an accurate date for them using stratigraphic data. This means that, in order to date any of the nine swords discussed here, they must be assigned into the typological groups described by Oakeshott (1991). It has been possible to assign seven of the swords to three different types. However, both CC 508 and CC 509 are in poor condition and too badly degraded to be able to determine the original characteristics of the blades described in Oakeshott's typology, so they must remain unclassified.

Two swords (CC 510 CC 511) may be identified as belonging to Oakeshott Type XIII. According to Oakeshott (1991, 95), this type of sword, which is the most common amongst surviving examples, is characterised by a blade with edges which run very nearly parallel to each other and end in a rounded point. The tang is also noticeably longer than the usual 3-4ins (75-100mm of a single-hand sword. Oakeshott also remarks that, although

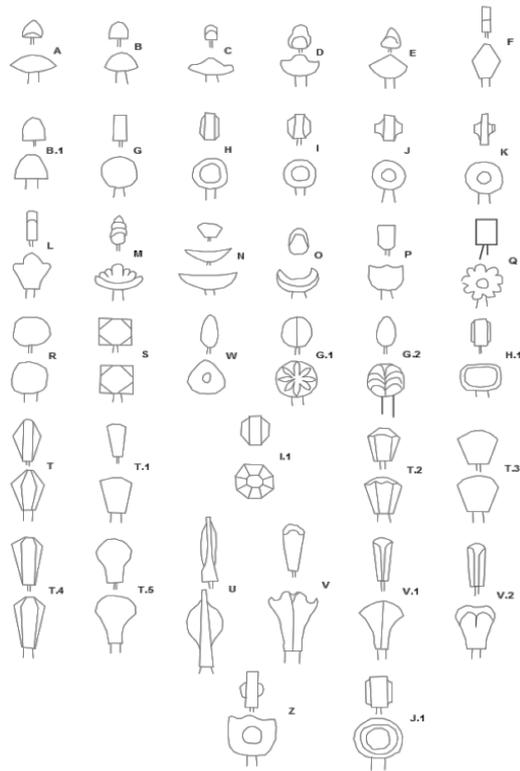


Fig. 7.5. Oakeshott Pommel Typology
(Redrawn from Oakeshott 1991, 10)

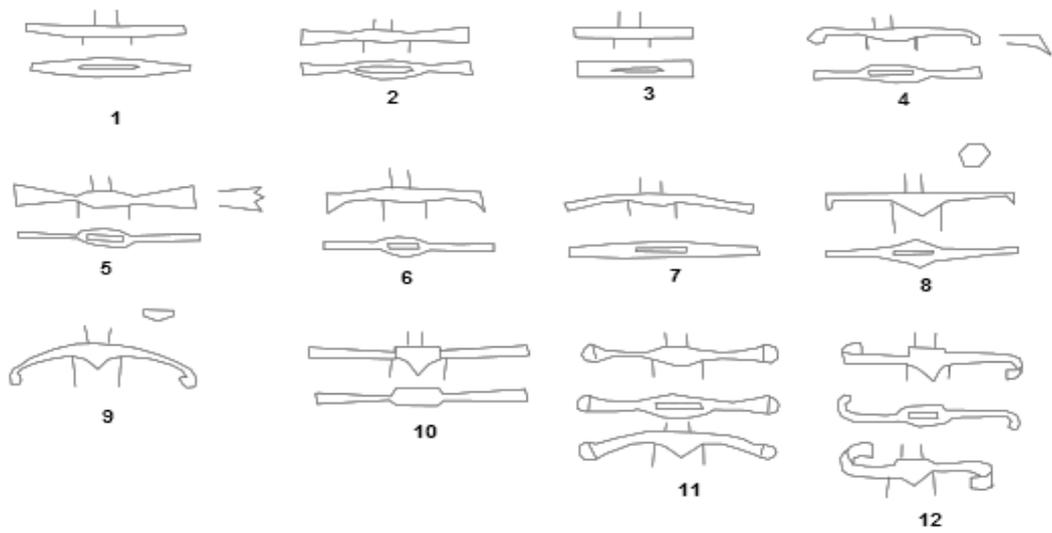


Fig. 7.6. Oakeshott Cross Style (or Hilt) Typology
(Redrawn from Oakeshott 1991, ix)

pommel types vary, the wheel shaped pommel (Types J and K) (Fig. 7.5) is the most common and that the hilt is nearly always straight and classified as style 2 (Fig. 7.6). This matches almost exactly the two examples here which have style 2 hilts and type J pommels. Oakeshott (1991, 96-7) refers to four examples of this type of sword, known throughout Europe, but originating in Germany. However, he also states that there are no known find-spots for any of the examples he references. Using evidence from these four examples, combined with that gleaned from representations found on German and Spanish effigies, Oakeshott dates this type of sword to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although one example (Oakeshott no. 4) is dated slightly earlier, to the late twelfth, suggesting it was probably in limited use earlier.

The function of this type of sword was to slice and cut and Oakeshott (1960, 207) calls it the 'sword of war' claiming that the owner would have dealt enormous, slow sweeping blows from the back of a horse, which would explain why these swords, particularly subgroup Type XIIIa, were so long. The size of this sword would have made it difficult and clumsy to use on foot, but perfect for use in the saddle.

The second group comprises four swords in this catalogue (CC 512, CC 513 CC 514 and CC 516), which all belong to Oakeshott Type XV. This type of sword, very similar to Oakeshott's Type XIV, is characterised by a comparatively short blade, which is broad at the hilt and tapers strongly (Oakeshott 1991, 115). What sets Type XV apart is the cross-section of the blade. Unlike other medieval types, which are flattened and usually fullered, Type XV is a flattened and diamond-shaped blade. There does not appear to be a specific type of pommel or hilt associated with this type, although on the examples described by Oakeshott the wheel-type pommels seem to be popular. As none of the pommels from examples in the present catalogue survive, it is impossible to say whether this pattern was also present in Wales. The difference in shape is the direct result of the difference in function which, as Oakeshott (1991, 127) describes, was 'to deliver a lethal thrust' rather than to slice and cut. This would have made it a popular choice of weapon amongst soldiers fighting on foot, where the limited space available in the crush of battle would restrict a weapon, such as the Type XIII, that needed room to be swung, but would be the perfect environment for a thrusting weapon. Although it is considered that this type of sword was developed alongside plate armour, the dating of these swords is, unfortunately, difficult as the blade form continued in use right into the nineteenth century (Oakeshott 1991, 127). This means that

other forms of evidence are needed if examples of this type of sword are to be accurately dated.

The final sword, CC 515, is similar in form to the thrusting types, including Type XV; however its extreme size would place it in Oakeshott's subgroup XVIIIb. The main characteristic of Type XVIII and its subgroups a, b and c is the size of the grip, which is much longer and so would have been a hand-and-a-half grip rather than just a single-hand grip (Oakeshott 1991, 171). Type XVIIIb is also characterised by a long blade with a very long grip which would have been for two hands rather than one. Often referred to as *espée bâtarde*, or the 'Bastard Sword', Oakeshott (1991, 171-96) lists several examples of Types XVIII and XVIIIa, but does not discuss any examples of either subgroups b and c, which makes the classification problematic, and it may be that CC 515 is better classified generally as Type XVIII. Pommel and hilt types vary amongst the examples described, suggesting that there is no typical pattern to be identified. The examples described by Oakeshott all have fairly long blades with the longest (no. 8) measuring 1080mm in length. Although this is smaller than CC 515, which measures 1190mm, the similarities between it and the swords identified by Oakeshott suggest that it is more than likely that the classification is correct, and it is appropriate to include it in this type.

In comparison to swords found elsewhere in Britain and Europe there is very little to separate them. Oakeshott (1962, 202) states that, although it is possible to determine differences between Danish, Norwegian and English swords in the early medieval period, from c.1100 onwards all swords were alike, although in infinite variety 'from Finland to Spain and from Britain to the Caucasus.' However Oakeshott (1962, 202-15) also alludes to certain styles that could be described as English, German or Italian, for example the large Type XIII swords are more typically German whilst the shorter Type XIV swords were preferred more by the Italians, French and English. Therefore, examples of the swords in the catalogue can be identified as comparable with those across Britain and western Europe.

CC 515 is a particularly interesting example that requires further discussion. Standing over a 1.5m in length, this is a sword on a very grand scale, which it might be presumed would be highly impractical on the battlefield, especially in the close combat fighting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This sword may be compared with an example referred to by Oakeshott (1991, 95) which is an oversized two-handed sword belonging to Type XIII now on display in St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle. It is the two-handed sword of

Edward III (1327-77), which is even longer than CC 515 at over 1.8m in length. Although there is no reference to this sword during the reign of Edward III, it appears in an inventory of all the vestments and ornaments of St George's Chapel, taken in the eighth year of the reign of King Richard II (1384), and is referred to as 'Edward's sword' (College of St George 2009). Although little is known about this sword, the connection between the Chapel and the founding of the Order of the Garter (both founded in 1348), would suggest it had a symbolic and ceremonial role, rather than Edward actually carrying it into battle. After all the battle sword of Edward III, described in much detail by Oakeshott (1991, 267-302), is a much more practical size, assigned to Oakeshott's Type XVIIIa. However, a similar function could be deduced for CC 515 as that in St Georges Chapel..

However, why would a ceremonial sword of the size of CC 515 have been originally needed in Slebech, where it was found in the river during the nineteenth century? In the early twelfth century Rees (1900, 10-11) recalls how, 'Wizo the Flemming' granted estates to the order of the Knights of St John in order for them to establish themselves in Pembrokeshire and the site at Slebech (now the site of Slebech Hall) was chosen to establish their Commandery in the area. The Hospital of St John was first established by the Benedictine abbey of St Mary in Jerusalem to provide hospice care for pilgrims during the late eleventh century when the city was still under Muslim control (Morton 2013, 19). It was not until 1113 however, that Pope Paschal II issued a bull confirming the Hospital of St John as an independent institution (Morton 2013, 19). However, the process of the transition from a medical establishment into a military order is unclear, with some debate amongst scholars as to when this took place, with a range of dates suggested between c.1120 and c.1160. The arrival of the Order of St John in England and Wales must have taken place very soon after their foundation as it is believed the land at Slebech was granted to it sometime between 1148 and 1176 (Monastic Wales, accessed 14/07/2014). Slebech was the third richest of the religious houses in Wales and amongst the wealthiest of the Hospitallers' houses in England and Wales (Monastic Wales, accessed 14/07/2014). The Commandery at Slebech also had significant Welsh benefactors including the Lord Rhys (d.1197), Anarawd ab Einion ab Anarawd, Rhys Ieuanc ap Gruffudd (d.1222) and Owain Gruffudd (d.1235), which is highlighted by the surviving grants of land to the Commandery from these rulers during the late twelfth century (Pryce 2005, 166-7 (23-4); 178-9 (31-2); 196 (58-60)).

Taking the evidence of the Commandery of the Hospitallers at Slebech into account, it would seem reasonable to presume that the sword CC 515 is in some way associated with the order, and the fine condition of the blade may suggest that it was owned primarily for ceremonial purposes. Boas (2006, 191) discusses the role of the sword in military orders and states that in the Rule of the Temple the sword is mentioned as a piece of equipment which could not be given by the master as collateral for a loan, nor could it be risked in a wager by the knights. Furthermore, Boas (2006, 191) also states that damage or loss of a sword was a major offence, and that damage could be punished by the loss of the habit or even expulsion from the order. This all suggests that in military orders the sword was a highly regarded piece of equipment. How the sword ended up in the River Cleddau can only be presumed, but it may have been deposited there during the Dissolution of the site (1538) as a deliberate act, rather than being accidentally lost. If this is the case, it would demonstrate how important the symbolism displayed by a sword can be, whether it was deliberately hidden, or discarded, to remove the sword from human hands removed its power, or influence. Although in a different context, the description of the coronation of Louis VI by Abbot Suger in 1108 (Deeds of Louis the Fat), where his sword of 'secular knighthood' was taken from him and in its stead he was presented the 'ecclesiastical sword for the punishment of evildoers' (Cusimano and Moorhead 1992, 63), also provides further evidence supporting the symbolic role of the sword in the twelfth century.

Interestingly, the impracticality of sword CC 515 on the battlefield only strengthens the idea of a symbolic role, an idea that can also be applied to medieval swords of all shapes and sizes. Not only was it a weapon that could be used in a fight, to injure and kill your opponent, it was the sword's symbolic power that made the sword so important in medieval Wales. The sword could be symbolic of an order or a group, or of an individual, visually demonstrating status or wealth. Evidence taken from sepulchral slabs can be used to support this. In north Wales alone, Gresham (1968, 42) records a total of fifty sepulchral slabs that depict a sword out of a possible sixty-two. These come in a variety of forms which include just a sword, or a sword alongside a spear, or a shield, or both. Interestingly, Gresham (1968, 42) names eight examples where the sword is grasped by a hand, including sepulchral slabs in Llanasa (no. 126), Newmarket (no. 127) and Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd (no. 129). No explanation is given for this; however, effigies at Llanarmon-yn-Iâl and Dolgellau show the sword naked and across the thighs, which folklore suggests meant the knight had died in battle (Gresham 1968, 53) and might suggest that the hand grasping the sword on sepulchral

slabs could be indicative of the same thing. Therefore, it would appear that depicting a sword was not only popular, but also key in symbolising one's military career, and if the sword was symbolic in stone, it would also have been symbolic in life.

The symbolic nature of the sword is further supported by the number of named swords mentioned in the poetry of the period. For example, one of the most well-known is Arthur's sword, *Caledfwlch* in the *Mabinogi* story (Davies 2007, 183, 208). By naming a sword it gives both character and status to that object. The beauty of the sword is that each is unique to the individual: the examples in this catalogue demonstrate that each is slightly different in size, which can only be accounted for by the height of the owner. In addition, the sword could be individualized by decoration, using different styles of hilts, for example, or adding gilding to improve the look of the sword, and in some cases the medieval sword (although none recorded in this catalogue) was inscribed (Oakeshott 1960, 212-23), further distinguishing it from all others. However, it is also important to stress that some of these marks may represent maker's marks and therefore are not meant to individualise the object in the same way. Nonetheless, the inclusion of maker's marks suggests that to some individuals at least, it was important to have a sword made by a certain maker and demonstrate that by displaying the mark of that maker. Just as our modern day obsession with designer brands is about displaying wealth, style and status, the medieval sword could also display these things to that society. The individuality of the weapon meant that it was perfect to display a message to an audience about the identity of its owner. Furthermore, the evidence collected has shown that the role of the sword did not differ in Wales from that in England, or elsewhere in Europe for that matter. It was used universally by the medieval elite in battle, but to think of the sword as the most effective of medieval weapons is too simplistic. The role the sword played was also symbolic, and provided visual evidence of the knight's status, ancestry and martial prowess. It was for this reason that the sword, rather than the spear or the bow and arrow, was held in such high regard by medieval soldiers in Wales and beyond.

The Dagger

The dagger was a relatively new weapon in the period under scrutiny. The earliest form, known as the *cultellus*, tended to resemble a knife and dates from about 1000 to 1150 (Oakeshott 1997, 91). However, from the thirteenth century onwards, the dagger developed into the form which we recognise today, often resembling a small sword. Holmes (2008, 68) claims that the dagger was used as a thrusting weapon in self-defence, assassination and in

close-combat fighting where the sword was too cumbersome to manipulate. This may well explain why it became so popular among the elite during the later medieval period, at a time when plate armour was causing more and more knights to fight on foot and therefore at close quarters, circumstances in which a short dagger would be more useful than a large sword. There are several types of dagger in use during the medieval period; however, not all are considered to have had a military role.

Ward-Perkins (1954, 38-50) discusses examples of the four main types of dagger in use during the later middle ages, namely the quillion, the kidney (or ballock) dagger, the rondel and the baselard. The earliest, established in form by the mid-thirteenth century and the most common in use during the fourteenth century, is the quillion (Fig. 7.7) (all four types existed alongside each other in the fifteenth centuries). The quillion dagger is named after the similarity of the hilt to the swords in use during this period, and the prominent quillions which, in most examples curve down towards the blade (Holmes 2008, 68). There is



Fig. 7.7. Quillion Daggers (Ward-Perkins 1954, **Plate VI**)



Fig. 7.8. Ballock/Kidney Daggers (Ward-Perkins 1954, **Plate IX**)

variation in the design of the hilt within this group of daggers, with some examples more curved than others. The greatest variation appears in the form of the pommel, which Oakeshott (1960, 234-5) suggests may denote regional origin, although there is only slight evidence for this, and there may well be further explanations for such variation, including date, function and even fashion. Some examples have been found with lozenge-shaped or rounded pommels; others mirror the quillions producing an antennae effect, although these are quite rare.

The kidney (or ballock dagger) (Fig. 7.8) is referred to by Oakeshott (1960, 336) as being favoured for civilian dress rather than to be worn with armour, suggesting a limited use in warfare. However, Ward-Perkins (1954, 47) refers to the

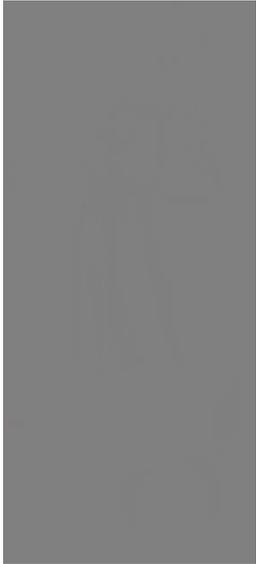


Fig. 7.9.
Illustration of an archer wearing a ballock dagger in the Luttrell Psalter (Strickland and Hardy 2005, 172)

image of an archer in the Luttrell Psalter (c.1320-40, BL Add. MS 42130), who appears to be carrying this type of dagger (Fig. 7.9). Its name comes from the distinctive shape of its guard, which is formed by two rounded lobes (Holmes 2008, 69) which are often made of wood, although occasional continental examples are known to have been made of metal (Ward-Perkins 1954, 48). Interestingly Ward-Perkins (1954, 48) points out that this type of dagger is particularly common in Scandinavia, which might suggest a Viking link, although the earliest references to it are only found in the mid-fourteenth century.

Similar to the kidney dagger, the baselard (Fig. 7.10) is also favoured in civilian dress rather than in a military context. In use during the late fourteenth and early

fifteenth centuries, Oakeshott (1960, 336) describes it as stout, with a broad and sharply tapering blade measuring between 8 and 12in (200-300mm). The main characteristic of this type of dagger is again the hilt. Described by Ward-Perkins (1954, 48) as H-shaped, Oakeshott (1960, 336) refers to a simple handle made either of wood or horn.

The final type of dagger, and one commonly associated with a military function, is the rondel dagger (Fig. 7.11), characterised by the disc-shaped guard, which in true rondel form is accompanied by a pommel of the same size and shape (Ward-Perkins 1954, 42). These daggers appeared during the mid-fourteenth century and continued in one form or another into the sixteenth (Ward-Perkins 1954, 42).



Fig. 7.10. Baselard Daggers (Ward-Perkins 1954, **Plate X**)



Fig. 7.11. Rondel Daggers (Ward-Perkins 1954, **Plate VIII**)

References to the use of the dagger in warfare are relatively scarce, especially in a Welsh context. In none of the medieval sources examined in this project do the writers mention the use of the dagger in Welsh hands. As will be discussed below, there are references to the knife, but it would appear from the documentary evidence that the dagger was not a weapon in widespread use. Although a value of two pence is given to a dagger in the native law texts (Jenkins 1986, 195), the word used is *handsets*, which is presumed to have originated from the Anglo-Saxon *scramasax*, implying that this was a single-bladed knife rather than a dual-bladed dagger (see below). Furthermore, it is interesting that the dagger is not listed alongside other items of military equipment, such as the spear or sword, but with items such as a dirk, a larder knife, and a whetstone. This questions whether the knife was considered to be a military item, or was instead associated with civilian dress. Although it could have been used in warfare, it is unlikely that it was its primary function. However, it is important to stress that the origin of the Welsh laws was suggested to have been in the tenth century, and although historians now believe this to be unlikely, the first surviving manuscript dates to the thirteenth century (see Chapter 2). If the concept of the ‘dagger’ was unknown in Wales when the laws were first written down, it would be unlikely that it would be included together with other weapon types that had a far earlier history, and therefore suggests that the translation of the word concerned is incorrect.

Archaeological evidence for the dagger in Wales is rather more plentiful than that in the written sources. In total the catalogue contains four complete examples of daggers (CC 451-CC 454) and seven fragmentary examples, a broken blade (CC 456), handles (CC 455 and CC 517), a guard (CC 450) and pommels (CC 462, CC 467 and CC 468). These artefacts have been found at various sites across Wales, some of which are excavated, including Llys Edwin in Flintshire. The distribution of these finds can be seen in Fig. 7.12.

To begin with, the complete examples, though each one is slightly different, can all be broadly classified as quillion daggers. In terms of size there is some variation, but this is not extreme. The shortest (CC 451), found at Cowbridge Grammar School, has a blade that measures 163mm, and the longest (CC 454) measures 305mm. In terms of width, the measurements are fairly uniform with the narrowest (CC 452) measuring 16mm, and the widest (CC 453 and CC 454) measuring 25mm. The lengths of the hilts are also equally uniform, ranging between 101mm (CC 453) and 128mm (CC 454), although CC 452 measures only 52mm, but is missing the end of its tang and its pommel.

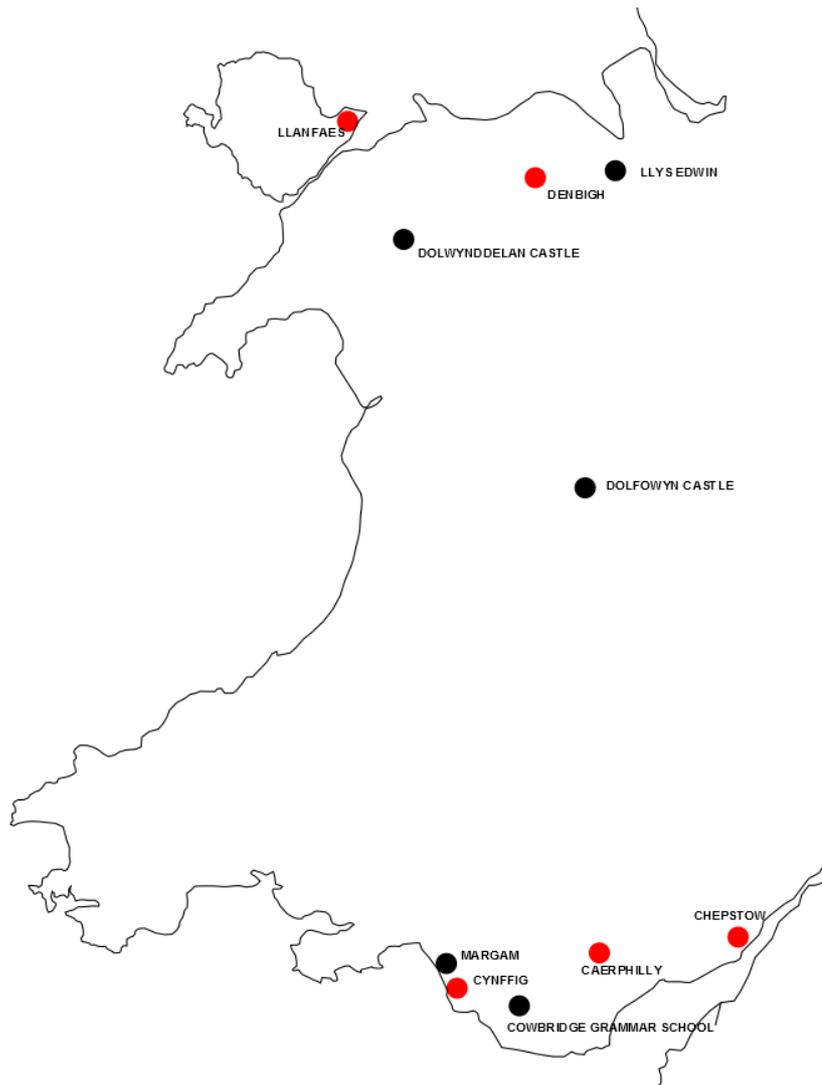


Fig. 7.12. Distribution map of Daggers
 Black = Complete examples
 Red = Dagger accessories

The difference between these daggers is not in their size, but in their decoration, suggesting that like the sword, the form of the dagger was very individual. The individual nature of the form of decoration can also be demonstrated by the dagger guard (CC 450) and the three pommels (CC 462, CC 466, and CC 467) which can also be classified as coming from quillion daggers.

Firstly, six different styles of pommel have been identified. These range from a simple disc of copper-alloy (CC 451) (Fig. 7.13) to the slightly more complex hexagonal pommel found on CC 454 (Fig. 7.14). Interestingly, the three pommels found in isolation (CC 462, CC 466, CC 467) are all very similar, broadly circular in form with four lobes on the

edges (Fig. 7.15). This design is reminiscent of the Viking style sword pommels presented by Oakeshott (1960, 133), particularly type VI which is found in England during the first quarter of the eleventh century. This is not to say that this type of pommel dates to the eleventh century also, but rather that this design could be based on this type of pommel. The fact that this is the most common type amongst the finds may also suggest that it was more commonly in use, in Wales at least. The hilt styles are all fairly typical of quillion daggers, reflecting the styles found on swords at this time.

Decoration of one form or another is found on nearly all the examples of dagger and dagger accessories, ranging from the addition of copper-alloy accessories, such as those on CC 454 and CC 451, to the elaborate patterns found on the dagger guard CC 450 (Fig. 7.16), and the beautifully decorated hilt on CC 453



Fig. 7.14. CC 454 Quillion Dagger with Copper-alloy fixings (Source: Author)

(Fig. 7.17). It would appear that, more so than swords, daggers were an opportunity to splash out on intricate and striking decoration, if one was wealthy enough.

Furthermore, considering the symbolic role of the sword, it might be assumed that to own a smaller version that was more practical to wear in a civilian setting would be a sensible progression for the medieval knight. This would suggest that the purpose of carrying this form of dagger was primarily to demonstrate wealth, rather than using it to inflict harm. On the other hand, it is also a useful item to be carried for self-defence away from the battlefield, as it would be both easy to conceal and could be used from a distance when thrown.



Fig. 7.13. CC 451 Simple Disc Shaped Pommel (Source: Author)



Fig. 7.15. CC 466 Lobed Dagger Pommel (Source: Author)



Fig. 7.16. CC 450 Copper-alloy Dagger Guard (PAS 2010d)

The object most likely to have been used in conflict is the dagger handle found at Dolwyddelan Castle (CC 455) (Fig. 7.18). This is not part of a quillion dagger like the rest, but is more likely to have belonged to a rondel dagger of the later fourteenth or fifteenth century. Made of wood, with a bronze strap with a series of rivets along the centre, which are presumed to have fixed the leather covering to the handle, but may also have provided decoration, this is fairly plain example of a rondel dagger. However, it is an interesting example as a true rondel dagger should have the same disc for both the cross-guard and pommel. Instead CC 402 has the traditional disc cross-guard but a simple circular pommel. Since it was found at Dolwyddelan Castle, it could be that this is a uniquely Welsh form of decoration. On the other hand, variations on the true rondel dagger can be seen throughout Europe and an example, almost identical in form to CC 455 is catalogued by Ward-Perkins (1954 46, **PL VIII**) as coming from Finsbury Circus, London (Fig. 7.19). Ward-Perkins describes the dagger hilt as follows:

As the quillion dagger was in use from at least the mid-thirteenth century, it is difficult to pinpoint specific dates for these daggers without stratigraphic or other dating evidence. However, very little is available as most of the examples were either chance finds or donated from private collections. For example, CC 454 was donated to National Museum Wales in 2002, but other than knowing that it came from south-east Wales, nothing is known about its context. Nevertheless, the quillion dagger was at its height during the fourteenth century and many of the examples may date to this time. However, more elaborate examples, such as CC 453 and CC 450, are likely to be fifteenth century or later due to the wealth of decoration on them.



Fig. 7.17. CC 453 Quillion Dagger with ornate decoration on hilt and pommel (Source: Author)

A 22517. Hilt and part of the blade of a rondel-dagger. Stout, single-edged blade with an indecipherable maker's mark inlaid in base metal. Pommel, grip and guard are fastened by tubular brass rivets and the junction of the two halves of pommel and grip is covered by a strip of brass. Length of hilt 5.5in.

As a result, it may be that the double-edged blade of the reconstructed version of this dagger now on display in National Museum Wales is in fact incorrect and that it might be more accurate to replace it with a single-edged knife blade. It is clear that with similar examples found in London, this type of dagger was not unique to Wales; however, the discovery of CC 455 does confirm that daggers made for military functions were present in Wales, alongside those made purely for show.

The Knife

The main difference between the knife and the dagger is that the dagger will have two sharpened edges that come to a point, whereas the knife will generally only have one. The identification of military knives can be difficult. Like the axe, the knife is an object which primarily had a domestic function that could be adapted for use in the field of war. The most notable type of military knife is the Anglo-Saxon *scramasax*, generally a short, straight-edged blade with a triangular cross section that Ward-Perkins (1954, 51) claims remained relatively unaltered into the later medieval period.

The knife is rarely mentioned in the written sources of the later middle ages, perhaps because it was associated with lower ranking soldiers, and therefore not considered important enough. However, the knife is mentioned in some Welsh military contexts. The most common theme associated with the use of the knife in documentary sources, particularly those of English origin, is one



Fig. 7.18. CC 455 Wooden Dagger Handle and NMW Reconstruction (Source: Author)



Fig. 7.19. Finsbury Circus Dagger Handle (Ward-Perkins 1954, **Plate VIII**)

of disfavour. Davies (2003, 156) states that this is directed by Anglo-Norman writers at ‘Welsh foragers who would scour the battlefield and kill fallen, helpless nobles with their knives’. Chroniclers would associate the use of the knife with the wild and barbaric tendencies of the Welsh soldiers, suggesting that this type of weapon was not held with high regard, at least within the English context. For example, although it does not explicitly mention the use of the knife, in the *Gesta Stephani*, it is recorded how King Stephen did not wish to expose his knights to the Welsh and men of Bristol who made up Robert of Gloucester’s army, describing them as ‘a mass of cut-throats on foot’ (Potter and Davies 1976, 171), which Davies (2003, 156) suggests implies the use of a knife rather than a sword or dagger. Similarly, Walter Map (James 1983, 193) depicts Gruffudd ap Llywelyn using a knife to slay a relative or rival in a treacherous manner, further providing a negative impression of the use of the knife in a Welsh context.

References to the knife in Welsh sources, both historical and literary, are rare. Day (2011b, 3–4) refers to a number of references to the knife, or *cyllell*, in the early medieval poem, the *Gododdin*, and again in a poem from the Book of Taliesin which says ‘The swords of cowards do not smite knives’ (Day 2011b, 4). Nonetheless, Day (2011b, 4) states that in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century poems written by the poets of the princes the word *cyllell* is not found, and neither is any other word used that can be interpreted as specifically meaning a knife. However, Day (2011b, 6), further states that after the Edwardian conquest of Wales in 1283, references to the knife in Welsh poetry appear more frequently. However, they remain relatively rare compared with references to the sword or spear, and are often portrayed in a rather negative light (Day 2011b, 6). For example, Dafydd ap Gwilym when writing during the first half of the fourteenth century about the murder of his uncle Llywelyn, wrote

Let my tears be free flowing, comely manner, oh that it was possible
With a hired knife many painful cries in public
Shining fists to kill a fair lord. (cited in Day 2011b, 6)

The knife can be seen as an integral part of the Welsh soldier’s equipment. Davies (2003, 156) argues that references in both the *Gododdin* and *Culhwch ac Olwen* provide evidence that the use of the knife by noble warriors was accepted in Wales. For example, Davies (2003, 156) points out that in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Arthur’s knife, *Carnwennian*, is one

of the few things he refuses to yield to Culhwch, implying that the object was too important to be given up.

Arthur said, 'Though you do not reside here, chieftain, you shall have the gift your mouth and tongue shall name,...except my ship and my mantle, and Caledfwlch my sword, and Rhongomyiad my spear, and Wynebgwrthucher my shield, and Carnwennan my [knife], and Gwenhwyfar my wife.' (Davies 2007, 183)

Looking at the passage in more detail, it becomes clear that Arthur is actually refusing to yield any of his military equipment, including both his sword and spear alongside his knife. The date of these texts is problematic. The earliest surviving manuscript of the *Mabinogion* dates to the fourteenth century, although individual stories do appear in earlier thirteenth-century manuscripts (Davies 2007, xvii). Yet the subject material is concerned with a much earlier period in Welsh history. Therefore, the evidence gleaned from this source may only be useful in understanding the role of the knife in the early medieval period, and not for the period being discussed in this thesis. Furthermore, the evidence from later Welsh poetry does not denote a purely military function for knives, and supports the idea that knives were primarily a domestic item that could also be used in combat where required.

The use of the knife by Welsh soldiers in the medieval period is highlighted by the references above, but the form and appearance of these objects is rarely expressed. The clearest description of the form of knives used by the Welsh comes from the fourteenth-century chronicler Froissart. In the section of the *Chronicles* concerning the Battle of Crécy (1346) Froissart writes:

And on the English side there were a number of Cornishmen and Welshmen on foot, armed with large knives, who advanced between the archers and men-at-arms (who made way for them) and came upon the French when they were in this plight; and they fell upon the earls, barons, knights and squires and killed them mercilessly, great lords though they were (Joliffe 1967, 149).

This reference is particularly interesting, as not only does it describe the knives being used as large, emphasising their difference from other knives in use by others at this time, it also implies that this contingent of Welshmen and Cornishmen were separate from both the archers and other foot soldiers on the battlefield at Crécy, and were distinguished by their different choice of weapon, and perhaps by their tactics as a result.

However, archaeological evidence (see below) supports a more widespread use of knives than in just Wales and Cornwall, and Ward-Perkins records fifteen examples of knife-daggers alone in the *Medieval Catalogue*, most of which were found in London. Therefore why did Froissart choose to name this type of weapon in association with the Welshmen and Cornishmen at Crécy? Perhaps the answer is in the number of other references to the use of the knife discussed above. The knife in these sources is often associated with savagery and cruelty, and it is quite likely that Froissart was using the same metaphor here; it was the savagery of the Welshmen and Cornishmen that was being accentuated by them having using large knives, thus making them out as different from the rest of the English army.

The illustration of a Welsh foot soldier in the thirteenth-century *Littere Wallie* preserved in the Liber 'A' manuscript (c.1292) (Edwards 1940) may support this argument. The soldier (Fig. 7.20) is depicted with a long spear and a bladed weapon that would appear to have only a single edge, which would imply that it is a knife rather than a sword or dagger. This may well be an accurate portrayal of a Welsh soldier, and clearly demonstrates the use of long knives, very similar to the Anglo-Saxon *scramasax*, by Welsh soldiers during the thirteenth century, thus providing a pictorial image of the weapon Froissart describes a century later.

On the other hand, this image may also be attempting to discriminate against the Welsh soldier. The soldier in this image only wears one shoe, as does the illustration of the Welsh archer (Fig. 7.21) in the same manuscript. It has been argued by historians that this meant that on the battlefield the Welsh removed one shoe to provide better grip (Fitzpatrick 2004, 127), a plausible suggestion as medieval shoes did not provide the grip that modern day shoes provide, and have been described by some re-enactors as 'dangerous' (pers. comm., M. Roberts). However, within the Liber 'A' manuscript there are also illustrations of both an Irish foot-soldier (Newark 1996, 255) (Fig. 7.22), who has no shoes, and a Scottish pikeman (Newark 1996, 252) (Fig. 7.23), who wears both his shoes. It is presumed that Welsh spearmen and Scottish pikemen would require a similar amount of grip on the battlefield, and therefore, if removing one shoe was beneficial to the Welsh, why would the Scots not do the same? Of course this may well represent regional customs, and that shoes in medieval Scotland may have been practical, whereas in Ireland standing barefoot would provide better grip. Discussions with modern day re-enactors relay how medieval-style shoes are often more dangerous to wear than none at all. However this does not explain why the Welsh would only

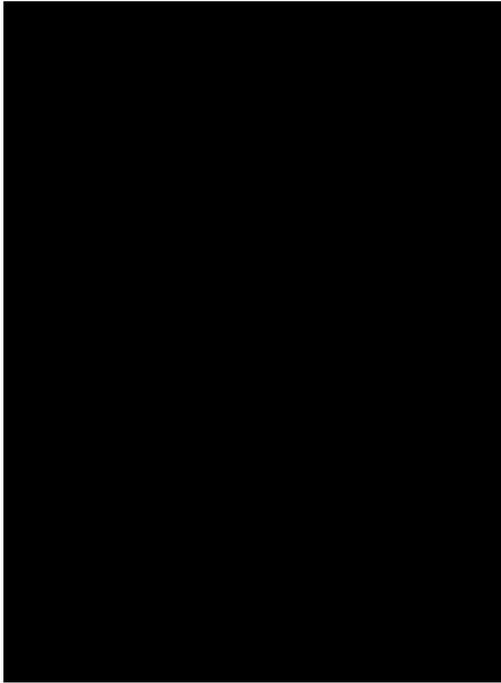


Fig. 7.20. Illustration of Welsh Spearman in Littere Wallie (Liber 'A' (Newark 1996, 233)

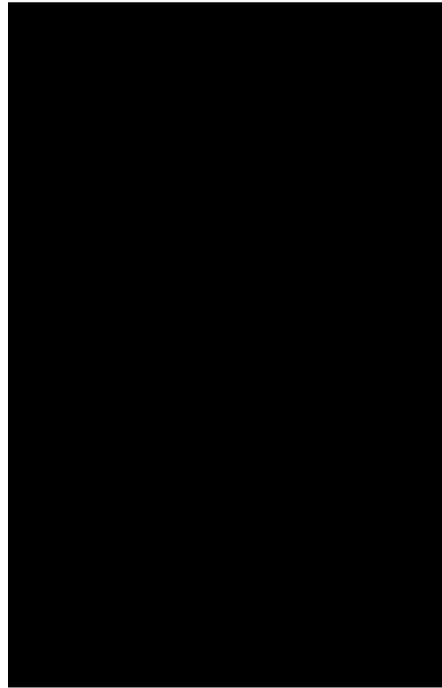


Fig. 7.21. Illustration of Welsh Archer in Littere Wallie (Liber 'A') (Newark 1996, 231)

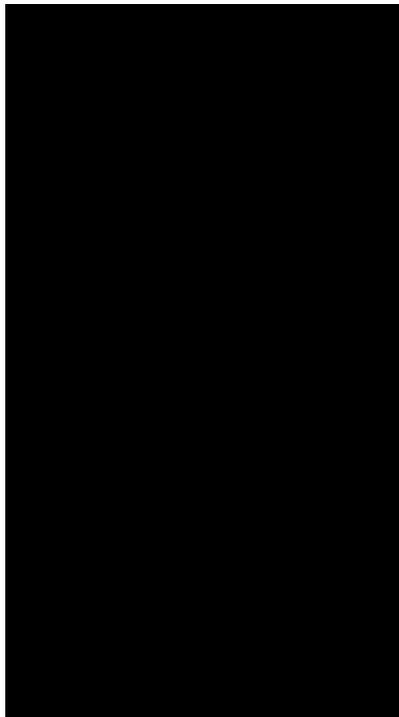


Fig. 7.22. Illustration of Scottish Pikeman in Liber 'A' (Newark 1996, 252)

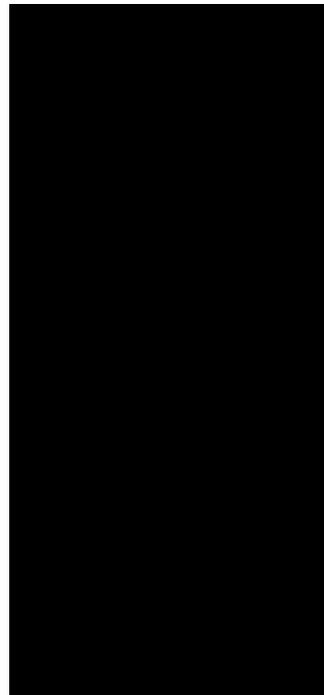


Fig. 7.23 Illustration of Irish Foot soldier in Liber 'A' (Newark 1996, 255)

have worn one, and again re-enactors have suggested that this would actually have been worse than wearing both (pers. comm., M. Roberts).

Rather than being accurate representations could the difference in footwear actually be a way for the illustrator to distinguish between the soldiers in the Celtic regions, and simultaneously discredit them with an uncivilised image? If this is to be believed, the presence of a knife in the hands of the Welsh would further support the image of a barbaric and backward nation of warriors suggested by his footwear. So, although the Welshmen may have used large knives at the battle of Crécy, and possibly before that, they could equally have been armed with other types of weapon that did not symbolise the untamed barbarity of these soldiers quite as well as the knife in the medieval mind.

In terms of the form of these ‘large knives’, other than their size, no clear image of what these weapons looked like is given. The use of the word large could be a reference to their length, the width of the blade, or both. In the *Medieval Catalogue*, Ward-Perkins (1954, 50-55) depicts several knives of varying size and form, some of which are long and narrow blades, and others, that have a shorter blade but with a much greater width. All are distinctly larger in size than the common domestic knife. Ward-Perkins (1954, 51-2), describes two main groups of knives that were in use during the medieval period. Firstly, there were knives of *scramasax* form, that were in use throughout the medieval period, and secondly, the full-bladed knife that Ward-Perkins (1954, 51) dates to the later medieval period; the earliest datable example is from Rayleigh Castle, Essex, which was abandoned by c.1207 (Ward-Perkins 1954, 51).

The *scramasax*-type is described by Ward-Perkins as the primary type of medieval knife which was developed from the earlier Anglo-Saxon knife of that name, and states that ‘...in some cases the blade has become [a] short, straight-sided triangle of heavy, triangular section; but usually it retains the characteristic angle halfway down the back of the blade, as on the typical *scramasax*’ (Ward-Perkins 1954, 51). The second, full-bladed type, is also fairly common in the later medieval period, and has a broader, more rounded blade (Ward-Perkins, 1954, 51). He also states that this type of knife ‘...is usually of narrower cross-section, and in many cases the pointed tang of the *scramasax*-knife is replaced by a strip-tang to which the two halves of the handle are fixed by transverse rivets’ (Ward-Perkins 1954, 51). In addition to these two groups of knives, Ward-Perkins (1954, 53) briefly mentions a third group, which he refers to as ‘knife-daggers’ and indicates that, although they are

characteristically similar to the *scramasax*, they become increasingly longer over time; he records some of these as having blades over 13ins (325mm) long. He dates this group predominantly to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although he also points out that earlier specimens are known, but gives no examples (Ward-Perkins 1954, 53).

Turning to the knives found in Welsh contexts, there are few examples that can be identified as military knives, as even examples that are known to come from castle excavations, such as Hen Domen (Higham and Barker 2000, 100, nos. 66-68), are small and most likely had a domestic function. There is one site, however, that has produced a small number of ferrous objects that could be interpreted as military knives: Llys Edwin, Northop (Flintshire), the excavation of which (see Chapter 3) has produced a sizable collection of bladed weapons, including three knives (CC 459-CC 461).

All three examples from Llys Edwin have a triangular cross-section and both CC 460 and CC 461 have pointed tangs which would place them in the *scramasax*-knife group. Although not exactly the same, there is little difference between their lengths, with CC 460 measuring 159mm and CC 461 measuring 171mm. There is also very little between the widths of the two blades, CC 460 being 19mm and CC 461 the narrower of the two at 14mm. However, it is worth noting that they are particularly narrow examples, especially CC 461. This could imply that these are later examples, and the longer, narrower blade of CC 461 is the later of the two, as they may be evidence for the development from the *scramasax* into the longer knife-daggers in the fourteenth century, as suggested by Ward-Perkins (1954, 53).

The third example (CC 459) is noticeably different from the other two in a variety of ways. Firstly, although the majority of the tang is missing, from what remains, it would appear that, rather than being pointed, the tang of this knife would have been flat, like the full-bladed knives described by Ward-Perkins (1954, 51). Similarly, the cross-section of the blade is very narrow, suggesting that this knife belongs to this group of knives, not the *scramasax* group. However, the blade is not rounded, and neither is it broad. Instead the CC 459 blade is very long and narrow, measuring 275mm in length and only 13mm at its widest point. This immense length would suggest that this knife actually falls into Ward-Perkins' third group, the knife daggers (Ward-Perkins 1954, 53), as a number of the examples illustrated by Ward-Perkins are very similar in form to CC 459. Particularly interesting is the example from Finsbury Circus (Fig. 7.19) (discussed above) since it is strikingly similar to CC 455 (Fig. 7.19). Although Ward-Perkins classifies the Finsbury Circus example as a

dagger, the single cutting edge would more accurately classify it as a knife; therefore, rather than being considered to be a dagger handle, CC 455 may actually be the remains of a knife handle.

It is equally plausible that these three examples of knife had nothing to do with military engagement and represent items from a domestic context, for example carving knives. Although very similar to the descriptions of Ward-Perkins's military knives, they are also very similar in style to knives found in the British Museum which have been interpreted as carving knives (P Reavill pers. comm.). Furthermore, Glenn (1931, 7) refers to several knives that were found in the kitchen at Llys Edwin, which are most likely to include the three examples described above. This is not to say that these objects could not have been used during combat if required, but it casts doubt on whether these knives were designed and made for use in a military context.

The question must be asked as to why there are no very large single bladed knives, such as those depicted in the Liber 'A' manuscript and described by Froissart at the Battle of Crecy, found in the archaeological record, more specifically from Wales. There are a number of possible reasons that should be considered. Firstly, it must be considered that there were very few of these knives actually in existence, therefore making the probability of their survival to current day more unlikely. The evidence for knives in Welsh sources is confusing. The exclusion of a knife in the list of weapons found in the Welsh Law Texts would suggest that the knife was not considered a common weapon amongst Welsh soldiers. Similarly, in the descriptions of Welsh soldiers found in the texts of Gerald of Wales, the prominent weapons there are the spear, the bow and arrow and of course the sword. Yet, knives are found in Welsh poems, often in the hands of the heroes, for example Arthur. However, the infrequency of these references in comparison to those of the spear or the sword would not suggest that the knife, if used, was a common choice amongst the military elite in Wales. On the surface this may seem a plausible explanation, however, the fact that these knives are mentioned by outside of Wales may suggest a significant number of soldiers using these weapons. Furthermore, the depiction of the Welsh soldier in the Liber 'A' is clearly a generalised image, and would not expect to include in that image a weapon that is rarely in existence. Therefore an alternative reason must be sought.

The blame may lie with modern day scholars and archaeologists who have for whatever reason, may it be a lack of knowledge, or interest, chosen not to record these

objects and highlight their existence. As discussed in earlier chapters, the cataloguing of military finds has been haphazard, meaning that certain types of weapon, such as arrowheads, have been lost to corrosion or incorrect identification and deemed them unusable in this study. However, one would hope that a large knife such as those depicted in the Liber 'A' would be large enough to be identified. Furthermore, the inclusion of many smaller domestic knives in excavation reports such as Hen Domen and Llys Edwin, would suggest that knives of all shapes and sizes have been, and would be recorded if found on archaeological sites in Wales. Therefore, it may be that it is actually the sources that are misleading and that the size and shape of these weapons has been vastly overstated by medieval writers.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it would appear from historical, archaeological and literary evidence examined in this chapter that hilted weapons were an important part of medieval warfare in Wales during the period *c.*1100 to *c.*1450. Although the evidence suggests that both knives and daggers were carried by Welsh soldiers, it was undoubtedly the sword that was the most highly regarded. This is not to say that the sword was in common use, for the archaeological record has only provided a small number of finds, and it is impossible to ascertain whether this is because only a small number have survived or whether there were only a small number in circulation at the time. Analysis of documentary sources, literature and archaeological remains has also suggested that the sword was an incredibly important item in the equipment amongst the military elite from Wales and England. The sword, and to a certain extent the dagger, were not only items used in battle to injure or kill one's enemy, they were also a potent symbol of identity. First and foremost they identified the owner as a soldier, but they were also symbols of power, wealth and in some cases could also represent the bravery and heroic nature of whoever carried them. On the other hand, the knife was not so highly regarded. It may have been the case that the knife was more widely used on the battlefield, a domestic implement that could be used effectively in battle. However, it was not generally considered to be the appropriate equipment for the military elite, regardless of which side of the border you were fighting.

Chapter 8: Miscellaneous Weaponry and Shields

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to determine what, if any, other types of weapon were in use in warfare in Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450, other than the focal weapons discussed in the previous three chapters. To imagine a medieval battle in Wales, it might be assumed that most soldiers would use spears, bows and arrows and, of course, the sword. However, if one looks further into warfare in medieval England and beyond to Europe, a more extensive range of other types of weapon were in use, some of which soldiers in Wales would certainly have come into contact with. In this chapter, both historical and archaeological evidence will be analysed in order to gain a greater understanding of the use of these other weapons in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450. Evidence for the use of hafted weapons, including the axe, the mace and the hammer, alongside missile launchers such as the sling, will be assessed to determine to what extent these weapons were used within Wales and the Marches during times of conflict. However, it is also important to determine whether there were any weapons that were in use in this period in Wales that originated there, for example the Welsh bill. Finally, the arming of any medieval soldier, particularly in the earlier medieval period, would not have been complete without the primary form of defence: the shield. Although this is not a weapon as such, it could have been used both to defend against an attack, and, in some cases, used in an offensive manner, and any discussion of medieval weaponry should therefore include an examination of the evidence for the varying forms that the shield could take.

In order to determine the facts, initially the historical and literary evidence will be examined as the majority of information on the types of weapons and shields will come from this source. Following that, the small amount of evidence from the archaeological record will be discussed before finally comparing and contrasting both types of information to create a clearer picture of miscellaneous weaponry in use in Wales during the period *c.*1100 - *c.*1450.

Hafted Weapons

Other than the sword, the most commonly used weapons on the medieval battlefield were a variety of hafted weapons. These came in many shapes and sizes, with the spear (Chapter 5) the most likely to be used universally. Evidence for the existence of other such weapons is varied, and includes both the written sources, such as the numerous manuals published on

how to fight with these objects, and the archaeological remains, and in some cases, a mixture of both. Some hafted weapons, such as billhooks, varied in form regionally; others, such as axes, maces and hammers were used fairly universally throughout Europe. However, such weapons have never really been discussed in a Welsh context.

The first point to make is that evidence in Welsh contexts for hafted weapons, other than the spear, is comparatively scarce. Even Gerald of Wales, who provides the majority of information on the subject of Welsh tactics and military equipment, fails to mention weapons other than the sword, the spear and the bow and arrow. Therefore trying to determine exactly what hafted weapons were in use in Wales from written sources is particularly difficult.

Archaeologically, the evidence is even scarcer, with only one object related to this group of weapons included in the catalogue: the bronze mace-head found during excavations at Dryslwyn Castle (CC 463). In addition to this, one other bronze mace-head was found during the nineteenth century in the Berwyn Mountains (Bardwell 1876, 187); however, its current location is unknown. Finds may be rare in Wales but this does not mean that such weapons were not in use, and therefore comparisons can be made with finds that have come from other areas of Britain, and further afield in western Europe, especially when used alongside the references in the source material, to create a better understanding. The following sections will seek to determine the variations in the types of hafted weapons other than the spear, and to assess the likelihood of their use within Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450.

The Axe

Of these weapons, the axe is probably the most well-known. Originally developed as a domestic implement, the potential of the axe to inflict harm on other animals, and thus human beings, was first realised in prehistory, with examples functioning as weapons made first in stone, then bronze and finally iron (Holmes 2008, 26). In the early medieval period the axe is probably most associated with Germanic and Scandinavian warriors, particularly the Vikings. However, despite this association, Siddorn (2005, 101) points out that there are no references to axes being used as weapons in the four main Anglo-Saxon battle-poems – *Beowulf*, *Finnesburh*, *Brunanburh* and *Maldon*, and also questions exactly how useful the axe would have been in warfare (Siddorn 2005, 100-103). Examples of battle-axes have been found in the graves of both Anglo-Saxon and Viking warriors, in contexts ranging from Scotland, to Ireland, to England and possibly to Wales, where a late tenth/eleventh century spearhead and axehead were found at Caerwent (Redknap 2008, 406; Knight 1996, 56-9). This evidence

would suggest that there were two main types of axe in use during this period; the larger two-handed broad axe and smaller examples that have been interpreted as throwing axes or would have been used to smash the opponent's shield whilst fighting in the shield-wall (Siddorn 2005, 101, 103).

The majority of evidence for the form and use of the medieval axe comes from battle scenes at Hastings (1066) depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry. There are nineteen examples of battle-axes depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry carried by the English, and to a lesser extent, the Normans. Mann (1957, 66) points out that they have a distinctly different shape from both the depictions of axes used by woodmen for felling trees, and the axes used by shipwrights in the tapestry (Fig. 8.1a-c). The form of the nineteen depictions is fairly uniform with a single, concave curved blade attached to a long wooden haft, whereas the axes used for agriculture and carpentry are more triangular in shape, with a shorter haft. The only axe to be depicted in Norman hands is in scene 37 during the loading of weapons onto William's fleet. However, it is not entirely clear whether this is a battle-axe or whether it is meant to represent a carpenter's axe, as its form is somewhere between the two.

Amongst the English, the battle-axe is often found in the hands of the housecarls (Fig. 8.2), who were the personal bodyguard of English kings from the reign of Cnut (r. 1016-1035) (Musset 2002, 49-50). This may imply that there was also a symbolic function attached to the axes carried by housecarls, representing their office, rather than a weapon in widespread use. In addition, it is interesting that Cnut was the one to introduce the position of housecarl. Cnut was Danish; thus, one could argue that the connection between housecarls and axes originated from their Scandinavian connection and the use of the axe in battle in these lands. The majority of battle-axes pictured in the Bayeux Tapestry are found in the scenes relating to the battle at Hastings which could represent either housecarls or common Anglo-Saxon soldiers. Either way, evidence from the Bayeux Tapestry implies that the axe was still being used during battles of the mid eleventh century, even if that was limited to a small number of individuals.

The axe continued in use during the later medieval period. Oakeshott (1960, 257) suggests that, although during the late eleventh century, the axe had been considered a rather ungentlemanly weapon, possibly the result of its association with the conquered English, by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it had become respectable and even knights were known



Fig. 8.1a. Bayeux Tapestry Scene 52 – Battle Axe
(Musset 2002, 240)



Fig. 8.1b. Bayeux Tapestry Scene 35 – Ship-wright's Axe (Musset 2002, 184)



Fig. 8.1c. Bayeux Tapestry Scene 35 – Tree Fellers Axe (Musset 2002, 183)



Fig. 8.2. Bayeux Tapestry Scene 29 – Housecarls depicted carrying axes (Musset 2002, 173)

to be wielding it. For example, the chronicler Roger de Hoveden described how King Stephen of England fought with an axe at the battle of Lincoln in 1141:

Then was seen the might of the king, equal to a thunderbolt, slaying some with his immense battle-axe, and striking down others. Then arose the shouts afresh, all rushing against him, and he against all. At length, through the number of the blows, the king's battle-axe was broken asunder. Instantly, with his right hand, drawing his sword, well worthy of a king, he marvellously waged the combat, until the sword as well was broken asunder (Riley 1853, 244).

Interestingly, it is only after his axe is broken that Stephen draws his sword, which would suggest that it was the axe that was his favoured weapon.

In Wales and the Marches, evidence for the use of the axe in battle is relatively poor. Written sources from both Welsh and English contexts rarely mention its use in recorded conflicts. Though there are references to the use of the axe in the early medieval poem the *Gododdin*, and again in later medieval (post 1300) Welsh poetry, these are uncommon when compared to other weapons, such as the sword or spear (pers. comm. J. Day). In the Latin *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* the author states

Then Gruffudd rushed forward into the most densely packed part of the enemy and placed himself in the front line, so that he might lay low the French in their armour, their helmets and armed with two-headed axes, like King David amongst the Philistines. (Russell 2005, 75)

It is unclear from this translation as to whether the author is referring to the French or the Welsh as carrying these two-headed axes, however, in the later Welsh version of the *Life*, the corresponding text reads 'Gruffudd leaped forward in the front troop to cut down the mailed and helmeted French with his double edged axe' (Evans 1990, 72). This would infer that it was the Welsh soldiers, rather than the French, who were carrying the axes in the earlier Latin version. Intriguingly, attention should be brought to the fact that, by the time the later Welsh version was written, the emphasis was being placed on Gruffudd's use of the axe, not the rest of his soldiers. Day (2010, 148) suggests that King Stephen's use of the axe at the Battle of Lincoln may have improved the image of the axe in the medieval mind, and may even have inspired the passage in the Welsh version of the *Life*.

However, Davies (2003, 155) interestingly points out that the axe is referenced elsewhere in the Welsh *Life*, but in association with outsiders, most notably those of Scandinavian origin. For example, ‘...the men of Denmark with their two-edged axes...’ (Evans 1990, 67). The axe is also associated with Irish soldiers as the illustration of the Irish foot soldier included in the *Littere Wallie* testifies (see Chapter 7). Furthermore, the *Brut y Tywysogyon* records that in 1205 ‘Maelgwn ap Rhys caused a certain Irishman to slay with a battle-axe (*bwyall enillec*)...Cedifor ap Gruffudd’ (Jones 1952, 82). This association between the axe and Irish and Scandinavian mercenaries may explain why Gruffudd is the only Welsh prince to be associated with this weapon, and may also explain why there is a change between the Latin and Welsh versions to emphasize Gruffudd’s use of the axe above all others. This is likely the result of his links with Ireland, particularly with the Hiberno-Norse in Dublin. Although Gruffudd’s father, Cynan ab Iago, was ruler of Gwynedd, his mother Ragnhildr, was the daughter of Olaf Sihtricson, King of Dublin (d. 981). In addition to this genealogical link with Hiberno-Norse royalty, Gruffudd spent his childhood in Ireland, at the monastery of Swords near Dublin, and when he came to claim his hereditary right in Gwynedd, Gruffudd actively sought the support of the Irish and the Hiberno-Norse to do so (Pryce 2004). His experiences in Ireland would have had an impact on Gruffudd, especially at a time when he would be learning his skills as a warrior, and one might assume that such influences affected Gruffudd in his adult life, in particular the weapons he chose to carry into battle. However, the question has to be asked as to whether Gruffudd actually fought with the axe. Although the Welsh version of the *Life* places the axe in his hands, the earlier Latin version does not, thus it may be that the references to Gruffudd using an axe in the Welsh version are purely symbolic and are used to emphasize his Hiberno-Norse link. It is particularly interesting that both versions of the *Life* refer to double-edged axes, as although this type of axe has often been associated with a Scandinavian origin, even in Ireland, the existence of double-edged axes is yet to be proven archaeologically (Halpin 2008, 163). Therefore the argument that the authors of the Welsh *Life* in particular were attempting to emphasize Gruffudd’s links with the Hiberno-Norse in Dublin rather than providing an accurate description of the weapons used, is strengthened. Furthermore, the idea that there is a comparative element between Gruffudd’s use of the axe at Aberlleiniog (Anglesey) and King Stephen’s use of the axe at Lincoln, also emphasizes his royal nature, by depicting his similarity to the King of England.

Gruffudd is the only one of the Welsh princes recorded as using the battle-axe; others are usually associated with swords or spears. However, other Welsh soldiers are occasionally associated with the axe. For example, William le Breton described the Welsh with Richard I in Normandy as ‘lacking armour and armed with bows and arrows, as well as spears and axes’ (cited in Strickland and Hardy 2005, 90). Furthermore, following the conquest of Wales in 1282, there were a number of leading Welshmen who served under Edward III and his son the Black Prince during their French campaigns, some of which made names for themselves. One such soldier was Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd from Caernarfonshire, and Carr (1995, 92) records that he did such good service with his battle-axe at Poitiers that he became known as Sir Hywel of the Axe and that the Black Prince had the axe put in a place of honour in his hall where it was served with a daily ration of food.

The only other reference to a battle-axe in a Welsh context is to be found in the native laws (of Hywel Dda) (Jenkins 1986, 194). As this reference is found alongside other items of military equipment that are considered to be in widespread use, including the sword, spear and shield, it may be assumed that the battle-axe was also considered as part of that group, and was thus considered of value to Welsh soldiers. However, the problem with using this source is that, although it is claimed to have been written in the tenth century, the law manuscripts date to the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and therefore it is presumed that a lot of the material included would date to that time and determining which is which is difficult (see Chapter 2). Therefore to use this source to justify widespread use of the battle-axe in Welsh contexts at any given time is problematic.

Archaeological evidence for the battle-axe is even scarcer since there are no surviving examples from Wales dating to the period in question. Although it is highly likely that the axe would have been used, especially in areas of known Scandinavian settlement in the tenth century, for example the Dee estuary and Anglesey (Davies, 1982, 117), the lack of surviving examples makes it particularly difficult to prove. Representations of axes can be seen on earlier Viking Age crosses, including the *Maen Achwyfan* (Flintshire) (Fig. 8.3), which depicts a probably naked male figure who holds a long staff or spear in his right hand and an axe in his left (Edwards 2013, 367). Edwards has suggested that the figural representations on sculpture such as this appear to originate from Scandinavian heroic mythology. However, this is not conclusive evidence that the soldiers in this area were using axes; nor does it prove that this practice carried on into the later medieval period. There is also the axe of tenth- or



Fig. 8.3. Maen Achwyfan Cross
(Source: Prof. Nancy Edwards)

eleventh-century date, part of a Viking burial assemblage, from Caerwent (Monmouthshire) (Redknap 2008,406; Knight 1996, 56-9). More significantly for the period under review, in a reappraisal of Gresham's work on the North Wales School of sculpture, Gittos and Gittos (2012, 359) have identified a grave slab used as the door lintel spanning the south doorway of Tremeirchion Church (Flintshire) which depicts both a sword and battle-axe either side of the stem. This is the only currently known depiction of the battle-axe on funerary sculpture in north Wales. However, it is distinctly possible that this piece of sculpture was used to mark the grave of an unknown soldier and it is very likely that he would have

had some form of association with this type of weapon.

In addition to the battle-axe, there is the possibility that axes designed for a domestic function, for example wood cutting, may also have been used in a military environment. However, as with knives, although examples of domestic axes survive in the archaeological record from a range of archaeological sites throughout Wales, including castle sites, such as Hen Domen (Higham and Barker 2000, 100, nos 73-74), it is impossible to determine which of these may have been used as a weapon and which were not. Therefore, although there is some evidence to suggest that the axe was in limited use in warfare in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450, there is no archaeological evidence available at present to determine to what extent this practice took place.

The Hammer

The war hammer, according to Oakeshott (1960, 258), was in widespread use during the thirteenth century and hit the height of its popularity during the Hundred Years War in the fourteenth. Since it was used throughout Europe one might assume that it was also in use in Wales and the Marches; however there is neither historical nor archaeological evidence to support this. Oakeshott (1960, 258) does, however, refer to a tomb-effigy of an un-named

knight in Malvern Abbey Church, Worcestershire (Fig. 8.4) dating to the mid-thirteenth century, where the knight is armed with a short hammer and a small round shield of the kind known as a buckler. As small round shields were widely used in Wales during this period (see below), it could be suggested that this un-named warrior might represent someone with a Welsh background, although without other supportive evidence, it is only a suggestion. However, it is important to stress that there are no known references to the use of this type of weapon by soldiers in Wales in either the historical sources or in the Welsh poetry of the medieval period (pers. comm., J. Day).

The Mace

The mace is highly likely to have developed from the humble wooden club and, as a weapon, it was at its height during the thirteenth century. However, the earliest evidence for the mace in Britain is in the Bayeux Tapestry, where there are a small number of illustrations of objects interpreted as maces. For example, maces are carried by members of the English *Fyrd*, and one is even depicted flying through the air in the heat of battle (Wilson 2004, 225) (Fig. 7.5). Most interestingly, there are a number of occasions where William appears to be carrying a mace (Fig. 7.6), which both Mann (1957, 66) and Wilson (2004, 226) have suggested to be a symbol or baton of command, a concept that will be discussed further below. However, though the Bayeux Tapestry indicates that the mace was in use during the latter half of the eleventh century, it was not in widespread use until the twelfth (DeVries, 1992, 26).

The medieval mace came in a variety of different shapes and sizes, and could be made from iron, steel or copper-alloy. In some cases, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, prestigious ceremonial examples were even made from silver or gold (DeVries 1992, 26). However, although there were many variations, two general designs were common. The first



Fig. 8.4. Malvern Abbey
Military Effigy (Effigies and



Fig. 8.5. Bayeux Tapestry Scene 49 – William carrying a mace as a symbol of authority (Musset 2002, 224)



Fig. 8.6. Bayeux Tapestry Scene 51 – Mace being thrown during the Battle of Hastings (Musset 2002, 236)

(Fig. 8.7) consisted of a head formed by a number of flanges set around a tubular core and made sharp enough to penetrate. The second (Fig. 8.8) consisted of a barbed head which was designed with the purpose of smashing or crushing armour and shields (DeVries 1992, 26). These earlier types of mace were fixed onto a wooden haft. However, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they were made entirely of metal (DeVries 1992, 27).

Research into the typological development and dating of maces in Europe is not extensive. Halpin (1988, 169) refers to several studies of mace-heads in Eastern Europe, particularly the work of Laszlo, in 1971, in his discussion of the bronze barbed mace-heads found in medieval Ireland. As a result Halpin (1988, 162-92) was able to separate the Irish examples into different types, some of which are unique, whilst others had similar characteristics and could therefore be grouped together. The most common type was Halpin's 'Group 1'. These examples of bronze mace-heads had truncated conical sockets and two or three staggered rows of barbs, where each row contained between four and six pyramidal barbs with lozenge-shaped sections. Some had the barbs curving downwards and others also had narrow, rounded mouldings around the outside of the socket (Halpin 1988, 169). The other types identified were similar but might have had square- or even round-sectioned barbs, and others had the barbs arranged in lines rather than being staggered (Halpin 1988, 169).

Dating was particularly difficult as all of the Irish examples were unprovenanced. Although they could be compared with examples included in other typologies, for example Laszlo, there was no conclusive way of transferring the dates of mace-heads found in Hungary to those found in Ireland. Therefore, Halpin (1988, 170) suggested a wide-ranging date for the use of Irish mace-heads to between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, and then suggested a pattern of development from small rounded or cubic mace-heads to longer, more cylindrical forms, which was the equivalent of the typology proposed by Laszlo for Hungarian mace-heads of a similar date.

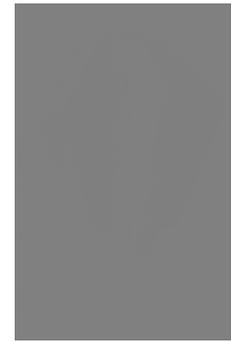


Fig. 8.7. Flanged Mace-head (Ward-Perkins 1954, **Plate XVII**)



Fig. 8.8. Barbed Macehead (CC 449) (Source: Author)

Written references to the mace in medieval Wales are non-existent but there is archaeological evidence suggesting a limited use of this weapon in a Welsh context. Firstly, there is a reference to a bronze barbed mace-head found during the nineteenth century on the edge of the Berwyn Mountains ‘by some men searching for treasures among ancient graves’ (Bardwell, 1876, 187). This mace-head is described and illustrated by Bardwell (1876, 186-7) as being small (or at least smaller than the example from the Museum of the Royal Irish

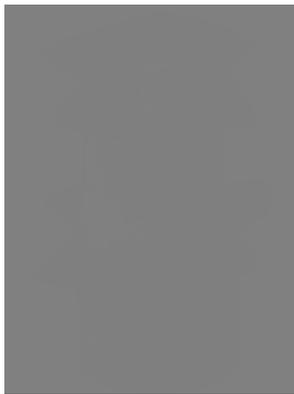


Fig. 8.9. Macehead from the Berwyn Mountains illustrated by Bardwell (1876)

Academy that he compares it to), with a square upper aperture, and only having two rows of ‘teeth’ or barbs, which Bardwell suggests is due to its shortness. Unfortunately, the location of the Berwyn Mountains mace-head today is unknown; however, Bardwell’s original illustration survives (Fig. 8.9). The mace-head is not a common type but is not dissimilar to an example described by Halpin (1988, 172-3, no. 2) from Athenry, Co. Galway. This example is similar in form apart from having three rows of barbs instead of two. However, the item has no archaeological provenance and therefore cannot be dated with any precision.

The bronze mace-head found during excavations at Dryslwyn Castle (CC 463) (see Fig. 8.8 above) has twelve barbs arranged in three rows; this would place it in Halpin’s Group 1 (1988). The form of the Dryslwyn mace-head is very similar to other examples with twelve barbs arranged in three sets. For example, Daubney (2010, 201-7) identifies twenty-nine examples of copper-alloy barbed mace-heads of a similar form that have been found in Scotland and England, as well as a small number of iron examples known in the collections at the British Museum and The Royal Armouries. He also points out (2010, 202) that he knows of no examples of this type from France or southern Europe and suggests that iron flanged examples were favoured in these areas instead. This would suggest that this type of barbed bronze mace-head was confined to northern Europe, including Britain and Ireland. Interestingly, Jessop (2007, 207) points out that the Dryslwyn mace-head is unique in the fact that it has nine facets on the shaft, although he does not allude to the reason for this difference in form. It may be that this was functional in some way, although reasons for this are unclear and it seems more likely that the facets were added for another reason, possibly decoration. Although there are no other known examples of this form of decoration, it does not necessarily mean that it was unique to Wales, or indeed, to this singular example. From a

total of approximately fifty comparative examples, including those recorded by Halpin (1988), only two are associated with any datable archaeological context. One was found in the floor of a bakery in Perth, Scotland, which is approximately dated to the fourteenth century, and the other during a waterfront excavation in London though there is no published sequence for the site (Daubney 2010, 201). The lack of mace-heads found in datable archaeological contexts therefore makes precise dating difficult.

Daubney (2010, 201) has discussed the distribution of copper-alloy mace-heads in Britain and points out that a significant number are found in coastal counties, at inlet locations and on major waterways, with a heavy concentration in the east of England, particularly Lincolnshire. The reason for this is not discussed, but it could have some link with trade routes and therefore suggests that this type of mace-head was not in common use, and that existing examples were imports, probably from Scandinavia and north-east Europe, where this type of mace-head seems to have been most popular (Daubney 2010, 202).

The fact that the Dryslwyn and the Berwyn Mountains mace-heads are the only examples recorded from Wales, compared with the larger numbers found in the rest of the Britain and Ireland, would not suggest its widespread use as a weapon in this region. However, Halpin (1988, 173) puts forward an interesting theory by suggesting that some maces would have played a more ceremonial role as a symbol of authority, much like today. To demonstrate this, Halpin (1988, 173, no.1) refers to an example from Athenry (Co. Galway) (Fig 8.10) which was extremely light and finely decorated, therefore making it unlikely that it was used as a weapon. A ceremonial role may be seen for a number of maces dating from the fifteenth century and later, with examples made in both silver and gold used as symbols of rulership and feudal nobility (DeVries and Smith 2007, 27) and, as was suggested above, evidence from the Bayeux Tapestry would suggest that the mace was a symbol of command a lot earlier, since William appears to carry his as a baton of office during the events of 1066. DeVries and Smith (2007, 27), claim that the mace was the precursor of the sceptre. An argument put forward by Daubney (2010, 201) goes even further and suggests that,

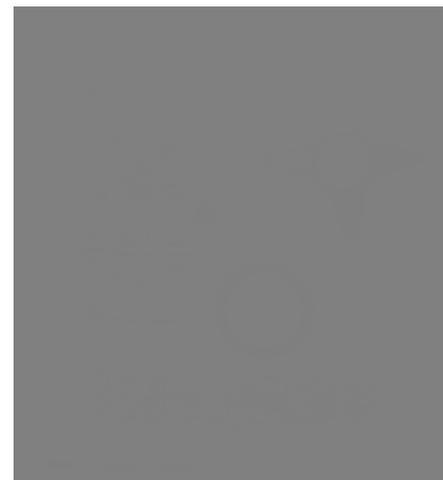


Fig. 8.10. Macehead from Athenry (Galway) (Halpin 1988, no 1, 182)

although many copper-alloy barbed maces may have been used in combat, it was the flanged iron maces that were mainly used in this role and that the copper-alloy maces were mainly ceremonial. The Dryslwyn mace-head was found in a latrine pit, which Jessop (2007, 207) interprets as indicating that it was deliberately hidden and therefore he supports the argument for a symbolic function for maces in Wales too.

There is, however, no mention of maces in the historical sources of the period, neither are there any references to maces in the medieval Welsh poems referred to by Day (pers. comm. J. Day), which makes this interpretation questionable, for if the mace was such an important symbol of authority, someone would surely have written about it. Just because the Dryslwyn mace-head was found in a latrine pit does not necessarily mean it was deliberately placed there. Even if it was, it does not mean that it was hidden because of its symbolic importance; after all, if an enemy was attacking, it could have been hidden there due to the fact that the owner did not want to be caught with a weapon in his hand. Furthermore, Halpin (1988, 173) states that there is no reason to believe that other mace-heads from Ireland were not used in battle and that the battered condition of some could only have been the result of active service. The mace-head from Dryslwyn may well be decorated differently to others found in Britain and Ireland, although this difference is minimal; however, it is not entirely unique and nor is its decoration that impressive, compared to later examples which have a definite ceremonial function. Thus, there is no direct evidence to suggest it was used in a ceremonial or symbolic function, putting doubt on Jessop's interpretation.

The function of the mace in Wales is therefore likely to have been the same as the function of this object elsewhere in Europe, primarily as a weapon used in war. The fact that there are only two recorded examples from Wales suggests that they were not in widespread use, and, for those that did use them, they would have been a symbol of either their status or what set them apart from the rest who were fighting with sword and spear. This implies that there was an element of symbolism attached to the mace in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450, but does not suggest that the mace was a wide-ranging symbol of lord-ship which would have had a ceremonial purpose as suggested by Jessop (2007).

The Billhook

The billhook was fundamentally an agricultural implement but could be adapted for use as a weapon; regional variations occur all over Britain and Ireland. Here, only one later medieval variant is of significance. This is the 'Welsh bill', also referred to as the 'Welsh glaive', the

‘Welsh hook’ or the ‘forest bill’, with references to these objects found in written sources dating to the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For example, the earliest mention of this type of weapon is found in an order from King Richard III at Leicester to Nicholas Spicer, Gentleman Usher of the Chamber, and Receiver of Brecknock, Newport, Usk and Caerleon, Monmouth

‘for to doo ij thousand Walshe billes in all hast possible to be porueyd and made for vs and by this present have yeuen vnto him power and autorate for to take in our name in any place where him shall seme most expedient as many Smythes, as shall by him be thought necessarye.’ (cited in Blair 1999, 71)

The only published discussion of the ‘Welsh hook’ is by Claude Blair (1999), who provides a brief résumé of the historical references to the weapon and then attempts to compare these descriptions with existing examples. To quote Blair (1999, 74) in his description of the weapon, ‘the Welsh bill was a staff-weapon with a head like a vertically-mounted scythe blade, with some feature resembling a cross piece of unusual form’ (Fig. 8.11). Blair goes on to compare that image with the characteristics of a known example, described by Sir Samuel Meyrickⁱ as a *gisarme* and described as resembling ‘the bill or the glaive but with an additional piece thin and pointed rising up from its back’ (cited in Blair 1999, 84). Compare this to Blair’s description of the Welsh bill and the similarities are striking.

...The head is a scythe-like blade but more hooked than of a normal scythe, usually with only its concave edge sharpened, but sometimes double edged at the point or wholly double-edged. Projecting at right angles from the back is a straight spur which carries a very long spike, straight or curving outwards, and often sloping away from the main blade...Made in one with the main blade is the socket for the staff, which commonly has either an opening, or a simple overlapped join down one side, a feature that seems to be characteristic of staff weapons made in this country.



Fig. 8.11. Drawing by G. E. Chambers of a Welsh Bill carried by Francis Smith, town constable of Amesbury, Wiltshire dated 173 (Blair 1999, 78)

On many examples an additional spur projects vertically from behind the point of the main blade. (Blair 1999, 74)

Blair lists nineteen recorded examples of this type of weapon and states that those with old provenances have all come from England, including sites such as London, Tewkesbury Battlefield (1471) and Shrewsbury Battlefield (1403), although he goes on to question whether this last example actually dated to the battle or later (Blair 1999, 80). The fact that no known examples have, to date, come from native Welsh contexts would put doubt on whether this weapon was actually in use in Wales during the medieval period. Added to that is the lack of references in the source material as all those cited by Blair are of English origin and none actually pinpoint its use in Wales. However, why would this weapon be known as the ‘Welsh Bill’ if it has no association with the country? Interestingly, Blair (1999, 82) does refer to the suggestion made by a Dr C. R. Beard, that the ‘forest bill’ got its name as a result of having been produced in the Forest of Dean, although Blair discounts this, and implies that the name actually refers to its original function of trimming trees. However, the Forest of Dean is situated on the border between Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire; therefore if Beard is to be believed, the ‘forest’ or ‘Welsh’ bill may have been named such due to its origins in that area. Furthermore, several examples of Welsh bills have been found in the Welsh Marches, albeit on the English side of the border, and therefore the term Welsh bill may also have derived from its association with March rather than Wales. Nevertheless, the Welsh laws do mention the value of an object called a ‘hedging bill’ (*gwddyf*) at one penny (Jenkins 1986, 192). Although this is unlikely to have been a weapon as such, it may be that this was the agricultural implement from which the ‘Welsh bill’ developed. However, this is all circumstantial and further evidence is required before any conclusive arguments can be made.

The Sling

Although the general impression is that medieval battles were made up of close contact, hand-to-hand fighting, previous chapters have demonstrated quite clearly that missile type weapons, such as the bow and arrow and javelins, were in use in Wales. However, a thorough examination of medieval weaponry in Wales would not be complete without considering the evidence for other types of missile that may have been used between c.1100 and c.1450.

Possibly one of the oldest and simplest of weapons, the sling, is highly likely to have been in use in Wales during the medieval period. Evidence for its use is however, limited. Written sources do not mention its use, probably due to the fact that it was not a knightly weapon, but it is likely that it was used by the general populous of the levy or the Welsh *Llu*. Excavations at a small number of castle sites, including Dryslwyn (Caple 2007, 208) and Dolforwyn (Butler 1990, 94; 1997, 195), have uncovered large numbers of lithics that could have been used as sling shot, although this is not conclusive as they could just as likely have been used for other purposes, such as gaming counters. Although the evidence is poor, as Davies (2003, 154) points out, the sling was ‘easy to produce and use... [and it] is probable that its military potential was exploited.’

Shields and Defence

A recognisable feature of any medieval soldier’s military equipment was his shield. This would have been used primarily as a form of defence, protecting its carrier from missiles, such as arrows and javelins, and used to block attacks from weapons, such as the spear or sword during close combat. However, the shield could also be used in an offensive way. In close combat, if wielded with enough force, it could be used to hit and stun an opponent. In addition, the large central boss of an infantryman’s shield, which in some cases could have had a spike attached, would almost certainly have been capable of inflicting injury.

Throughout history the shield has varied in shape and size, from the large round shields of the late Bronze Age, to the small targes used by the eighteenth century Jacobites of the Scottish Highlands (Oakeshott 1960, 24). In between, examples include the long shields used by the warriors of the Iron Age (Laing and Laing 1995, 42) and the curved rectangular *scutum* used by Roman infantry during the third century (Anglim et al 2005, 69). During the later medieval period kite-shaped, and later heater-shaped shields were most common. However, this is not to say that other types were not in use: for example, variations of the small round shield, known as a buckler, are found throughout Europe between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries (Cameron-Stone 1934, 151).

In order determine the extent to which different types of shield were in use in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450, archaeological examples would be extremely useful. However, none survive from Welsh contexts. Medieval shields, whatever their shape, were in most cases made of wood and leather, both materials that are relatively cheap and easy to come by when making

objects that are likely to become damaged when used. These are materials that are strong enough to protect but light enough to be carried during battle. Unfortunately, they are also organic materials that, unless the conditions are perfect, will have perished in the centuries since and therefore are unlikely to survive in the archaeological record unless they are in waterlogged conditions. As a result, as with other forms of medieval arms and armour, the importance of the evidence that can be gleaned from artistic representations is accentuated. Therefore any interpretations need to be made from collating evidence from written sources and depictions of medieval military equipment in illustrations, paintings and sculpture.

The most common basic medieval shield shape, mainly associated with the mounted knight (Oakeshott 1960, 177), would have been kite-shaped and this form is depicted repeatedly in the art of the period, including on sculpture and in illuminated manuscripts. The first source associated with Britain to show the kite-shaped shield is the Bayeux Tapestry where it is found in the hands of both Normans and Saxons (Mann 1957, 63; Wilson 2004, 223) (Fig. 8.12). However, this also shows some Anglo-Saxon soldiers carrying the traditional Germanic circular shield, suggesting that the kite-shaped shield was introduced into England from the continent around the time of the conquest (Wilson, 2004, 223). The length and shape of the kite-shaped shield made it extremely useful for the mounted knight, as it filled the gap between the horse's neck and the rider's thigh, and thus protected the knight's left side almost entirely (Oakeshott 1960, 177). However, by the mid-thirteenth century the kite-shaped shield had been adapted to become the smaller, triangular shaped shield known as a heater shield as a reaction to improvements in leg armour (Day 2011a, 28). Although representations of both the kite-shaped and heater shields, or variations of them, are found in many illustrations and sculptures of the medieval period (Fig. 8.13), its widespread use cannot be automatically assumed in Wales.



Fig. 8.12. Bayeux Tapestry Scene 57 – Depiction of both kite-shaped and circular shields used during the Battle of Hastings (Musset 2002, 264)

There are very few references to the form of shields used in Wales between *c.*100 and *c.*1450 in contemporary historical records. In many of the works written during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by chroniclers such as Orderic Vitalis and Henry of Huntingdon, native Welsh soldiers are often described as being poorly armed and wearing very little armour. However in these descriptions there is a lack of information about the shields these men carried, if they carried them at all. Similarly, there is a lack of referenced material within these sources as to the shape and style of shields carried by other forces present in Wales at this time, in particular the Norman, English and Marcher soldiers employed to fight against the Welsh prior to the conquest in 1282.



Fig. 8.13. Military Effigy of Madog ab Iorwerth (*c.*1315) at Pennant Melangell Church (Source: Author)

In the Welsh sources, the amount of information available is limited. The most detailed description of Welsh shields found in the documentary sources comes from Gerald of Wales in his *Description of Wales* where he writes:

They [the Welsh] use light weapons which do not impede their quick movements, small leather corselets, a handful of arrows, long spears and round shields. (Thorpe 1978, 234)

This reference would suggest that the Welsh were not known to use the common kite-shaped shield found across western Europe, but instead used small round shields that were easy to manoeuvre and light to carry. However, this is just one description and therefore does not provide adequate proof of what types of shield were in use in Wales between *c.*1100 and *c.*1450.

On the other hand, in Welsh literature there are many references to the use of the shield. As Davies (2003, 157) and Day (2011a, 27) point out, there are numerous references to warriors returning with broken shields, or that they had shattered many shields of the enemy, both of which appear to have been a form of praise to the warrior being eulogised. Davies (2003, 157) suggests that references to broken shields, or even pierced shields, may suggest that the shields of the Welsh were not overly substantial. However, as was demonstrated in Chapter 4, if an arrowhead was capable of piercing armour, it is highly

probable that it was also capable of piercing a shield of wood and leather. The form of the shields described in Welsh poetry has been extensively examined by Day (2011a, 30-3), who has acknowledged that there was a variety of types of shield referred to in these sources, although she argues that there are no specific words used by the Welsh poets to denote the use of particular types. Therefore, to understand to what extent different types of shield were used by soldiers in medieval Wales a thorough examination of all types of evidence available is needed.

Evidence for the use of kite-shaped and heater shields in Wales is purely representational, with no specific references in the documentary archive. The majority of evidence comes from sculpture, in the form of funerary monuments and effigies. This is problematic, as was discussed in Chapter 3; just because the effigy is depicted with certain objects, it is not entirely certain that these objects were owned and used by the deceased. There is much debate concerning the accuracy of the arms and armour depicted on funerary monuments and Gresham (1968, 51) even goes as far as to suggest that effigies were stock productions of workshops and therefore the arms and armour were no more than standard kit. This conclusion may well be a little far-fetched. However, of the effigies produced in Wales, most date to the late thirteenth century onwards, a time of greater English influence in Wales in the post-conquest period, which may well account for the frequency of the appearance of these types of shield on effigies and grave slabs at this time.

There are a large number of military effigies and carved grave slabs found throughout Wales that depict Welsh knights in their armour and occasionally the weapons that they carried. In terms of military effigies, only one type of shield is depicted: the heater shield. This would suggest the use of this type of shield amongst the elite of Wales, or at least those who were wealthy enough to commission funerary monuments. The date of these monuments is also interesting. Of those monuments that depict shields, all of them date to the first half of the fourteenth century apart from one, the effigy of an unnamed knight at Tremeirchion which Gresham (1968, no. 168) dates to *c.*1295. This may well reflect the greater influence of English military equipment and tactics in Wales during the early fourteenth century as a result of the conquest in 1283. On the other hand, as there are no monuments surviving from an earlier date that depict shields, it is impossible to tell from this evidence alone, whether this type of shield was in use in Wales prior to 1283 or not.

There are several depictions of shields included on Welsh equestrian seals. The two most important examples are those belonging to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (c.1173-1240) (Fig. 7.14) and Owain Glyndŵr (c.1359-c.1416) (Fig. 7.15). These two equestrian seals both depict princes on horseback with sword in hand and both carry a short heater shield characteristic of their period (Williams 1993, 34-5). Interestingly, these two shields clearly demonstrate the development of the kite-shaped shield to the heater shield during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as the earlier shield of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is longer than that of Glyndŵr's, and therefore is more closely linked to the longer kite-shaped shield of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Other lesser known Welsh equestrian seals, where they depict shields, also show kite-shaped or heater shields, depending on their date (Williams 1993). This evidence would point to the use of the heater shield by Welsh soldiers over any other form. Importantly, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's seal dates to the pre-conquest period and therefore places the heater shield in a Welsh context earlier than the evidence provided by funerary monuments. However, the Welsh soldiers who had seals and commissioned funerary monuments were the elite, the princes and the *Teulu*. It is also likely that these individuals would have wanted to compare themselves with those of equal rank in England and further afield. Interestingly, it is also important to stress that the most common types of shield depicted on seals of Norman and English origin that were examined whilst researching this thesis were also either kite-shaped or heater shields. Therefore, images depicted on their seals and effigies may well comply more with their expected image, rather than being an accurate portrayal of their arms and armour. Even if these images are accurate, they only represent a small proportion of soldiers fighting in Wales, and do not give an overall view of the shields used by the common soldier at this time.

Images in medieval manuscripts must also be taken into account but Welsh soldiers and their equipment are very rarely illustrated. However, there are two examples that should



Fig. 8.14. Equestrian Seal of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (GAT 2004-2012)



Fig. 8.15. Equestrian Seal of Owain Glyndŵr (Anon. 2005)

be considered. Firstly, there is an image of a heater shield in NLW Peniarth MS 28 f.23, a law manuscript dated to the mid-thirteenth century, where the values of military equipment, including shields, are indicated. The illustration clearly shows a multi-coloured triangular shield alongside a sword, a dagger and a spear, suggesting that this type of shield was in common use, along with the other weapons. The other illustration of note, and mentioned by Day (2011a, 29), is included in NLW Peniarth MS 21 and shows several heater shields bearing coats of arms. Both these can be used to support the existence of heater shields in Wales during the thirteenth century, as those with the responsibility for illustrating these manuscripts must have come into contact with them. However, what these illustrations do not confirm is how widespread the use of such shields was.

To return to the statement made by Gerald of Wales concerning round shields in Wales, the evidence for their use by Welsh soldiers will now be considered. In addition to the references made by Gerald (see above), Day (2011a, 30-3) argues that, although there are no specific words used by the Welsh poets to denote the use of particular types of shield, there are words used that imply a circular shape and that the words *rhodawg*, *rhodawr* and *cylchwy* can all be taken to describe a round shield in the right context. The fact that the circular shape is emphasized in so many references to shields in Welsh poetry must have some significance. However, as there are equally a number of words used by Welsh poets that do not describe any particular type of shape, the literary evidence implies that other shapes of shield were also potentially in use throughout the period.

Interestingly, Day (2011a, 50) points out in her concluding remarks that the words denoting round shields stop being used after the very early decades of the thirteenth century which she suggests ‘may well reflect real changes in Welsh military equipment in the first half of the thirteenth century or earlier – or at least changes in the equipment used by the bards’ patrons’. Furthermore, evidence discussed above, demonstrates that the earliest representations of kite-shaped or heater shields in Welsh manuscripts occur during the thirteenth century, and sculpture, at the end of the fourteenth century. This change may well reflect the greater influence of English military equipment and tactics on Welsh rulers during the thirteenth century as other changes were also taking place. For example, the Welsh princes were also building stone castles at this time, including sites such as Dryslwyn (early thirteenth-century), Dolbadarn (early thirteenth-century), Dolwyddelan (early thirteenth-

century), Criccieth (c.1230), Castell y Bere (1221) and Dolforwyn (1273) (Davies, 2007) (see Chapter 3).

Although it would appear that there is evidence to support the use of round shields in medieval Wales, especially in the earlier part of the period, details of the form of these shields must also be explored. However to the author's knowledge, there are no illustrations or sculptural representations of round shields from a Welsh context that date to between c.1100 and c.1450. Nor are there any detailed written descriptions of the form that these shields would have taken. Fortunately, there are examples of round shields depicted in Welsh contexts that are earlier in date that can be used as a comparison.

Two known examples of round shields are depicted in early medieval Welsh contexts. The first example, mentioned by Day (2011a, 28), is of a small round shield held in the hand of a soldier carved onto a stone slab from Eglwysilan, Mid Glamorgan (Redknap and Lewis 2007, no. G17) (Fig. 8.16), which is thought to date between the



Fig. 8.16. Eglwysilan Stone Slab (Redknap and Lewis 2007, 293)

eighth and tenth centuries. The second example, also mentioned by Day, and referred to by Davies (2003, 156), is the hunting scene on the early tenth-century Conbelin cross, from Margam (Redknap and Lewis 2007, no. G79) (Fig. 8.17).



Fig. 8.17. Hunting Scene on the Conbelin Stone Cross (Redknap and Lewis 2007, 414)

This second is of particular interest as the shield is associated with cavalry rather than foot soldiers. This would imply that the round shield could be, and was, used by soldiers both on foot and in the saddle. The depiction of round shields in Welsh contexts prior to the Norman invasion can be combined with references to round shields in historical sources after this date to argue for the continuation of the use of this type of shield throughout the medieval period.

One later example is worth considering however, although its provenance is in Worcestershire. This is the effigy of an unknown knight in Malvern Abbey Church (see Fig. 7.4). This effigy is unique in that the shield he carries is not only plain, without any decoration or heraldic device, but also round. Nicolle (1999, 72) suggests that this may be an effigy of someone armed for the tournament rather than for battle, as he also carries a hammer, a weapon commonly used during this event. However, with its origin comparatively close to the Welsh border, it should also be considered whether the round shield could represent the type carried by soldiers in this region of the March.

In addition, to the evidence supplied by sculpture, there is another piece of the puzzle that could add an extra dimension to the argument and that comes from a type of shield dating from the mid-fifteenth century to the late-sixteenth century described as the ‘Welsh Buckler’. A buckler, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed. 2009), is ‘a small round shield held by a handle or worn on the forearm’ and was in common use during the later medieval period. Blair describes bucklers as:

..a definite type of shield with the characteristic feature of a transverse grip at the back, by which it was held in the hand instead of being strapped to the forearm. The buckler was used in the left hand, in conjunction with a sword held in the right, for fencing, and examples are therefore smaller than shields of other kinds. They are usually circular – though other shapes do occur – and frequently have a central boss made hollow at the back to take the front part of the fist, holding the grip (Blair and Edwards 1982, 80).

In terms of Welsh bucklers, the existence of such items, although referred to in historical texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and found in a number of paintings including, the anonymous ‘The Embarkation at Dover’ (c.1545-50) (Fig. 8.18a and b) and its companion painting, ‘The Field of Cloth of Gold’ (Fig. 8.19a and b) (Rimer et al 2009, 292), have been rarely discussed academically. The only detailed discussion is by Ifor Edwards and Claude Blair in 1982. In this article they present clear evidence for the existence of the Welsh buckler, its likely form and a brief discussion of surviving examples.

By examining the references to bucklers in a number of Welsh poems dating to the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including examples by Gutun Owain (1450-98) and



Fig. 8.18a. 'The Embarkation of Dover' (Artists Harbour 2004-2012)

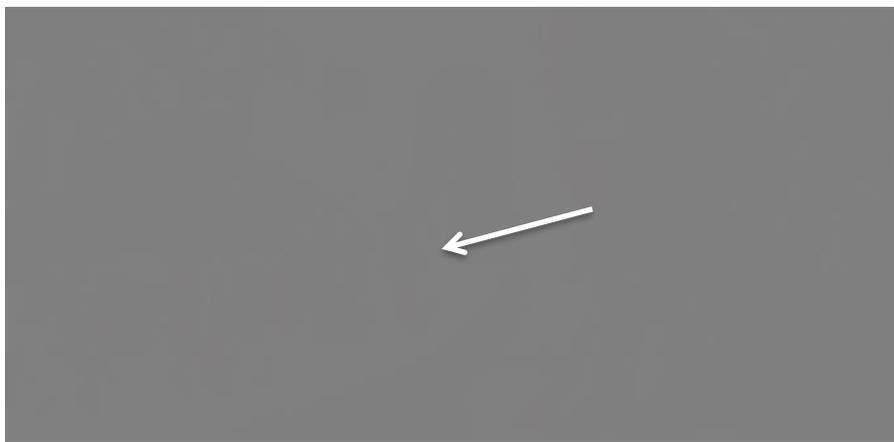


Fig. 8.18b. Man carrying Welsh Bucker



Fig. 8.19a. 'The Field of Cloth of Gold' (Royal Collection 2012)



Fig. 8.19b. Member of Royal Bodyguard carrying Welsh Buckler

Lewis Môn (c. 1480-1527), Blair was able to identify the key characteristics of this type of shield and concluded that the Welsh buckler was:

...a circular steel buckler, either convex or concave towards the body, with a hollow pear- or bell-shaped boss, from which projects a spike. The boss is encircled by rings, which may be set closely together, and, on some examples at least, they are set over radiating ribs so as to produce a chequered or honeycomb appearance. The surface is thickly covered with rivets with prominent heads...Across the back of the boss is a handle like the edge of a harp. (Blair and Edwards 1982, 82)

This description, according to Blair, matches a type of buckler first identified by Francis Grose in 1786 and later discussed by Dr Richard Williams in 1957, although Blair was the first to suggest its provenance to Wales. Blair (Blair and Edwards 1982, 83) identifies thirty-one examples of the Welsh buckler which have survived, and all are associated with Britain, though Blair also states that only five have a known provenance. Of those, only three were recorded from excavated archaeological contexts, all during the eighteenth century, one from Old Oswestry hillfort (Shropshire), one from Shrewsbury battlefield (Shropshire) (1403), and one from Caerhun Roman fort (Conwy).

Williams (1957) subdivided this type of buckler into three separate groups, and Blair (1982, 84) divided the third type into two distinct types, 3a and 3b. The characteristics as described by Williams (1957) (and reprinted with additions by Blair and Edwards 1982 83-4) are given below:

Type 1 – The rings are arranged in two layers, with those in the upper one overlapping the two adjacent rings in the lower layer. The upper rings, which are the only ones to be riveted, serve to retain the lower ones. There are no radiating laths and the boss is formed as a low hemisphere with a simple, nail-like spike, and a flanged edge through which the rivets securing it to the leather pass (Fig. 8.20(a)).

Type 2 – This has the characteristic pear-shaped central projection on the boss. The rings, which are narrower than those on type 1 and are all riveted, are spaced out so that the leather foundation is usually visible between them, and crossed by narrow riveted laths which radiate from the edge of the boss and so give the whole surface a honeycombed appearance. On some examples the rings and laths are set close together and on others wide apart. The rivets are placed at some points where the



Fig. 8.20a. Blair's Type 1 Welsh Buckler (Blair and Edwards 1982, **PLATE XIII**)



Fig. 8.20b. Blair's Type 2 Welsh Buckler (Blair and Edwards 1982, **PLATE XVI**)



Fig. 8.20c. Blair's Type 3(b) Welsh Buckler (Blair and Edwards 1982, **PLATE XIX**)



Fig. 8.20d. Blair's Type 3(a) Welsh Buckler (Blair and Edwards 1982, **PLATE XX**)

rings and laths intersect, and also close together round the main edge and the edge of the boss (Fig. 8.20(b)).

Type 3(b) – This has a boss as on Type 2, but no radial laths, and the rings, which are all riveted, are arranged so that they overlap each other from the rim inwards, the rivets are very close together (Fig. 8.20(c)).

Type 3a – A variant of type 3b (Williams Type 3), not mentioned by Dr. Williams, has a Type 1 boss with a spike (Fig. 8.20(d)).

Type 1, the earliest and the simplest construction, was considered to date from the early fifteenth century, for although only one example survives in the Tower of London, originally from Hilton Park, Staffs, there is a very similar example carved on one of the misericords in the parish church at Ludlow, Shropshire, which dates to the early part of that century (Blair and Edwards 1982, 84) (Fig. 8.21). Blair does not suggest a clear date for the other types. Considering that Blair believed there was a progressive development from Type 1 to Type 3b, and considered all types to be in use no later than the end of the sixteenth century, a rough dating sequence can be calculated.



Fig. 8.21. Type 1 Welsh Buckler shield carved onto the Misericord at Ludlow Parish Church, Shropshire (Misericords 2012)

On the one hand, the information presented by Blair and Edwards (1982) is not directly relevant to this project, as the majority of examples identified by Blair post-date 1450. However, if we return to the work of Day (2011a) on the descriptions of Welsh shields in the poetry of the princes, there are several comparisons that can be made that might provide proof of the link between shields used in Wales during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the Welsh bucklers made in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The use of the word *eurgrwydwr* by the court poets is particularly interesting. This has been interpreted as meaning ‘some kind of sieve-pattern ornamentation’ (Day 2011a, 42).

Many interpretations have been put forward as to the meaning of this term including ‘gold-filigreed decoration’ or even a dot-pattern that can be found on a number of metal objects from various dates, including the bronze shield fittings from the Iron Age Tal-y-Llŷn collection (Day 2011a, 42). However, if one considers the characteristics of Blair’s Type 2 bucklers, parallels can certainly be made. The decoration of Welsh bucklers would appear to vary; however Blair describes the radiating riveted laths that cross the rings of the Type 2 bucklers, giving the surface of the shield a honeycombed appearance. Although, this is not exactly ‘sieve like’, the similarity is notable. Therefore it could be suggested that the use of the word *eurgrwydwr* in the earlier poems is to describe similar decoration to that found on the later bucklers.

Similarly, Day (2011a, 48) refers to the use of the word *asgethrawg* and its links to descriptions of shield bosses. Day points out that there is much debate as to the correct translation of the word *asgethrawg*, and, although the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* provides the meaning as ‘tenacious, stubborn’, the word can also be associated with meanings such as ‘spiked, toothed’ (Day 2011a, 48). Furthermore, Day (2011a, 48) suggests that a link can be made with small ornamental bosses, such as those found on the early seventh century Sutton Hoo shield, or even decorative rivets on the shield’s surface. Returning to the characteristics of Welsh bucklers described by Blair and Edwards (1982), there are two in particular of importance here. First, for both Types 1 and 3a, the determining characteristic is the central boss with a protruding spike. If the meaning of *asgethrawg* is interpreted as referring to a spiked appearance, it could well be that this refers to a similar spiked boss to that found on the bucklers. As Day suggests, the meaning of *asgethrawg* could also refer to decorative rivets. If this is correct, the parallel with Welsh bucklers becomes clearer, as the most striking feature of the Welsh buckler is the patterns formed by numerous rivets arranged over their surface. Therefore, either meaning of the word *asgethrawg* suggested here could be associated with decoration found on bucklers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and suggests that similar shields could have been in use earlier in Wales.

The evidence for the popularity of the ‘Welsh Buckler’ at the court of King Henry VIII (1509-1547), including with the king himself, is also intriguing. There is one surviving example (Fig. 8.22), now housed in the Musée de l’Armée, Paris, which was believed to have been made for King Henry VIII during the early part of his reign, since the emblem of Catherine of Aragon is shown alongside the King’s arms on the central boss (Rimer et al

2009, 330). The fact that several Welsh buckler makers moved from the Wrexham area to work in London demonstrates the demand for this type of shield in the capital at this time, and Geoffrey Bromefield was even named as the King's '*boucler* maker' in February 1530 (Rimer et al 2009, 330). It is well known that the Welsh lineage of the Tudor dynasty was important in attaining the throne and keeping it, especially during the reign of Henry VII, and as Roberts (1986) argues, 'without their Welsh connections, the Tudors could not have made good their rags-to-riches ascent to the English throne'. Therefore the suggestion must be made that to have and display an item that was quintessentially Welsh, such as a Welsh shield, would have created a physical image of that lineage, especially if that shield had a long tradition of use in Wales.

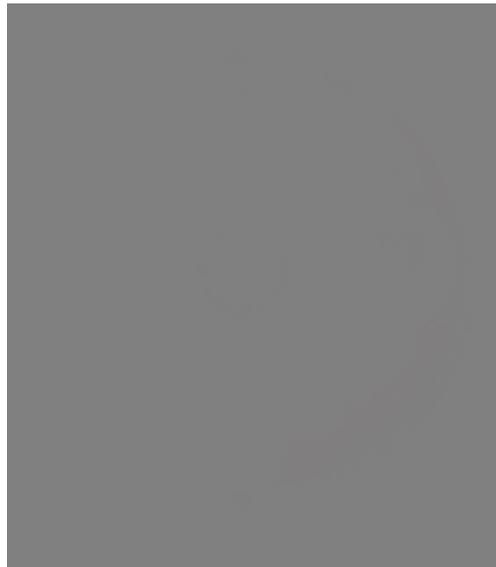


Fig. 8.22. Welsh Buckler decorated with the royal arms of King Henry VIII (Rimer et al 2009, 331)

Putting this evidence together, a case can be made for a link between earlier medieval round shields as depicted on early medieval sculpture, and the later Welsh buckler of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although these are unlikely to be exactly the same, it can be argued that the Welsh buckler evolved from a small round shield in use in Wales by the tenth century. The similarities in decoration between certain later examples of the Welsh buckler and the descriptions of shields in the poetry of the princes, are striking, and this alone would imply some connection between the two.

However, to what extent were other forces using round shields or was this type of shield only used by the native Welsh soldiers during the medieval period? Bucklers, in many shapes and sizes were used throughout medieval Europe and therefore it is likely that round shields would have been known to soldiers fighting for the English king. The round shield depicted on the Malvern Abbey effigy is highly likely to represent the burial of a Marcher knight as a result of its location within the March, and therefore would indicate that this type of shield was in use in the Welsh borders. Of course, as Nicolle suggests, this could depict the

knight with his tournament equipment; even so, this is evidence for the use of round shields outside *Pura Wallia*.

This analysis has indicated that there was not one type of shield in use in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450. Although there is no archaeological evidence to prove the use of kite-shaped shields in Wales during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it should be assumed as a possibility; certainly, Norman soldiers were likely to have been using these shields both in the borders and areas of occupation, particularly in the south. However, as this type of shield was designed to be used by the mounted knight, the extent to which it was used by Welsh soldiers would have been limited. This is because, as previously discussed in Chapter 4, the majority of Welsh soldiers would have fought on foot and, although there were mounted soldiers included in Welsh armies, the tactics employed by them would have meant that the long kite-shaped shield would have been impractical.

By the thirteenth century, however, there is evidence to suggest the shorter triangular-shaped, heater shield was known to Welsh soldiers, particularly amongst the elite. Representations of this type can be found on sculpture, seals and in manuscripts. However, there is some argument as to whether it was in widespread use, or whether the representations were used only to express the intended image of the Welsh soldiering elite to the wider audience in England and beyond. As with the earlier, kite-shaped shield, it is likely some Welsh individuals would have adopted English equipment in the pre-conquest period. However, it is likely that it would be more popular amongst the elite and the *Teulu* rather than the *Llu*, who would have continued to fight with traditional Welsh military equipment.

The most likely type of shield to have been in widespread use amongst native soldiers during the medieval period in Wales is the round shield referred to by Gerald of Wales in the early thirteenth century and apparently presented in poetry. In pre thirteenth-century period, the round shield was most likely used by all Welsh soldiers, whether they were a prince, a member or the *Teulu* or the *Llu*. Although by the thirteenth century, the elite were coming under increasing influence from tactics and equipment across the border, it is assumed that the majority of men fighting in the Welsh *Llu* would have continued to arm themselves with the traditional round shield, some of which remained in use into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by which time they had evolved into the Welsh Buckler that proved so popular in the court of King Henry VIII. However, what is unclear is the extent to which Norman, English and Marcher soldiers would have adopted this type of shield rather than the

traditional kite-shaped and heater shields. Here evidence is lacking, and although one presumes that they would have continued to fight with these types of shield, if any, it is also distinctly possible that some forces may have chosen to use Welsh types, just as Welshmen may have adopted the use of kite-shaped and heater shields.

ⁱ Meyrick (1783-1848) was a notable antiquary and historian who specialised in arms and armour. He lived on the Welsh/Herefordshire border and collected a number of artefacts from Wales. His most notable work, published in 1824, was titled *A Critical Enquiry in Ancient Armour as it existed in Europe, but particularly England, from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of King Charles II* and was published in three illustrated volumes (Bailey 2004).

Chapter 9: The Reality of Weaponry and Warfare: Wales c.1100 – c.1450

Introduction

In the final chapter the aim is to consider the results of the evidence collected in order to attain a clearer picture overall of the nature of warfare in Wales during the period *c.1100 to c.1450*. In the preceding chapters, both the written and material evidence has been analysed to determine the kinds of military equipment in use in Wales during the period *c.1100 – c.1450* and to what extent objects, such as spears or swords, were employed. That information will be brought together and considered with reference to the research questions set out in Chapter 1.

Firstly, there will be a discussion of the value of the sources available to research weaponry and warfare in medieval Wales. The strengths and weaknesses of individual written sources and the archaeological material were discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. However, in this concluding chapter it will be argued that using a multidisciplinary approach is essential if more positive information is to be gained. Following on from this there will be a discussion of the types of weapons that have been identified from both the written and archaeological sources, bringing together the main arguments made in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 to attain a clearer picture of weaponry and warfare in Wales *c.1100 to c.1450*. It will then be considered to what extent there is evidence to support any differences between Welsh and English weapon types, and in turn, what this can reveal about the nature of warfare in Wales during the period under scrutiny. This will be followed by a discussion that considers to what extent the weaponry and tactics used in Wales *c.1100 to c.1450* developed from weapons and tactics that originated far earlier, in some cases as far back as the Iron Age and Roman periods. Finally, it will be argued that the evidence collected for this thesis has brought into question ideas of the ‘Norman’ or ‘English’ or ‘Welsh’ art of war as it would suggest that the differences in any approach were not necessarily related to culture, but that environment played a significant role. It will also be questioned as to how far labels, such as ‘Anglo-Saxon’, ‘Viking’, ‘medieval’ or ‘early modern’ warfare, are representative of the nature of warfare at these times, and argue that the nature of warfare throughout history was far more complex than these labels suggest, and that the similarities can be identified in the way in which warfare was fought throughout history.

The Value of the Sources

The aims of the second and third chapters of this thesis were to assess the value of written, illustrative and archaeological sources to the study of weaponry and warfare in Wales c.1100 – c.1450. Many of the negative attitudes of scholars towards the native Welsh discussed in Chapter 1, such as those of Nelson (1966) and Nichole (1990), have resulted from a tendency to take the descriptions of warfare and weaponry in the written sources at face value. Therefore many historians have failed to acknowledge the affect that hidden agendas and a bias towards the winning or controlling power had on those writing between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. Furthermore, although historians, such as Suppe (1997) and Davies (2003), have attempted to re-evaluate the nature of warfare in medieval Wales, they have continued to rely on a written record which when used alone is likely to cause both inaccuracies and misunderstandings of the weaponry and the conduct of warfare in Wales c.1100 to c.1450.

The main problem with using the written sources to learn about the types of weaponry used in medieval Wales and how that had an effect on the way in which warfare was fought, is the fundamental lack of detail that can be gleaned from primary sources including both English sources, such as the *Gesta Stephani*, as well as the works of writers such as Orderic Vitalis, William Newburgh and Walter Map, and native Welsh sources, such as the *Brut y Tywysogyon* and *The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*. Although these and other sources may mention key battles and sieges that took place in Wales during the period concerned, very few record details of the different weapons that were used, how they were used and in what numbers. Furthermore, sources that one would expect to have provided useful evidence, for example the early thirteenth century continuation of the St Albans Chronicle by Roger of Wendover (Giles 1849) or the fifteenth century chronicle of Adam of Usk (Given-Wilson 1997), provided no meaningful information that could further our understanding of the range of weaponry used. The lack of detail is clearly expressed by the review of the written sources in the attempts to understand the role that weapons, such as the bow and arrow, the crossbow (Chapter 5), the spear (Chapter 6) or even the sword (Chapter 7), actually played in the conflicts concerning Wales during the period under review. References to the specific use of these weapons were not only rare, but where they are used, only provide a tantalising glimpse of who may have used such weapons and in what contexts. Even the more detailed descriptions in the works of Gerald of Wales are in most cases very brief, and most likely over simplified (see Chapters 5 and 6). For example, Gerald's description of the Welsh using round shields, which is an extremely important reference, yet there is no real attempt from Gerald to describe the shields in any detail, determining size or decoration, and neither does Gerald provide any contemporary comparisons from which one may be able to determine these details from (see Chapter 8).

Written sources must also be used with caution when researching weaponry and warfare in this period, because of the possible inaccuracies that may be included in their texts. Flaws may enter a text either at the time of writing or as a result of mistakes made when manuscripts were both copied or translated. Firstly, one must question as to how far medieval writers, the majority of whom would have had careers in the church, would have been familiar with the different types of medieval weapon used in Wales, or how those weapons were used. The extent to which authors such as Henry of Huntingdon or William of Malmesbury would have personally witnessed the military events that they describe in their chronicles would have been minimal; therefore it is highly likely that their material would have been sourced from second-hand testimony. A key example of this is the description of the death of Robert of Rhuddlan by Orderic Vitalis (Chibnall 1969, 140). Although Orderic was well acquainted with Robert's family, there are possible inaccuracies in his account, clearly demonstrated by Orderic's inclusion of Gruffudd ap Cynan in the story (see Chapter 6). Therefore one must question, if Orderic falsely described Gruffudd's involvement, to what extent can the rest of the information provided be trusted? Furthermore, issues with copying and translation can clearly be identified when looking at the differences in the text in both the Latin and the later Welsh versions of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*. For example, in the mid-twelfth century Latin version, during the Battle of Bron y Ewr (1075), Gruffudd is almost killed by a soldier using a sword (Russell 2005, 65). However, in the mid-thirteenth century Welsh version, Gruffudd is attacked by a youth from Anglesey 'brandishing a spear' (Evans 1990, 63). On the other hand, reasons for this difference in the choice of weaponry may actually be more complex than a simple error in translation. For example, the use of the sword in the earlier Latin version could be the result of the author highlighting Gruffudd's position as part of the Welsh military elite, whereas the later Welsh version may be actually be reflecting the way in which the majority of soldiers in north Wales would have been armed. Either way, although these differences may seem circumstantial, if one is attempting to understand how often swords or spears are used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the differences in the two versions of the text are misleading.

There are also ambiguities within the modern day translations of the medieval texts that can weaken the value of the written source to the study of weaponry and warfare in Wales c.1100 – c.1450. This was demonstrated by the problems encountered in understanding the variety of spear forms and their functions in Chapter 6. A variety of Latin terms for spears were used by medieval writers, including *hasta*, *lancea*, *iacula* and even in some circumstances *missilli*. In many of the translated texts, all of these terms are translated as 'spears' with little effort made to differentiate between the different terms, nor to explain why different terms may have been used. It would be presumed that at the time of writing, there were specific reasons why writers chose certain terms, especially as some writers, including Gerald of Wales, make use of more than one of the terms in the same source (see Chapter 6). Just as Davies (2003, 150) argues that the variety of terms used for

spears in the early medieval poems the *Gododdin* and the *Battle of Maldon* cannot be explained by the demands of poetic metre, it is highly unlikely that the use of different terms by later medieval writers were purely stylistic. It is far more likely that in the majority of cases, the purpose of using different terms was to distinguish between the different types of spears that were in use (see Chapter 6). However, without understanding the precise meaning of these terms, the amount of information that can be attained from the written sources about the range of weaponry used is severely limited.

Yet, the central issue with the written sources in attempting to understand both weaponry and the art of war in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450, is the reasons that motivated authors, such as Walter Map, Roger de Hoveden, or Gerald of Wales, to write these works in the first place, and the influences that they may or may not have had upon them. ‘To the victor go the spoils’ and more often than not this will include the right to record the conflict in the written record. However, this very one sided view of military history is far too simplistic, as there are often more complex reasons for the way in which past conflicts were recorded in the manner they were, and medieval Wales is no different. The post-colonial context of medieval Wales and those writing about the events related to the conflicts that took place there were discussed in detail in Chapter 2. It was argued that the importance of justifying the conquest of Wales was at the centre of many written sources, including the seemingly neutral works of Gerald of Wales. The requirement of the Normans, and later the English, to appear the just rulers of Wales is emphasized by the common descriptions of the Welsh as barbaric, uncouth and militarily incompetent, as this served to create the image that the invading force were essentially bringing civilisation to their conquered lands. This agenda is clearly seen in the descriptions of the Welsh by the twelfth-century writer William Newburgh, who on several occasions describes the Welsh in a negative manner. For example, he calls them ‘turbulent and uncivilised’ (Walsh and Kennedy 1988, 21), he says ‘the country produces men of barbaric behaviour, reckless and untrustworthy, thirsting for the blood of others and wasteful of their own’ (Walsh and Kennedy 1988, 23), and refers to them as ‘that unbridled and savage nation’ (Walsh and Kennedy 1988, 77). However, the level of scorn is severely diminished later in this source when a troop of Welshmen were used at the siege of Rouen to destroy the French supply train (Walsh and Kennedy 1988, 153). Here the Welshmen are on the same side, fighting against a common foe, and therefore are described as ‘nimble and familiar with woodland’ and when William states that they ‘attacked the supply train with great destruction of men and beasts’ there is no suggestion of distaste or any barbarity amongst the attacking force.

Furthermore, the accuracy of the works of Gerald of Wales must also be taken into account if one is to consider motivation as a possible weakness within written sources. The discussion of the value of sources in Chapter 2 took into account how far medieval writers were influenced by the post-colonial environment of medieval Wales, including the works of Gerald of Wales. Although Gerald’s

works cannot be directly compared with sources such as the *Gesta Stephani* or Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, whose barbaric descriptions of the Welsh sit firmly within the tradition first started by Geoffrey of Monmouth as a clear way of justifying the Norman attempts to conquer Wales, Gerald avoids questioning these views as a result of his reluctance to contradict the English elite (see Chapter 2). If Gerald wanted his works to be read he would need to conform to the traditional view point of his audience, and his personal aims to further his ecclesiastic career would also have impacted upon the way in which he portrayed the English and the Welsh in his works. Furthermore, it is important to stress that beyond the post-colonial environment, Gerald was writing in order to demonstrate his knowledge and skills to a wider European audience. Thus, one must question how far his comparisons between the Welsh and heroes from the Classical age, for example his descriptions of the Parthian shot (see Chapter 5), are actually accurate representations or just Gerald showing off his knowledge of the Classics. Therefore, the hidden agenda of medieval writers, such as William Newburgh, or even Gerald of Wales, brings into question the descriptions that they provide.

There are, however, issues with using the archaeological evidence to research weaponry and warfare in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450. The most notable of these is the small numbers of examples of weapons, notably spearheads (thirty-seven), swords (nine), daggers (eleven) and knives (three) that have been recovered. Even the collection of arrowheads in the catalogue is small in number if one considers that the majority of examples have come from only three sites (Criccieth Castle, Dryslwyn Castle and Castell y Bere). Reasons for the comparative scarcity of archaeological remains are varied and were discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The main issues related to the study of weaponry assemblages collected from the archaeological record are determined by a number of factors which begin with how the object was lost in the first instance and end with the recovery of the artefact by the archaeologist in the present day. The series of contingencies first identified by Collins (1975), which have been further refined by scholars such as Schiffer (1987), Orton (2000) and Robbins (2012) are all of significance to understanding the sampling bias associated with military related artefact in Wales.

First of all, the way in which objects enter the archaeological record must be considered. Objects do this in one of two ways, they are either accidentally lost or they are deliberately deposited, both of which are affected by the forms of the artefacts, their importance to the individual and the location and context of deposition. It is important to stress that not all of the weapons used by medieval soldiers during sieges, battles or skirmishes will have been lost at their time of use. Items, such as swords and daggers, would have been of great value and therefore, even if lost on the battlefield, would have been found and removed in the immediate aftermath. Similarly, weapons such

as spears, would also have been easily recovered as a result of their size and either reused or melted down and recast. The same could also be said for arrows, which could have been recovered, although it is more likely that these smaller objects were more easily lost, especially if the arrowhead had become detached from its shaft. The loss of weapons to the archaeological record is also dependent on the location in which they are lost. Landscape features, such as thick undergrowth or waterlogged ground, would limit the effort made to try and recover weapons. Furthermore, the contexts in which weapons were being used would also have an impact. For example, the number of weapons used in a small scale skirmish or ambush would be far less than in a full scale battle, and the number of weapons used during a battle, which would only last a matter of hours in most cases, would be far fewer than the number of weapons that would be taken and potentially lost during a siege, which could last months.

Secondly, of those that were lost, it is likely that a significant proportion of these artefacts would not have been preserved. The wet and acidic nature of Welsh soils is less than ideal for the preservation of iron, the material from which nearly all types of medieval weapons were made, and therefore it is highly likely that many of the objects lost would have perished (see Chapter 1 and 3). Thirdly, it also has to be considered as to how many of these weapons would have survived intact over the centuries since they were initially lost. Robbins (2012, 33) lists how artefacts may be disturbed by examples such as natural erosion by wind or water, the effect of later building works, agriculture or even animal burrowing.

The next possible issue is exposure, the weapon must be exposed to either a collector or archaeologist and this is dependent on both the artefact's position and the technique used (Robbins 2012, 34). This is less of an issue on excavated sites, as all objects have the potential to be exposed in a scientific way. However, there are many battlefields and skirmish sites scattered across Wales where the precise location is unknown (see Chapter 1). Therefore, there may be significant collections of medieval weaponry preserved at these sites, that until the sites become known, if they survive at all, remain unexposed. Following on from the issue of exposure, is probably the most significant bias: recovery. Differences in techniques, site choices, sampling methods, visual appearance and the individual interests of the excavators are all relevant to this thesis (Robbins 2012, 37-45). The lack of excavations to have taken place at relevant sites is problematic. Despite a number of castle sites in Wales having undergone archaeological investigation, this is a comparatively small number if one considers the numbers of castles that would originally have existed in Wales during the period under scrutiny. Reasons for this include the emerging preference amongst researchers to use non-invasive techniques, as well as the comparative lack of interest in military sites in recent times. The latter also has an impact on the way in which finds are recovered from excavated sites. The lack of interest in military aspects of castle sites amongst modern researchers and excavators has meant that in many

cases the weapons found have either been mistakenly catalogued as other objects, ignored in the excavation reports or in some cases not included in the record of finds recovered from the sites at all (see Chapter 3). Therefore, as discussed in Chapter 2, the quality of the evidence from some sites that have been excavated, such as Flint castle and Caergwrl castle, have made the analysis for this thesis particularly difficult.

Taking all these contingencies into account, the sample of artefacts available to study does not represent a significant proportion of the weapons that were actually in use in Wales c.1100 to c.1450. However, this is not to say that the sample collected for this thesis does not provide a reliable source of evidence for studying medieval weaponry, though it does have an impact on the results, especially regarding the distribution and frequency of specific finds. Therefore, although sites, such as Dryslwyn or Criccieth castles, have yielded significant assemblages, whilst sites such as Rhuddlan and Llanstephen have yielded very few, this is not necessarily the result of an increased use of weapons at these sites, as the assemblages may have been distorted by a less corrosive environment, or better excavation techniques.

The strength of the archaeological record lies in the evidence it provides for the forms of weaponry used in Wales c.1100 to c.1450. The preservation of a number of the items in the catalogue is poor, for example spears CC 492 (Llanstephen) and CC 501 (Tylorstown) can provide very little information on form as a result of their level of corrosion. Nevertheless, the majority of the artefacts survive in significantly good condition as to be able to provide clear evidence of the forms of arrowheads, spearheads, swords and daggers that were present in Wales during the medieval period. Furthermore, comparisons between the written, illustrative and archaeological evidence can fill in important gaps that a reliance on any one source fails to do, allowing a clearer picture of the types of weaponry that were in use, when, where and occasionally how they were used and by whom. In addition, a comparison between the written sources and the archaeological material can highlight where there are inaccuracies in the evidence that would otherwise go undiscovered. For example, analysis of the written evidence has led many scholars, such as Morris (1901, 16-18), Strickland and Hardy (2005, 157) and Prestwich (2011, 62), to believe that the use of the bow and arrow was favoured in south Wales. On the other hand the archaeological evidence has questioned this, with significant numbers of arrowheads coming from sites in north Wales (see Chapter 5). Therefore, if one is going to successfully understand weaponry and warfare in medieval Wales, it is essential to use a combination of sources, rather than to rely on just one type.

The Weaponry of Medieval Wales

A wide variety of weapons were utilized during the period under review. Some of these, such as the spear and the bow, had been used in warfare from the very earliest times, whilst others,

such as the hammer and the mace, were first developed during the medieval period. Although there was a wide range of weapons available to the medieval soldier, it does not necessarily mean that they were all in use in Wales. It is clear that soldiers in Wales were capable of using different types of weaponry (see Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8).

It is fair to assume that one of the most commonly used weapons by the soldier in Wales *c.*1100 – *c.*1450 was the spear (see Chapter 6). Although these do not survive in great numbers (Thirty-seven) in the archaeological record it is clear from the analysis of both historical and literary sources that the spear was widely used in Welsh contexts. The fact that Gerald of Wales describes the use of the spear on a comparatively large number of occasions in both the *Journey* and the *Description of Wales* demonstrates how common this weapon was. However, the picture painted by other historical sources is far from detailed, and one may argue that it is sometimes oversimplified. The variety of shapes and sizes of spearheads that have been identified in the catalogue mirrors the variety of spear types in use during the later medieval period, not just in Wales, but throughout western Europe. The spear was a versatile weapon that could be thrown at an opponent, or held in the hand and thrust at an enemy in close combat, or it could be used from horseback in the form of the lance during a cavalry charge which was a popular tactic amongst medieval knights (DeVries and Smith 2012, 8).

This versatility is clear in the evidence already discussed for the use of the spear in Wales. As we have seen, a variety of techniques can be identified in the written record, and there is also potential evidence for this variety seen in the spearhead types recovered from archaeological contexts, although this is more circumstantial. The minor variations in shape and size visible in the Welsh assemblage is most likely explained by a difference in function, and it has been suggested that longer and narrower blades were designed for throwing, whilst shorter, wider blades were used for thrusting as a result of differing depths of penetration. However, there is nothing remarkably Welsh about these types, as there are comparable examples that can be identified throughout Britain, Ireland and Scandinavia. Therefore it must be suggested that the spear in all its forms and functions was widely used by soldiers during the medieval period.

However, it is important to stress that the evidence from written sources does suggest a particular Welsh predilection for the javelin, although it is not clear if this is instead of or as well as thrusting spears. Descriptions, such as the death of Robert of Rhuddlan by Orderic

Vitalis, and numerous references to the sowing of spears in Welsh medieval praise poetry, clearly demonstrate the Welsh skill with javelins, and it is possible that the inclusion of spearmen from north Wales in English armies of the early fourteenth century was the result of a heightened skill with such a weapon, in comparison to soldiers elsewhere in England and Wales (see Chapter 6). However, it is important to stress that this was not a uniquely Welsh skill as there is also evidence, in particular from the Bayeux Tapestry (see Chapter 6), to suggest that the Normans were also capable of using javelins in warfare.

In addition to the spear, there is extensive evidence for the use of the bow and arrow during medieval conflicts in Wales. Interestingly, unlike the spear which would have been used by most soldiers, regardless of their status, the bow and arrow was most likely a weapon deployed by the lower ranks of soldier practising arms in Wales. Evidence from Welsh poetry highlights that it is not until after the Edwardian conquest in 1282 that the bow and arrow starts to appear more frequently in the hands of poetic patrons, and even then, it is more likely to be used during leisurely pursuits, such as hunting and target practice, rather than in the context of war (see Chapter 5). On the other hand, there are large quantities of arrowheads (438) in the archaeological record which demonstrate how widely this weapon was used in Wales. Interestingly, unlike the poetry, the archaeological evidence would suggest a more frequent use for this weapon in the years preceding the final conquest of 1282, a period of intense conflict, with the majority of arrowheads coming from sites that were most active during the later thirteenth century, most notably Dryslwyn and Criccieth castles which have produced 248 arrowheads between them and both castles were besieged by English forces during Welsh rebellions in the late thirteenth century (see Chapter 3).

However, what is unclear from the evidence is who was actually using the bow and arrow as, although these examples have been found in Wales, it is possible that they were used by English archers in the process of conquest and occupation and in the immediate aftermath of the final conquest to control the newly conquered lands into the early fourteenth century. Although Gerald of Wales refers to the Welsh use of the bow, in this case he emphasizes that it was used more frequently in Gwent, and he does not provide evidence for its more widespread use. However, as we have seen comparisons with the archaeological assemblages of sites elsewhere in Britain and Ireland, in particular Dublin and Waterford, may indicate to a difference in the arrowhead types used by Welsh archers compared with their Norman and English counterparts, which would suggest that the majority of bodkin type

arrowheads (M5-M10) found are actually associated with Welsh contexts. Interestingly, the evidence collected from Irish contexts would also appear to suggest that the bodkin type arrowhead was first used by Scandinavian archers in the tenth century. This could suggest that the discovery of this type of arrowhead in Wales, particularly in Gwynedd, could be linked to Hiberno-Norse connections between Ireland and Wales (see below).

Interestingly, the majority of the material evidence for both the bow and arrow and the spear puts them in the hands of soldiers during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and before the Edwardian Conquest. Archaeological evidence for these weapons appears to decline during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which is unsurprising considering that Wales was not the focus of war during this period. Despite uprisings, the most prominent of which was under the leadership of Owain Glyndŵr during the first decade of the fifteenth century, medieval conflict during this period was focused elsewhere, in particular in Scotland and France. This is highlighted by an entry in the Patent Rolls for 18 March 1402 which grants a licence for Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester and lieutenant of South Wales 'to buy 100 bows, 120 sheaves of arrows and 30 lances and take them to south Wales for the garnishing of the castles and fortalices there' (Lyte et al 1909, 55). Although this takes place in the early years of the Glyndŵr revolt, the numbers of weapons involved would suggest that there was little threat of military engagement in this area as one would expect the numbers to have been far greater if this was the case. Therefore it is less likely that large numbers of such weaponry would be found on Welsh sites from this date, and any conclusions on the use of weapons, such as the spear or the bow, relies significantly on the documentary sources. The inclusion of Welsh archers in the Hundred Years War is well documented and has been most recently discussed by Chapman (2010). It is therefore highly likely that the archer continued to be an important element of the art of war in Wales during this time, and it is also possible that the use of this weapon became both more frequent and more widespread during this period, a pattern mirrored across the border in England (Bradbury 1985, 92). However, the spear, particularly in the form of the javelin, does not appear to have had such longevity. Although Chapman (2010, 186) provides evidence for the inclusion of spearmen from Wales in the armies of the English Crown during the early fourteenth century, by the middle of that century, these recruitments started to decline. Furthermore, Day (2011c, 11) has also demonstrated how the references to throwing spears in poetry begin to diminish by the early fourteenth century. Therefore, it would appear that this traditional Welsh military technique that can be identified in the early medieval poem the *Gododdin* (which may have its origin as

early as the sixth century) and in later medieval texts such as the Latin *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, declined, probably in favour of the bow and arrow, during the fourteenth century.

Reasons for this change are unclear, although one probable reason is the development of plate armour from the late thirteenth century onwards. Archaeological evidence suggests that during the fourteenth century there is a change in the form of arrowhead design and experiments by Stretton (2010b) would suggest that this change is linked to a change from mail to plate armour. In particular, the bodkin and leaf shaped type arrowheads which performed so well against mail armour common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were ineffective against plate breastplates and brigandines, both types of armour common during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Whilst there was an attempt to develop alternative arrowhead forms such as the warheads (M1 to M4) that would work against this new type of armour, there does not appear to have been a similar development in spearhead or javelin technology. This may have been the result of it being a less widespread skill, and the effective use of archers at battles such as Crecy and Poitiers meant that the use of the javelin soon became obsolete in favour of the much more universally used longbow.

In addition to the bow and arrow and the spear, other weapons were also available to use in warfare in Wales, although to what extent they were utilised is unclear. Swords, and other bladed weapons, including daggers and knives, (see Chapter 7) would have been used in conflicts, although it is most likely that these types of weapon, particularly the sword and dagger, would only have been carried by the elite, and it is uncertain how often they would have been used primarily in war. Furthermore, evidence from weapons, such as the Slebech sword (CC 515), clearly shows that this type of weapon also had a ceremonial role. Evidence for the use of weapons, such as the hammer, the battle-axe and the mace (see Chapter 8) is rare in both written and archaeological sources, implying that these weapons were again used by the elite but were not common inclusions amongst the military equipment carried by the medieval soldier in Wales.

The final piece of equipment that was fundamental to any medieval soldier was his shield. Medieval shields came in all shapes and sizes, with the most common being the kite-shaped shield which developed into the heater shield by the thirteenth century. However, in *Pura Wallia*, the evidence discussed in Chapter 8 strongly points to the continued use of round shields which had their origin in the early medieval period, and there is plausible evidence to suggest that the shield known as the Welsh Buckler, used during the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries, developed from an earlier Welsh shield of which no examples have survived.

On the other hand, it is important to note, that although the traditional Welsh shield may have been round, evidence from seals and sculpture depict the military elite of Wales carrying the more common kite-shaped or heater shields during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and thus conforming to the traditional military equipment carried by the medieval knight throughout western Europe at this time. Day (2011a) has also provided evidence from the analysis of medieval Welsh poetry that supports this change in preference, with a decline in references to round shields, particularly amongst the poems of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, although round shields are referred to in connection with Gruffudd ap Cynan and his grandsons Hwyl ab Owain and Rhodri ab Owain, as well as Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (Day 2011a, 32), by the time the poets were writing in praise of princes such as Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, they had stopped using terms such as *cylchwy*, *rhod* and *rhodawg* which are believed to refer to round shields (Day 2011a, 50). Therefore, whereas the common Welsh soldier may have carried his round shield into battle, it would appear that the military elite eventually adopted the equipment used by their English counterparts instead, or at least projected the image of this through depictions on seals, in manuscript illustrations and in sculpture.

Yet, despite the variety of weapon types that have been identified to have been in use in medieval Wales, there are no specific types that can specifically be associated with any specific cultural group. During the later medieval period a variety of ethnic groups and cultures were present in Wales and the approach to war has often been thought to have been very different between them. As described in Chapter 4, during the period in question, the Welsh were involved in almost continuous conflict with the English from the arrival of the Normans in 1070 to the Edwardian conquest in 1282. The creation of the Marcher lordships and the settlement of Normans within the conquered areas of Wales would have brought both sides into contact with each other both in times of war and in peace. Furthermore, Welsh mercenaries were included in the armies of the Duke of Gloucester during the civil wars between Stephen and Matilda (1135-54), and were also integral members of the armies involved in the conquest of Ireland during the twelfth century, in particular the campaign led by 'Strongbow' (Richard de Clare, d. 1176) (see Chapter 4). Flemish mercenaries were even settled in parts of south Wales by their Norman associates and Hiberno-Norse mercenaries

were a frequent inclusion in the armies of the Welsh princes, notably during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Following the conquest in 1282, soldiers from Wales and the Marches were recruited into English armies for campaigns in both Scotland and France, in particular the campaigns of the Hundred Years War during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Therefore, it is presumed that these interactions affected the choice of weaponry on both sides during conflicts in Wales *c.* 1100 – *c.* 1450.

Historical evidence for the adoption of foreign military equipment in Wales is rare and although in the *Description*, Gerald of Wales writes,

The Welsh have gradually learnt from the English and the Normans how to manage their weapons and to use horses in battle, for they have frequented the court and been sent to England as hostages. (Thorpe 1978, 267)

documentary sources fail to confirm any details of how the Welsh might have been influenced by their experiences of conflicts with enemies other than themselves, and equally how they may have influenced others. Even the statement above has to be questioned if one considers the evidence for the expertise of Welsh cavalry which potentially can be traced back to the pre-Roman period (see below). The description of the Welsh learning ‘how to manage their weapons’ from the Normans also has to be queried, as in other passages Gerald suggests that the Welsh were well trained in combat and the use of their weapons

They are fierce rather than strong, and totally dedicated to the practice of arms. (Thorpe 1978, 233)

Their sole interest in life consists of caring for their horses and keeping their weapons in good order, their sole preoccupation the defence of their fatherland and the seizing of booty. (Thorpe 1978, 235)

They spend their time in exercise and in practising with their weapons, with the result that they are ready at a moment’s notice to protect their homeland. (Thorpe 1978, 236)

Furthermore, Gerald is not the only medieval writer to comment on the Welsh ability to fight, with writers, such as Walter Map, also praising the Welsh ability with their weapons,

although in many cases they also make it clear that these weapons are crude and less developed than those used by the English.

Yet, the analysis of the artefacts recovered from the archaeological record does not suggest any defined differences in the types or standard of the weaponry used in medieval Wales, and does not advocate the idea that the Welsh were using poorer quality items. In fact, it could be argued that the Welsh were using more advanced forms of military technology if the evidence for bodkin type arrowheads (types M5-M10) is taken into account. It has been suggested in Chapter 5 that this type of military arrowhead was originally developed by Scandinavian settlers, and flourished particularly in Viking Ireland. It is possible that the links between the princes of Gwynedd and the Hiberno-Norse in Dublin, particularly during the reign of Gruffudd ap Cynan in the early twelfth century, caused this type of military technology to be introduced to archers in Wales. However, whilst the Welsh may have been using this type of arrowhead fairly early on, the Normans would appear to have preferred arrowhead types such as the triangular and leaf shaped forms, MP1 and MP3. It is not clear as to when the Normans began to use the bodkin technology, neither is it clear as to whether it was Norman and English activity in Wales or Ireland that caused the change. However, this does demonstrate that the image of a backward military nation portrayed by medieval writers, including Gerald of Wales, should be questioned more thoroughly.

Nevertheless, there were weapons and other items of military equipment that were introduced into Wales as a result of the Norman Conquest. It is evident that items, such as the mace and the hammer, for which evidence in Wales is minimal, are likely to have been introduced into Wales by enemy soldiers during the medieval period, rather than being of native origin. Furthermore, evidence from poetry and sculptural representations on effigies has demonstrated how, amongst the military elite, the traditional round shield of Wales was being replaced by the more widespread kite-shaped or heater shield by the thirteenth century (see Chapter 8). However, although there is evidence to suggest that military equipment was introduced into Wales from elsewhere, the evidence can only support the adoption of such weapons amongst the military elite.

From the mid-twelfth century the Welsh princes were increasingly attempting to place themselves on a wider European platform and were emulating both English and European ideals. Princes, such as the Lord Rhys and in particular both Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, were responsible for the adoption of European customs into their

native Welsh kingdoms (Pryce 2007, 40). Not only are these princes thought to have begun to adopt military equipment and tactics from outside Wales, such as the building of castles and the deployment of siege engines. Pryce (2007, 40) also suggests that the introduction of equestrian seals and the adoption of heraldry based on the royal arms of England by the thirteenth century rulers of Gwynedd displayed their identification with the common image of European knighthood. These imitations were not only seen in warfare but also in government with the adoption of elements of English common law in favour of the native Welsh laws, and in their control of the Church, for, as Pryce (2007, 41) points out, the princes also looked to ensure that the Church in Wales conformed more closely with the Church in western Europe.

However, the lack of any notable differences in the military equipment identified in the archaeological record suggests that there was little change in the weapons used by medieval Welsh soldiers because there were very few differences between the weapons used by the Welsh and the English to begin with. The perceived adoption of essentially European military equipment by the elite was undoubtedly about the image that it portrayed, an image that Pryce (2007, 45) suggests is best seen alongside the adoption of other elements of European culture, as a strategy of distinction designed to elevate their status within their own society. The images portrayed in poetry and art were designed to set them apart as a military elite. However, these images were not an accurate portrayal of the Welsh at war, rather they created the image of the princes as medieval knights, and demonstrated their similarity to both their English and European counterparts.

It would be expected that the English influence on the Welsh would be more prominent in the post-conquest period, as Welsh soldiers were being included in English armies in campaigns in both Scotland and France in much higher numbers than before the conquest in 1282. Again, the archaeological record has not provided significant evidence for any change. This may be due to the fact that war was being fought elsewhere during this period and therefore the numbers of finds available in Welsh contexts of this date is potentially diminished. On the other hand this may further support the idea that in reality there were very few differences between the weaponry used by both sides. However, the historical record does provide potential clues to changes that were taking place to weaponry and warfare in Wales during the post conquest period. It has been argued (see above) that the javelin played a key role in warfare in Wales prior to the Edwardian conquest, and that the

role of the bow and arrow was not as significant as previously thought. However, by the mid-fourteenth century, the English recruitment of Welsh spearmen had declined, but the continued recruitment of archers from all over England and Wales into the sixteenth century (Chapman 2010, 189-233) suggests that by this point, the bow and arrow had become more significant. Furthermore, the fact that this weapon becomes more frequently referenced in Welsh poetry during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would appear to support the argument. It has often been thought that the bow and arrow was the noteworthy weapon of the Welsh art of war throughout the medieval period with scholars such as Morris (1901), Oman (1924), Bradbury (1985) and Strickland and Hardy (2005) all referring to its significance. However, surprisingly, it would appear that it was in fact the English influence on the Welsh military elite that increased the importance of the bow and arrow in Welsh soldiering, perhaps at the expense of the traditional Welsh javelin.

Recent archaeological theories about hybridity and creolisation may be relevant to this debate as, if there are no distinct differences between the English and Welsh material, one should consider as to how far weaponry in Wales could be considered to be hybrid. If one understands colonialism to be about the creation of a hybrid culture resulting from sustained colonial contact, then it would suggest that all participants in that hybrid culture would bring something of their own to the new culture (Gosden 2001, 241-3). In terms of medieval Wales, this would suggest that rather than identifying clearly different weapon types dependant on whether they originated amongst the colonising English or the colonized Welsh, it would be possible to identify hybrid weapon types that symbolized the coming together of the two cultures. Hitchcock and Maeier (2013, 57) argue that hybridization processes consider how objects and practices are recombined in new ways, thereby mixing groups and aspects of their cultures to result in something new. Therefore, if hybridization of weaponry took place in Wales one would expect to identify new types of weaponry that may be the result of combining the features of two very distinct weapon types. However, as Stockhammer (2013, 12) points out, in order to understand hybridity, we first have to define what is understood to be pure, as how can something be defined as hybrid if one does not understand how it has become hybrid. Therefore, the lack of distinctly 'English' or 'Welsh' weapon types identified in both the written and archaeological record means it is equally unlikely that any weapon types could be described as hybrid.

Continuity of Weaponry and Warfare

Evidence collected during this project suggests that the Welsh were also influenced by other military tactics which were introduced long before the twelfth century. It can be argued that certain examples of medieval Welsh military equipment and tactics can be identified as continuations of tactics used by soldiers in Wales, in some cases, as far back as the Roman occupation between the first and fourth centuries AD. In the previous chapter (Chapter 8) it was argued that some Welsh soldiers, principally in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were choosing to carry small round shields into battle in preference to the kite-shaped and heater shields used by their Norman and English neighbours. Although there are no surviving examples of these medieval shields, evidence has been gathered from historical and literary sources which would make this suggestion likely. In further support of this is the evidence for the use of round shields identified in earlier contexts, notably depictions on early medieval stone sculpture. The Conbelin stone, Margam (Redknap and Lewis 2007, no. G79), and the Eglwysilan stone, Mid Glamorgan (Redknap and Lewis 2007, no G17) are key examples of this. Importantly, both of these can be dated to the between the ninth and eleventh centuries and would suggest that the practice of carrying round shields, both by foot soldiers and on horseback, certainly pre-dates the period under review.

Round shields were commonly used into antiquity (Cameron-Stone 1934, 555), however, the use of round shields, albeit larger than the ones depicted above, was also a common feature of warfare in Anglo-Saxon and Viking England. Evidence from sources, such as the Bayeux Tapestry, clearly demonstrate English soldiers carrying round shields at the Battle of Hastings (1066) and archaeological evidence from a number Anglo-Saxon graves between the fifth and seventh centuries, including the Sutton Hoo ship burial (earlier seventh century) (Green 1963, 75-7), place round shields in Anglo-Saxon hands at earlier dates. Therefore it could be suggested that the use of the round shield in Wales could well be the continuation, not only of ninth and tenth century Welsh military practices, but could also be evidence of earlier Germanic or Viking influences. Interestingly, the Welsh use of the javelin may also have parallels in Anglo-Saxon warfare. For example, Swanton (1974) identified a number of spears from pagan Anglo-Saxon graves in England that were most likely used as javelins, and descriptions of weapons such as the Frankish angon (see Chapter 6) would also imply that this type of weapon was used by Germanic tribes as far back as the sixth century. Furthermore, evidence from the Bayeux Tapestry also shows Anglo-Saxon infantrymen using javelins on several occasions.

Intriguingly, the Welsh use of the javelin may originate earlier than the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in the fifth century AD. This type of weapon was commonly used in Wales throughout the early medieval period, with descriptions of throwing spears found in heroic praise of this date, most notably the *Gododdin*, and supported by archaeological evidence, including the discovery of a sixth- or seventh-century javelin head from Four Crosses (Powys) (Barford et al 1986). However, Rowland (1995) has provided evidence from the analysis of the descriptions of fighting techniques in the *Gododdin* to suggest that medieval Welsh warfare may actually have elements that originated earlier than the sixth century, and may go back to the Roman occupation of Wales between the first and fourth centuries, if not before. Rowland (1995, 22) makes comparisons between the descriptions of both weaponry and tactics in the poem with the lightweight cavalry of the late Roman army. Here she argues that the weapons cited in the *Gododdin*, namely the shield, sword and spears, conform to those used by the Roman auxiliary cavalymen who would have carried a long slashing sword known as a *spatha*, three short spears that were used for stabbing and thrusting, and a quiver of three or four throwing spears (Rowland 1995, 24). Furthermore, Rowland (1995, 25-6) states that the emphasis on throwing spears in the *Gododdin* is paralleled in Roman military training, highlighted in the *De Iaculatione Equestri*, the now lost manual on the use of the javelin by cavalry written by Pliny, some of which survives in the *Natural History* by the same author. Rowland (1995, 28) further outlines similarities between the Roman light cavalry and Welsh soldiering by putting emphasis on the fact that the Roman cavalry were not only trained to fight from horseback but were equally capable of deploying their tactics on foot, comparing this to the description of the medieval Welsh by Gerald of Wales who states

Their leaders ride into battle on swift mettlesome horses which are bred locally...The horsemen will often dismount, as circumstance and occasion demand, ready to flee or attack. (Thorpe 1978, 234).

The similarities are striking, and certainly suggest that there was a continuation in the use of tactics and equipment from the late Roman period in conflicts in Wales during the early medieval period and extending into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, what is more interesting is the fact that these tactics may have been in use in Wales even before the Romans arrived in Britain. Roman light cavalry was heavily recruited from 'Celtic' Gaul and Spain and evidence from Caesar suggests that mounted warriors were effectively used by

British cavalry in the years before the Roman conquest, skills that could easily have survived amongst the Britons recruited into auxiliary cavalry units in Britain (Rowland 1995, 22-3). Interestingly, evidence from the late first-century Vindolanda tablet 85/32 also refers to the harrying tactics of mounted British spearmen in the north (Rowland 1995, 23; Vindolanda Tablets Online (Tab. Vindol. II 164) accessed 24/06/2015), which clearly suggests that these tactics did not come to Britain with the Romans, but were deployed by Iron Age warriors at an earlier date. Therefore, it could be argued that elements of the Welsh art of war during the period between c.1100 to 1282 actually originated over 1000 years before.

However, it is important to stress that, although the use of the javelin by Welsh soldiers may have been a common place and celebrated by the medieval Welsh poets, the use of javelins, both on foot and on horseback, was not limited to the Welsh. Evidence suggests that this type of weapon was also used by the Normans and the English in the later medieval period, and images on the Bayeux Tapestry are clearly demonstrating that spears were being thrown during sieges and battles in late eleventh-century Normandy and England. Therefore, it is possible that elements of Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Viking warfare also had an effect on the weaponry and warfare utilized by the Normans and the English, and perhaps further afield in medieval Europe.

Conclusions

The analysis of written sources, illustrations and archaeological evidence has clearly demonstrated that there was a range of weapon types utilized during warfare in Wales between c.1100 and c.1450. However, to what extent can the analysis of these sources reveal greater insights into the nature of warfare at this time. It is customary amongst both historians and archaeologists to study the past in neat sections. Students are taught that there are distinct differences between both cultures and historical periods. However, more recently, archaeologists in particular, are becoming increasingly aware that the archaeologically defined cultures about which we base our scholarly research are nothing but 'arbitrarily created entities that are more the result of our discipline's history of research than an adequate representation of the past' (Stockhammer 2013, 13). Furthermore, if scholars are starting to question the use of distinct time periods in archaeology, should scholars also be looking to blur the lines of distinct cultures at this time as well? Throughout this thesis, an attempt has been made to answer the research questions set out in Chapter 1 in terms of what types of weaponry were used in Wales during the medieval period. However, in this

concluding section, the idea of diametrically opposed cultures approaching warfare in very different ways will be discussed and the accuracy of a distinctly ‘medieval’ approach to warfare will be questioned?

Firstly, the extent to which there was a defined ‘Welsh’, ‘Norman’ or ‘English’ art of warfare between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries is questionable. The written sources tend to present the warfare between the English crown, the Marcher lords and the Welsh princes as the meeting of two very different abilities. From an English perspective, the Welsh are inferior barbarians compared to the martial prowess of the English knights. From a Welsh perspective, the princes and their *teulu* are the heroic counterbalance to the injustice of the English invaders. Even the contemporary writers who have split loyalties, such as Gerald of Wales and Walter Map, emphasise the differences between the approaches of the two military cultures. However, as discussed above, the demonstration of these differences was of political importance to both cultures, and therefore the truth in these descriptions is questionable. Furthermore the analysis of the archaeological material has failed to prove that there were any distinct differences in the forms and types of weapons that were used by both sides involved in the conflicts of medieval Wales. Neither can it be said that there are any definite differences between the material found in Wales with that found elsewhere in England, Scotland or even Ireland.

Therefore, rather than considering there to be distinct way in which these different cultures approached warfare, more consideration should be given to understanding how the environment in which war is fought affects the weaponry and tactics that are utilized. Just as in modern day warfare, understanding how the terrain and environmental conditions can have an impact on the tactics and weaponry that are used in conflict, it may be argued that the same should be said for medieval warfare. In discussing modern day military operations, Datz (2004, 3) states that understanding the limitations and opportunities of the terrain is a fundamental military skill and also remarks that ‘leaders of small tactical units concentrate on wood lines, streams and individual hills, whilst division and corps commanders analyse road nets, aerial avenues of movement, drainage patterns, and hill systems’. Thus, it would be fair to assume that between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, similar decisions were made and that the way in which medieval commanders fought conflicts was more to do with the environment in which they were placed rather than their idealized art of war.

This would certainly go some way to explain why scholars, such as Nelson (1966) and Nicolle (1990) amongst others discussed in Chapter 1, have often re-emphasised the differences between English and Welsh soldiering expressed in the primary sources. The way in which warfare was fought in Wales was different to how warfare was fought in England or in France. However, it is a mistake to refer to the Welsh as fighting differently to the Normans, or later, the English. Medieval writers regularly make reference to the mountainous and wooded environment of medieval Wales, and often refer to how the Welsh would make the most of this difficult environment during warfare (see Chapter 4). The adaptability of Norman and English battle commanders can be seen in many instances throughout the medieval period, the most prominent of which has to be the Battle of Northallerton (or the Battle of the Standard) between the Scots and the English in 1138. In an age of warfare that is categorized by the armoured cavalry charge, at Northallerton, the English knights dismounted and massed into one column (see Chapter 5). Reasons for the change in tactics have been discussed by Strickland (1992, 223) and again by Strickland and Hardy (2005, 70-1) with the main conclusion suggesting that by dismounting the English neutralized the superiority of the Scottish numbers by creating a cohesive group of disciplined soldiers in choice of the undisciplined cavalry charge. Suppe (1994, 147) also successfully argues how in the March of Wales, the Marchers very quickly learned how heavy cavalry were too slow to use against Welsh raiding parties and instead adopted light-horsemen who were able to pursue the Welsh at speed and were more likely to avoid any possible ambush. Suppe (1994, 147) also highlights how the Marchers also began to practise their own speedy raids and night attacks into Welsh territories in order to counter the raids they were suffering themselves. These examples clearly show how medieval military commanders could, and would, adapt their military strategy in order to suit the circumstances and surroundings in which they found themselves.

Yet, this argument can be taken further. Throughout this thesis, similarities have been identified between the weaponry and tactics used in medieval Wales with those used in Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Viking warfare. In Chapter 4, it was discussed how the descriptions of the Welsh approach to warfare, including their tendency to evade pitched battle, was not significantly different to the approach to warfare used in other historical conflicts including the second century BC Punic Wars and the eighteenth century American Wars of Independence. Furthermore, Datz (2008, 244) also states that in mountainous terrain frontal battle should be avoided today. Therefore, does the continuation of certain types of

weaponry and tactics from earlier periods into medieval Wales and beyond highlight a major issue in the way that scholars study military history and archaeology?

The idea of a distinctly medieval art of war is put in doubt when so many aspects of the tactics used by medieval kings and battle commanders can be identified in other historical conflicts. It is also significant that the majority of medieval commanders were not only familiar with, but also regularly consulted a late Roman military manual throughout the period under review: the *De Re Militari* by Vegetius (Gillingham 1992, 198). Furthermore, if one considers that from prehistory until the development of firearms in the sixteenth century, the principal weapons used by soldiers of all dates were the sword, the spear and the bow and arrow, the question should be asked as to how these weapons can be used to separate ‘arts of war’ into neat historical and archaeological periods. Although there are differences between the form of the swords used by an Iron Age warrior compared to a sword of a fourteenth century foot soldier, these differences are caused by developments in manufacturing techniques and in response to developments in armour, not necessarily as a result of the way in which they were used. After all, Roman soldiers carried different types of sword depending on whether they were fighting on foot or on horseback, just as a medieval knight would have done (see Chapter 7).

The reliance upon written sources to study military engagements of the past has encouraged scholars of military history to focus on just one aspect of the past, thus they have failed to consider any parallels from alternative time periods. This is a result of a reliance upon sources that are directly related to the period in which is being studied. With an archaeological approach however, comparing the physical artefacts with others of alternative dates is fundamental, especially in any attempt to date objects typologically, and therefore it becomes easier to establish any similarities between two objects that may have been made over several hundred years apart. This not only emphasises how important an archaeological study of weaponry is to our understanding of past military activities, but also begins to demonstrate that there are problems with the current division between warfare of differing periods.

Future Research

This thesis has successfully demonstrated that to understand fully the nature of warfare in Wales c.1100 – c.1450, it is essential to consider evidence from a range of sources as a

reliance on the written record can lead to considerable inaccuracies. By comparing the images of warfare portrayed in historical sources with images in literature and art, and then making further comparisons with the artefacts themselves, a clearer picture starts to emerge. However, the conclusions made as a result of the research undertaken here are only the start, and there is much more information to be obtained before the complete picture can be presented. Some pointers will be suggested concerning where research into the medieval art of war in Wales and further afield can be taken in the future to further our understanding of the subject.

It must be stated, that although an attempt was made to gather as much information from the archaeological record as possible in the time available, the discussion could have been considerably expanded had there been more material with which to work. The catalogue contains over 500 items; however, the biggest proportions of finds were arrowheads, with only eighty-five of the objects representing other forms of weaponry. Furthermore, the items catalogued were recorded to have come from just over thirty-three different sites. This relatively small data sample has limited the amount of analysis that can be undertaken, and greater interest in other artefacts, such as pottery, and environmental remains in published reports, compared to ironwork and weaponry, has caused further problems. In spite of this, conclusions have been made, but it would be of interest to see how a larger and more detailed data sample could add further to the image constructed at present.

The most significant area of archaeological research that should be looked at in more detail however, is a reassessment of the published typologies of different weapon types, in particular the spearhead. Limits to the time available to complete this thesis have meant that, although potentially beneficial, it was impossible to construct new typologies of weapon types found in Wales and further afield and thus there was a reliance on published typologies constructed by scholars such as Jessop, Ward-Perkins and Oakeshott, all of which have their flaws. It is proposed that prior to any further research into medieval weaponry in Wales, or elsewhere in Britain, new typologies should be formed, particularly for spearheads, bringing together evidence from excavated sites throughout the country.

In addition to this, it is also suggested that more detailed research should be done on the Latin terminology used in the written sources and their subsequent translation by modern scholars, which may provide a much clearer understanding of the weapon types in use. Nicholson (2004, 102) states that in the medieval sources, the words for lance and spear are

interchangeable. However, this may be the result of incorrect translation and a general lack of understanding of weapon form either by the authors or the translators. For example, the examination of written evidence for the use of the spear in this thesis has demonstrated that a variety of words have been used by medieval writers, but their meaning is very rarely reflected in the English translations. Therefore, there is little appreciation by modern scholars of what the medieval writers were trying to achieve by using different terms such as *lancea*, *hastis*, *missili* or *iacula*. Furthermore, although it was proposed as part of this thesis, time restraints prevented any detailed numerical analysis of the various terms used by medieval writers. Therefore this should be conducted as a priority alongside more detailed analysis of the terminology used.

It is hoped that the conclusions made in this thesis have highlighted the potential for further research into medieval warfare in Wales and that it will encourage students of medieval Wales pursue further research in order to understand an image of war that, until now, has been relatively unchallenged. It is also hoped that by emphasising how much material is available to study medieval warfare in Wales, scholars will take the results even further to create a clearer picture of not only the image but also the reality of medieval warfare in Wales *c.*1100 - *c.*1450.

Appendix A

Catalogue

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 001	Arrowhead	FMS		Caergwrle Castle	Bodkin?	Poorly preserved iron arrowhead of which it is impossible to pinpoint distinguishing features	n/a	
CC 002	Arrowhead	FMS		Caergwrle Castle	Bodkin?	Poorly preserved iron arrowhead of which it is impossible to pinpoint distinguishing features	n/a	
CC 003	Arrowhead	FMS		Rhuddlan	Bodkin?	Poorly preserved iron arrowhead of which it is impossible to pinpoint distinguishing features. Note: this arrowhead was found alongside a knife during the excavation of a skeleton on the school field by Rhuddlan Castle	n/a	
CC 004	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th	Dryslwyn Castle	H3	Small and slender swallow tailed arrowhead. Socket and one barb missing, with diamond cross section	Length: 58mm Width: 11mm	Caple 2007, W1
CC 005	Arrowhead	FMS	Mid 13 th	Dyserth Castle Entrance	H3	Barbed iron socketed arrowhead	L:92mm (Blade: 56mm) W: 29mm (Socket: 11mm)	ANT 85/192
CC 006	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th	Hen Domen	H3	Iron socketed arrowhead with long narrow barbs and broad triangular head.	Unknown	Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 50
CC 007	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th	Montgomery Castle	H3	Iron socketed arrowhead with long narrow barbs and broad triangular head.	Unknown	Knight 1993, no 15
CC 008	Arrowhead	NMW	Late 14 th	Found on the beach near Theodoric's Hermitage, Margam	M1	BRONZE socketed arrowhead made from conical socket and wings applied	L: 26mm W: 16mm (Socket 8mm)	49.140/3
CC 009	Arrowhead	NMW	Late 14 th	Llandough Roman Villa	M1	Iron socketed arrowhead, badly corroded with possible evidence of a barb. Wings attached to central socket	L: 36mm W: 13mm	82.44H/3.1

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 010	Arrowhead	NMW	15th	Dyserth Castle	M2?	Iron socketed arrowhead, very narrow triangular shaped head with damage to one side	L: 73mm W: n/a	15.64/4
CC 011	Arrowhead		17 th C	Montgomery Castle	M2	Iron socketed arrowhead, narrow triangular shaped blade with evidence of small wings.		Knight 1993, 16
CC 012	Arrowhead	NMW		Colcot, Merthyr Dyfan, Barry	M3	Small iron socketed arrowhead. Central socket with wings attached. Damage on left hand side	L: 68mm W: 10mm	54.74/1
CC 013	Arrowhead	CCM	13 th C	Dryslwyn Castle	M3	Iron socketed arrowhead with short angular barbs applied, diamond cross section. Rivet in socket and one barb missing	L: 51mm W: 12mm	Caple, 2007, W17
CC 014	Arrowhead	NMW	14th	Dyserth Castle	M4	Iron socketed arrowhead, narrow triangular shape with compact barbs	L: 61mm W: 12mm	15.248/19
CC 015	Arrowhead	NMW	14th	Loughor Castle	M4	Iron socketed arrowhead with narrow leaf shaped head. One side damaged, possible small barb remaining on left hand side. Diamond Cross Section	L: 59mm W: 10mm	86.95H/7.6
CC 016	Arrowhead	NMW	14th	Theodoric's Hermitage, Margam	M4	Iron socketed arrowhead. Compact head with long tightly fitting barbs.	L: 70mm W: 17mm	49.140/4
CC 017	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	M5	Short socketed point with diamond cross sectioned blade	L: 34mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W19
CC 018	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M5	Short socketed point with tapering diamond cross sectioned blade	L: 38mm W: 12mm	Caple 2007, W20
CC 019	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M5	Short socketed point with tapering diamond cross sectioned, very corroded and split	L: 33mm W: 13mm	Caple 2007, W21
CC 020	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th	Dyserth Castle	M5	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 54mm W: 11mm	15.248/21
CC 021	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th	Dyserth Castle	M5	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 53mm W: 8mm	15.248/20
CC 022	Arrowhead		Mid 13th	Rumney Castle	M5	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 66mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 12

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 023	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M6	Iron socketed arrowhead, diamond shaped cross section	L: 77mm W: 14mm	21.24/57e
CC 024	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M6	Iron socketed arrowhead, diamond shaped cross section	L: 70mm W: 11mm	21.24/57F
CC 025	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M6	Iron socketed arrowhead, diamond shaped cross section	L: 103mm W: 11mm	21.24/57f
CC 026	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M6	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 73mm W: 3mm	40.220/122
CC 027	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Deganwy Castle	M6	Heavily corroded socketed arrowhead - socket forms the head	L: 57mm W: 14mm	77.11H/5.30
CC 028	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, tip missing	L: 38mm	Caple 2007, W22
CC 029	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, tip missing	L: 38mm	Caple 2007, W23
CC 030	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Rolled socket tapering to concoidal point, tip missing	L: 45mm	Caple 2007, W24
CC 031	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Rolled socket tapering to concoidal point, tip missing and base of socket burred upwards	L: 38mm	Caple 2007, W25
CC 032	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, tip missing	L: 43mm	Caple 2007, W26
CC 033	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, wood traces and tip missing	L: 43mm	Caple 2007, W27
CC 034	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Narrow folded socket tapering to concoidal point, corroded with tip missing	L: 33mm	Caple 2007, W28
CC 035	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, corroded with wood traces and tip missing	L: 36mm	Caple 2007, W29
CC 036	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, wood traces and half blade/tip missing	L: 36mm	Caple 2007, W30

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 037	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Rolled and squashed socket tapering to concoidal point, tip missing	L: 34mm	Caple 2007, W31
CC 038	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, tip missing	L: 28mm	Caple 2007, W32
CC 039	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, tip missing and base of socket burred upwards	L: 46mm	Caple 2007, W33
CC 040	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, half of blade and tip missing	L: 40mm	Caple 2007, W34
CC 041	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Socket tapering to concoidal point, tip and back of socket missing. Wood traces and rolled tip	L: 46mm	Caple 2007, W35
CC 042	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Large socket tapering to concoidal point, tip missing	L: 62mm	Caple 2007, W36
CC 043	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M6	Large square socket tapering to concoidal point, wood traces and tip missing	L: 78mm	Caple 2007, W37
CC 044	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Laugharne Castle	M6	Iron socketed arrowhead with tapering diamond cross section	L: 90mm (4.5mm) W: 10mm	
CC 045	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Laugharne Castle	M6	Small socketed iron arrowhead, with tapering diamond cross section	L: 55mm (Blade 40mm) W: 12mm (Socket 8mm)	
CC 046	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Laugharne Castle	M6	Socketed iron arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 70mm (Blade 40mm) W: 13mm (Socket 12mm)	

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 047	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Laugharne Castle	M6	Socketed iron arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 60mm (Blade 42mm) W:13mm (Socket 10mm)	
CC 048	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	M6	Socketed arrowhead with long, thin blade and diamond cross section		CAS 1977, 59
CC 049	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	M6	Hollow arrowhead, tip distorted by impact		CAS 1977, 61
CC 050	Arrowhead		11 th – 14 th	Nevern Castle	M6	Socketed triangular arrowhead with very shallow barbs and a lenticular cross section with thickened spine. The point of the head, left barb and most of the socket are missing		Caple Unpubl., SF48
CC 051	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead, diamond shaped cross section	L: 106mm W: 7mm	21.24/57g
CC 052	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead, diamond shaped cross section	L: 121mm W: 11mm	21.24/57h
CC 053	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead, diamond shaped cross section	L: 105mm W: 8mm	21.24/57i
CC 054	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Tip missing	L: 89mm W: 6mm	21.24/57k
CC 055	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 122mm W: 5mm	21.24/57(ii)g
CC 056	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 102mm W: 8mm	40.220/107
CC 057	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 104mm W: 6mm	40.220/109
CC 058	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 95mm W: 7mm	40.220/110

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 059	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 87mm W: 6mm	40.220/111
CC 060	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 100mm W: 8mm	40.220/112
CC 061	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 94mm W: 5mm	40.220/113
CC 062	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 88mm W: 9mm	40.220/114
CC 063	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 94mm W: 6mm	40.220/115
CC 064	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 101mm W: 6mm	40.220/117
CC 065	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 91mm W: 8mm	40.220/118
CC 066	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 142mm W: 7mm	40.220/97
CC 067	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 123mm W: 8mm	40.220/98
CC 068	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 119mm W: 10mm	40.220/99
CC 069	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 101mm W: 6mm	40.220/102
CC 070	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 110mm W: 9mm	40.220/103
CC 071	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 113 W: 7mm	40.220/106
CC 072	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 101 W: 10mm	40.220/43

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 073	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 73mm W: 8mm	40.220/46
CC 074	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 95mm W: 7mm	40.220/14
CC 075	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 91mm W: 3mm	40.220/127
CC 076	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 92mm W: 4mm	40.220/264
CC 077	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 127mm W: 5mm	40.220/315
CC 078	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 119mm W: 4mm	40.220/12
CC 079	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 90mm W: 8mm	40.220/363
CC 080	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 100mm W: 8mm	40.220/367
CC 081	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 98mm W: 6mm	40.220/347
CC 082	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 109mm W: 9mm	40.220/368
CC 083	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 78mm W: 10mm	40.220/345
CC 084	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 72mm W: 7mm	40.220/346
CC 085	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 71mm W: 5mm	40.220/371
CC 086	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 68mm W: 7mm	40.220/372
CC 087	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 78mm W: 8mm	40.220/370

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 088	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 63mm W: 7mm	40.220/324
CC 089	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 88mm W: 11mm	40.220/323
CC 090	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 84mm W: 8mm	40.220/255
CC 091	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 78mm W: 8mm	40.220/318
CC 092	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Deganwy Castle	M7	Corroded iron socketed spearhead with diamond cross section	L: 97mm W: 5mm	77.11H/5.44
CC 093	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M7	Long narrow blade of diamond cross section, with short socket, Wood traces and tip missing	L: 160mm W: 7mm	Caple 2007, W38
CC 094	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th C	Dryslwyn Castle	M7	Narrow blade of a distorted diamond cross section, tip missing and socket missing	L: 59mm W: 7mm	Caple 2007, W39
CC 095	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M7	Long narrow blade of diamond cross section, with short socket, Half of blade and base of socket missing	L: 88mm W: 5mm	Caple 2007, W40
CC 096	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M7	Long narrow blade of diamond cross section, with short socket and tip missing	L: 108mm W: 5mm	Caple 2007, W41
CC 097	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 14 th	Laugharne Castle	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section.	L: 65mm W: 7mm	
CC 098	Arrowhead		12 th	Nevern Castle	M7 or M9	Socketed arrowhead with a narrow diamond shaped tapering head form with tip missing.	L:70mm W:14mm	Caple Unpubl., SF47
CC 099	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Rhuddlan	M7	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Bent in middle	L: 141mm W: 7mm	96.9H/3.148
CC 100	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7 or M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 106mm W:6mm	40.220/364
CC 101	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7 OR M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 79mm W: 7mm	40.220/125

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 102	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7 OR M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Tip only	L: 60mm W: 5mm	40.220/280
CC 103	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7?	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 92mm W: 6mm	40.220/126
CC 104	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Criccieth Castle	M7?	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 86mm W: 9mm	40.220/263
CC 105	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Cardiff Castle	M8	Iron Socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 170mm W: 8mm	67.169
CC 106	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 101 W: 10mm	21.24/57[1]
CC 107	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 106mm W: 9mm	21.24/57[2]
CC 108	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 90mm W: 6mm	74.5H/2(a)
CC 109	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 94mm W: 5mm	74.5H/2(b)
CC 110	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 101mm W: 8mm	21.24/57j
CC 111	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Tip bent	L: 112mm W: 7mm	21.24/57l
CC 112	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 106mm W: 6mm	21.24/57m
CC 113	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 102mm W: 7mm	21.24/57n
CC 114	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Castell-Y-Bere	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 111mm W: 6mm	21.24/57(ii)h

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 115	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 100mm W: 10mm	40.220/105
CC 116	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 101mm W: 9mm	40.220/108
CC 117	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 98mm W: 7mm	40.220/116
CC 118	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Wood traces in socket	L: 104mm W: 10mm	40.220/257
CC 119	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Wood traces in socket	L: 116mm W: 8mm	40.220/260
CC 120	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 109mm W: 13mm	40.220/304
CC 121	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 104mm W: 8mm	40.220/306
CC 122	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 96mm W: 11mm	40.220/307
CC 123	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket badly damaged	L: 140mm W: 12mm	40.220/313
CC 124	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 76mm W: 7mm	40.220/316
CC 125	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 109mm W: 11mm	40.220/100

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 126	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 110mm W: 8mm	40.220/101
CC 127	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 107mm W: 7mm	40.220/104
CC 128	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Tip missing	L: 65mm W: 7mm	40.220/10
CC 129	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket damaged	L: 81mm W: 5mm	40.220/276
CC 130	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 81mm W: 10mm	40.220/54
CC 131	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 102mm W: 3mm	40.220/11
CC 132	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 88mm W: 8mm	40.220/13
CC 133	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 97mm W: 5mm	40.220/128
CC 134	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 112mm W: 8mm	40.220/266
CC 135	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 85mm W: 11mm	40.220/49
CC 136	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 95mm W: 7mm	40.220/261
CC 137	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 94mm W: 9mm	40.220/3
CC 138	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 107mm W: 8mm	40.220/281

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 139	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 106mm W: 12mm	40.220/344
CC 140	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 65mm W: 12mm	40.220/15
CC 141	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 84mm W: 10mm	40.220/8
CC 142	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 80mm W: 11mm	40.220/9
CC 143	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 98mm W: 7mm	40.220/312
CC 144	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 88mm W: 7mm	40.220/314
CC 145	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 90mm W: 10mm	40.220/308
CC 146	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 105mm W: 13mm	40.220/305
CC 147	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 60mm W: 10mm	40.220/309
CC 148	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 74mm W: 9mm	40.220/310
CC 149	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 72mm W: 10mm	40.220/317
CC 150	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 72mm W: 9mm	40.220/319
CC 151	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 96mm W: 7mm	40.220/237

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 152	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 114mm W: 8mm	40.220/256
CC 153	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 109mm W: 12mm	40.220/258
CC 154	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 116mm W: 11mm	40.220/259
CC 155	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 94mm W: 9mm	40.220/262
CC 156	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 90mm W: 8mm	40.220/265
CC 157	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 81mm W: 8mm	40.220/268
CC 158	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 84mm W: 8mm	40.220/270
CC 159	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 78mm W: 11mm	40.220/274
CC 160	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 81mm W: 7mm	40.220/278
CC 161	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Bent	L: 76mm W: 11mm	40.220/267
CC 162	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 68mm W: 8mm	40.220/277
CC 163	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 99mm W: 6mm	40.220/275
CC 164	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Wood traces in socket	L: 87mm W: 6mm	40.220/272

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 165	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Tip	L: 63mm W: 9mm	40.220/279
CC 166	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 79mm W: 7mm	40.220/148
CC 167	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing, bent	L: 84mm W: 8mm	40.220/134
CC 168	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 52mm W: 6mm	40.220/150
CC 169	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 52mm W: 5mm	40.220/151
CC 170	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 69mm W: 8mm	40.220/149
CC 171	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing, bent	L: 58mm W: 8mm	40.220/154
CC 172	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing, bent	L: 72mm W: 5mm	40.220/153
CC 173	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 54mm W: 8mm	40.220/152
CC 174	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing, heavy	L: 103mm W: 10mm	40.220/133
CC 175	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing, bent	L: 72mm W: 7mm	40.220/135
CC 176	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 60mm W: 7mm	40.220/136
CC 177	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 80mm W: 4mm	40.220/138

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 178	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 71mm W: 9mm	40.220/139
CC 179	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 65mm W: 5mm	40.220/142
CC 180	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 51mm W: 5mm	40.220/140
CC 181	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 60mm W: 7mm	40.220/144
CC 182	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 76mm W: 5mm	40.220/143
CC 183	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 75mm W: 4mm	40.220/145
CC 184	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 56mm W: 9mm	40.220/146
CC 185	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 95mm W: 9mm	40.220/119
CC 186	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 107mm W: 10mm	40.220/120
CC 187	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 69mm W: 9mm	40.220/121
CC 188	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 90mm W: 10mm	40.220/123
CC 189	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 113mm W: 9mm	40.220/124
CC 190	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 64mm W: 6mm	40.220/129

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 191	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 83mm W: 7mm	40.220/130
CC 192	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Bent	L: 92mm W: 7mm	40.220/131
CC 193	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Bent	L: 92mm W: 6mm	40.220/132
CC 194	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 103mm W: 11mm	40.220/2
CC 195	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 103mm W: 11mm	40.220/5
CC 196	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 60mm W: 6mm	40.220/7
CC 197	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 86mm W: 7mm	40.220/50
CC 198	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 71mm W: 9mm	40.220/59
CC 199	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 99mm W: 11mm	40.220/1
CC 200	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 97mm W: 8mm	40.220/4
CC 201	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. socket missing	L: 80mm W: 10mm	40.220/6
CC 202	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. socket missing	L: 88mm W: 7mm	40.220/16

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 203	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade with prominent shoulder, majority of socket missing	L: 88mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W42
CC 204	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, tip and socket missing	L: 75mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W43
CC 205	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow blade with thickening towards tip, diamond cross section. Majority of socket is missing although joins blade smoothly, tip flat	L: 83mm	Caple 2007, W44
CC 206	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Fragment of narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section	L: 53mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W45
CC 207	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade with prominent shoulder, socket missing but stub twisted	L: 80mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W46
CC 208	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade smoothly. Tip twisted and socket missing	L: 95mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W47
CC 209	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow bent tapering blade with diamond cross section. Base of socket and tip missing	L: 82mm W: 6mm	Caple 2007, W48
CC 210	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade with prominent shoulder. Tip and socket missing	L: 70mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W49
CC 211	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade with prominent shoulder, socket missing	L: 68mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W50
CC 212	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Fragment of long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, majority of socket missing but joins blade with prominent shoulder	L: 48mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W51
CC 213	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, very corroded and socket missing	L: 70mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W52

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 214	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Fragment of long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section. Wood traces, but very corroded and fragmented	L: 90mm W: 7mm	Caple 2007, W53
CC 215	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, rolled socket joins blade smoothly, half of blade missing	L: 72mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W54
CC 216	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, folded socket joins blade with a prominent shoulder. Third of blade missing and base of socket burred upwards	L: 85mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W55
CC 217	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade smoothly. Very corroded, tip missing	L: 83mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W56
CC 218	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, long socket joins blade smoothly. Very corroded with half of blade missing	L: 70mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W57
CC 219	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow twisted tapering blade with diamond cross section, folded socket joins blade smoothly, Very corroded with half of blade and base of socket missing	L: 72mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W58
CC 220	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, folded socket joins blade with slight shoulder. Wood traces and tip missing	L: 115mm W: 7mm	Caple 2007, W59
CC 221	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow bent tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade with prominent shoulder. Two pieces, tip missing	L: 133mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W60
CC 222	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, folded socket joins blade with prominent shoulder. Wood traces and tip missing	L: 135mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W61

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 223	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, folded socket joins blade smoothly. Wood traces and tip missing	L: 126mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W62
CC 224	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, folded socket joins blade with prominent shoulder. Tip missing	L: 160mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W63
CC 225	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Corroded fragment of tapering blade with diamond cross section	L: 56mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W64
CC 226	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Socket and tapering blade fragment, socket joins blade with prominent shoulder. Wood traces with two thirds of blade missing	L: 58mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W65
CC 227	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade with prominent swelling. Wood traces, tip missing and fragmented in two pieces	L: 65/45mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W66
CC 228	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with a diamond cross section, folded socket joins blade with prominent shoulder. Wood traces and third of blade missing	L: 112mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W67
CC 229	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, folded socket joins blade with prominent shoulder. Fragmented in two pieces, tip missing	L: 131mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W68
CC 230	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, folded socket joins blade with prominent shoulder. Rivet in socket, tip missing and blade buckled	L: 110mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W69
CC 231	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade smoothly. Very corroded, socket missing and blade in two pieces	L: 115mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W70

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 232	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade with prominent shoulder. Wood traces and socket burred upwards	L: 104mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W71
CC 233	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade smoothly. Tip missing and bent	L: 98mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W72
CC 234	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M8	Long narrow tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket joins blade with shoulder. Base of socket damaged and tip buckled	L: 95mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W73
CC 235	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 134mm W: 7mm	15.248/11.1
CC 236	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 119mm W: 6mm	15.248/11.2
CC 237	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle	M8	Very long and narrow iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 140mm W: 7mm	15.248/11.3
CC 238	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle	M8	Very long and narrow iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 157mm W: 5mm	15.248/11.4
CC 239	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 124mm W: 6mm	15.248/11.5
CC 240	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 108mm W: 5mm	15.248/11.6
CC 241	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Bent	L: 116mm W: 6mm	15.248/11.7
CC 242	Arrowhead	FMS	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle Entrance	M8	Very well preserved long iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross-section	L: 132mm (Blade: 90mm) W: 9mm (Socket: 9mm)	ANT 85/199

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 243	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Laugharne Castle	M8	Complete very long socketed armour piercing arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 200mm (Blade 140mm) W: 8mm (Socket 18mm)	
CC 244	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Loughor Castle	M8	Very long and narrow iron Socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 172mm W: 7mm	86.95H/ 7.105
CC 245	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th – 15 th	Montgomery Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron needle-like socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section		Knight 1993, 10
CC 246	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th – 15 th	Montgomery Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron needle-like socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section		Knight 1993, 11
CC 247	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th – 15 th	Montgomery Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron needle-like socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section		Knight 1993, 12
CC 248	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th – 15 th	Montgomery Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron needle-like socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section		Knight 1993, 13
CC 249	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th – 15 th	Montgomery Castle	M8	Long and narrow iron needle-like socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section		Knight 1993, 14
CC 250	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Rhuddlan	M8	Badly corroded long iron socketed arrowhead with diamond shaped cross section	L: 140mm W: 11mm	96.9H/ 3.147
CC 251	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8 or M10	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket partially missing	L: 85mm W: 10mm	40.220/ 44
CC 252	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8 or M10	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 78mm W: 8mm	40.220/ 45
CC 253	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8 or M10	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 57mm W: 4mm	40.220/ 147

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 254	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8 OR M9	Long iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 114mm W: 9mm	40.220/322
CC 256	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8?	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 76mm W: 5mm	40.0220/19
CC 257	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M8?	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 81mm W: 7mm	40.220/47
CC 258	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M9	Fragment of thick tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket missing and tip bent	L: 66mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W76
CC 259	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M9	Thick tapering blade with diamond cross section, and large socket swelling from blade	L: 124mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W74
CC 260	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M9	Thick tapering blade with diamond cross section, and stub of socket. Blade swells towards tip	L: 100mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W75
CC 261	Arrowhead	FMS	Mid 13 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle Entrance	M9	Very well preserved very long iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross-section	L: 130mm (Blade: 76mm) W: 9mm (Socket: 17mm)	ANT 85/193
CC 262	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th – 15 th	Rumney Castle	M9	Very long iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section	L: 195mm (Blade: 147mm)	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 11
CC 263	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Cefn Glas, Glamorgan	M10	Iron socketed tapering blade with diamond cross section	L: 83mm W: 22mm	78.64H
CC 264	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M10	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket partially missing	L: 67mm W: 8mm	40.220/273
CC 265	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Criccieth Castle	M10	Iron socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section. Socket missing	L: 56mm W: 9mm	40.220/311

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 266	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Fragment of thick tapering blade with diamond cross section, socket missing and blade cut diagonally	L: 62mm W: 13mm	Caple 2007, W77
CC 267	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Short thin blade with diamond cross section and damaged socket	L: 65mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W83
CC 268	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Complete short thin blade with diamond cross section and socket. Wood traces	L: 60mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W84
CC 269	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Short thin buckled blade with diamond cross section and socket. Tip missing and slightly swelled socket	L: 65mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W85
CC 270	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Short thin blade with diamond cross section and a squashed socket. Tip missing	L: 78mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W86
CC 271	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Short thin tapering blade with diamond cross section and short socket. Wood traces and tip bent	L: 85mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W87
CC 272	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Complete short thin bent blade with diamond cross section and long folded socket	L: 81mm W: 8mm	Caple 2007, W88
CC 273	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Short thin blade with diamond cross section and rolled socket. Wood traces and slightly damaged blade	L: 73mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W89
CC 274	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Short thin blade with diamond cross section and damaged socket. Tip bent and blade damaged	L: 78mm W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W90
CC 275	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Short thin blade with diamond cross section and rolled socket. Wood traces and tip missing	L: 78 W: 9mm	Caple 2007, W91
CC 276	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Complete short thin blade with diamond cross section and slightly damaged socket	L: 95mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W92
CC 277	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Large socket and base of blade. Very corroded with wood traces	L: 76mm W: 13mm	Caple 2007, W78
CC 278	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Complete thick tapering blade with diamond cross section, and large folded socket. Wood traces	L: 125mm W: 13mm	Caple 2007, W79

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 279	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Complete thick tapering blade with diamond cross section, and large folded socket. Wood traces and rivet	L: 128mm W: 13mm	Caple 2007, W80
CC 280	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Complete thick tapering blade with diamond cross section, and large folded socket. Heavy	L: 134mm W: 13mm	Caple 2007, W81
CC 281	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dryslwyn Castle	M10	Fragment of thick tapering blade with diamond cross section, and large socket. Very corroded and half of blade missing, wood traces	L: 100mm W: 14mm	Caple 2007, W82
CC 282	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Dyserth Castle	M10	Damaged tip of bodkin type arrowhead, presumably socketed	L: 88mm W: 10mm	15.64/4.3
CC 283	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Llandough Roman Villa	M10	Iron socketed arrowhead, diamond shaped cross section	L: 66mm W: 6mm	82.44H/3.12
CC 284	Arrowhead		Mid 12 th – 15 th	Montgomery Castle	M10	Long iron needle-like socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section		Knight 1993, 22
CC 285	Arrowhead		Mid 12 th – 15 th	Montgomery Castle	M10	Long iron needle-like socketed arrowhead with diamond cross section		Knight 1993, 23
CC 286	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 12 th – 15 th	Theodoric's Hermitage, Margam	M10	Iron socketed? Arrowhead with diamond cross section, heavily corroded and socket now missing	L: 38mm W: 11mm	49.140/1
CC 287	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 15 th	Castle Villa Baths, Caerleon	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead, triangular in shape with slight barbs. Socket hole for fixing	L: 61mm W: 14mm	31.78/24
CC 288	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 15 th	Laugharne Castle	MP1	Iron socketed triangular shaped arrowhead with lozenge shaped crossed section	L: 68mm (Blade 35mm) W: 23mm (Socket 8mm)	

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 289	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 15 th	Laugharne Castle	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead, triangular in shape with slight barbs.	L: 94mm (Blade 52mm) W: 26mm (Socket 8mm)	
CC 290	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 15 th	Llanstephen Castle	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead, triangular in shape with small barbs. Barb on left side damaged and missing	L: 63mm (Blade 40mm) W: 25mm (Socket 10mm)	
CC 291	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 15 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP1	Socketed arrowhead with straight based triangular blade		CAS 1977, 47
CC 292	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 15 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP1	Socketed arrowhead with straight based triangular blade		CAS 1977, 48
CC 293	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 15 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP1	Socketed arrowhead with straight based triangular blade		CAS 1977, 49
CC 294	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 15 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP1	Socketed arrowhead with straight based triangular blade		CAS 1977, 50
CC 295	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 15 th	Loughor Castle	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular head and diamond cross section	L: 70mm W: 22mm	86.95H/108
CC 296	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 15 th	Loughor Castle	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead with long triangular shaped head and short socket	L: 74mm W: 21mm	86.95H/7.4
CC 297	Arrowhead		11 th – 15 th	Rumney Castle	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead with broad flat blade and marked shoulder	L:80mm W:55mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 2
CC 298	Arrowhead		11 th – 15 th	Rumney Castle	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead with broad flat blade and marked shoulder	L:32mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 3

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 299	Arrowhead		11 th – 15 th	Rumney Castle	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead with broad flat blade and marked shoulder	L:55mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 4
CC 300	Arrowhead		11 th – 15 th	Rumney Castle	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead with broad flat blade and marked shoulder	L:54mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 5
CC 301	Arrowhead		11 th – 15 th	Rumney Castle	MP1	Fragment of iron socketed arrowhead with broad flat blade and marked shoulder	L:32mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 6
CC 302	Arrowhead		11 th – 15 th	Rumney Castle	MP1	Fragment of iron socketed arrowhead with broad flat blade and marked shoulder	L:42mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 7
CC 303	Arrowhead	CCM	11 th – 15 th	unprovenced	MP1	Iron socketed arrowhead, triangular in shape with slight barbs, one of which is damaged and missing	L: 72mm (Blade 50mm) W: 25mm (Socket 5mm)	
CC 304	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Dyserth Castle	MP2	Iron triangular shaped arrowhead. Socket missing	L: 44mm W: 16mm	15.248/ 9.4
CC 305	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP2	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular blade and extended socket		CAS 1977, 53
CC 306	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP2	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular blade and extended socket		CAS 1977, 54
CC 307	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Loughor Castle	MP2	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular head. Damage to right hand corner and end of socket	L: 60mm W: 24mm	86.95H/ 7.106
CC 308	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Loughor Castle	MP2	Iron socketed arrowhead, small triangular head with slight barbs. Tip missing and very long socket	L: 43mm W: 11mm	86.95H/ 7.107

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 309	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Loughor Castle	MP2	Iron socketed arrowhead, leaf shaped with long socket	L: 64mm W: 15mm	86.95H/ 7.5
CC 310	Arrowhead		11 th – 14 th	Rumney Castle	MP2	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular blade and elongated socket	L:64mm (Blade :23mm)	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 9
CC 311	Arrowhead		11 th – 14 th	Rumney Castle	MP2	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular blade and elongated socket	L:63mm (Blade: 31mm)	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 10
CC 312	Arrowhead	NMW	11 th – 14 th	Merthyr Mawr	MP2 or MP3	Heavily corroded iron socketed arrowhead with triangular shaped head. Broken in two parts	L: 73mm W: 21mm	53.131/9
CC 313	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Castle Villa Baths, Caerleon	MP3	Iron socketed arrowhead, slightly leaf shaped triangular head, relatively long socket	L: 81mm W: 20mm	31.78/21
CC 314	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Castle Villa Baths, Caerleon	MP3	Iron socketed arrowhead, triangular in shape, relatively long socket	L: 85mm W: 21mm	31.78/22
CC 315	Arrowhead	FMS	10 th – 16 th	Flint Castle	MP3	Poorly preserved iron socketed arrowhead with triangular shaped blade and rounded shoulders. End of socket is missing	L: 63mm (Blade 26mm) W: 16mm (Socket 9mm)	P26/3
CC 316	Arrowhead		10 th – 16 th	Hen Domen	MP3	Iron socketed arrowhead with narrow triangular shaped blade	Unknown	Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 49
CC 317	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Laugharne Castle	MP3	Large socketed triangular shaped blade, probably arrowhead	L: 72mm W: 12mm	
CC 318	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Laugharne Shell Mounds	MP3	Badly corroded iron socketed arrowhead with triangular shape. Socket partially missing	L: 53mm W: 22mm	

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 319	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Laugharne Shell Mounds	MP3	Long triangular shaped blade with possible socket, badly corroded	L: 101mm (Blade 90mm) W: 25mm	
CC 320	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Laugharne Shell Mounds	MP3	Long triangular shaped blade with possible socket, badly corroded	L: 100mm W: 28mm	
CC 321	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Llanstephen Castle	MP3	Small iron socketed arrowhead with triangular blade and narrow socket	L: 60mm (Blade 30mm) W: 20mm (Socket 5mm)	
CC 322	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP3	Socketed arrowhead with triangular blade and rounded shoulders		CAS 1977, 51
CC 323	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP3	Socketed arrowhead with triangular blade and rounded shoulders		CAS 1977, 52
CC 324	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP3	Socketed arrowhead with triangular blade and rounded shoulders		CAS 1977, 57
CC 325	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Loughor Castle	MP3	Badly corroded iron socketed arrowhead. Appears to be triangular in shape but is badly damaged	L: 54mm W: 23mm	86.95H/ 7.3
CC 326	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Deganwy Castle	MP3	Heavily corroded iron socketed arrowhead. Probably triangular shaped with rounded shoulders	L: 50mm W: 17mm	77.11H/ 5.62
CC 327	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Dyserth Castle	MP3	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular shaped blade. Socket damaged	L: 39mm W: 14mm	15.248/ 9.5
CC 328	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Dyserth Castle	MP3	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular shaped head and rounded shoulders	L: 70mm W: 18mm	15.64/4. 1
CC 329	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Laugharne Castle	MP3	Small iron arrowhead, probably socketed although this is now missing. Triangular in shape with rounded shoulders	L: 35mm (Blade 2.3) W: 18mm	

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 330	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Laugharne Castle	MP3	Large iron socketed arrowhead, triangular in shape with rounded shoulders. Most of socket now missing	L: 73mm (Blade 60mm) W: 32mm (5mm)	
CC 331	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Laugharne Castle	MP3	Iron triangular arrowhead with rounded shoulders. Socket missing	L: 49mm W: 20mm	
CC 332	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Laugharne Castle	MP3	Iron triangular arrowhead with rounded shoulders. Socket missing	L: 58mm W: 28mm	
CC 333	Arrowhead	CCM	10 th – 16 th	Laugharne Castle	MP3	Iron socketed triangular shaped arrowhead. Some damage to left hand heel	L: 80mm (Blade 50mm) W: 25mm (Socket 5mm)	
CC 334	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Llandough Roman Villa	MP3	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular shaped head and rounded shoulders	L: 62mm W: 28mm	82.44H/ 3.11
CC 335	Arrowhead	NMW		Deganwy Castle	MP3 or MP4	Badly corroded socketed arrowhead. Leaf shaped and tip missing	L: 61mm W: 28mm	77.11H/ 5.22
CC 336	Arrowhead	NMW		Deganwy Castle	MP3 or MP4	Badly corroded iron socketed arrowhead with leaf shaped head.	L: 57mm W: 16mm	77.11H/ 5.63
CC 337	Arrowhead	NMW	10 th – 16 th	Loughor Castle	MP3?	Heavily corroded iron socketed arrowhead. Probably triangular shaped although both heels damage and most of socket missing	L: 59mm W: too damaged to tell	86.95H/ 7.102
CC 338	Arrowhead		10 th – 16 th	Nevern Castle	MP3	Socketed leaf shaped arrowhead in 2 pieces, lenticular cross section	Blade L:44mm W:19mm Socket L:30mm D:8mm	Caple Unpubl., SF41

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 339	Arrowhead		10 th - 16 th	Nevern Castle	MP3 or MP4	Socketed leaf shaped arrowhead, lenticular cross section, lower part of socket missing	L:53mm W:27mm	Caple Unpubl., SF43
CC 340	Arrowhead		10 th - 16 th	Nevern Castle	MP3	Socketed arrowhead with narrow leaf shaped form and diamond cross section. The point and left half of the head are missing	L:59mm W:10mm	Caple Unpubl., SF46
CC 341	Arrowhead		10 th - 16 th	Nevern Castle	MP3	Socketed triangular arrowhead	L:70mm W:22mm	Caple Unpubl., SF49
CC 342	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP4	Socketed small flat leaf shaped blade	Length: 50mm Width: 9mm	Caple 2007, W2
CC 343	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP4	Socketed with flat angular leaf shaped blade and damaged socket	Length: 58mm Width: 14mm	Caple 2007, W3
CC 344	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13 th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP4	Broad angular leaf shaped blade with short socket, tiny shoulder at base of blade	Length: 66mm Width: 22mm	Caple 2007, W4
CC 345	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th	Hen Domen	MP4	Iron socketed arrowhead with lozenge shaped blade		Higham and Barker 2000, 95, no. 18
CC 346	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th	Hen Domen	MP4	Iron socketed arrowhead with lozenge shaped blade		Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 43
CC 347	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th	Hen Domen	MP4	Iron socketed arrowhead with lozenge shaped blade		Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 44
CC 348	Arrowhead		Mid 13 th	Hen Domen	MP4	Iron socketed arrowhead with lozenge shaped blade		Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 45

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 349	Arrowhead		Mid 13th	Hen Domen	MP4	Iron socketed arrowhead with lozenge shaped blade		Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 47
CC 350	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Llanstephen Castle	MP4	Small socketed iron arrowhead with lozenge shaped blade. Socket now missing	L: 31mm W:20mm	
CC 351	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13th	Loughor Castle	MP4	Iron leaf shaped arrowhead, probably socketed but now missing. Badly corroded with damage to left hand side	L: 78mm W: 21mm	86.95H/ 7.103
CC 352	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13th	Mynydd Ton, Glamorgan	MP4	Very wide iron socketed arrowhead with leaf shaped blade. Could be small Spearhead	L: 90mm W: 37	83.5H
CC 353	Arrowhead		Mid 13th	Nevern Castle	MP4	Socketed leaf shaped arrowhead, lenticular cross section, lower part of socket missing	L:59mm W:34mm	Caple Unpubl., SF45
CC 354	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13th	Whitfields Farm, Welsh St. Donats	MP4	Iron socketed leaf shaped arrowhead. Tip missing	L: 61mm W: 25mm	94.33H
CC 355	Arrowhead	NMW		Dyserth Castle	MP4 or MP5	Tip of arrowhead with leaf shaped blade	L: 44mm W: 13mm	15.248/ 9.8
CC 356	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13th	Dyserth Castle	MP4?	Socketed iron arrowhead with leaf shaped blade. Socket damaged	L: 56mm W: 12mm	15.248/ 9.3
CC 357	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 13th	Loughor Castle	MP4?	Large iron socketed arrowhead, leaf shaped head with short socket.	L: 99mm W: 27mm	86.95H/ 7.104
CC 358	Arrowhead	CM	Late 11th	Aberystwyth Castle	MP5	Socketed, diamond shaped arrowhead with winged barbs either side	L: 50mm W: 20mm	SF 220
CC 359	Arrowhead		Late 11th	Hen Domen	MP5	Iron socketed arrowhead with lozenge shaped blade	L: 41mm	Higham and Barker 2000, 95, no. 17
CC 360	Arrowhead	NMW	Late 11th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP5	Socketed arrowhead with lozenge shaped blade		CAS 1977, 55
CC 361	Arrowhead	NMW	Late 11th	Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	MP5	Socketed arrowhead with lozenge shaped blade		CAS 1977, 56

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 362	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP6	Small barbed head with damaged socket, wood traces and flat tip	Length: 37mm Width: 13mm	Dryslwyn excavations W5
CC 363	Arrowhead		Mid 12th	Hen Domen	MP6	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular shaped blade and slight barbs	L: 85mm	Higham and Barker 2000, 95, no. 19
CC 364	Arrowhead		Mid 12th	Hen Domen	MP6	Iron socketed and pinned arrowhead with triangular shaped blade and slight barbs	L: 85mm	Higham and Barker 2000, 95, no 20
CC 365	Arrowhead		Mid 12th	Hen Domen	MP6	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular shaped blade and slight barbs, one of which is damaged		Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 46
CC 366	Arrowhead	Powys-land	Mid 12th	Newtown	MP6	Leaf shaped arrowhead with socket attachment, possible barbed	L: 6cm (Head 3cm) W: 2cm	
CC 367	Arrowhead		Mid 12th	Rumney Castle	MP6	Leaf shaped iron socketed spearhead with small barbs either side	L: 58mm (Blade: 33mm)	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 14
CC 368	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 12th	Deganwy Castle	MP6	Badly corroded socketed? Arrowhead triangular in shape. Slight barb evident on right hand side. Socket and tip missing	L: 34mm W: 23mm	77.11H/ 5.58
CC 369	Arrowhead	NMW	Mid 12th	Dyserth Castle	MP6	Iron triangular arrowhead with barbs. Damaged, right barb missing, narrow	L: 57mm W: 14mm	15.248/ 9.6
CC 370	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 12th	Laugharne Shell Mounds	MP6	Iron socketed arrowhead, triangular in shape with rounded barbs	L: 80mm (Blade 48mm) W: 35mm (Socket 10mm)	

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 371	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Tapering socket with slender rounded barbs, rolled socket with copper brazing and rivet	Length: 50mm Width: 12mm	Caple 2007, W6
CC 372	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Narrow tapering socket with applied triangular barbs, socket missing with slightly curved profile	Length: 42mm Width: 17mm	Caple 2007, W7
CC 373	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Narrow tapering socket to square sectioned point, with narrow rounded barbs and copper brazing	Length: 65mm Width: 14mm	Caple 2007, W8
CC 374	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Tapering socket with applied rounded barbs, one third of blade and tip missing	Length: 42mm Width: 17mm	Caple 2007, W9
CC 375	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Tapering socket with applied angular barbs, two thirds of blade and tip missing	Length: 40mm Width: 15mm	Caple 2007, W10
CC 376	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Tapering socket with unsymmetrical applied angular barbs, tip and socket missing	Length: 36mm Width: 18mm	Caple 2007, W11
CC 377	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Tapering socket with applied barbs, one third of blade and socket missing	L: 22mm W: 16mm	Caple 2007, W12
CC 378	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Narrow rolled tapering socket with applied angular barbs, tip missing	L: 58mm W: 15mm	Caple 2007, W13
CC 379	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Folded socket with flat unsymmetrical angular barbs, base of socket upturned and distorted	L: 67mm W: 23mm	Caple 2007, W14
CC 380	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Applied barbs for socketed arrowhead, socket missing and heavily corroded	L: 32mm W: 22mm	Caple 2007, W15
CC 381	Arrowhead	CCM	Mid 13th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP8	Tapering socket with small barbed head with diamond cross section. Wood traces in socket, tip and barbs damaged	L: 58mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W16

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 382	Arrowhead		Mid 13th	Montgomery Castle	MP8	Narrow iron socketed arrowhead with barbed head and diamond cross section		Knight 1993, 17
CC 383	Arrowhead		Mid 13th	Montgomery Castle	MP8	Narrow iron socketed arrowhead with barbed head and diamond cross section		Knight 1993, 18
CC 384	Arrowhead	CCM	12 th – 15th	Dryslwyn Castle	MP9	Short socketed bullet point	L: 30mm	Caple 2007, W18
CC 385	Arrowhead	NMW		Merthyr Mawr Warren	Quarrel Tip?	Iron socketed triangular shaped quarrel tip	L: 63mm W: 14mm	40.323/6
CC 386	Arrowhead		9 th – 11 th	Rumney Castle	T1 (Jessop)?	Tang from arrowhead, with possible diamond cross section although original shape of blade is unclear	L:45mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 16
CC 387	Arrowhead	NMW	12 th – 13th	Dyserth Castle	T3 (Jessop)	Heavily corroded tanged arrowhead with triangular shaped head	L: 23mm W: 12mm	15.248/9.1
CC 389	Arrowhead	NMW	12 th – 13th	Dyserth Castle	T3 (Jessop)	Heavily corroded tanged arrowhead with triangular shaped head	L: 42mm W: 19mm	15.248/9.2
CC 390	Arrowhead	NMW	12 th – 13th	Dyserth Castle	T3 (Jessop)	Heavily corroded tanged arrowhead with triangular shaped head	L: 50mm W: 18mm	15.248/7
CC 391	Arrowhead		12 th – 13th	Rumney Castle	T3 (Jessop)	Tanged iron arrowhead with very small triangular blade	L:60mm (Blade 16mm)	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 15
CC 392	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Long and narrow iron blade with diamond cross section. Bent, unsure if actually arrowhead	L: 109mm W: 11mm	40.220/52
CC 393	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Partial socket of iron arrowhead		40.220/63
CC 394	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/55
CC 395	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Partial socket of iron arrowhead		40.220/61
CC 396	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/60
CC 397	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/62

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 398	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/64
CC 399	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/51
CC 400	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/53
CC 401	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/56
CC 402	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/57
CC 403	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/58
CC 404	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/17
CC 405	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/18
CC 406	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/20
CC 407	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/21
CC 408	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Arrowhead Socket		40.220/35
CC 409	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/41
CC 410	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Tip of a bodkin type arrowhead		40.220/37
CC 411	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Partial socket of iron arrowhead		40.220/48
CC 412	Arrowhead	NMW		Criccieth Castle	Unknown	Arrowhead Socket		40.220/42
CC 413	Arrowhead	NMW		Dyserth Castle	Unknown	Partial socket of iron arrowhead	n/a	15.248/9.7
CC 414	Arrowhead	NMW		Dyserth Castle	Unknown	Tip of bodkin type arrowhead	L: 64mm W: 5mm	15.64/4.2
CC 415	Arrowhead	FMS		Dyserth Castle Entrance	Unknown	Iron tanged and barbed arrowhead	L: 129mm (Blade: 56mm) W: 21mm	ANT 85/192
CC 416	Arrowhead	FMS		Flint Castle	Unknown	Poorly preserved iron arrowhead of which it is impossible to pinpoint distinguishing features	n/a	A23/1
CC 417	Arrowhead	FMS		Flint Castle	Unknown	Poorly preserved iron arrowhead of which it is impossible to pinpoint distinguishing features	n/a	P27/2
CC 418	Arrowhead	FMS		Flint Castle	Unknown	Poorly preserved iron arrowhead of which it is impossible to pinpoint distinguishing features	n/a	0100/1

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 419	Arrowhead	FMS		Flint Castle	Unknown	Poorly preserved iron arrowhead of which it is impossible to pinpoint distinguishing features	n/a	0165/3
CC 420	Arrowhead	FMS		Flint Castle	Unknown	Poorly preserved iron arrowhead of which it is impossible to pinpoint distinguishing features	n/a	086/4
CC 421	Arrowhead	FMS		Flint Castle	Unknown	Iron socketed arrowhead in poor state of preservation. Diamond shaped blade.	L: 46mm (Blade 22mm) W: 18mm (Socket 11mm)	P27/1
CC 422	Arrowhead			Hen Domen	Unknown	Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular shaped blade, and central rib	L: 65mm	Higham and Barker 2000, 95, no. 21
CC 423	Arrowhead			Hen Domen	Unknown	Iron arrowhead tip, probably triangular or lozenge shaped blade		Higham and Barker 2000, 95, no. 22
CC 424	Arrowhead			Hen Domen	Unknown	Iron socketed arrowhead, details unknown		Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 48
CC 425	Arrowhead	CCM		Laugharne Castle	Unknown	Iron arrowhead socket, blade missing	W: 8mm	
CC 426	Arrowhead	CCM		Llanstephen Castle	Unknown	Corroded iron socketed arrowhead probably armour piercing	L: 49mm (Blade 30mm) W: 15mm (Socket 10 mm)	
CC 427	Arrowhead	NMW		Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	Unknown	Blade fragment		CAS 1977, 58
CC 428	Arrowhead	NMW		Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan	Unknown	Fragmentary socket		CAS 1977, 60

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 429	Arrowhead			Montgomery Castle	Unknown	Tapering iron socketed arrowhead with small square sectioned blade		Knight 1993, 9
CC 430	Arrowhead			Montgomery Castle	Unknown	Tapering iron socketed arrowhead with small square sectioned blade		Knight 1993, 19
CC 431	Arrowhead			Montgomery Castle	Unknown	Tapering iron socketed arrowhead with small square sectioned blade		Knight 1993, 20
CC 432	Arrowhead			Montgomery Castle	Unknown	Tapering iron socketed arrowhead with small square sectioned blade		Knight 1993, 21
CC 433	Arrowhead			Nevern Castle	Unknown	Broken socket for an arrowhead	L:26mm D:10mm	Caple Unpubl., SF40
CC 434	Arrowhead			Nevern Castle	Unknown	Socketed leaf shaped arrowhead, top of blade missing. Between MP3 and MP5	L:53mm W:25mm	Caple Unpubl., SF42
CC 435	Arrowhead			Nevern Castle	Unknown	Broken socket for an arrowhead	L:38mm D:11mm	Caple Unpubl., SF44
CC 436	Arrowhead			Nevern Castle	Unknown	Broken socket for an arrowhead	L:25mm D:9mm	Caple Unpubl., SF50
CC 437	Arrowhead			Nevern Castle	Unknown	Socketed arrowhead corrosion obscured leaf shaped form. Probably between MP3 and MP4	L:64mm D:12mm	Caple Unpubl., SF51
CC 438	Arrowhead			Nevern Castle	Unknown	Very small arrowhead with large tang, the blade of the arrowhead lost through corrosion		Caple Unpubl., SF121
CC 439	Arrowhead			Nevern Castle	Unknown	Broken socket for an arrowhead	L:42mm D:9mm	Caple Unpubl., SF122
CC 440	Arrowhead			Nevern Castle	Unknown	The spine of a broken leaf shaped arrowhead blade	L52mm W:14mm	Caple Unpubl., SF123
CC 441	Arrowhead			Rumney Castle	Unknown	Long iron needle-like object, bent on impact. Possible arrowhead		Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 1

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 442	Arrowhead			Rumney Castle	Unknown	Iron spearhead, possible socketed	L: c.60mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 8
CC 443	Arrowhead			Rumney Castle	Unknown	Fragment of iron arrowhead, probably socketed with leaf shaped blade.	L:48mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 13
CC 444	Crossbow bolt	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle	Type 11 (Ward-Perkins)	Tapering conical socket with expanded triangular sectioned point, wood traces in socket	L: 61mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W93
CC 445	Crossbow bolt	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle	Type 11 (Ward-Perkins)	Tapering rolled conical socket with expanded triangular sectioned point, wood traces in socket	L: 69mm W: 10mm	Caple 2007, W94
CC 446	Crossbow bolt	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle	Type 11 (Ward-Perkins)	Tapering folded conical socket with small triangular sectioned point	L: 65mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W95
CC 447	Crossbow bolt	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle	Type 11 (Ward-Perkins)	Tapering conical socket with expanded triangular sectioned point, wood traces and tip missing	L: 68mm W: 11mm	Caple 2007, W96
CC 448	Crossbow bolt	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle	Type 11 (Ward-Perkins)	Tapering folded conical socket with expanded triangular sectioned point, wood traces with tip missing	L: 65mm W: 13mm	Caple 2007, W97
CC 449	Crossbow bolt	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle	Type 11 (Ward-Perkins)	Tapering conical socket with expanded triangular sectioned point, wood traces and tip missing	L: 66mm W: 13mm	Caple 2007, W98
CC 450	Dagger			Chepstow, Monmouth-shire	Cast copper alloy dagger guard	The piece gently curves in one direction. The wings are decorated with pairs of incised lines on both faces. The scallop shaped lug carries no decoration. The central hole is sub rectangular in shape. The face that does not curve inwards has a low collar.	Length: 67.3mm Width: 36.7mm Weight: 56.4g	PAS Database NMGW-955AF7

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 451	Dagger	NMW		Cowbridge Grammar School for Boys	Quillion	Complete iron dagger with bronze fixings. Hilt is made from strip of bronze bent downwards at both ends and pommel made from simple disc shape. No decoration apparent	L:291mm (Blade 163mm) W: 51mm (Blade 20mm)	57.125
CC 452	Dagger	FMS		Llys Edwin	Quillion	Iron dagger with straight hilt and pommel missing	L: 261mm (Blade 209mm) W: 71mm (Socket 16mm)	FLIMS 2003.43/54
CC 453	Dagger	Powys-land		Dolforwyn Castle	Quillion	Small, well made and highly decorated complete dagger	L: 28cm (Blade 18cm) W: 6cm (Blade 2.5cm - 1cm)	
CC 454	Dagger	NMW		SE Wales, likely to be Caerphilly	Quillion	Complete iron dagger with bronze hilt and pommel. Simple decoration evident on hilt and pommel is Ward-Perkins type VII?	L: 410mm (Blade 305mm) W: 25mm	2002.74 H
CC 455	Dagger	NMW		Dolwyddelan Castle	Rondel	Wooden dagger handle with disc shaped cross-guard and circular pommel held together with 7 riveted holes and bronze strap	L: c.140mm	26.67
CC 456	Dagger	NMW		Theodoric's Hermitage, Margam	Unknown	Iron blade likely to be the bottom half of a dagger.	L: 143mm W: 16 - 10mm	49.140/14

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 457	Harpoon	FMS		Llys Edwin	n/a	Iron socketed spearhead with only one barb, likely to have been made as a harpoon	L: 158mm (Head 72MM) W: 26mm (Socket 22mm)	FLIMS 2003.43/50
CC 458	Harpoon	FMS		Llys Edwin	Unknown	Solid iron spike which appears to have been designed to be used as a fishing spear with two very small barbs attached to the one side	L: 308mm W: 6mm	FLIMS 2003.43/36
CC 459	Knife/Dagger	FMS		Llys Edwin		Very long and narrow iron blade with triangular cross section. The tang is missing but likely to have been flat rather than pointed	L: 275mm W: 13mm	FLIMS 2003.43/43
CC 460	Knife/Dagger	FMS		Llys Edwin		Iron triangular cross-sectioned knife blade, no hilt surviving and pointed tang. Could be what Ward-Perkins described as a Scramasax	L: 159mm (Blade 115mm) W: 19mm	FLIMS 2003.43/33
CC 461	Knife/Dagger	FMS		Llys Edwin		Iron triangular cross-sectioned knife blade, no hilt surviving and pointed tang. Could be what Ward-Perkins described as a Scramasax	L: 171mm (Blade 127mm) W: 14mm	FLIMS 2003.43/42
CC 462	Knife/Dagger Pommel			Cynffig, Bridgend		Circular copper-alloy pommel enhanced with four decorative lobes at the edges.		PAS Database NMGW-D61CA0

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 463	Macehead	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle (Latrine pit)	Group II (Halpin 1988)	Socketed star-headed mace with nine tapering facets on the shaft. There are nine facets on the shaft. The twelve projecting points forming the head are arranged in three layers. The top and bottom set of barbs are triangular in cross section. The central layer consists of barbs that are four sided All the barbs have lost their point tips, which are either pushed flat or curved downwards. Surviving within the central socket are the remains of the wooden shaft.		Caple 2007, W102
CC 464	Metal Spike?	CM		Aberystwyth Castle	Possible attachment to base of hafted weapon such as spear or poleaxe	Unidentified socketed pointed metal spike with wood still protruding from the socket. Unknown date - could be crude type of medieval spearhead	L: 110mm W: 30mm (Socket) 5mm (point)	TS/F1
CC 465	Pike Head	FMS		Llys Edwin	n/a	Iron rolled socked pikehead with triangular cross section.	L: 472mm (Blade 304mm) W: 27mm (Socket 38mm)	FLIMS 2003.43/44
CC 466	Pike Head	NMW		unprovenced from the Wynne of Peniarth Collection	n/a	Iron socketed pike head. Consists of one upright point and one 'hook' above socket. Socket badly damaged	L: 145mm W: 100mm (Socket 29mm)	21.24/113
CC 467	Pommel	NMW		Denbigh, Clwyd	Ward-Perkins Type VII?	Copper Alloy dagger pommel comprising of four lobed surround a central mound type shape. Decorated with carved lines	L: 22mm W: 26mm	84.51H

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 468	Pommel	NMW		Llanfaes, Anglesey	Ward-Perkins Type VII?	Copper Alloy Dagger? Pommel. Comprising of four lobes surrounding a central diamond	L: 22mm W: 28mm D: 11mm	91.1H/5
CC 469	Scabbard Chape	NMW		Llantrithyd, Vale of Glamorgan		Copper alloy crescent shaped scabbard chape	L: 31mm W: 25mm	95.21H/162
CC 470	Spearhead	NMW		Llandough Church	Boarspear	Large iron socketed leaf shaped blade with two semi-circles cut out of the edge. Socket is split into two parts	L: 208mm (Head 113mm) W: 49mm (Socket 21mm)	63.24/2
CC 471	Spearhead	NMW		Cardiff Castle	Unknown	Tanged iron spearhead with triangular shaped blade. Damaged with tip missing	L: 119mm (Head 55mm) W: 43mm (Tang 7mm)	66.295/7
CC 472	Spearhead	NMW		Ebbw Vale	Unknown	Multiple spear head fragments		83.477
CC 473	Spearhead			Hen Domen	Unknown	Incomplete spearhead, blade missing. Fragment of wood in situ in socket		Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 42
CC 474	Spearhead	FMS		Llys Edwin	Unknown	Iron tanged spearhead with diamond cross section	L: 157mm (Head 92mm) W: 21mm	FLIMS 2003.43/52
CC 475	Spearhead	CM		Aberystwyth Castle	Unknown	Socketed spearhead with barbs, left barb damaged. Could be large arrowhead used for hunting or could be small spearhead, maybe a throwing spear?	L: 110mm W: 5mm (point) 50mm (barbs) 40mm (socket)	D099

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 476	Spearhead	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle	WP2	Expanded square sectioned blade, wood traces and rivet hole in socket. Slight damage to socket and tip missing	L: 95mm W: 17mm	Caple 2007, W99
CC 477	Spearhead	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle	WP2	Expanded heavy squared sectioned blade, very corroded with socket and tip missing	L: 61mm W: 17mm	Caple 2007, W100
CC 478	Spearhead	NMW		Brecon, Powys	WP6	Socketed iron spearhead. The blade has straight edges, which converge to the tip. The base of the blade has concave and diverging shoulders, producing a near lozenge-shaped blade. The blade is of lozenge section.	Overall length: 279mm Blade Length: 132mm Weight: 127g	PAS Database NMGW_9928A 6
CC 479	Spearhead	NMW		Caerau, Ely	WP6	Iron socketed small spearhead with leaf shaped blade. Heavily corroded	L: 118mm (Head 61mm) W: 25mm (Socket 27mm)	23.373/2
CC 480	Spearhead	NMW		Cardiff Castle	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with proportionately small leaf shaped blade and long socket.	L: 139mm (Head 37mm) W: 17mm (Socket 17mm)	66.295/2
CC 481	Spearhead	NMW		Cardiff Castle	WP6	Small iron socketed triangular shaped spearhead. Blade and socket damaged on right-hand side	L: 106mm (Head 51mm) W: 31mm (Socket 20mm)	66.295/6

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 482	Spearhead	NMW		Cardiff Castle	WP6	Small iron socketed triangular shaped spearhead. Left half of blade badly damaged	L: 136mm (Head 86mm) W: 32mm (Socket 22mm)	66.295/5
CC 483	Spearhead	NMW		Cardiff Castle	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with long narrow leaf shaped blade	L: 215mm (Head 128mm) W: 25mm (Socket 14mm)	66.295/9
CC 484	Spearhead	NMW		Cardiff Castle	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with long narrow leaf shaped blade	L: 168mm (Head 89mm) W: 20mm (Socket 16mm)	66.295/8
CC 485	Spearhead	NMW		Cardiff Castle	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with narrow leaf shaped blade. Socket badly damaged	L: 160mm (Head 125mm) W: 23.5mm (Socket 12mm)	66.295/4
CC 486	Spearhead	NMW		Cardiff Castle	WP6	Heavily corroded iron narrow spearhead, probably socketed, socket now missing	L: 94mm W: 16mm	66.295/3
CC 487	Spearhead	NMW		Castle Villa Baths, Caerleon	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with narrow triangular shaped blade. Socket missing. NMW catalogue describe as pike head but more likely spearhead	L: 183mm W: 37mm	31.78/51

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 488	Spearhead	CCM		Dryslwyn Castle	WP6	Socketed with leaf shaped blade of diamond cross section, with missing tip. Slightly squashed rolled socket with rivet	L: 152mm W: 40mm	Caple 2007, W101
CC 489	Spearhead	NMW		Dug up in Garden in Aberavon	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with very narrow leaf shaped blade and very long socket	L: 268mm (Head 131mm) W: 17mm (Socket 12mm)	32.135
CC 490	Spearhead	CCM		Laugharne Castle	WP6	Iron socketed leaf shaped blade	L: 260mm (Blade 167mm) W: 40mm (Socket 25mm)	
CC 491	Spearhead	CCM		Laugharne Castle	WP6	Tip of spearhead blade, most likely leaf shaped	L: 110mm W: 50mm	
CC 492	Spearhead	CCM		Llanstephen Castle	WP6	Possible spear head socket and partial blade surviving	L: 135mm (Blade 40mm) W: 33mm (Socket 20mm)	
CC 493	Spearhead	FMS		Llys Edwin	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with very narrow leaf shaped blade and a proportionately long socket	L: 326mm (Blade 159mm) W: 19mm (Socket 20mm)	FLIMS 2003.43/57

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 494	Spearhead	FMS		Llys Edwin	WP6	Iron leaf shaped blade with what appears to be a very narrow socket. Precise function unknown. The tip and majority of socket are now missing.	L: 184mm (Head 142mm) W: 21mm (Socket 4mm)	FLIMS 2003.43/40
CC 495	Spearhead	FMS		Llys Edwin	WP6	Poorly preserved probable socketed spearhead with a leaf shaped blade. Socket now missing	L: 137mm (Head 110mm) W: 21mm	FLIMS 2003.43/52
CC 496	Spearhead	FMS		Llys Edwin	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with a leaf shaped blade.	L: 260mm (Blade 197mm) W: 31mm (Socket 19mm)	FLIMS 2003.43/45
CC 497	Spearhead	FMS		Llys Edwin	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with a poorly preserved leaf shaped blade. Both blade and socket are particularly narrow	L: 266mm (Blade 157mm) W: 28mm (Socket 15mm)	FLIMS 2003.43/34
CC 498	Spearhead			Rumney Castle	WP6?	Iron socketed spearhead fragment with the socket and neck of probably narrow leaf shaped blade	L: 80mm	Lloyd-Fern & Sell 1992, 134, no. 17
CC 499	Spearhead	NMW		Pant Asaph Farm, Clwyd	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with long narrow triangular shaped blade and short socket. Blade thin with very thin and damaged edges	L: 350mm (Head 263mm) W: 29mm (Socket 18mm)	26.57
CC 500	Spearhead	NMW		Skenfrith Castle	WP6	Small iron socketed spearhead with leaf shaped blade	L: 129mm (Head 62mm) W: 22mm (Socket 20mm)	70.17H/5.501

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 501	Spearhead	NMW		Tylorstown, Rhondda	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead, very long socket with proportionately small heavily corroded head	L: 188mm (Head 47mm) W: 28mm (socket 27mm)	65.422
CC 502	Spearhead	CCM		unprovenced	WP6	Iron socketed leaf shaped spearhead.	L: 150mm (Blade 85mm) W: 42mm (Socket 22mm)	
CC 503	Spearhead	NMW		unprovenced from the Wynne of Peniarth Collection	WP6	Iron socketed leaf shaped spearhead. Both tip and socket are missing	L: 128mm W: 58mm (Head 41mm)	21.24/38
CC 504	Spearhead	NMW		unprovenced from the Wynne of Peniarth Collection	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead, very long and narrow leaf shaped blade with a tapering diamond cross section	L: 410mm (Head 300mm) W: 33mm (Socket 25mm)	21.24/37
CC 505	Spearhead	NMW		White Castle	WP6	Iron socketed spearhead with narrow leaf shaped blade	L: 184mm (Head 95mm) W: 18mm (Socket 25mm)	52.108/4
CC 506	Spearhead ?	NMW		White Castle	Unknown	Iron pointed object made from twisting one piece of metal into a conical shape and socket. Is this a spearhead??	L: 95mm W: 16mm	52.108/8
CC 507	Spike?	FMS		Caergwrle Castle	Bodkin?	Unidentified metal spike that could be the end of a bodkin type arrowhead		

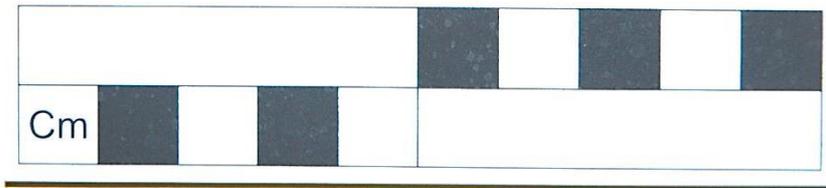
Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 508	Sword	Powys-land		Breidden	Unknown	Very badly degraded broadsword blade	L: 42.5cm (Blade 36.5cm) W: c.5cm - 4cm	
CC 509	Sword	NMW		Llowes, Powys	Unknown	Large, heavily corroded, iron sword blade, no hilt or pommel remaining	L: piece 1 - 400mm piece 2 - 380mm W: 50mm	31.76/1
CC 510	Sword	NMW		Bailey Hill, Heyope, Rad	XIII	Intact iron sword with plain iron hilt and circular and bronze type VIII (Ward-Perkins) pommel	L: 722mm (Blade 560mm) W: 144mm (Blade 44mm)	73.5H
CC 511	Sword	NMW		Cardiff Castle	XIII	Complete plain sword. Pommel type VIII disc shape	L: 870mm (Blade 670mm) W: 170mm (Blade 50 - 25mm)	20.419
CC 512	Sword	CCM		Found in the River Cothy, Carmarthen	XV	Complete medieval sword; bottom half of blade broken and missing. Plain Iron hilt and pommel which is oval in shape with raised circular decoration in centre. No sign of decoration	L: 600mm W: 300mm (Pommel 130mm x 65mm)	
CC 513	Sword	FMS		Llys Edwin	XV	Iron narrow sword. No hilt or pommel survive for dating	L: 463mm (Blade 398mm) W: 24mm)	FLIMS 2003.43/

Catalogue Number	Artefact Type	Location	Date	Where Found?	Type	Details	Size	Accession Number or Reference
CC 514	Sword	FMS		Llys Edwin	XV	Iron sword, tip broken and missing. No surviving hilt or pommel	L: 319mm (Blade 242mm) W: 38mm	FLIMS 2003.43/
CC 515	Sword	NMW		Slebech, Pembrokeshire (Came from river during C19th)	XVIIIb	C15th complete two handed sword. Plain with no decoration and pommel type VIII disc shape	L: 1680mm (Blade 1190mm) W: 480mm (Blade 50-10mm)	33.106
CC 516	Sword	Powys-land		Llandrinio on Offa's Dyke	XV	Poorly preserved narrow sword blade	L: 46cm (Blade 33cm) W: 3cm - 0.5cm	
CC 517	Sword Guard?	NMW		White Castle	Unknown	Iron Sword Guard? Looks more like a dagger handle with attached circular pommel. Very plain and heavy. Is some evidence of bronze gilding?	L: 107mm W: 15mm (Pommel 20mm)	52.108/9
CC 518	Sword Hilt			Hen Domen	n/a	Sword hilt with bone panels on both sides riveted to iron base		Higham and Barker 2000, 98, no. 51
CC 519	Sword Quillion			Hen Domen	n/a	Iron sword quillion		Higham and Barker 2000, 99, no. 52

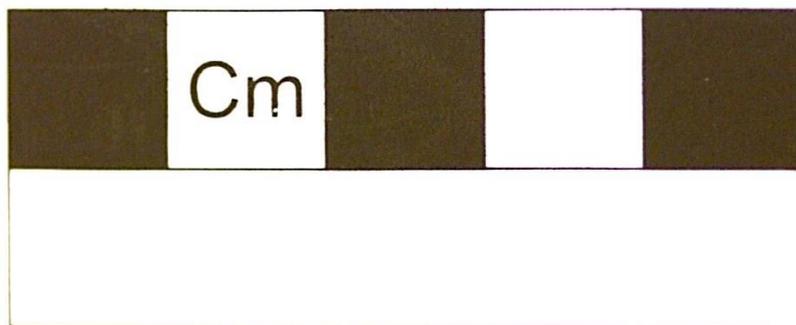
Appendix B

Catalogue Photographs

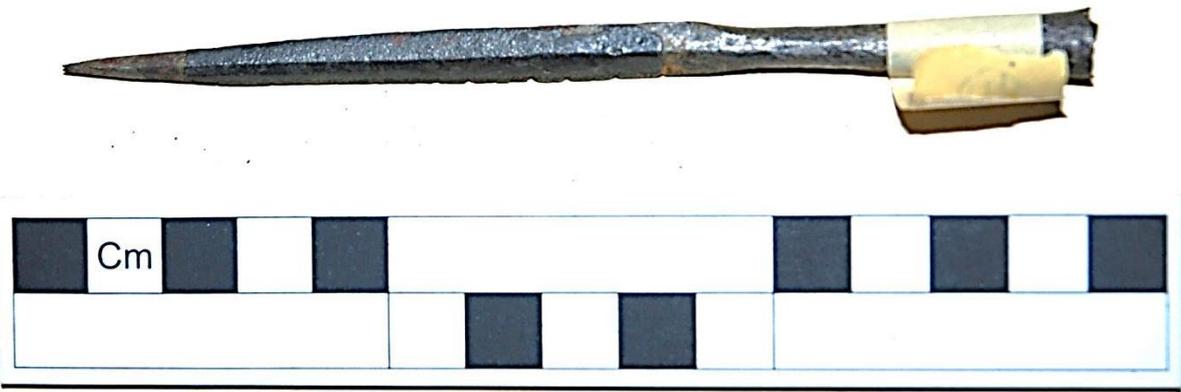
(All photographs are the author's own unless otherwise stated)



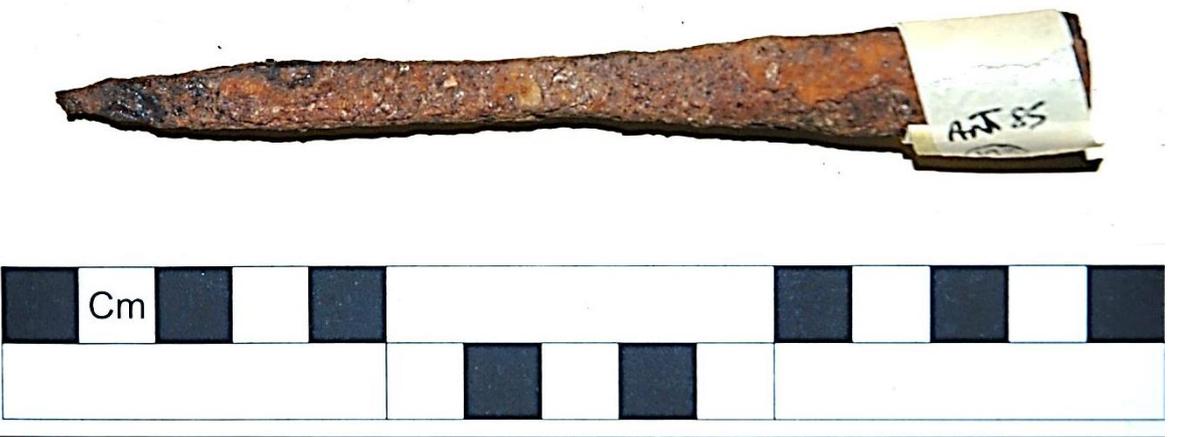
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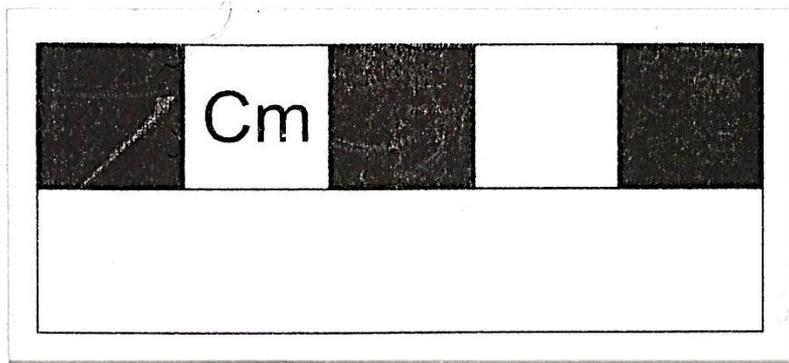
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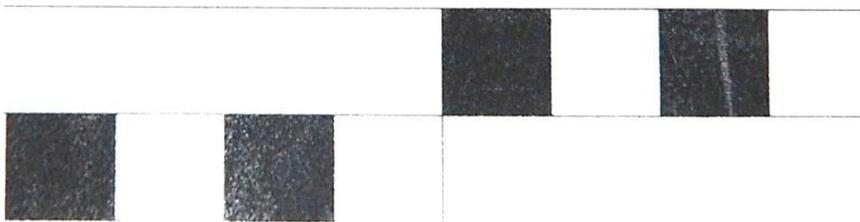
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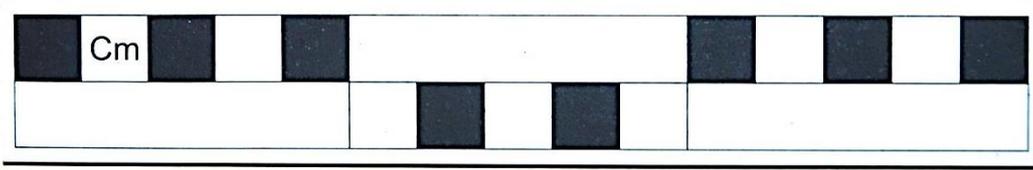
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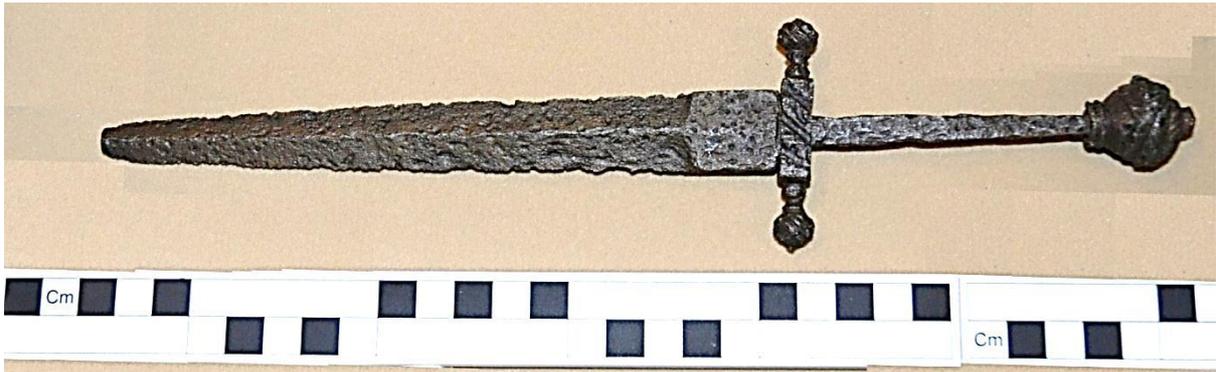
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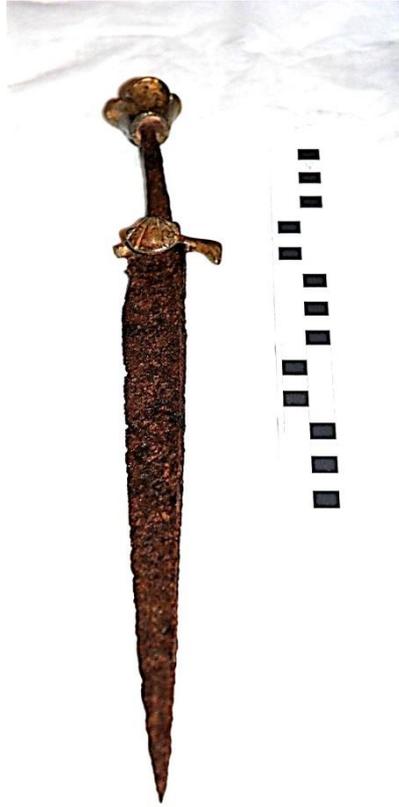
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CC 415



CC 453



CC 454



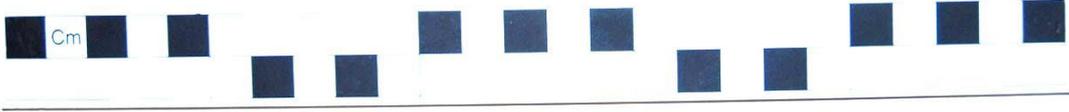
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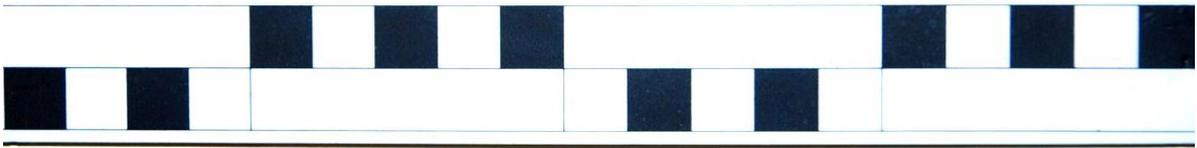
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CC 459



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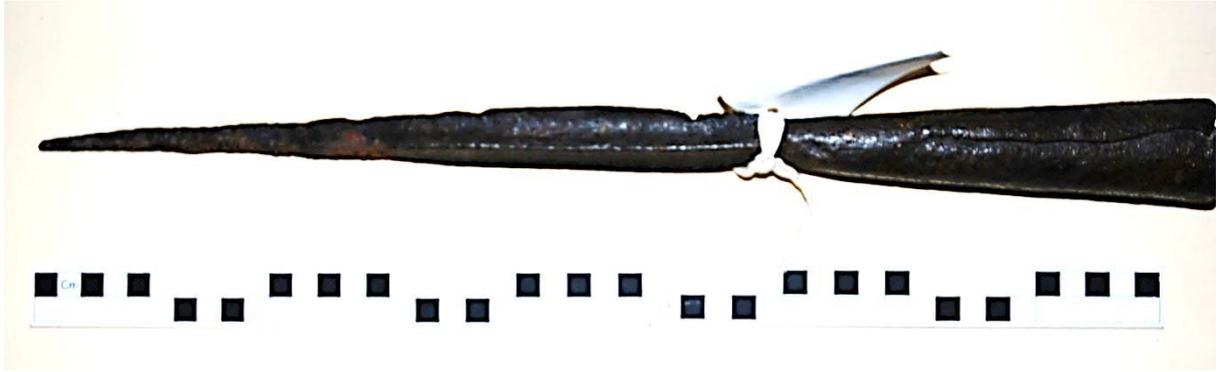
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CC 463



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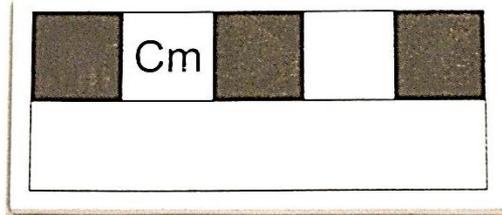
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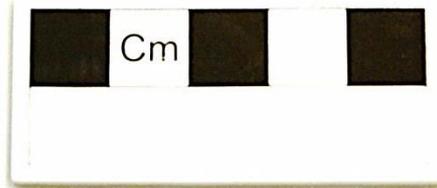
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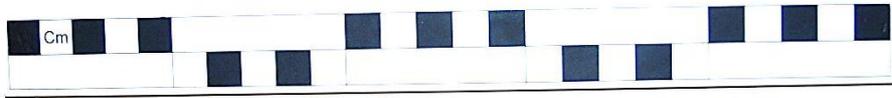
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CC 501



CC 493



CC 479



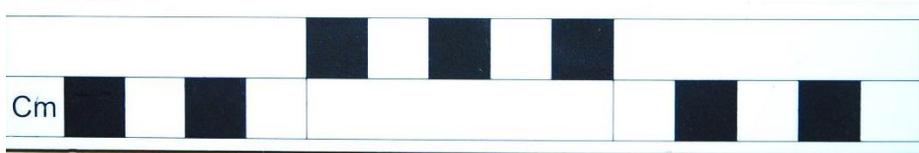
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CC 494



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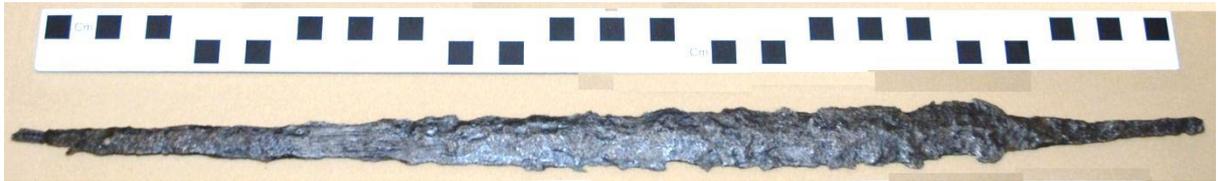
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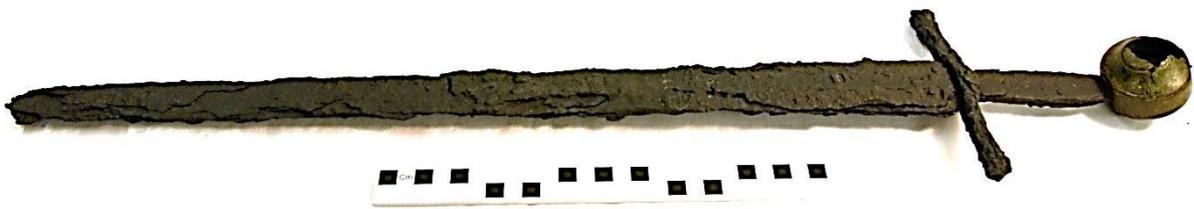
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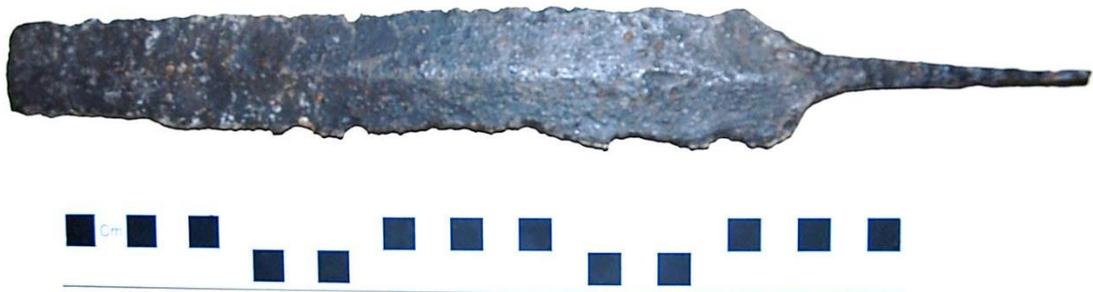


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CC 512



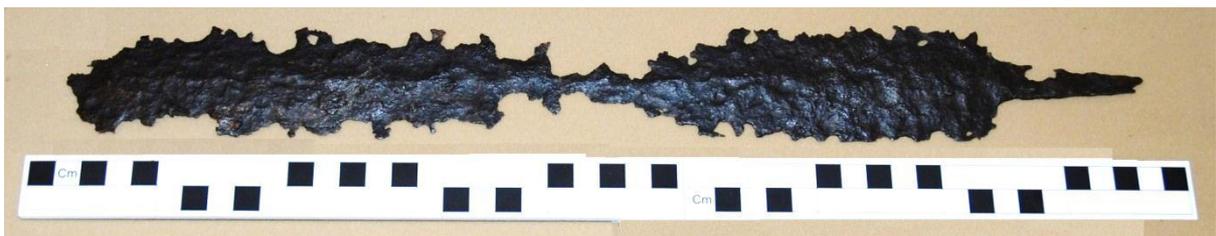
CC 513



CC 514



CC 515



CC 516

Appendix C

Spear types on the Bayeux Tapestry

Scene	Description	Details of Spears
1	King Edward addresses two Englishmen, one presumably is Harold	
2	Five Englishmen, unarmed and civilian dress travel to Bosham	
3	Bosham Church	
4	Harold's lodge at Bosham and his embarkation to France	
5	Harold sails across the channel	
6	Harold lands in Pontieu	
7	Harold comes ashore and is captured by two armed men on the orders of a knight (Guy of Ponthieu)	Behind Guy are four well-armed knights of whom three carry leaf shaped spears and another carries a barbed spear
8	Harold is escorted to Beurain by Guy	The party is accompanied by five armed knights, three of whom are carrying leaf shaped spears
9	Guy grants Harold an audience at Beurain	Guy is guarded by a knight holding a barbed spear
10	Guy receives William's envoys	Guy is guarded by a knight holding a barbed spear, the two envoys also carry barbed spears
11	William's messengers return with haste to William	Although they do not wear armour they carry both shields and sword. One carries a barbed spear whilst the other carries a leaf shaped spear
12	William receives a messenger (English) from Harold, possibly at Rouen	The messenger is escorted by two armed guards, one carries a barbed spear, the other a leaf shaped spear
13	Two parties of armed knights advance towards each other, Harold and Guy lead one group, William the other	Guy is accompanied by four knights all carrying leaf shaped spears. William is also accompanied by three knights carrying leaf shaped spears
14	William and Harold ride to Rouen where William receives Harold	Whilst riding William and Harold are accompanied by two armed knights carrying barbed spears. At Rouen, William is guarded by a knight with a barbed spear and behind Harold there are four further armed knights all carrying barbed spears
15	The mysterious scene with Aelfgyva	
16	The departure of William's expedition to Brittany	A group of armed knights accompany William and Harold to Brittany, behind them five carry leaf shaped spears (one with a banner attached) and two in front carry barbed spears
17	Harold saves Norman knights from the sands at Mont-Saint-Michel. The army then attacks Dol	Four mounted knights carry barbed spears. Two of these are carried overarm as if they are about to launch them as javelins and two are carried underarm in a couched position

Scene	Description	Details of Spears
18	Conan escapes from Dol. The Normans then attack Rennes	Four armed knights carry leaf shaped spears, three of these are held underarm in a couched position, one is carried backwards
19	William and the Normans attack Dinan	Four armed knights carry leaf shaped spears overarm as if they are about to launch them as javelins. The five defenders hold barbed spears over their heads about to throw them. There are also several loose spears that have been thrown, three of these are leaf shaped and two are barbed
20	Conan surrenders the keys to William	Two armed knights behind William carry spears, one is barbed (with banner) and one is leaf shaped
21	William presents Harold with a helmet and possibly a sword as recognition of his military prowess during the Brittany campaign	Harold holds a barbed spear (with banner)
22	William and Harold return to Bayeux	Three armed knights carry leaf shaped spears
23	Harold takes an oath to William	William is guarded by a knight holding a leaf shaped spear
24	Harold returns to England	Harold's departure is observed by two knights carrying barbed spears. When Harold lands in England he mounts and heads to the King's palace carrying a barbed spear. His guard also carries a barbed spear
25	Harold reports to King Edward	
26-27-28	King Edward dies and is buried at Westminster Abbey	
29	The crown is presented to Harold	
30	Harold's coronation	
31-32	The English witness the shooting star	
33	Harold receives a messenger	Harold is holding a barbed spear whilst his messenger carries a sword
34	An English ship sets sail to Normandy	
35	A messenger brings William news of King Edward's death and William orders ships to be built	
36	William's fleet of ships are built and launched into the sea	

Scene	Description	Details of Spears
37	The ships are loaded with weapons and wine	Three men carry barbed spears. There are also 20 barbed spears on the cart alongside other weapons (mainly swords) and wine. Three mounted knights also carry barbed spears
38	William sets sail and crosses the channel	
39	William lands at Pevensey and disembarks	
40	Knights accompany a foraging party	Two knights are armed with leaf shaped spears
41-42	More foraging and cooking meat	A knight called Wadord carries a leaf shaped spear
42-43	The servants serve a meal	
44	Bishop Odo blesses the meal	
45	William orders a castle to be built at Hastings	Both the man giving orders and the man supervising the construction carry leaf shaped spears
46	William receives a messenger with news about Harold	William holds a barbed spear (with banner). His messenger also carries a barbed spear
47	Workmen clear the ground around Hastings including burning a house of a well-dressed Englishwoman	One of the men burning the house carries a barbed spear. At the end of the scene William is fully armed and carries a leaf shaped spear (with banner) and is presented with his mount
48	Norman knights advance towards Harold's forces	Seven mounted knights carry very narrow leaf shaped spear in an upright position, towards the front the knights are beginning to tilt their spears into a horizontal couched position, three of these are leaf shapes and three are barbed
49	William speaks to Vital about the whereabouts of Harold's forces	Vital carries a leaf shaped spear over his shoulder; two other mounted knights carry leaf shaped spears (one with banner)
50	An unnamed soldier tells Harold about William's army	Harold, his messenger and one other English foot soldier carry barbed spears
51	William addresses his knights and prepares them for battle. The Norman vanguard then advances under covering fire from the archers and attacks the English shield wall	All soldiers in this scene are armed with spears; the mounted Norman knights predominantly carry leaf shaped spears (15 leaf shaped compared to only one barbed) whereas all fifteen English foot soldiers carry barbed spears; Nine of the Norman spears are held overarm as if about to be launch as javelins and three are held underarm in a couched position, the remaining three are upright. The English are holding their spears above their heads read to throw at the enemy. There are also three loose leaf shaped spears in this scene

Scene	Description	Details of Spears
52	Harold's two brothers Leofwine and Gyrrh are killed	Five Norman knights are carrying leaf shaped spears, four of which are held over arm and one underarm. An English foot soldier also carries a spear overarm with the blade buried into the chest of a Norman knight
53	The Norman knights and their mounts fall head first in an unseen ditch whilst the English attack from the higher ground	Two knights carry leaf shaped spears; the English fyrd throw four leaf shaped spears down at the Norman knights
54	Bishop Odo rides into the core of the Norman forces to reassure and encourage them	Three Norman knights carry leaf shaped spears, one overarm and two are underarm in a couched position. Two English foot soldiers carry leaf shaped spears
55	Duke William removes his helmet to prove he still lives	One Norman knight carries a leaf shaped spear (with banner) and another carries a barbed spear overarm
56	The Norman cavalry attack for a second time, this time against Harold's housecarls	From this point the majority of fighting is with swords. Two Norman knights carry leaf shaped spears overarm and an English foot soldier also carries a leaf shaped spear overarm
57	King Harold is killed	A Norman knight carries a leaf shaped spear overarm; another leaf shaped spear is loose, presumably thrown towards the English; The foot soldier believed to represent Harold with an arrow in his eye carries a leaf shaped spear; to the right of Harold two English foot soldiers carry leaf shaped spears against two Norman knights also carrying leaf shaped spears overarm, one looking like he is stabbing down at his opponent rather than throwing the spear
58	The victorious Normans chase fleeing Englishmen after they break and run from the battlefield	The Normans are armed with swords and bows. It is worth noting that much of this scene is the work of nineteenth century restoration

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