Aspects of the archaeology of the castle in the north of England C 1066-1216

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ASPECTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CASTLE IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND C. 1066-1216

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Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Archaeology

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2003

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly I would like to thank the owners and occupiers of the sites examined in this thesis. I cannot think of an occasion when my requests to gain access to a building or site were not met with a positive answer and a request for more information about the site.

The staff of the various libraries and record offices I visited for this research provided unfailing help. I would especially like to mention the staff of the Archives and Special Collections at Durham University Library and the librarians at Durham Cathedral.

My supervisors Dr Pam Graves and Professor Matthew Johnson deserve the greatest vote of thanks. Without their continued enthusiasm, interest and support throughout my time completing this thesis I cannot believe that I would ever have finished this project.

The varied and changing postgraduate community within the Department have provided much support during the production of this thesis. I also gratefully acknowledge the help, support and frequent advice of Dr Derek Kennet who has helped me stay on track through the darker moments of this thesis.

I would like to thank my employers L - P : Archaeology for their continued support, both moral and financial, throughout the final stages of the production of this thesis. Without their employment this would have been a vastly more difficult task. I would above all like to thank Stuart Eve, Guy Hunt, and Matt Williams.

I particularly wish to thank my mother and sister for their support during this long period of work. I would like to dedicate this to my Father.

ABSTRACT

ASPECTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CASTLE IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND *C* 1066-1216.

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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

2004

This thesis is an examination of the archaeological, historical and landscape contexts of the Norman castle in the northern counties of Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Northumberland, Westmorland and the Ridings of Yorkshire. The assumption at the heart of this study is that castles are social institutions, arenas in which repetitive social actions, such as administration, are undertaken. Castles are also arenas where other forms of social interaction, such as warfare or sieges, were staged. These social actions, and the spaces in which they happened, structure and are structured by the ideas and concepts of lordship and actively employ castles in a meaningful way. It is demonstrated in this study that both architectural and landscape forms are actively employed in meaningful ways. What is emphasised and argued throughout this study is that evidence traditionally employed to provide chronological data, documentary evidence or architectural features, actually provide social information.

This study also shows that the concept of lordship changes and develops over the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. These changes have consequences for the landscape context of sites where there are changing, developing relationships between settlements, whether newly founded or pre-existing, over time.

The general conclusions reached in this study are that castles must be examined as social institutions rather than in isolation as architecture or simply as arenas where historical events took place.

"*Seems to have had very little history.*"

Cathcart-King discussing Brougham Castle, Westmorland (1983, 491).

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INTRODUCTION: ASPECTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CASTLE IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND *C.* 1066-1216.

AIMS

This PhD is an examination of aspects of the social context of castle construction and use in the period between 1066 and 1216. Its geographical focus is the North of England. The heart of this work is the field examination of one hundred and twelve castle sites in the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, Northumberland and the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire. The field assessment also included an inspection of the physical settings of the sites: their landscape contexts, associated settlements and churches. This study of the sites and their settings is reinforced through the study of documentary and cartographic evidence associated with the one hundred and twelve sites. The objective behind this thesis is to employ these sources of data to obtain a greater insight into the social context behind castles. In essence the aim of this investigation is to examine aspects of the material constructs and expressions of Anglo-Norman Lordship through the construction and use of castles.

The data collected for this project have not been treated as a traditional, regional survey examining individual castle sites, but have been employed to scrutinize certain aspects of the social context of castles. The starting point of this thesis is the assumption that the form, location and landscape setting of a castle site bear some relationship to the ideas that are behind this type of expression of lordship. This expression of lordship, however, is contained within a historically specific framework of rights and duties.

The approach taken to achieve these ends rests on the belief that the physical form and setting of a castle reflects some aspect of the projection of ideas of lordship to the wider community. This display of ideas is mediated through a framework of rights and responsibilities that are linked to the contemporary and earlier patterns of landholding. It has also been recognised, and actively grasped, that the ideas that structure the expression of lordship change and develop over the period of time examined here (from 1066-1216). It is necessary next to examine how this interpretation developed.

BACKGROUND

Much of what influenced me to undertake this study of castles in the North of England was my dissatisfaction with the confused, and contradictory nature of much writing on castles. Many of these volumes, a good number of comparatively recent publications, were producing the

same story employing the same data. Modern archaeological studies undertaken on individual sites such as the excavations at Portchester (Cunliffe and Munby 1985) and Castle Acre (Coad 1976; Coad and Streeton 1982) were simply forced into the straitjacket provided by the traditional scheme of development. At Portchester and Castle Acre the development of these sites was seen only in terms of the improvement of their defences. An extensive examination of the traditional, militaristic study of castles demonstrates that it is based on a series of ideas that developed during the nineteenth century linked to the social changes of this period. These ideas are rooted in disciplines that range from modern architecture through to evolutionary biology and are connected to the developing British Empire. This section will proceed with an examination of the ideas that provide the foundations of this habitual interpretation of castles.

Usually the archaeologists and historians who study castles have divorced these sites from their landscape contexts and focused solely on the buildings or earthworks. These interpretations employ a wider context through the use of simple chronological or typological classifications being employed to group castle sites together with historical references to successful attacks or defences to provide the perception of a greater context. Authors that follow this scheme of development like, for example Thompson (1987 and 1991), Platt (1982) or from a generation earlier, Brown (1976) essentially produce a fixed scheme of development. This scheme of development can be seen to change little but is partially modified by the study of new sites. For example Thompson's studies of proto-keeps (1992a; 1992b) has altered his interpretation of some early baronial sites but little else.

The narrative basis of castle studies, as detailed by the authors referenced above, is essentially a tale that begins with the introduction of the castle as a developed institution imported from Normandy. This is especially true when the historical work of Brown is examined (1984; 1985 and the various papers collected in 1989) where he argues that the Norman administrative system and social structure was imported wholesale from the Duchy where the Normans had become:

"*...by the mid-eleventh century more Frankish than the Franks, having taken and developed Frankish language, religion and feudalism, Frankish war and law and a Carolingian concept of the state, a new monasticism and a new architecture.*" (Brown 1984, 23)

As Brown states (ibid. 40) Norman warfare was made up of heavy cavalry and castles. The castle functioned by providing an armed base "*...impregnable to anything but a full-scale and prolonged investment...*" (Ibid. 44). From this base knights could ride out and control the landscape. By the mid eleventh century the countryside of Normandy contained many castles. According to Brown this is also true of the areas later conquered by the Normans: England, Sicily

and Antioch (ibid. 44). Brown is unquestioning in his belief that the castle was fully developed in its earthwork form and imported wholesale into England with the Conquest as part of a cultural package. Brown claims that castles appear historically with knights in Normandy and therefore signal the arrival of the historically specific scheme of social relations known as feudalism (ibid. 1970, 137). This attitude is most clearly demonstrated by his reaction to the attempts of archaeologists to study the early castles of the Conquest and the Norman colonization of England (for example Brown 1970).

THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

Brown's assumptions concerning the castle, and its supporting social structure, can be seen to have an underlying belief in the ideas of colonial dominance. This is shown by his assumption that the Norman culture simply dominated, and was not influenced or changed, by the social processes of controlling England. This simplistic, monolithic idea can be seen to conflict with more recent studies of the reactions of elites to the colonial experience (Cannadine 2001) or studies of more localised interaction (Schire 1995), but is entirely in tune with what was generally believed at the beginning of the twentieth century. These ideas were based upon the belief that people sent abroad on the colonial services retained their 'British-ness' and did not 'go native'; that the colonisers retained a distance with the peoples of the colony. These assumptions can be seen to have transferred to the Norman Conquest. That is of an elite group taking over the wealth of the country, administering and governing it. In a very limited sense this can be seen to be a basic parallel to the development of the British Empire. The belief that the imperial experience had not changed British society through the social changes required to administer is well established and has been examined recently by Canadine (2001). Canadine demonstrated that the indigenous elites of colonial territories were co-opted into the British class structure through the use of imperial schemes of honours and by drawing out similarities between British and indigenous titles and honours to provide a unified, Empire-wide hierarchy. The maintenance and operation of this hierarchy forced change onto elite British society through the requirement to enforce ideas hierarchy and social position over race. In material terms new building varieties, bungalows, were also introduced as a result of the Empire and most importantly the movement of people across the globe that occurred as a direct result of Britain's imperial possessions has changed society in Britain and in the former empire. These changing ideas of the British colonial experience have strong parallels to the gradual reinterpretation of the social interactions of the English and Normans in the years around the Conquest. This argument concerning the impact of the invasion on both English and Norman society began with questioning the traditional pattern of castle development.

Davison began a debate by questioning the assumption that the castle reached a developed form in eleventh century Normandy and was imported wholesale into England with the Conquest. Davison's work encompassed the excavation of earthwork sites in England, the field examination of sites in Normandy and a study of the historical data for the development of sites in England (1962; 1967; 1969; 1970). This extensive, detailed study was attacked by Brown (1970) who restated the traditional view of the import of the castle from Normandy following, in detail, the work of Armitage. Armitage's (1912) work was based strongly on her earlier article published in 1900. This article (Armitage 1900) was written as a reaction to the earlier publication of Clark (1884a). Clark's volume was written with the idea that mottes were actually Anglo-Saxon burghs. The objective of Armitage, and her contemporary and ally, Round (1902), was to demonstrate the similarity between motte and bailey sites in England and Normandy thereby proving their introduction with the Conquest and specifically reacting against any idea of private earthwork fortifications existing in England prior to the Conquest. These works, especially Armitage (1912), can be seen to have influenced many later writers, particularly Brown. Brown, also, has followed Armitage's general confusion over defining earthwork types, especially her emphasis on mottes over ringwork sites (Cathcart-King and Alcock 1969, 91). Armitage together with others effectively defined the broad study of castle sites; with Allcroft (1908) who detailed the scheme of earthwork classification employed in the Victoria County History volumes that have proved to be the basis of this and many other discussions of castles. What is unquestioningly assumed by all of the authors discussed above is the primacy of the military role of castles. It is undeniable that where castles are referenced in contemporary historical narratives it is generally through references to military actions, but the theoretical basis of this belief has its roots in two sets of ideas that developed during the nineteenth century.

The assumed military functions of castles can be seen to stem partially from the earliest historical references. The publication of the Rolls Series of chronicles and documents predates the efforts of the Pipe Roll Society to make the administrative documents available for study. The vast majority of chronicles references examined for this study discuss castles in terms of attacks and defences; they do not detail the daily life in these sites. Stocker (1992) has also unquestioningly accepted the function given to castles by Brown (1976, 172), and many other writers, including Pounds (1990, 9), that the function of castles was as a defensive base for a squad of cavalry that could ride forth from the site and control the landscape. This interpretation is based on the documentary evidence for castle guard contained in collected volumes such as the Book of Fees (Deputy Keeper of the Records 1920). This volume, collected in the form of a register in 1302 (Clanchy 1993, 103), contains the reference at the beginning that this document was a register, not a collection of the original surveys that Clanchy believes was included from its

compilation. Volumes such as the Book of Fees are only concerned with the numbers and division of fees supplying knights, or parts of knights towards the military burden held by a tenant-in-chief. By the time of the compilation of these volumes the military role of knights gathered in this way had declined; fees had become a form of monetary assessment. Archaeologists have only ever seen castle guard or service with the army in the field in military terms. The presence of tenants or their representatives in a castle for a fixed term, or in the field as part of a retinue has other implications than just military ideas, including feasting for example. The presence of a retinue for receiving individuals within a castle or for social competition between elites has to be an important part of their lifestyle. The presence of a retinue does mean that early castles can be discussed in the terms of a colonial fortress, as an outpost of authority. This to an extent can be seen in the historical record, especially for the early forays of the Conqueror's army into Yorkshire, York and further north.

What the historical record of these events does not show is the level of co-operation and acceptance that must have occurred to ensure the successful establishment of a castle and its occupants in a town or region. This type of data simply goes unreported wherever it happens in the documentation that survives from this period. The idea of small military outposts, that early castles are considered to be, standing within a hostile local environment is based upon many of the early colonial situations that Britain was experiencing in the later nineteenth century. The idea that these small islands of military force could control the landscape is based upon a direct comparison with the British Empire in employing small forces to hold down a vastly larger population. One must also question the use of castles as stabling for a small force to secure a large area when the basic form of many earthwork castles is examined. One must question how isolated earthwork mottes can be employed to house and support even a small troop of cavalry, their horses and equipment.

THE MILITARY INTERPRETATION OF CASTLES

This section of the introduction will argue that the traditional study of castles, in assuming a dominant military role for these buildings, is effectively based on a combination of the ideas of evolution and concepts that are at the basis of modern architecture. This section will firstly examine how the interpretation of castles, and other medieval buildings stems from many ideas that can be associated with modern architecture. Much of the analysis undertaken in this first section in examining the theoretical perspectives of early nineteenth century architects was undertaken by Watkin (2000), in a volume initially published in 1977. Secondly the influences of evolution will be examined and finally these two strands of thought will be brought together.

The study of castles in the Victorian period, and at its most simplistic and in its earliest form, was based around the challenge made to the construction of country houses based upon the models provided by the medieval castle. Girouard (1979, 154-164) discusses the context of the construction of Peckforton Castle in Cheshire built 1844-1850. Peckforton is the first of a group of mid-Victorian castles constructed to specifically resemble and reference medieval fortified buildings. The unambiguous façade of this building is different from earlier castellated architecture that only took features inspired by castles and placed them in an entirely domestic, contemporary context. Peckforton, together with Castle Coch, near Cardiff and Dromore in Ireland, were constructed as castles, with gatehouses standing next to bare walls with arrow slits, rather than sash windows. This was recognised in a criticism of Peckforton by Gilbert Scott who felt that the skill of the architect had been wasted in the construction of an unreal building (ibid. 154-155). Gilbert-Scott's claim of unreality behind the construction of Peckforton is that its design was essentially to resist an Edwardian army, not to house a Victorian landowner. This simplistic link between the form of the building and its perceived function is the basis of much architectural interpretation at this time. Gilbert Scott is not arguing about the plan of the building, or the arrangement of its rooms, which are almost a model plan for the mid Victorian house, but is focused solely on the façade. This simplistic level of architectural interpretation can be seen to imbue much of the thought of the architectural profession at this time. It is also around this point in the nineteenth century that architects were employed to restore medieval castles that had remained as residences. Salvin, the architect of Peckforton, was employed to restore Alnwick Castle in Northumberland. It is through the route of restoring old buildings that the influential architect, and architectural theoretician Viollet-le-Duc is encountered. Viollet-le-Duc's importance in the field of castle studies is confirmed by the emphasis given to his work by Thompson (1994a). But Viollet-le-Duc also worked as a jobbing architect, not only in the study and restoration of old buildings, but as an architect designing new structures. It is his work in this area that provides a context in which to examine his interpretation of medieval buildings.

VIOLLET-LE-DUC AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE

Viollet-le-Duc was an important theoretician whose influence lay behind many pioneers of modern architecture. This aspect of Viollet-le-Duc's work, much of the basis of his career, has never been discussed in relation to his interpretation of castles. This can be seen most clearly in the bibliography published as part of Thompson (1994a, 445) who only includes volumes specifically connected to architectural history, none of the other extensive publications of Viollet-le-Duc. To quote Thompson (1994a, 440) Viollet-le-Duc discusses castle architecture in the following way: "*The treatment is always functional, almost brutal, and interpretations always in terms of defence against a skilled attacker.*" Other medievalists have discussed Viollet-le-Duc's

approach to architecture, including his approach to designing new buildings. Hearn's study of the architectural theory of Viollet-le-Duc emphasises the importance that the twentieth-century practitioners of modern architecture placed on Thompson's military archaeologist. Viollet-le-Duc emphasised the relationship between the plan and elevations of the building. This can be seen in his method for designing new buildings. Hearn states that the basis of Viollet-le-Duc's method of designing a house is to focus on the plan of the building (Hearn 1990, 12). The plan, according to Viollet-le-Duc, represents the '*functional program*' of the building; the plan of a building leads from the arrangement of the spaces, shapes and sequences that fill the program. Essentially the building plan is a group of collected functions that relate to what the building is to be used for. Hearn (1990, 9) also goes further in emphasising Viollet-le-Duc's distrust of symmetrical buildings as this would lead to the façade leading the plan of the buildings, rather than the correct way of representing the 'functional program'. The façade of a building relates to the plan in a way that structurally contains the plan. This containment of the plan of a building within a structural system marks the next point in how Viollet-le-Duc believes that a house should be designed. Viollet-le-Duc recommends that an architect define the plan of the roof next to show the structurally defined areas relating to features such as chimneys rising from fire places (ibid. 154). From this plan of the roof, and the plan of the house, it is possible to determine how structurally the building should be supported and how the façade and elevations can then be constituted (ibid. 156). This emphasis on the plan leading through to the elevations clearly foreshadows many of the ideas of modern architecture. These ideas are again visible in Viollet-le-Duc's attitude to the relationship between structures and the materials they were built from. Viollet-le-Duc emphasises that the materials a building is constructed from should be used honestly, and express their structural function from their inherent qualities (ibid. 169). In this aspect Viollet-le-Duc foreshadows the ideas of modern architecture. In a polemic against the introduction of modern architecture to the United States of America Wolf (1981, 12) discusses many of the guiding principles of the modern movement. Wolf states that the guiding principles of modern architecture were: "*...glass corners, flat roofs, honest materials, and expressed structure.*" (ibid. 12). The extent of the modern movement's dependence on many of the foundations laid by Viollet-le-Duc is summed up with Hearn's reference that le Corbusier's famous comment that a house is a machine for living in is based upon Viollet-le-Duc's lengthy discussion of how a house should be planned and the idea of the functional program (Hearn 1990, 14 and 114-154). From this analysis of the work of Viollet-le-Duc his role as a foundation of the modern movement is well established. It is now necessary to examine how his interpretation of contemporary buildings is embedded in Viollet-le-Duc's interpretation of medieval buildings.

Viollet-le-Duc states that a gothic cathedral can be interpreted as a series of shapes that are required in a liturgy, which provides the program of the building. These spaces are combined in an order required by the liturgy; this is therefore how the plan is defined (ibid. 9). It can be seen how the elevation of a gothic cathedral is drawn from the plan. As discussed above a roof form is placed over the building, and once this is decided the elevation can be decided and settled according to the materials from which the building is to be constructed. In the case of the French gothic cathedral of the thirteenth century this material is stone. Hearn (1990, 92-110) is an analysis of the elevation of the church of Notre-Dame in Dijon. It details how the elevation of the building is only related to how the building stands up, the use of multiple shafts relates to supporting the wall masses and the high vaults. The elevation and structure of the building honestly express the constructional qualities of the stone it is built from. The cathedral, therefore, is interpreted in the same way that Viollet-le-Duc would go about constructing a modern building. This interpretation of the plan, elevation and structure of the gothic cathedral has been couched entirely in a way that is understandable through the principles of modern architecture. Viollet-le-Duc's study of medieval churches follows the same principles as to how he would construct a modern house, by following the function of the building. It is now necessary to move onto his study of castles.

Two volumes written by Viollet-le-Duc demonstrate his interpretation of castles (1860; 1875). These volumes are considerably less explicit in detailing his approach to the buildings, but the style of his interpretation is couched in an openly functional way. Viollet-le-Duc's discussion of Norman castle architecture is framed in terms of the defence of the building. Castles are discussed in terms of their passive strength, height and the placement on elevated spots even artificial hillocks (Viollet-le-Duc 1860, 31). The whole of this volume is entirely based around the defensive function of standing monuments. This is especially shown by Viollet-le-Duc's attitude to timber architecture. Once the eleventh century is reached in Viollet-le-Duc (1860, 60) timber works become adjuncts to stone architecture, in the form of hoardings and as temporary devices employed by besiegers. Viollet-le-Duc argues that the standard form of merlon and embrasure are inadequate as a defence on their own without the provision for a timber hoarding; and hoardings themselves are only discussed as temporary defensive features, not as an architectural feature. One must wonder why this treatment of wall heads is so common, especially without the corbels or sockets to support a timber hoard. During my surveys of the castles included in the sample area none have been identified that contain the specific evidence for a hoarding; although very few twelfth century wall heads do survive. This division of function between stone walls and timber temporary features relates to the belief expressed by Viollet-le-Duc that the use of a

particular material should be honest. Examining other aspects of Viollet-le-Duc's interpretation of timber structures can show this pattern of belief.

'*Annals of a Fortress*' (Viollet-le-Duc 1875) is a fictionalised analysis of a castle known as Roche-Pont. The unfortunate occupants of this site over twenty-two centuries were forced to undergo seven sieges. The fourth siege discussed in this volume, and the construction of the feudal castle is what concerns us here (ibid. 157-178; 178-226). This siege is provoked by the efforts of Anseric de la Roche-Pont to reconstruct his castle to defy every attack as the first step at removing his subjection to the fictionalised Duke of Burgundy (ibid 159). The reconstruction work at the site is detailed in figure 37 of Viollet-le-Duc (1875, 172) and reproduced here as Figure 1. None of the permanent structures on site are built of timber; the entire defensive works are constructed in stone. Once the fictionalised siege was clear Viollet-le-Duc states "...[Anseric cut] *Timber in sufficient quantity...for making hoardings, palisades and wooden defences.*" (1875, 178). These cut timbers were used to provide defences for temporary measures, such as a palisade to cover a trench cut to help isolate the approach to the castle (ibid. 179). Timber *bretèches* were constructed to cover the approaches over bridges near to the town and a ditch and timber palisade to further isolate the castle (ibid. 184-185). Once the Duke of Burgundy's men had breached the outer curtain wall a further temporary timber construction was connected to the various stone buildings in the outer bailey creating a further barrier (ibid. 211, figure 45). Throughout the entire construction of this castle site, as painfully detailed, and through the advances of the besiegers at this site, it is clear that timber is used for temporary, emergency works in a way that provides for the honest use of this material.

These relationships between plan, elevation and the materials that a building is constructed from, and the honest expression of these materials is the basis of modern architecture. These principles guide Viollet-le-Duc's interpretation of castle buildings. This strong focus can be seen in the planning of the castle at Roche-Pont (ibid.). The improvements to this site are discussed through a series of plans and their interpretation and a fictional discussion of the planning process at this site. The development of this new castle is only discussed in defensive terms with the discussion of domestic features limited to:

"*It was agreed, moreover, that the central habitable part of the castle, erected on the remains of the square Roman towers, should be crenellated, and should command the curtain, and consequently the two entrances.*" (ibid. 171)

The many towers constructed about the bailey of this castle are not provided with any domestic functions, as would be expected in any English castle of this date, but are only discussed according to their defensive function (ibid. 170). This is most clearly demonstrated by the

discussion between the count and his master of works concerning the gateway leading to the inner bailey. This conversation reads as follows:

"*The latter* [the master of works] *wanted to place it parallel with the front, but the baron insisted on it forming a decided angle with the entrance of the bailey. The master of works urged that the left-hand tower of this gate, G, would then form a projection insufficiently defended, and open to attack; but the baron maintained that if the besiegers endeavoured to attack or mine this tower, they would be commanded obliquely by tower, R...*" (ibid. 170).

This debate continues in a similar tone for several more lines, but it is apparent that the disposition of this tower is couched only in terms of its defensive function based upon an interpretation of the plan of the castle. This fictional discussion demonstrates Viollet-le-Duc believed medieval architects thought about building in the same way as himself, in planning a 'functional programme'. This programme is codified into a ground plan that is then roofed and details are provided on the elevations. Viollet-le-Duc only believes that buildings offer single functions; castle buildings are defensive, churches are for containing a programme of worship and houses are machines for living. This fictional castle is planned in the same way Viollet-le-Duc, the early influence to modern architecture, would plan a house for one of his contemporaries.

CASTLES AND EVOLUTION

Viollet-le-Duc's emphasis on the function of a building can be seen to directly influence other writers on castles, most obviously Thompson (1987). This expression of function can be seen to utterly dominate the discussion of artillery defences; making castles defensively irrelevant and introducing new types of defensive building. To quote Thompson (1987, 35): "*In England there was no significant response to the new arm* [artillery]*; it is difficult to point to any major adaptations made to older structures to allow them to withstand or deflect the impact of shot...*" This is claimed by Thompson to be entirely different to the picture in France; a difference based upon differing practices of warfare in the two countries, even when English armies were based in both. Where changes were made to buildings to adapt them to artillery this was confined to the south of England with the addition of gun ports in the shape of inverted keyholes (ibid. 36). The buildings listed by Thompson (1987, 36) include new castles at Bodiam and Cooling and older, adapted castles at Corfe and Portchester. Many of the sites where these features are introduced into new or old buildings include the town walls of Canterbury, Winchester, Southampton and Norwich in the Cow Tower. It can therefore be seen that many of the locations where these new keyhole gunports are located are in newly constructed town walls, in Norwich in a freestanding tower and in gates as at Southampton. It could be said that gunports at these sites are focused on high status visible features, rather than in general locations. The construction of artillery forts

during the 1540s by Henry VIII marks what is generally considered to be a major change in architecture in England, but once these sites are examined archaeologically a different picture emerges from the one propagated of a distinction between these sites and domestic housing. Thompson states when discussing the forts of Henry VIII "*A description of Henry VIII's coastal forts would be inappropriate in a work on castles...*" (1987, 112) due to Thompson emphasising the difference between the castle as a house and the fort as a national, defensive institution. Platt (1982, 187) go further in stating:

"*Such building of their nature would be non-residential; they might house a garrison for the term of its duty, but had few of the comforts that had come to be expected in the residence of a magnate, and had as little in common with the private castle of the central and late Middle Ages as that castle itself had had nothing much to do with the communal fortifications that had preceded it.*"

Excavations undertaken at Camber Castle, in Sussex do rather present a different picture to that propagated by Thompson and Platt. The recovery of archaeological deposits associated with the occupation of this site provides a context for examining the character of occupation at this site that is sadly lacking from most castles. The lack of archaeological deposits from the majority of sites taken into the guardianship of the former Ministry of Works will be examined in the conclusion to this document. At Camber, excavations recovered much of the tablewares from this site. Willmott (pers. comm.) characterised the deposits of tablewares, and specifically the glassware, as similar to deposits found from other sixteenth and seventeenth century sites. Much of the material recovered was related to feasting showing that the archaeological deposits from this site had much in common with deposits from the house of a magnate. The lack of an organised publication of the archaeological data from Camber Castle can partly excuse the earlier writers not examining this site. It is demonstrative that the evolutionary assumptions behind the development of artillery fortifications have led to archaeologists not examining this site.

Both Thompson (1987 and 1991) and Platt (1982) follow a traditional interpretation of the architectural remains from the artillery forts of Henry VIII. These two authors have essentially followed the pattern of analysis of the defences of castles established by Brown (1976) placing forts such as Camber at the end of a scheme of development. Brown's interpretation of the development of English castles focuses, like Thompson and Platt's work, on the supposed evolution of the defences of the castle buildings from early motte and bailey or keep sites to the high point of the concentric castles constructed by Edward I in North Wales. From the heights reached at sites such as Caernarfon, Conway and Beaumaris, this evolutionary high of castle defences is maintained until the nature of warfare is perceived to have changed with the development of efficient field artillery reducing the ability of magnates to defend themselves

against the crown. This scheme of development can be seen in the titles given to different chapters by writers such as Platt (1982) or the companion volumes written by Thompson *Rise of the Castle* (1991) and *Decline of the Castle* (1987). Platt's chapter headings begin with "*Castles of Conquest and Settlement*" the next is "*The Transition to Stone*". The evolutionary emphasis continues with "*Growing Sophistication*" then onto "*A Time for Professionals*" (1982, v). "*A Time for Professionals*" discusses the castles constructed during the reign of Edward I. The chapter headings continue with "*Castles of Law and Order*" analysing the buildings constructed after the reign of Edward I. The next chapter "*Castles of the Hundred Years War*" discusses fourteenth century military sites distinguishing these from the "*Castles of Chivalry*" discussed in chapters seven and eight. Platt's volume follows to the letter the scheme of evolutionary development. This scheme is discussed in even greater detail by Cathcart-King (1988).

Cathcart-King's scheme of development is based upon the ideas of the introduction of 'scientific fortifications'. Castles constructed during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries lacked scientific defences because the armies that attacked them lacked the professional skills to undertake a successful siege (1988, 90). The defence of a castle prior to the advent of scientific fortification was based on gravity. Effectively stones or javelins dropped and thrown from the parapet of the walling onto the heads of the attackers (1988, 93). The growth of a professional military is linked by Cathcart-King to the fighting of the Crusades and the development of the military orders, such as the Templars and Hospitallers, bringing a new professionalism to armies. It is during the reign of Henry II that the first great developments in scientific fortification occur with the introduction of siege engines and flanking towers constructed with curtain walling (1988, 91). Cathcart-King claims that scientific fortification developed due to the introduction of crossbows as a response to improvements in armour (1988, 93 and 96). These points classically illustrate an evolutionary approach in which the improving strategies and equipment of an attacker lead to a reaction from the defenders. The improvements to body armour led to a response from the defenders with crossbows providing them with an advantage and demonstrating this point. From the 1160s onwards, according to Cathcart-King, the use of siege towers in attacks were met by the provision of flanking towers in the walling (1988, 96). This represents a response that can be characterised as evolutionary. The use by an attacker of a tool, the crossbow, to clear a wall head of defenders, would lead to the defenders employing the same device to keep the attackers at a distance. This would provide an advance from the attackers in using a bank of crossbowmen in a siege tower to dominate and clear the wall head. The conditioned response, from the defenders, is to construct flanking towers to attack the weaker points on the siege tower. Further examples of Cathcart-King's interpretation also show the idea of an evolutionary growth and response.

The change in keep architecture from rectangular through polygonal to round towers is explained by Cathcart-King also in evolutionary terms. Cathcart-King states that rectangular towers have dead ground at their angles that are vulnerable to attack by mining (1988, 98). This interpretation of the rectangular tower must stem from the attack by King John on the tower at Rochester where the angle of this building is brought down by mining. The response of the castle builders is to construct, firstly polygonal, and then round towers. This is especially true of the great towers constructed by Philip Augustus in France who wholeheartedly adopted the round keep (1988, 100). This picture is contradicted once individual buildings are surveyed. Heslop (1991) examined the great tower at Orford, the first royal polygonal tower constructed in England by the Crown. Heslop concluded that the three rectangular turrets that flank the polygonal body of this tower do not actually project enough to flank each other resulting in less cover for the corners than in a rectangular tower. If Orford is built to provide flanking fire then it is a total failure; this failure would have been entirely visible from the moment the turfs were cut and the foundation stones laid. Other sites that are constructed to resist the undermining of corners include Conisborough. This tower is constructed with six flanking buttresses that rise into towers. This plan increases the number of corners to be undermined from four to twelve; the close placement of the buttresses prevents the wall head being used to provide flanking fire. To return to the sequence of royal buildings, and to place Orford fully in its context, two rectangular towers follow its construction at Newcastle and at Dover. Both Newcastle and Dover are constructed as great towers without reference to the problem of blind spots at their corners, or at the corners of the gatehouses and interval towers constructed at these sites.

It is clear that this evolutionary explanation of architectural development does not satisfactorily explain the sequence of development of three royal towers built in the reign of Henry II. Cathcart-King (1988, 101) states "*...and finally* [Henry II] *gave up in disgust and ended up building the keep at Dover*". Cathcart-King provides no reference for where he obtained this evidence for the attitude of Henry II to polygonal or round towers. It is clear that this explanation simply cannot support itself against the most basic illustration of the facts. It is now necessary to examine the intellectual context of these ideas.

Stocker (1992) in his examination of four volumes discussing castles and artillery fortifications examined the roots of this interpretation and linked it to the late Victorian emphasis on evolution as an explanatory mechanism. Stocker made the point in referencing Bradley (1983) that the ideas of evolution generally held by learned societies at this time were applied not only to the study of biological specimens, but also to artefacts. Pitt-Rivers applied these theories to the study of weaponry, fortifications and the physical traits of people. At the heart of this theoretical perspective was the belief that Victorian society represented the peak of

social evolution within the world; the possession of the world empire justified this interpretation and provided the evidence for the assumptions at its route. The basis of Bradley's study of the theoretical perspectives of Pitt-Rivers was how he ensured that these ideas of evolution were passed into society through museum displays as an instrument of public education (1983, 7). It is through the presentation of artefacts in museum displays arranged through the principles of evolution that people were shown how slowly change had happened. This emphasis on evolution as an explanatory mechanism tied into the general ideas concerning the place of Victorian Britain within the world, and the place of the male ruling class within the social structure.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the idea of Victorian Britain's world dominance was being tested. Following the defeat of France by Prussia and the subsequent unification of Germany and the rise of American economic and military power in this period the comparative decline of Britain had certainly begun. The justification of social evolution was not applied to states that could effectively compete with the British Empire but was specifically reserved to demonstrate the superiority of Britain and Britons to the subject peoples of the colonies rather than to effective competitors in a European context. The social context in which the ideas behind Darwinian evolution flowed were embedded into the social world. This is demonstrated by the application of the ideas of typology and evolution by General Pitt-Rivers.

Pitt-Rivers' study of the evolutionary development of musketry (Stocker 1992, 415) and the subsequent links from the development of weaponry to the associated fortifications is an important part of the basis of castle studies. Most writers proclaim this structured scheme of development. It has been explained how these ideas were held up by late Victorian society as in themselves partially recognising the superiority of the society that had produced the thinkers at their base. It is in the general context of these ideas that the archaeological study of castles effectively begins, but much of the basis of the early study is through the construction of country houses inspired by castle architecture, and it is from the architects of these houses that the ideas of modern architecture can be seen to stem, tying together the principles of evolution and architecture.

More recent studies of castle sites have demonstrated that more meaningful interpretations can be made of these sites. Specifically much of this work has been concerned with improving the general scheme of development for twelfth century sites. It is to these more modern approaches that we will now move.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Certain writers, most notably Austin (for example 1984) in his work at Barnard Castle, have placed the sites within a wider economic context, as part of an estate system, and let the

archaeological evidence speak for itself when interpreting the site. The use of open area excavation techniques is unique to the excavations at Barnard Castle within the sample area. The excavations at Castle Acre, and the examination of the standing buildings at Portchester, have been highly influential for this project in illustrating that stone castles have the same complex, changing pattern of development. This complexity is visible at earthwork sites such as Hen Domen where the meticulous excavations have recovered a fascinating sequence of construction, use and abandonment. For the sites in the sample area it is only really at Barnard Castle where any extensive detailed work has been undertaken on the buried archaeology.

It has become apparent throughout this investigation that the majority of sites that have been taken into the guardianship of the state have been cleared of archaeological deposits. This rather shocking conclusion is further examined in the general conclusions to this document. Other investigations have focused solely on the architectural and historical development of the site (for example McCarthy, Summerson and Annis 1990 or Summerson, Trueman and Harrison 1998) without ever leaving the castle boundaries. In the case of Brougham, the most recent site to receive the treatment of a monograph, the estates associated with the castle are only discussed in an effort to justify a particularly late date to be applied to the great tower (Summerson 1998a, 153). This dating contradicted the architectural date suggested for the site earlier in the volume from the associated archaeological study. The investigation into the castle at Brougham demonstrated the problems of integrating the data from separate archaeological and historical surveys, and illustrated the value of an approach that looks to the social basis of the documentation rather than just focusing on its face value.

The literature concerning these sites has viewed them as divorced from the context of their landscape, focusing on military aspects of the site. More enlightened authors discuss the development of the earthwork forms of these sites, but again do not place castles within their landscape context. This narrow military focus is demonstrated by the Royal Archaeological Institutes study of five castles (Saunders 1978, 2). At the beginning of this study a definition was set. This definition read: "...[a] *fortified residence which might combine administrative and judicial functions, but in which military considerations were paramount.*" Applying a definition of this nature fixes certain ideas concerning sites prior to their study and ensures that aspects of the nature of a site are fixed in the archaeologist's mind and interpretation can only move within the narrow limits implied by it.

More up to date studies of castle architecture have considerably expanded the contexts in which this study has focused. Recent articles and volumes have moved into different areas of emphasis in focusing on the planning of castle buildings. Two studies by Heslop (1991 and 1994) examined the use of mathematical proportion within the planning and construction of castle

buildings at Orford, Suffolk and Norwich respectively. Fernie has also taken up this theme (1990 and 2000). These studies all emphasise the use of proportions in the planning of castle buildings that are common to ecclesiastical architecture. The approach of integrating castles within the wider scope of medieval ecclesiastical and domestic buildings has been continued by Coulson (1996). In this review article Coulson argues that the military emphasis generally applied to castle sites ignores the aristocratic culture that these buildings manifest that links castles to other domestic or ecclesiastical buildings.

Coulson's emphasis on castles as an expression of an aristocratic mentality is a theme that has dominated his work since the publication of his 1982 article examining the context of licences to crenellate. Prior to the publication of this article licences had been considered to be a royal authorisation for an individual to build a castle. In his 1982 article, through examining the sites for which a licence was issued, Coulson concluded that licences to crenellate were a method of grading the upper classes. This theme was continued with two later articles (1991 and 1993). Coulson's 1993 article examined individual issues of licences and showed that they were distributed across the secular elite, ecclesiastical elite and also to corporate bodies such as boroughs. Most interestingly this article showed in certain cases licences were applied for and received, but did not necessarily result in a building. Coulson's 1991 article discussed the key site of Bodiam in Sussex. The licence to crenellate for Bodiam states that the castle was built to defend the adjacent countryside and resist the king's enemies. Coulson's detailed analysis of the castle and its landscape shows that the defences of this site are not seriously militaristic, for example the moat is retained by an undefended bank. The defences at Bodiam, while superficially impressive, are not functional in a conventional sense but are highly expressive of Coulson's aristocratic culture.

Coulson continued this theme in his recent volume (2003). The research behind this book focused on documentary references to the functions of castles. This data was employed by Coulson to demonstrate the various roles castle sites were used for in the aristocratic world. This examination demonstrated that our simple classifications of buildings and earthworks are inadequate to gain a full understanding of the uses medieval society made of castles. This examination of the social roles undertaken within these buildings has started a theme which has led to a focus on analysing building plans and also onto the landscape settings of castle sites.

Other recent strings of research have examined the internal planning of individual castle buildings. Most notably the works of Dixon have emphasised how an individual would approach a lord in the fourteenth century buildings at Knaresborough Castle (1988) or within the twelfth-century great tower at Castle Rising. Dixon, in collaboration with Marshall, has also examined the complexity of planning and architectural form at Norham (1993a) and Hedingham (1993b).

The individual studies of these sites placed Coulson's idea of the buildings as expressions of aristocratic culture to the fore rather than as simple architectural studies of the buildings.

A recent volume (Liddiard 2000) discusses the aspects of the landscape of Norfolk that is specifically associated with the construction of castles. Liddiard's contention is that the landscapes around castles are differentiated from other medieval landscapes through the presence of features such as deer parks, religious houses, planned settlements, rabbit warrens, dovecotes, fishponds, gardens, mills and orchards. In this way Liddiard's interpretation of the landscape contexts of castles follows the approach taken by Coulson (1982) in examining how certain features of lordship are used to grade and express this concept. Castles, Liddiard argues, are also placed in ways that ensure they are visible throughout the landscape. Liddiard believes that these visible landscape features are expressions of lordship, and also some of the defining features of this concept. Liddiard does not argue that these features are used actively to express an idea of lordship.

Creighton (2002) can be seen as an expansion of the work of Liddiard (2000) in applying a national perspective to the landscapes of castles. Creighton approaches castles as a landscape phenomenon and examines them using the traditional methods and interpretations of landscape archaeology to examine these structures in ways that monastic houses and villages have traditionally been seen. Creighton's conclusions from his study emphasised the variety of settings, locations and settlement types associated with castle sites.

Even the most recent works on the landscape contexts of castles, for example Liddiard's or Creighton's volumes have not examined basic aspects of estate management. The historical evidence for the changing social basis of administration over the twelfth century has not been discussed. I have identified two articles and one volume examining how lords relate to their estates and their peasantry. Harvey (1973; 1974) discussed the changing practices of estate administration visible in the documentary record over the twelfth century. Harvey's conclusion from these two studies: firstly into the inflation between 1180-1220 and secondly into the growth of the direct management of the demesne, was essentially one of economic needs. Lords, and their households, were not benefiting from the rise in prices in the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries. Lords, through leasing lands out rather than directly managing them and consuming the produce, were facing a rising price for commodities while receiving fixed incomes. Harvey associates the change to direct management and the expansion of the demesne to the economic problems associated with the rise in prices. The pioneering studies of Harvey in this issue have remained current and their influence can be seen in more recent works such as Britnell (1996). Whatever the reasons for the move from leasing land out to direct management of demesne this change is part of a wider sequence of developments in the social practices of lordship as detailed

by Faith (1997). In this volume Faith details how the social relationships between the peasantry and lords change and develop in the early medieval period. Faith's work is exceptionally important as it details the growth of a greater interest from lords in the activities of their peasants. Faith concludes that the expansion of demesne farming in the late twelfth to early thirteenth century represents the greatest extent of direct social ties between the lord and his primary producers. Faith, unlike Harvey, emphasises social rather than economic aspects of the developments in estate management over this period. These works, and their interpretation of the material, have been influential over aspects of the analysis of the data employed in this project.

It is now necessary to detail the collection of data for this thesis and the structure of the document.

THE SAMPLE OF CASTLES

The work behind this thesis has followed a looser series of definitions for a castle. Sites have been defined as a castle if they have been named as such in the literature studied for this work. The literature surveyed for this project dates from the eleventh century onwards including medieval administrative documentation, chronicles, secondary sources, Tithe and Ordnance Survey maps. Earthwork sites have been defined as being of motte, or motte and bailey form or based on a ringwork. These earthwork definitions are essentially those employed by the editors of the Victoria County Histories and are examined by Allcroft (1908). Sites of a less generally convincing appearance have been included in the lists for each county through a survey of literature, that is by examining the relevant Victoria County History or RCHME volume in the case of Westmorland. General lists provided by Cathcart-King (1983), Renn (1973) and Kenyon (1976; 1983; 1990a; 1990b) have been employed to ensure a complete coverage of sites. L'Anson (1913) provides an invaluable record of the castles located within the North Riding of Yorkshire. The modern county of Cumbria is also well covered by the publication of Perriam and Robinson (1998). This volume is an updated register of Curwen (1913). An examination of the 'Landranger' or Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 scale maps that provide adequate detail of earthworks has enabled these differing lists to be combined together and ensure that no repetition has occurred. The database of sites created from these differing sources has been examined and sorted by National Grid Reference to reduce the possibility of repetition. Where a castle is referred to in the text the generally used placename for the site is followed; the use of customary names has been kept to the minimum. This has enabled checks to be made on the sites included in the lists, for example Cathcart-King (1983, 527) misidentifies a burial mound at Sowerby for the castle at Thirsk. Appendix 1 is a list of the castles examined in this thesis. This list includes

all those sites that can be identified to have existed between 1066 and 1216. The list itself covers all three Ridings of Yorkshire and Lancashire as these counties were initially to be examined as part of the thesis, and have been included in the historical sample discussed in Chapter One. Pre-1974 counties have been used to arranged the castles. This is due to both Renn (1973), Cathcart-King (1983) the RCHME volume on Westmorland the VCH volumes for Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham and Cumbria and the Northumberland county history series all dating to before the local government reorganisation. The record offices visited as part of the work for this thesis also had collections of records that largely were organised to fit the historic counties. There was really no reason not to follow this earlier grouping of material especially when one considers that the Pipe Rolls are also organised to broadly follow these county boundaries.

The remains of other buildings that are generally assumed to be of twelfth century date were also examined in the literature search. Other buildings, for example Burton Agnes Old Hall in the East Riding of Yorkshire (Pevsner 1972, 207) was examined and was determined not to be a castle site due to the general acceptance of its manorial status in the literature, and the lack of any earthworks. From the literature the remains surviving at this site are of a solar block that would formerly have been part of a manorial complex. Other sites such as Ripon have been excavated since their inclusion on the various lists and can be demonstrated not to be castles. Other sites existed as placenames or ambiguous historical references. A full list of sites considered to be ambiguous is detailed in Appendix 2.

STRUCTURE

This thesis has been divided into three sections. These sections are:

i. Architectural Aspects

ii. Symbolic Aspects

iii. Landscape Aspects

Each of these three sections is introduced separately and contains general conclusions for the points reached. The final chapter of the thesis contains the general conclusions for the entire investigation and ideas for further research into this topic.

The first section of this thesis covers the dating of castle sites through their architecture and documentary existence and the problems of relating these two sources of evidence together. This section contains three chapters. The first chapter examines the documentary evidence for the dating of castle construction. The second chapter discusses the dating of castles using architectural evidence. In both of these chapters an effort is made to examine the social context for the creation of the data that is later employed to provide dating evidence. In the case of the

documentary evidence two sources of dating evidence are examined: chronicle data and administrative documentation. This chapter, through an examination of the documentation describing how administrative documents, especially the Pipe Rolls, are created concludes that documentary evidence is socially embedded. This social conditioning is not limited to the creation and preservation of documentation, but also conditions the types of information that is included in a document. It is concluded in this chapter that the data contained in documentary evidence actually tells one more about the social context of the creation of the document rather than what the actual document says about a castle site. Chapter Two continues to emphasise this theme of placing the archaeological record in its social context with an examination of architectural development during the period from c. 1066 to 1216 in the study area

Chapter Two examines the framework of architectural data that provides the basic list of historically documented and dated buildings that can then be compared to undocumented buildings. The collection of datable buildings is grouped into a series that divides the late eleventh and twelfth centuries into four broad chronological categories. Buildings that share similar architectural features, but lack historical data are then inserted into these groups. From these groups it can be discerned that architectural similarities crosscut the chronological categories. It is concluded that architecture is employed to represent a wide series of ideas such as political or religious allegiances; it is highly simplistic to see only changing, developing architecture as a chronological signifier.

Chapter Three focuses on the development of stone castle architecture in the British Isles, and also includes an examination of sites in Normandy. This chapter focuses strongly on the construction of great towers and the interpretation and dating of these buildings. The first part of this chapter examines the dating evidence for the sites considered to be among the earliest in England. It is clear from this assessment that much of the dating evidence for these buildings are the earliest possible dates for these buildings that the data will support. In certain cases questionable assumptions based on historical evidence are used to provide an early date. This chapter then proceeds to examine better-documented castles and to construct a new chronology of stone castle architecture. It is concluded in this section that great towers are actually only built for a relatively short period of time, and the majority, in the south of England, date from after the 1120s. In the North of England all but very few of the great towers date to the second half of the twelfth century.

The second part of chapter Four examines the accommodation offered by stone towers. This part of the chapter looks at the general architectural form of twelfth century secular buildings and compares these to castle architecture. This chapter concludes that stone great towers appear to provide private accommodation, as, in many cases, there is compelling evidence

that halls accompanied these buildings. In this sense there is not the evidence for the divide that has traditionally been placed between castle architecture and secular, residential architecture.

Section two is an examination of the symbolic aspects of the castle sites. This section focuses on the way sites reference other castles or other important buildings in the region through the repetitive use of certain earthwork or architectural forms. This section draws on many of the ideas discussed in chapter two of how archaeologists should interpret similar architectural forms. Chapter Four looks at the symbolic influence played by Durham and the spatial arrangement of the castle City. This chapter begins with an examination of the development of the City, and the various changes it underwent in its spatial form during the eleventh and twelfth centuries resulting from the construction of the castle, the rebuildings at the cathedral and general changes to the town plan. Aspects of the castle site at Bishop Middleham, an early thirteenth century manorial site of the bishops of Durham, are examined in relation to Durham City and other castle sites. At Bishopton the historical context of this site as the base of the bishopric during a challenge to the legitimate bishop during the Anarchy is employed to provide a wider context for this site. It is concluded in the cases of Bishopton and Bishop Middleham that social relations between these two sites and the City of Durham influenced their plans. In the second part of this chapter the establishment of two towns, at Appleby in Westmorland and Warkworth in Northumberland, is examined. It is concluded that, certainly in the case of Warkworth, there are long running historical links with Durham and aspects of the architecture in this settlement are clearly sourced from the Cathedral. At Appleby the relationship between Durham and this important baronial centre is certainly less clear. The second chapter examining symbolic aspects of castle architecture covers a wider geographical area than that covered by the core of the thesis.

Chapter Five examines the architectural relationship between the great towers, and castle sites of Newcastle upon Tyne and Dover in Kent. This chapter begins with an analysis of the historical evidence for the architectural similarities between the two buildings and continues with an examination of the observed architectural similarities between the two towers. This chapter continues by examining the architectural forms selected for the chapels in both towers. These chapels are then examined in the context of the local cult centres, that is the cathedrals of Canterbury and Durham and specifically the architectural settings of the shrines of St Thomas of Canterbury and St Cuthbert in Durham. This chapter concludes by examining the continued similarities between these two castle sites into the mid thirteenth century. It is clear from this examination of these two sites that an important aspect of their design is the preservation of broad architectural similarities between them and their associated cult centres.

Section three is a detailed examination of the landscape contexts of the castle sites included in this thesis. Chapter Six is an examination of the social changes that impact upon our

interpretation of the landscape development during the twelfth century. This chapter draws together a range of different ideas including changing attitudes to estate management, the monastic reforms of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries and gender relations and how these changes impact upon the archaeology of the castle in the North of England during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Many of the ideas first introduced in Chapter One are further examined in this chapter.

Chapter Seven is an examination of urban and rural castles in the North of England. This chapter examines aspects of the relationship between castles, their associated settlements and churches. This chapter is divided into two parts, firstly the development of the urban landscape up to 1200. It then continues to examine the spatial arrangements of castles associated with boroughs together with an examination of the evidence from contemporary borough charters, where they survive. This section of the chapter ends with an examination of the development of two boroughs in the North. The boroughs of Kendal in Westmorland and Morpeth in Northumberland are instructive as to the development of these sites over time and the changing relationships between the castle and the borough. This chapter then focuses on the development of rural settlement in the North, and how the construction of castles dovetails into this pattern. The chapter then continues with an analysis of the spatial formation of sites that are located in settlements where there is evidence for an Anglo-Saxon church adjacent to the castle site. These sites are then compared to the settlement and castle at Laughton-en-le-Morthen in the West Riding of Yorkshire and placed in further context with an examination of Merrington Church in County Durham and the castle and church at Beaumont-on-Eden in Cumberland.

Chapter Eight is an examination of the small number of castle sites that are presently isolated from any settlements. This chapter attempts to examine whether these sites were constructed originally in isolated locations and the extent to which there is evidence for medieval settlements formerly associated with them. The general conclusion from this chapter is that most of the sites discussed here appear to have had extensive post-medieval remodelling of their surrounding landscapes removing associated settlement evidence.

Chapter Nine focuses on the great tower at Bowes in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The architectural form of this great tower is examined firstly, together with the documentary evidence for its construction. This building is then placed within the context of its associated settlement and church and finally within the wider lands cape of the North of England. The analysis of Bowes demonstrates many of the ideas explored earlier in this thesis. Bowes is also one of the minority of sites that is referenced in any historical documentation. This thesis will now begin with an examination of the documentary record.

SECTION ONE: ARCHITECTURAL ASPECTS

This first section of the thesis focuses on the evidence for the development of castle sites over time both within and without the study area of this thesis. This section consists of three chapters discussing different elements of architectural dating and architectural development. The objective behind these three chapters is to emphasise the social basis of the interpretation of buildings. Chapters One and Two are discussions of the dating evidence for castles and other architecture in the eleventh and twelfth century north. It is demonstrated in Chapter One that the documentary evidence used as the basic framework to provide dates for buildings is socially embedded. The study of these documents tells us more about the social basis of the creation of the records rather than great volumes of information concerning the development of castles. Chapter Two continues this theme in examining the development of architecture through the period examined in this thesis. It is argued in this chapter that architectural similarities, which have traditionally been treated as indicators of a chronological link, have a greater social meaning. The two parts of Chapter Three examine the development and accommodation offered in great towers and the surviving stone architecture in the castles of the north.

CHAPTER ONE: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF MEDIEVAL DOCUMENTATION.

The established methodology for the dating of castles constructed in the twelfth century is to employ references contained within surviving medieval documents that mention the castle in some way. These allusions can range from details of building campaigns in the Pipe Rolls to particulars of sieges in chronicles to contemporary descriptions of buildings down to just a reference to a site. This chapter is an examination of how historical data of this sort is used to provide dating evidence for archaeological sites. Towards these ends medieval documentation is employed to provide one of two basic dating functions. These functions are:

i. Providing dated references for the use or construction of individual buildings.

ii. Providing dates for individual architectural features or forms of buildings dated through documentation that can then be compared with undated buildings.

The entire dating framework for medieval buildings relies on the underlying structure of references in administrative documents and chronicles. For this examination of castle sites it is necessary to critique the basis of how dating evidence is arrived at. This is achieved through an assessment of the assumptions made concerning the references to sites in administrative documents and chronicles. The inspection of historical dating methods will begin with the Pipe Rolls. These are the main historical sources employed for dating royal building from the second half of the twelfth century onwards. Chronicle references to castle sites are examined in the second section. Finally this chapter concludes with an analysis of the social processes associated with medieval documentation and possible directions for further archaeological research in this area.

DATING CASTLES USING ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTATION

The majority of the documentation used to provide dates for the construction and use of castle sites comes from surviving royal administrative documentation from the second half of the twelfth century known as the Pipe Rolls. The Pipe Rolls are "*the official Register of all debts of the crown answerable at the Exchequer*" (PPRS 1884, 42-43). The Pipe Rolls survive in a sequence with some gaps from 1155 onwards but the Pipe Roll for 1129-1130 also survives as a single outlier (Green 1982, 1). The Pipe Roll references used to date castles record expenditure by a sheriff on a particular castle site that is accounted for at the treasury. The procedure for creating these references is examined later in this section. For the analysis

undertaken for this chapter the wider sample of castle sites was employed. This included not only the five northern counties discussed in the Introduction, but also all the castle sites datable to before 1216 in the whole of Yorkshire and Lancashire. This increased the sample size from one hundred and twelve sites to one hundred and eighty-one sites. Out of this expanded sample twenty-one are referenced in the Pipe Rolls; of these twenty-one, four have only a single reference. Table 1 contains a list of the castles covered in the sample and a translation of the individual references.

As is shown in Table 1 it is very rare that the Pipe Rolls actually contain data that provides useful material for archaeological interpretation. Mostly individual references to a particular site have to be treated as ambiguous, for example the references to the construction of the tower at Bowes (PRs 17 Henry II p 63; 18 Henry II p 55; 19 Henry II p 2; 20 Henry II p 49; 26 Henry II p 75; 33 Henry II p 82; 34 Henry II p 82). These references are ambiguous as they simply specify expenditure at a particular site, no details are given for the result of this expenditure. The conclusion that must be reached is that many of the individual references provide little information to support the dating of specific features at a particular site. It is clear that these references to castles cannot be treated as an unambiguous data source so it is necessary to understand the social practices behind the creation of the documentary reference entered onto the Pipe Roll.

There survives an aid to interpreting the social practices behind the writing of the Pipe Rolls during the reign of Henry II. The *Dialogus de Scaccario* or course of the exchequer (Johnson et. al. 1983) written by Richard, Fitz Nigel (hereafter *Dialogus*) survives. This volume is a description of the functioning of the exchequer. It was written in its initial form between 1176 and 1177, with later additions to the text (ibid. xxi). The *Dialogus* is in the form of a discussion between a knowledgeable master, and a rather well informed student concerning the operation of the exchequer. It is possible using the *Dialogus* to reconstruct the practices of exchequer administration and therefore how the texts of the Pipe Rolls are constructed. This examination of the *Dialogus* in relation to the social processes of the administration of castle building has never previously been undertaken except to a limited extent in Brown, Colvin and Taylor (1963, 51-54).

One passage in the *Dialogus* explains how the construction of royal buildings was administered. The passage reads as follows:

"*The King sometimes orders the Sheriff by writ to provide from his farm what is needful for fortifying a castle ... by the view of two or three men, whose names are given in the writ; adding at the end a clause, brief but needed by accountants, 'and it will be allowed you at*

the Exchequer.' So, when the Sheriff's account is reached, those who were chosen 'Keepers of the Works' should come with him and when they have publicly made oath ... that the sum has been spent on the work named for the King's service, a writ must be made for it at the Exchequer ... specifying the sum certified and the names of the keepers. The allowance will then, at last, be made to the Sheriff. Now, if the King's works are completed by this expenditure, but the first writ ordering the necessaries to be supplied and this last writ made at the Exchequer are put away in the Marshal's forels of closed accounts. But if any work remains to be done, the Sheriff will keep the writ addressed to himself until the work is completed, so as to retain his authority for supplying what is needed to complete the work. The other writ will be put away in the forel we spoke of. For when there is written in the Pipe Roll 'In such as work a hundred pounds,' there ought to follow 'by the King's Writ and by the view of the following'. But if there were no writ containing the sum and the names of the keepers, the works of the Roll 'by the King's Writ' might be considered false." (Johnson, Carter and Greenway 1983, 89-90).

This passage must be considered in relation to a further passage in the *Dialogus* which examines how the actual entries of the Pipe Rolls are made up and how the writs that have been sent to the sheriff make up the basis of the Pipe Roll entry. This passage reads as follows:

"*The Sheriff then hands to the Chancellor's Clerk, in order, the royal writs sent to him. The Clerk reads them aloud and hands them to the Treasurer so that he may dictate the correct wording for the writing of the Pipe Roll according to the form of the writs.*" (ibid. 87).

These two passages show how the text of the Pipe Roll is actually created. From what is said in the *Dialogus* we can reconstruct the two writs that make up each entry. Firstly the writ ordering the work to be performed, and appointing clerks to swear the work has been carried out, and secondly the writ allowing payment for the work. Using these instructions we can therefore reconstruct how the work on an individual castle is ordered for by examining when different writs are acted on and claimed for in the exchequer. For example if the Pipe Roll entries for Brough over a continuous five-year period (see Table 1) are examined it is revealed that the work of the first two years (1198 and 1199) is likely to have been made under the same writ (PRs 10 Richard I p140; 1 John p 212). Both read "*And in improvement to the Castle of Brough...*" different sums of money follow on from these entries. These monies relate to separate writs issuing treasure to pay for the differing values of work undertaken in the two years. The final three years of expenditure resulted in three different writs for development at this site (PRs 2 John p 33; 3 John p 256; 4 John p 155). Although in the final year of development at Brough the text of the Pipe Roll entry returns to "*And in improvement to the*

Castle of Brough" possibly indicating a return to works associated with the original writ in 1198 and 1199 (PR 4 John p 155). The *Dialogus*, in the first passage cited, give the idea that a writ is issued to cover a certain development. When that development is finished the writ is then handed in at the exchequer. Therefore where there is annual expenditure on a particular site but the Pipe Roll entries are different for each year it can only be assumed that the expenditure is the result of different writs. So, for example, a ten year period of continuous expenditure at a site where the Pipe Roll entries are different for each year cannot be interpreted as a building campaign resulting in a major change to the site, it may simply be a sequence of unrelated works. It therefore must be considered that except in certain cases, such as the construction of Wark on Tweed between 1157 and 1161 where the four years of construction are clearly taken from the same writ (PRs 4 Henry II p 177; 5 Henry II p 13-14; 6 Henry II p 56-57; 7 Henry II p 23-25) that a series of writs cannot be definitively interpreted as a building campaign.

The actual text contained in the Pipe Roll, in the majority of cases, does not specifically indicate what is being built. Usually the only description of the work encountered is a noun usually "work", "improvement" or "repair". In some of the later entries the noun is actually connected with a certain building. Possibly the best example of this occurs in the 1208 entry for Tickhill where the building work consist of a wardrobe, a granary and a stable (PR 8 John p 78-79). In other cases, such as the early entries for Scarborough, expenditure is limited to the tower specifically by the writs in 1158 to 1160 (PRs 5 Henry II p 29-32; 6 Henry II p14). The majority of entries included on the Pipe Rolls covered in this spatial and chronological sample do not specify a particular building, or therefore a specific reason for the expenditure. This growth in the information contained in the writ appears to occur through the late twelfth century reaching a head in the early thirteenth century in John's reign where the more detailed Pipe Roll entries can be found. A question has to be raised at this point, how is the information sent to the sheriff to command him to build, or repair a particular building? Changes in the administrative practices concerning writs in John's reign mean it is possible to compare data from writs with Pipe Roll entries.

From early in the reign of King John writs begin to be copied onto a roll, later known as the Close Rolls (Hardy 1833) as this contained the text of writs that were sent out under seal or closed. For example the writ dated to 9 John contains the wording for the "*improvement of the castle and housing of the castles of Scarborough and Pickering*" (ibid. 114a). This is answered in the text of the Pipe Roll for 9 John as "*And in work on the castles of Scarborough and Pickering*" (PR 9 John p 79). There is a clear change in the phrasing between the writ and the answering Pipe Roll entry in this case. The entry for Tickhill for 9 John matches the writ

exactly (PR 9 John p 117; Hardy 1833, 85a). This entry is particularly detailed as it contains the data for expenditure on royal housing at this site "*because there is none*" (PR 9 John p 117). It can therefore be seen that there are certain cases where extra information is contained in the writ, but also, generally that the entry in the writ matches the entry in the Pipe Roll as explained in the *Dialogus* (Johnson, Carter and Greenway 1983, 87). This must mean that information concerning actual details of the construction of a site, even to the extent of the form of the site, must have been transmitted by other means. The most likely means for the transmission of this information is through the reports back from the building inspectors who are required to view the works ordered. It is most probable that the change in text between the writ and the Pipe Roll entry is as a result of their inspection of the remains and the work that is to be undertaken. Where there is no change it must be assumed that the text of the writ does reflect the report made by the building inspectors. It is only further into the thirteenth century that copies of the buildings inspectors' reports are preserved on rolls.

The Liberate Rolls in the reign of Henry III contain writs for expenditure from the exchequer. These writs take the same form as those that were identified as being for releases of treasure addressed to the treasury (i.e. writs of Liberate) or copies of writs (contrabreve literally counter writs) issued to the sheriffs (Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 53). As an example in 1254 a writ was issued to the Sheriff of Surrey to cover:

"*...roof the vaults of the king's buildings burnt at Geudeford and the king's new work there, to mend the gutters of the king's burnt hall so that the walls may not be damaged, to prop up the unburnt part of the ridge of the hall so that it may not be dangerous, and to take down the burnt remains of the hall and keep them safely for the work thereon; the cost to be credited by view.*" (CLR IV 1959, 171).

This writ clearly details the extent of the works required to secure the buildings damaged by fire at Guildford. This writ is copied into the Liberate Roles as it is the justification for the issue of treasure to the Sheriff of Surrey to cover the payment for this work. From reading this extract from the role it is clear that this must be the report from the 'Keepers of the Works' who were required on oath to report back to the exchequer (Johnson, Carter and Greenway 1983, 89-90). The Liberate Rolls effectively complete the cycle of documentation listed in the *Dialogus*. Therefore by the time of the copying of Liberate writs onto a roll the cycle of recording a verbal administrative system has moved onto membranes and is preserved for future reference.

The gradual transition from producing a Pipe Roll for the year, to preserving the rolls, to copying writs onto the Close Rolls to the production of the Liberate Rolls demonstrates how

the administrative documentation for much of the twelfth century is of limited use. The social practices of administration ensure that the meetings that are at the heart of the administrative system are only recorded in the most fragmentary way. It is probably at, or around the exchequer meeting that decisions were made concerning the form of the buildings to be constructed at a particular site. This decision probably stemmed from, firstly, understanding the writ and then negotiations between the Keepers of the Works and the sheriff of the county. Further negotiations would have occurred at the exchequer but these are only likely to have been linked to the financial requirements of the works. It is entirely probable that discussions concerning the building to be worked on, or constructed, would predate the issue of the first writ. The example from Guildford Castle, in this case, does not provide a particularly good example. The initial writ issued for this work probably requested repairs to be made to the buildings; the counter writ follows the site examination and estimate of the repairs required.

From this it can be concluded that it is exceptionally unlikely that information concerning the authorship of buildings can be gained from an examination of these documents. It has been shown above how, in certain cases, the writ and the Pipe Roll entry do not correspond. This possibly indicates a decision by the Keepers of the Works that the writ and the works required do not match, but this is more likely to be a distinction between repairs and improvements rather than of the selection of a type of building. What can be demonstrated from their references within the writs is that persons named as architects appear to have no role within the financial administration the buildings, and therefore are only infrequently named. The Pipe Rolls show that two architects can be identified as working in the North of England during the period covered in this investigation, and they will be discussed in the next chapter.

This interpretation of the Pipe Rolls has great implications for the level of emphasis placed on such entries for the dating of buildings. The first point to be made is that what have traditionally been interpreted as building campaigns resulting in a single end are actually, in the majority of cases, simply contemporaneously grouped issues of different writs. This is further complicated by the differences that can be identified between the writs and the corresponding Pipe Roll references. The chronological grouping of different writs could be the result of a series of stages towards the construction of a building that have been reported in a different way to the exchequer by the Keepers of the Works. Or equally these contradictory references could be the result of a series of different writs. These differences can only be recognised once writs start to be copied into the Close Rolls. Therefore any interpretation of the Pipe Rolls that places a strong emphasis on their text is highly problematic unless there are specific references

to a particular building, for example the references to the tower at Newcastle (PR 18 Henry II p 66). Where specific works are mentioned, for example the repairs of the timberwork in the keep at Carlisle (PR 33 Henry II p 94) this shows a phase of work leading towards the completion of the tower. The majority of Pipe Roll references list '*works*', '*improvements*' or '*repairs*' and are not specifically linked to any building. These entries are ambiguous and present major problems of interpretation. If the different phrases are used in sequential Pipe Roll references then they are not answering the same writ and cannot be interpreted as a single building campaign. These less detailed entries provide too great a conceptual leap to be linked to specific buildings that survive on sites. My approach throughout the rest of this document when using Pipe Roll data is to focus on entries where specific references are made to buildings or other historical evidence can be employed to provide a more secure interpretation.

Over time as the cross-referencing of the administrative system increases with the copying and preservation of writs on the Close Rolls, and later on the use of the Liberate Rolls preserving greater detail still our faith in this documentary data can be increased. The use that can be made of the documentation is dependent upon our understanding of the social system that underlies its creation or preservation. The changing, developing social practices associated with the wider practices of medieval documentation are covered in Clanchy (1993) and it is within the wider movement of administrative practice from memory to the creation of a written record that this small aspect of the development of governmental practices must be seen.

The thesis behind Clanchy (1993), '*From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*' is that a movement within the systems of administration from customary records that are remembered and recalled by individuals to a system of records that are written and preserved. This change to written records by the crown, according to Clanchy, has the result of forcing the laity to learn to read to aid their interaction with the crown administration. As Clanchy states: "*The demands of the royal Exchequer and courts of law compelled knights in the shires and burgesses in the towns to create lesser bureaucracies of their own.*" (1993, 19). The movement towards a written bureaucratic system, and the lay reaction to it, coincides with the movement in estate management identified by Harvey (1973; 1974) towards managed, rather than leased demesne. It must be the case that this change is linked to the increased use of documents and may also be influenced by the crown managing the estates of magnates, due to forfeiture or other reasons, and incorporating their management with the documentary systems of the existing crown lands.

DATING CASTLES USING CHRONICLES

References to individual castle sites contained in chronicles can be of great use to the archaeologist. The nature of such references can range from a description of a site, such as William of Newborough's description of Scarborough (Howlett 1884, 104), or Laurence of Durham's description of Durham Castle (Raine 1880) down to a reference to a placename, or an oblique reference to a castle simply by mentioning the name of someone known to hold a particular site. The most extreme example of this is Renn's dating of the keep at Canterbury Castle. *"Canterbury castle existed by 1086, but is not mentioned in the 1088 rebellion in Kent, so that the keep could hardly have been defensible by then."* Renn (1960, 10). This attempt to date Canterbury is reading far too much into the lack of references in chronicles and simply cannot be supported in any way.

The two documents describing Scarborough and Durham castles stand at the upper end of the levels of data included in chronicle references but even these descriptions contain some problems. William of Newborough's description of Scarborough confirms the dating of the keep proposed by the Pipe Roll evidence and its architectural form. Laurence's description of Durham Castle has caused much comment particularly on the actual form of the motte tower, and whether the ascending walls were of timber or stone (Higham and Barker 1992, 118-120). If the majority of entries are examined they actually contain very little information at all, and simply reference the existence of a particular site at a particular time. Chronicle references to castles will be examined in two ways. These are:

i. By the individual castles that are referenced in the chronicle.

ii. By the dating of the individual reference.

There are great problems with examining data in this particularly blunt way. Firstly, and most obviously is the actual nature of the chronicles themselves. It certainly appears that the concerns of chronicle writers were not necessarily historical reportage, but it is to these ends that chronicles have been used by generations of historians and archaeologists. In an examination of William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* Stein examined the construction of simplified English and Norman cultural identities at the time of the Conquest (1998, 98-99). Davis (1976) discussed the development of Norman chronicles from the foundation of the duchy until the loss of Normandy to the French in the early thirteenth century. Davis concluded that in the chronicles discussing events in England references to the post-Conquest elite as "Norman" declined as the twelfth century continued. After 1154 with the accession of Henry II, an Angevin, as King of England and Duke of Normandy there is a

universal change in chronicle references to describing the Norman elite as "English" (1976, 131). Other studies of individual chronicles have judged them to have specifically political aims in their construction. Davis and Chibnall (1998, xx) examined the chronicle of William of Poitiers and interpreted it as a justification for the preparation and achievement of the Conquest of England by William the Conqueror. And especially this chronicle was a justification for William's accession to the throne. The concern of this section is not necessarily the obvious point that chronicles are not directly comparable with modern historical writing, but to examine their use as evidence for the construction and use of castles.

This collection of chronicle references demonstrates that mentions of castles are associated with military activity or relate to the political importance of the site. The sites that have the greatest number of references are those closest to the Scottish border or are politically important such as York or Durham. In many ways it is not surprising that references to castles are concentrated in years where there are wars, and at sites such as Carlisle, Norham and Wark on Tweed. If the chronicle entries for Carlisle, essentially the best documented castle in the North of England, are examined the context of these entries can be evaluated.

For Carlisle there are two documentary references for the year 1092. These references both concern the foundation of the castle by William Rufus (Arnold 1885, 220; Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker 1961, 169). Again these references give us no indication of the form of castle chosen by the king, or any archaeologically useful details beyond the clear, unambiguous foundation date. The next references to Carlisle concern the construction of the keep. Symeon of Durham states that Henry I while travelling in the north in 1122 came to Carlisle and ordered, and paid for the fortification of the city with a castle and towers (Stevenson 1987, 192). This entry is curious, and would appear to partially contradict the 1092 references to the foundation of the castle at Carlisle. This entry could be incorrect; or it may be that the castle was to be refounded on a different site; or the castle founded by William Rufus was a temporary measure. The other reference to construction work at the castle occurs in the chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon and is dated from 1136 onwards. This reference reports that King David had a strong keep built at Carlisle (Arnold 1879, 258). The reference in Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle is certainly less ambiguous with regards to the construction of the keep than that of Symeon. It may be that Henry of Huntingdon's and Symeon of Durham's references to construction at Carlisle are reporting separate building campaigns. The 1122 entry may refer to the construction of a towered enclosure wall for the castle, whilst that from 1136 may refer to the construction of the great tower. As Chapter Three will show, if the tower

at Carlisle dates from either 1122 or 1136 it would be the earliest datable tower in the North of England. Examination of the fabric of this heavily restored tower cannot resolve these points.

The final two groups of historical references to Carlisle are focused on the years 1173-1174 and 1216. In all of these years Carlisle was involved in military activity successfully resisting Scottish attacks and threats. This simple survey of the chronicle references to one castle reveals that to an extent the earlier references are contradictory, confused and to an extent uninformative. For the later references referring to the war of 1173-1174 we can obtain some relative dating evidence for the keep. In Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle Robert de Vaus is threatened with being thrown off the "*great (ancient) high tower*" at Carlisle (Michaeol 1840, 31). The word "*ancient*" is not included in Michaeol's translation, but appears in the parallel Norman-French text (1840, 28). We also have a further description of the arrangement of rooms within the castle in the chronicle of John of Fordun where King David is described as having died in the oratory of the keep (Goodall 1759, 294). Again these references are archaeologically useful, they provide dating evidence and the arrangement of rooms in the elite areas of the castle. The only problem here is ensuring that the buildings referenced in the chronicles can be recognised today in the surviving remains.

To provide a further context to this examination of chronicle references all of the references to castles made in Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle have been collected in Table 2. This table has been made up of an examination, and comparison of the two translations of this chronicle published by Michaeol (1840) and Johnson (1981). The page numbering referred to in the table is that of Michaeol (1840). The references to Alnwick in this chronicle actually tell us very little about the site. The castle is only mentioned directly twice, and without these two references the other passages could equally be referring to the town of Alnwick (ibid. 79 and 85). The major reference to Appleby refers to the "*castle and tower*" (ibid. 67). This tower could be the present, surviving keep. The reason given for the capture of Appleby is that there was no garrison, and it was not provisioned (Johnson 1981, 109). It is instructive that in the early passages of the chronicle discussing the Scottish planning for the attack on northern England that Appleby is not mentioned as a possible target, perhaps it was not considered such by the English either, although Henry II later expresses surprise at the capture of this castle (Michaeol 1840, 73). Bamburgh Castle is simply mentioned in passing in this chronicle (ibid. 55). It appears that a body of knights was sent from Wark to Bamburgh (ibid. 55). It does appear possible that these horsemen made an attack on Bamburgh but the commander of the body of troops is not named as "*his reputation suffered there*" (Johnson 1981, 87). The next

site discussed by Jordan Fantosme is the castle of Brough in Westmorland. The references to this site could not contrast more with those to Alnwick and Bamburgh.

From the references to the attack on Brough we can gain an idea of the manning, and layout of the site possibly prior to the construction of the present tower. It would appear that unlike Appleby Brough was provisioned, and guarded by six knights (Michaeol 1840, 69). No reference is made to any other troops contained in the castle, contrasting with the manning of Wark (ibid. 55). It is unlikely that knights in the twelfth century had the retinues assumed for later periods. Harvey (1970) in a discussion of knights' fees concluded that there is no standard form of knight's fee: they could range from powerful sub tenants to holding lands comparable to a peasant. It appears that on the first day of the assault the bailey (Johnson 1981, 111), referred to as a portcullis by Michaeol (1840, 69), was lost and the six knights retreated to the tower (ibid. 69). Five of the knights then negotiated their surrender with the Scottish king from their place of safety in the tower (ibid. 69). What is unclear from these passages is whether the tower at Brough that the six knights retreated to is constructed of stone or wood, though a fire started by the Scots led to the destruction of almost all of the tower (ibid. 69). It would appear from this description that Brough prior to the attack from the Scots, at least, consisted of a walled enclosure within which stood a tower, a picture very similar to the remains that survive today. The reference by Fantosme to the tower being destroyed has traditionally been used to provide a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the present tower (RCHME 1936, 52). Limited excavations on the site of Brough appear to have confirmed the presence of an earlier foundation of herringbone stonework within and without the site of the present tower stratigraphically above the dark earth sealing the Roman remains (ibid. 52). Possibly this foundation represents the base of the tower destroyed in 1174, or not: no plan is given by the Royal Commission, and it is not clear whether this represents a base for a stone or wooden superstructure.

For Carlisle, as at Brough, Jordan Fantosme provides some detailed information. The description of the keep at Carlisle as the "*great (ancient) high tower*" (Michaeol 1840, 31) has already been discussed but other information is contained within the chronicle. Carlisle is described as having a castle and tower on one occasion (ibid. 65). The strength of Carlisle and its stone construction is emphasised by the chronicle, steel pick axes are considered necessary to pull down the '*master wall*' (ibid. 29-31). The first attempt by the Scots to gain Robert de Vaux's, and Carlisle Castle's surrender occurs while de Vaux is addressed by the messenger of the Scots king while leaning on the embrasure of a battlement (Johnson 1981, 103). This wall head treatment described here at Carlisle differs from that described for Wark where the "*spiky*

palisade" is referred to (ibid. 91). From this difference in wall head treatment it would appear that, at least, the section Robert de Vaux stood on was constructed from stone, while at Wark the main defence appears to have been a timber palisade. Other references to Carlisle emphasise the strength of the city and castle: "*Carlisle the fair, strong garrisoned city*" (Michaeol 1840, 63). Unlike Brough agreement was reached between the Scots and Robert de Vaux to appoint a term for relief to arrive for the castle, rather than the Scots launching an attack. This policy appears to relate to two basic reasons: firstly the manning of Carlisle, secondly its provisioning. The next site, in alphabetical order, referred to by Jordan Fantosme is Newcastle upon Tyne. Newcastle, unlike Alnwick, Appleby, Brough, Carlisle, Prudhoe or Wark is not attacked, or even threatened with attack. The reference to Newcastle in Michaeol (1840) is included in Table 2 Johnson translates this entry differently to read:

"*The king of Scotland sees that he will never complete the capture of Newcastle upon Tyne with no siege-engine. And his counsellors tell him: 'You are wrong to be dejected about this: before any help can come to them they will be reduced to misery;...*" (1981, 54).

The Pipe Rolls specifically state in 1173 and 1174 that the tower at Newcastle is under construction (PRs 20 Henry II, 106; 21 Henry II, 183-184) and this campaign of building does not appear to have ended until 1178 (PR 24 Henry II, 60) when the fourth gate of the castle is being built. Table 1 shows the other references from the Pipe Rolls demonstrating the continued construction work at this site around this time yet the advice given to the Scottish king was not to attack Newcastle. Obviously using the limited information contained in the Pipe Rolls no assessment can be made of the extent to which the reconstruction had been completed by 1174. Therefore the reasons why the Scots did not attack Newcastle may be because the castle was manned, provisioned and seen as secure. Therefore the capture of Newcastle was not really part of the Scottish war aims for this invasion. The objective behind this invasion was to recover the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland. Perhaps an attack on Newcastle was intended to follow the Scottish recovery of the northern counties.

The attack on Prudhoe Castle stands out from among the other military actions of this campaign for the reasons given by William the Lion prior to the invasions (Michaeol 1840, 29). William states that Odinel of Prudhoe was an important baron during the previous period when Scotland held Northumberland. William views the fact that Odinel appears to have refused to align himself with the Scots as an act of treachery and a break of Odinel's responsibilities to William's father. This breach of feudal etiquette is shown through William the Lion not offering Odinel terms of forty-one days after his men were able to successfully

defend the castle (ibid. 75-77) as the defenders of Wark were (Johnson 1981, 41). The references in Jordan Fantosme's chronicle for Prudhoe contain no information as to the nature of the buildings, but they show that in the vicinity of the castle were gardens, and obviously arable fields, and apple trees are specifically mentioned (Michaeol 1840, 77) or fruit trees as they are translated by Johnson (1981, 125).

The attack on Wark began with an assault on the outer defences of the castle. The initial attack by king William's Flemings mentions that "*By a wonderful feat of arms they stormed through to the ditches*" (ibid. 91). The Flemings were then able to attack the "*spiky palisade*" (ibid. 91). Mention is made of hand-to-hand fighting, but in the same sentence reference is made to the opponents of the Flemings remaining in their stronghold. Possibly this means that the palisade was not of tightly connected upright sharpened logs but had gaps enabling hand to hand fighting; or perhaps it was not of great height? Whatever the nature of the palisade; the attack from the Flemings was repelled by those within Wark. King William's next move was to order the catapult to be brought up to batter the gate and enable the bailey to be taken (ibid. 93). Famously, the first stone from the catapult falls onto one of the Scottish knights, so this plan is abandoned (ibid. 93-95). This failure leads King William to make the comment that he has broken his feudal bonds to Henry II by attacking, and failing to take, an English royal castle and, of course, has gained nothing from this breach. The final Scottish action at the siege of Wark was to try and set fire to the castle but the wind changes just after William realises he has broken his bond to King Henry II.

Warkworth receives only a short mention in the chronicle where it is described as having a feeble wall and embankment (ibid. 43). The reference to an embankment implies that the original enclosure for the site was an earthwork, but no assessment can be made of the nature of the wall. The present impressive earthworks at this site would, if this statement can be accepted, appear to be a later modification than the feeble earthworks described by Fantosme.

An examination of chronicle entries can provide some important pieces of information. As has been demonstrated with the references to Carlisle and Fantosme's Chronicle the value of such references is limited. Chronicles have traditionally been used to demonstrate the stage of construction that a particular site has reached through references to it being taken, or successfully resisting a siege. This examination has revealed that this type of interpretation may not necessarily be correct. The examination of chronicle references contained in Jordan Fantosme demonstrates that attacks and defences of particular sites are undertaken, fail or succeed for a wide variety of reasons not necessarily on the extent of

construction at a particular site. But this is not to totally ignore the exceptionally valuable material that chronicles can supply concerning the social context of military engagements over castles.

It is this social context that determines how the military investment of a site can continue. From the actions of the Scottish at the sites of Brough, Appleby, Prudhoe and Wark it appears that initially the force inside the castle was tested with an attack. At Appleby no effort was made to defend the site: the Scottish army entered it with no resistance. At Brough the assault revealed that the castle contained few troops and the military action was continued. At Wark the unsuccessful attacks led to a term of forty days for a relief column to arrive before the occupants surrendered to the Scots. At Prudhoe the most extreme actions occurred, the breach of feudal relationships, as seen from the Scottish side, means that no terms could be offered. The only way for social relations to be re-established between King William and Odinel is through the defeat or surrender of Odinel's garrison. The surrender of Prudhoe seems unlikely due to the large garrison and extensive supplies. The first action of Odinel with the approach of the Scottish army, once the king's herald has passed on his message (ibid. 123) is to leave Prudhoe to collect a "*fine and valiant host: four hundred knights with shining helms.*" If we return to the example provided by the offers of forty days to Carlisle and Wark the offer to collect a relief army was made by the Scots at the beginning of the term, at Carlisle prior to an attack, at Wark after an unsuccessful attack. At Prudhoe, Odinel evidently knew that no such offer would be made so the relief had to be collected prior to the investment of the site by the Scots. This marking of Odinel as a rebel can be paralleled at other famous, frequently referenced sieges that are used as examples of developing military practice.

The sieges of Rochester and Bedford present a similar social situation to the 1174 siege of Prudhoe in that all these sieges were carried out by the crown against rebels, exactly how William appears to have viewed Odinel. Both the sieges of Bedford (Pounds 1990, 119) and Rochester (Brown 1969, 10-11) were pushed to the limit and are entirely different to the usual pattern of offering forty days for the relief of the site. The siege of Bedford pushed the besieged back through the different zones of the castle until they were forced to occupy the motte tower that was then undermined (Pounds 1990, 119). At Rochester the description of the siege shows the extent to which the royal army pressed their attack with eventually the garrison reduced to defending themselves in half the keep and eating horse flesh (Brown 1969, 11). These desperate states are clearly different to the offers of forty days prior to surrender given by the Scots to the garrisons of Carlisle and Wark. A final example of a siege that is advanced in a similar way to those at Prudhoe, Rochester and Bedford is the siege of Château Gaillard and

the subsequent loss of Normandy. Prior to his invasion of Normandy, Philip Augustus had extended his authority over King John who had agreed in the treaty of Le Goulet to have the Norman claims to Brittany and Anjou judged in the French court (Powicke 1960, 292). This subordination of social practice and acceptance of French overlordship of the Norman claims in northern France by King John is a de facto admission that, as duke of Normandy, John owed allegiance to the French king. With the recognition of French overlordship then the attack on Normandy and specifically the siege of Château Gaillard are again examples of an overlord punishing his vassals. The extreme nature of this siege contrasts with the treatment of Carlisle by William the Lion where there are no reports of the Scottish army mistreating the citizens; at Château Gaillard four hundred of the occupants of the town were trapped between the castle and the French lines over winter and left to starve (ibid. 256). This level of social information concerning the practices of military interaction over castles can only be gained through an examination of the chronicle records while the actual level of architectural and archaeological information contained in chronicle reports is limited. In every sense this conclusion reflects that found for the examination of administrative documentation, that the documentation actually provides information concerning social practices, rather than basic archaeological information that chronicles and administrative documentation has traditionally been used to provide. The final section of this paper is an examination of how the social practices associated with documentary use and preservation may provide a body of documentation that is archaeologically useful in the later centuries of the medieval period.

MEDIEVAL DOCUMENTATION AND SOCIAL PRACTICE

The analysis of the Pipe Rolls and other associated administrative documentation revealed that the documents themselves provide little information about castles, but are actually artefacts illustrative of changing social practices of document usage. An analysis of the growth of literacy during the two hundred or so years after the Norman Conquest made the contention that lay literacy stemmed from contact with governmental bureaucracy (Clanchy 1993 19). The government bureaucracy during this period changed to a literate, document dependent system, the use of documents at the highest levels of government led a social change as more individuals were forced to embrace documents. It has been shown that, certainly for the administration of castle construction, even well into the thirteenth century the documentary record appears to be led by verbal communication, or records not considered worth preserving (see the discussion earlier concerning the Liberate Rolls for the preservation of the damaged remains at Guildford). But the records for castle construction contained in Table 1 clearly show the increasing use of references to individual buildings contained on the writs issued to

the sheriffs for construction work. Therefore, to an extent, an increasing dependence upon information contained in documentation can be seen to grow through the second half of the twelfth century. This growth in the dependence upon documentation in the administrative system brings the concept of truth and how it is demonstrated to the fore. Prior to individuals and organisations issuing charters to represent changes in landholding ownership, or control, of land would be represented and demonstrated through social practice i.e. going and collecting rents or services. The growth of administration and the associated dependence upon documentation alters the contexts in which the truth of control and power are represented to one where the document itself becomes the witness to the truth of this power. Therefore the possession of charters and documents represent a new form of expression of reality, one that can be illustrated through an examination of the foundation charters for the Priory of Durham.

The survival of the early charters relating to the foundation of the Priory of Durham has been discussed by Offler (1968). This examination of the early charters issued by the Bishops from Bishop Walcher to the end of Bishop Geoffrey Rufus' episcopacy restated the evidence that the early charters relating to the foundation of the priory had been faked at later dates. The important point in this discussion is how the nature of these fakes changes over the twelfth century, that is the data that is included in the documentation, and the extent to which they rely on other documents for their contents. A pattern can be illustrated showing the gradual separation from the realities of social practice and the creation of the faked documentation. This development illustrates the growth of dependence on documentary evidence which has little base in the realities of social practice.

The earliest faked charter (ibid. charter number 3) is copied from the earliest known surviving manuscript of Symeon's History of the Church of Durham transferred from a third person historical account into the first person (ibid. 9). The earliest possible date for this charter is 1107 when the manuscript of Symeon's history was finished. This date is confirmed by the palaeography (ibid. 9)). The text of this charter is based on Symeon, it makes no claims of properties or rights beyond those included in the history. Offler states "*In substance it probably represents pretty fairly what the monastery could have claimed to have acquired by the time of Bishop William's death in 1096.*" (ibid. 9). Charter 3a survives in two versions and represents an expansion on the text of Charter 3. This charter appears to date from the 1160s and begins a series of fake charters that are written confirming the rights of the Priory and Prior (Scammell 1956, 302). The other faked charters follow a very similar pattern to Charter 3. Charter 3b (Offler 1968, 25) covers a grant of lands in Nottinghamshire to the monks, and is judged to be fake from the use of an invocation, title, address, and corroboration based on

another spurious charter. The other faked charters are concerned largely with the status, and possessions of the Durham monks. Charter 4 and Charter 4a are faked diplomas issued from William St Calais detailing the privileges and possessions of the monks dated to 1084 (ibid. 26 and 33). A further charter based on Charter 4, Charter 4b is said to have been issued by Henry I detailing the privileges of the priors (ibid. 37). Two further faked charters concern the rights of the monks against the bishop, these are Charter 6 that is a grant of confirmation from William St Calais of three churches in Allertonshire (ibid. 48). Charter 7 a confirmation charter of the liberties and possessions of the monks (ibid. 53). These charters are constructed as historical arguments illustrative of the growth of the priory's possessions and rights over time against the bishops, but it is necessary to examine the historical context for their construction.

Scammell argues that the later faked charters were produced, constructed and revised during the period 1162-1200 after the deposition of Prior Thomas (1956, 302). The episcopacy of Hugh du Puiset (1154-1195) was characterised by an awkward relationship with the Priory. Du Puiset is accused of unjustly alienating land from the Priory, including some valuable possessions such as the Borough of Elvet in Durham (Scammell 1956, 131). The disagreements with the Bishop went further than disputes over land, but also included efforts by the Priory to defend their privileges, and especially the position of the Prior in the church (ibid. 131-132). The dispute reached a new low in the period 1186-1189 when du Puiset took the running of the Priory estates into his own hands (ibid. 134). The election of a new Prior in 1189 led to the confirmation from the Bishop, Pope and the English crown of the rights claimed by the Priory (ibid. 135). Obviously it is to the ends of defending (and possibly even extending) the rights of the monks against a competitive bishop that the series of faked charters were produced, but it is the actual creation of the charters, rather than references illustrative of the rights of the convent that could have been founded in other historical sources, that is illustrative of the social change in which this strong competition must be seen.

The development of the faked Durham Priory foundation charters is indicative of the growth of a document based system of landholding and expressions of legal rights that are written, and not just defended by repetitive social actions, or even reference to historical texts. The fake Durham foundation charters mark, and illustrate this growth of dependence on documentation through the extension of the claims made in their text. Just as with the growth of information contained in the Pipe Rolls, and the conscious preservation of copies of other documentation in rolls.

CONCLUSIONS

Historical sources of whatever type are not greatly useful for dating castle sites. This study reveals that the majority of sites in the sample area have no historical data from whatever source relating directly to them. This point more than any other is illustrative of the social changes that occurred within the sample period of this investigation. The period of castle construction sampled in this investigation is contemporary with the beginnings of the growth, and development of the national administrative system that, according to Clanchy (1993), developed a relatively high level of literacy within the population. These developments in administration and the uses of documentation cloud and colour our ability to employ these remains of past social practices to provide archaeologically useful information concerning the dating of individual sites. These restrictions on the usefulness of documentation relate to the limited information contained in the text of the documents and the few sites that are actually covered by documentation. This lack of representative sample in the historical data is compounded when it is noted that certain sites are the best documented, for example Carlisle. The examination of the chronicle references for Carlisle shows that even this does not stop ambiguity creeping in and reducing the certainty with which historical references can be taken.

It appears that if the text contained in individual Pipe Roll references is taken at face value, the text is interpreted in its own right, then they are of little use. Pipe Rolls frequently do not directly name any building that the expenditure, work, repair or improvement is being carried out on. In most cases where there are several years of expenditure on a particular building it is clear that this is the result of a series of separate issues of writs. This overturns the conventional dating used when reading the Pipe Rolls argued by Renn (1960, 1-2). If a document does not directly mention a feature how can we claim to relate that document to the feature? It has been shown with the development of the Pipe Rolls, and the sequence of faked charters from Durham Priory that there is a growth in the social roles played by documents that begin to replace repetitive social actions, and the witnessing of these actions, as ways of illustrating the 'truth' of a particular claim or event. The Durham Charters represent truth through their individual existence: i.e. the piece of membrane with its text and seal confirms the claim contained in the text. The Pipe Rolls and their use of witnesses as confirmations of work represent an earlier, verbal creation of truth. It appears that the Sheriff will state the level of expenditure on a particular project and the witness, or Keeper of Works will swear to confirm that the work is representative of the level of expenditure or the building or repair is of the type required. We do not know the exact role of the Keepers of the Works, but on a day-to-day basis in their work they are using administrative documents.

What this investigation has not covered in any detail is the personal level of how social individuals interact through the administrative system. This most important part can be examined through the role of the inspectors of the construction work. It would appear that the "Keepers of the Works", or inspectors are named on the initial writ issued by the crown ordering the construction work. How the keepers found out that they had been given this job is where we begin to speculate. There appear to be two alternatives to how the keepers receive this information. Either a copy of the writ ordering the work to be carried out containing the names of the keepers is issued to each keeper with the writ to the sheriff or a single writ is issued and the sheriff then informs the keepers himself, or through his staff. If the keepers of the works receive a writ how is it received? Does the crown send a messenger who reads the writ out to the future keeper of the works, displays the royal seal and then hands over the writ? Is the writ simply handed over displaying the seal, the keeper then has to find someone to read it for him? If the writ is sent to the sheriff of the county who then sends out a messenger to collect the keepers we are still left with the fundamental problem, who is reading the Latin, the language the writs are written in? Following Clanchy's (1993) ideas of pragmatic literacy growing through exposure to the administrative system it is very easy to believe that the sheriff of a county who had been in office for a considerable time would have developed a reading knowledge of Latin. The form of writs is specialised, but essentially much of the information sent out in the writs is formulaic. Simple experience, and exposure to administrative documentation, and previously received writs, would provide an understanding of what they are likely to contain.

From the information contained in chronicles it is possible to assess elements of the military role of castles. It would appear that the social processes of attacking and defending a site are highly developed and conditioned. The social contact between those attacking and defending a site is conditioned through a series of interactions such as attacks, the sending of heralds or requests for surrender terms. These practices only occur where the feudal relationship is preserved, or are offered to explicitly indicate that this relationship is being maintained by an attacker, such as in the 1173-1174 war between the English and the Scots. It only appears that actions change when feudal relationships have broken down and this level of social interaction ends. Therefore the likely information that can be gained from an examination of chronicle records is conditioned by the social relationships of those participating in the military actions in and around the castle site. It would also appear that the likelihood of an attack or successful defence of a site depends more on the level of manning and supplies at a castle than the condition of the building itself. This last point means that oblique references to a successful defence or attack where no further information is given

cannot really be used to make assessments concerning the development of a site. And finally where no information is given concerning a site in a chronicle it is simply stretching the interpretation beyond what it can reasonably claim that any information can be gained from negative data of this kind.

It appears that historical data is useful, but is limited in its uses to the archaeologist for the simple task of dating castle sites. What historical evidence can demonstrate is social interactions and changes. It would appear that castles are documented arenas of social interaction. They are the centres of administration for the sheriffs, the places examined by the keepers of works and the areas where the particular type of social interaction known as war occurs for much of this period. Although to provide AD dates for castle sites, and many medieval remains it is necessary to use, with care, historical references to provide a framework of dated buildings from which datable interpretations can be made. This will be achieved in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: ARCHITECTURAL DATING

The objective of this chapter is to discuss the extent to which the standing remains of both earthwork and stone castles can be dated. Following on from the previous chapter it must be emphasised that providing AD dates is only possible through relating archaeological remains to historical documentation. The traditional basis for dating buildings remains the creation of an ordered sequence of datable buildings within the North of England based upon the historical evidence. This historical sequence is extended into a discussion of the architectural features identified in other dated buildings that may help provide a sequence for comparison with castle buildings. Due to the lack of documentation produced during this period by the non-royal secular elite and the few buildings constructed by this group in stone this sequence is dependent upon churches. The number of castles that are well documented and surviving is low. These points mean that to date stone castles we are largely dependent upon the identification of architectural features for which a date can be provided from the sequence of ecclesiastical buildings. The main, and most obvious problem with this dependence on typology and cross dating is that stone castle buildings contain few decorative architectural features. Essentially, comparative architectural features are limited to capitals, abaci, vaulting ribs and vaulting forms, bases, window and door forms. Occasional finds of architectural stonework from excavated sites have increased the sample of comparable decorative features from castle sites but the majority of sites possess few if any comparable decorative features. This lack of distinctive architectural features means, as will be argued here, that providing dates for castle sites even where there is a considerable level of surviving stonework is a problematic and controversial activity.

What is problematic with much discussion of architecture, and architectural dating, is the lack of distinction between dates supplied by historical evidence and dates supplied by typology. The level of *certainty* applied to dates in literature discussing architecture can lead to circular arguments. This problem leads to a level of confusion in how a particular date is arrived at and the important concern of identifying buildings that are intentionally constructed to provide an air of antiquity. If buildings are constructed to be consciously anachronistic in their architectural form then this increases the problems of the employment of typological dating. Certain buildings associated with Ranulf Flambard, Bishop of Durham between 1099 and 1128, and some later buildings associated with the See of Durham that have convincing documentary evidence for dating their construction, appear to be built with an effort to create an air of antiquity. The application of scientific dating methods to the study of castles has been limited to say the least. The basic archaeological concept for the interpretation and dating of

stone buildings are the principles of building stratigraphy. Recent work on buildings within the City of York has demonstrated the value of employing an analysis of stone tooling as a dating methodology (see Kemp and Graves 1996; Stocker 1993, 1995 and 1999).

This chapter begins with a short analysis of the basic methodologies behind the dating of stone buildings, that is the employment of building stratigraphy and the examination of stone tooling. Secondly a sequence of buildings, largely ecclesiastical, is constructed employing those with the most explicit historical dating evidence and has been divided into the most convincing chronological categories for groups of buildings where architectural parallels can be identified in stone castle buildings. Finally this chapter discusses the possibilities for the dating of earthwork castles.

BASIC DATING METHODOLOGIES

Two basic methodologies behind the archaeological study of buildings have been employed in the assessment of the stone remains of castle buildings. These methodologies are firstly the examination of building stratigraphy and secondly the examination of stone tooling methods to identify buildings that fit within the chronological sample (between the years 1066 and 1216). Where historical or architectural evidence has not been able to place a building within the sample period the type of stone tooling has been employed as a final effort to provide dating evidence.

BUILDING STRATIGRAPHY

The analysis of building stratigraphy is the basis of the archaeological study of standing buildings. Building stratification involves the analysis of walling to determine the sequence of construction within an individual wall and the chronological relationships between the walls and other architectural features that make up a building.

The basic methodology behind the stratigraphic study of upstanding stonework is firstly to assess the character of the earliest stonework in the wall or feature. It is then possible to interpret changes that have been made to this walling at a later date. This enables an assessment to be made of architectural features that are contemporary with the construction of a building and features that are the result of later changes, thereby providing a relative dating sequence. Again assessments of this kind can provide evidence for the contemporary use of architectural features. This well established survey technique has been successfully employed in many instances most notably by Dixon and Marshall at Hedingham Castle (1993b) and at Norham Castle (1993a). At Carlisle Castle (McCarthy, Summerson and Annis 1990) and at Brougham Castle (Summerson, Trueman and Harrison 1998) the examination of the elevations

of the buildings enabled detailed interpretations to be made of these upstanding remains. Rodwell (1981), in a volume dedicated to the archaeological study of the church, details the methodologies of the stratigraphic studies of stone buildings. The examination of post-medieval vernacular architecture prior to its demolition on Stainmoor, North Yorkshire (Annis 1994) reveals the value of a more extended examination involving the controlled demolition of certain features within the buildings, a case that is unlikely to occur with the standing remains of Norman Castles.

STONE TOOLING

Stone tooling, the differing methods of dressing the cut faces of stone, appears to be a valuable way of distinguishing material that appears to have been dressed in the twelfth century. It is a means to identify building campaigns earlier than the thirteenth century even where there are no decorative architectural features to date stone walling. The methodology and study of stone tooling and its relationship to the date stems from the archaeological analysis of the reused stonework from the twelfth century York Minster employed in a later medieval rebuilding of the Bedern College of the Vicars Choral (Stocker 1999).

Stocker identifies two basic types of tooling, striated tooling and claw tooling (1999, 344-347). The differing types of tooling occur due to the employment of different tools with which to treat the face of the stone. Striated tooling is cut using a flat blade (ibid. 344). This tool can either be a chisel or an axe; the only essential point is the blade is flat (ibid. 344). The essential feature of striated tooling is a series of parallel grooves running either diagonal, vertical or in two diagonals opposite directions against the grain of the stone (ibid. 344-346). There is obviously variation in the depth of the striations or the distance between striations according to the angle, and pressure exerted onto the cutting blade (ibid. 344).

Claw tooling is very different to striated tooling. This is due to the employment of different tools (ibid. 346). Claw tooling is cut into the face of a stone using a toothed blade, rather than a flat blade (ibid. 346). This tooling gives the appearance of a "*row of oblong indentations at right-angles to the draught*" (ibid. 346). The final type of tooling identified by Stocker is dragged tooling (1999, 346-347). The tool used to create this type of tooling is a strip of metal with teeth cut into it that is simply dragged over the surface of the stone (ibid. 346). This tooling is readily distinguishable from clawed tolling due to the longer draws across the face of the stone and the meanders in the drag lines (ibid. 347).

Stocker's application of dates to the different tooling types is essentially very simple.

"...it is clear that all the identifiably 12th century stones have striated tooling. Similarly, it is clear that all the pieces which are datable to after c. 1200 have claw tooling. It is notable, however, that all of the fragments which can be dated architecturally to the period around c. 1190-1200 (Group 1C) have striated tooling. There are 22 medieval pieces which have both striated and claw on the same stone, but in all but two of these ... the claw demonstrably belongs to a re-cutting..." (ibid. 347-248).

The application of Stocker's methodology of using tooling to provide distinction between twelfth and thirteenth century stonework has been followed on another ecclesiastical site at York, that of the Gilbertine Priory of St. Andrew, Fishergate (Kemp and Graves 1996). At the Priory site the pattern of tooling appears to be less clear than that for the Minster remains used in the Bedern. Graves observes that the earliest standing walling in York Minster that contains in situ striated tooling is the junction of the south transept wall constructed in 1220 (1996, 269). The stonework excavated at the Gilbertine Priory in Fishergate of late twelfth century form had been polished and therefore contained no evidence of tooling (ibid. 270). Certainly fragments of stonework at this site dating into the thirteenth century employ clawed tooling (ibid. 270).

Therefore it would appear to be clear that with care a distinction could be made between twelfth and thirteenth century masonry in the north by examining the differing forms of tooling. A caveat must be stated that while there are documentary references to the introduction of chisels in the 1150s, there are no references to, what appears to be, the rapid introduction of toothed tools and the changes in practice associated with this transition (Salzman 1952, 344).

The association between striated tooling and the transition to claw tooling over the turn of the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries could be an exceptionally valuable methodology for dating stonework, but as already explained this theory has to be treated with care. There are areas where our ability to assess the type of tooling is restricted. Obvious areas where tooling cannot be used to assess the date of remains are for example where major weathering has occurred on north walls. Tooling also would not be present on walls constructed in rubble and further problems can be encountered where facing stones have, at a later date, been stripped from standing remains. With these problems in mind the assessment of stone tooling remains an exceptionally valuable research tool. For the purposes of this study the presence of claw tooling on buildings or architectural features has been used as an upper chronological limit.

A SEQUENCE OF DATABLE BUILDINGS IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND

The sequence of buildings proposed in this section is based upon historical data to give AD dates. Due to the socially conditioned construction of medieval documentation, of both administrative and 'historical' types it is impossible to only construct a dating sequence based on castle architecture. It is therefore necessary, in an effort to span the period from 1066-1200, to employ church architecture also. It will be demonstrated that to an extent it is possible using the archaeological and structural evidence available from certain sites to construct fixed relative dating points that, at least, cover elements of chronology of an individual building that may be relevant to other sites. There appear to be four phases of the development in Romanesque architecture in the North of England. These phases are:

i. Buildings with early characteristics.

ii. Buildings contemporary with Durham Cathedral.

iii. Buildings that post-date Durham Cathedral.

iv. Buildings constructed in the later twelfth century

The categories of building identified above are not necessarily a clear, fixed chronological sequence but broadly illustrate the development of architecture during the study period. The sections that follow discuss the buildings that can confidently be dated to fit within the phases and then suggest castle sites that possess similar features to the datable buildings.

BUILDINGS WITH EARLY CHARACTERISTICS.

There are a number of buildings in the North of England that can unambiguously be dated to the eleventh to early twelfth century. This section examines the features of these buildings and will attempt to identify other buildings that share some of the architectural features.

The earliest documented stone building constructed following the Norman Conquest of the north appears to be Durham Castle. The building of Durham Castle began in 1072 by William I according to Symeon of Durham (Stevenson (1987, 144). Leyland (1994a) attributes four areas of the Castle of Durham to the work carried out during the episcopacy of Bishop Walcher. These areas are the undercroft of the great hall, the chapel range, the low tower and walling and the east range that is only known from excavation. To Bishop St Calais Leyland

attributes the lower levels of the Tunstall Chapel and a buttress at the south-west corner of the north range. The early remains in the undercroft of the great hall consist of the spine wall dividing the space into two, this wall is shown in Plate 1. This wall is made up of eight irregular arches constructed from plain, rectangular voussoirs. The voussoirs that make up the arcade continue deep under the soffit of the arches, but do not meet their opposite number; there is infilling of stonework between them. A view of the chapel is shown in Plate 2. In its present form the chapel consists of a nave with two aisles divided into four bays by three pairs of piers. The piers support volute capitals and square abaci with rolled edges and a simple chamfer on their undersides. The chapel is vaulted with a groin vault supported on transverse arches. It would appear that the windows of this chapel were restored in the nineteenth century (ibid. 33). The other buildings identified by Leyland, and claimed to be of early date appear not to contain datable architectural features but are considered early through building stratigraphy or historical references.

The Priory of Jarrow, County Durham, was re-founded in 1074 at the invitation of the Bishop of Durham (Rollason 2000, 203). It appears that after initially constructing living accommodation of a temporary nature, and celebrating mass in the roofless church the Bishop of Durham provided lands for this community (ibid. 203). This donation occurred after the monks at Jarrow indicated that they wished to rebuild the church. It appears that this work resulted in the conversion of the building linking the surviving chancel to the Anglo-Saxon nave into a tower with double splayed windows and a triangular headed opening (Pevsner and Williamson 1985, 339). Other elements of the monastic buildings have also been attributed to this re-foundation. The eastern wall of the west range has a triangular headed opening like that in the tower. The north wall, and a fragment of the east wall of the south range are visible and in the east wall of the west range there is a round-headed doorway supported on cushion capitals. This work at the church is dated by Cambridge to between 1074 and the removal of the monks at Jarrow to become the community in the newly founded cathedral priory at Durham in 1093 (Cambridge 1994, 149).

The monastic church of Lastingham, North Riding of Yorkshire, appears to have had an exceptionally short existence during the eleventh century. Its occupation lasted for eight years from 1078 (Gem and Thurlby 1995, 32). The fabric of this building surviving from this early, short-lived monastic occupation consists of the crypt under the east end, the apse and forebay, western presbytery and the four piers of the crossing (ibid. 32). The architectural remains of this building are fully discussed by Gem and Thurlby (1995) but the major characteristic features will be summarised here. The capitals employed in the crypt vault are of

two basic types, volute capitals of Corinthian and non-Corinthian forms, that is lacking the ring of leaves (ibid. 34). Other capitals employed at this site are of plain cushion forms, one of which has mitred angles and small volutes (ibid. 34; see Plate 3). The main body of the vault is groined and divided by ashlar transverse arches (ibid. 34). The voussoirs of the arches from each side join under the soffit employing no infill stones as is shown in Plate 4. The voussoirs themselves are of even, equal widths and are dressed with striated tooling. The abaci employed in the vault are all of square form with plain chamfered undersides as is shown in Plate 5.

Gem and Thurlby indicate that the eleventh century church at Lastingham survives up to the window heads (1995, 35). The exterior of the apse has three pilaster buttresses (ibid. 35) with a chamfered stringcourse with a diaper ornament over the curves of the apse. The exterior of the apse is shown in Plate 6. At this site the stringcourse is carried over the faces and sides of the buttresses (see Plate 6). The exterior windows are constructed of two plain orders, the interior face of the windows is also of two plain orders with the inner order supported on colonnettes. The colonnettes have plain moulded bases and volute capitals; a restored example is shown in Plate 7. The arch leading from the presbytery to the sanctuary has jambs with attached columns and volute capitals. Gem and Thurlby report that the documentation concerning the restoration of the east end describes the original vaulting of the nave as groined and the chancel and apse as barrel vaulted (1995, 36). The eleventh century remains in the nave consist of the four piers of the central crossing. Facing towards the crossing the piers are of two orders on each face with volute capitals. The west piers of the crossing have, on their west face, the responds for the nave arcade that would be of two orders with attached half-columns and recessed columns (ibid. 36). The capitals used in this arcade are of trumpet-cushion form (ibid. 36).

Next on our list is the Cathedral of York constructed by Archbishop Thomas of Bayeaux from around 1080 (Philips 1985, 6). The dating of the foundation of this building is ambiguous as, unlike Durham Castle, there is no direct documentary reference to construction work beginning. Philips identifies the 1080s as the most likely point for construction work to begin as the Norman hold on the north appears to have been more secure after this point in time (ibid. 6). This is, of course, an assumption where Philips has judged an assessed architectural date against the historical evidence for peace in the region. Datable architectural fragments from this site are few in number due to the lack of upstanding masonry, but the excavations have revealed a number of pieces of architectural stonework from the site. The bases recovered from the Minster excavations are essentially very similar. Their profiles are steep and consist of differing arrangements of shallow rolls and hollows. One example consists

of three concave hollows separated by two rolls (ibid. 118), other examples consisted of a single roll with a concave hollow above or three concave hollows (ibid. 145). The capitals recovered were also of essentially two types, volute capitals derived from Corinthian types or capitals decorated with scallops. Two capitals were identified in the later walling of the Minster. These were: an engaged capital of a Corinthian type carrying a square simple chamfered capital (ibid. 106) and a double capital for paired shafts (ibid. 154). Scalloped capitals of either two (ibid. 144 and 158) or three (ibid. 158) scallops for each face were identified at this site also. The forms of voussoirs identified at this site that carried mouldings were of simple forms consisting of rolls flanked with various numbers of fillets (ibid. 146). The architectural features identified in the excavations from this early site confirm those already identified.

Durham Cathedral, and its monastic remains, provides the greatest source of datable building work for this period. With the chronicles of Symeon of Durham the remains also have been tied into the historical record. There are two basic phases in the construction of Durham Cathedral. The first phase is the construction of what is now the refectory undercroft which began in 1075 and appears to have been completed by 1091 (Snape 1980, 22). This construction work predates the introduction of the Benedictine community and may actually indicate an initial effort to regularise the secular community who served in the Anglo-Saxon cathedral. The refectory undercroft is constructed as a nave with two aisles supported on squared piers and square abaci with simple chamfers to their undersides, as at Lastingham. The piers support a groined vault that unlike Lastingham and the Norman Chapel at Durham Castle does not have transverse arches. At present the vault is plastered so that the quality of the stonework cannot be examined. The archways giving access to the eastern-most bays of the undercroft are constructed from evenly sized voussoirs and resemble transverse arching that is visible in the other contemporary structures. The soffits of the arches are constructed from the voussoirs meeting at the centre of the soffit resembling the transverse arches already described at Lastingham. The fenestration in the south wall of the undercroft has survived the later changes to this building. The single light windows in the basement have monolithic heads.

The last building that fits into this group are the remains of the monastic church of St Mary's in York. The foundation stone of the church was laid in 1089 and it appears to have been completed between 1120 and 1135 when a charter recording a gift to the abbey provided for the roofing of the church (RCHME 1975, 3). Due to the later medieval reconstruction of the monastic church there are few in situ remains of the church begun in the eleventh century. Other than the plan of the church that has been recovered through excavation some courses of walling from what was the north-east corner of the north transept survive within the later

church (ibid. 8). This surviving early phase of the building does not contain remains that are instructive of the form selected for the superstructure of the church. There are some architectural fragments from the church that are sufficient to give an indication of the decorative scheme. Some of the surviving capitals for shafts and responds have volutes treated as faces (ibid. 22). These remains fit well with the other buildings in this early group and can now be used to define the general characteristics of early Norman buildings in the North of England.

There are actually very few buildings for which there is convincing historical evidence of an eleventh century date. This group of buildings represents a closely defined group. The major feature that defines these early buildings is the lack of cushion capitals and the continued reliance on groined vaults, employed with, or without transverse arches. The forms of arches used in this period are of square section, and frequently of more than one square order. As well as arches of square section window openings from this period can be monolithic. At Jarrow a triangular headed opening was included in the architectural repertoire. As it will be demonstrated later there are few of these features that can actually be confined to a particular period, but an effort has to be made to construct possible chronologies from datable buildings. It is now necessary to attempt to fit other buildings into the chronology for this period.

It will be noted that Richmond Castle has specifically been left out of this list of buildings that can be attributed by historical references to the eleventh century. The foundation of Richmond Castle is usually dated to 1071 with the grant of lands to Alan the Red following the Saxon owner, Edwin, Earl of Mercia's, participation in the rising of 1068 (Peers 1953, 16). Richmond is not referred to in the Domesday Book folios for Yorkshire. In 1086 it appears that the estates under the ownership of the Earls of Richmond follow their Anglo-Saxon pattern and are focused on the centres of Gilling West (Faull and Stinson 1986, 309a) and Catterick (ibid. 310 b, c). At both of these sites are remains of Norman castles. At Catterick there is a possible motte adjacent to the church. Limited excavation at this site in 1983 did not appear to reach the original profile of the motte (Young, Clark and Barry 1984: 248). The structure is visible today due to it being cut back for the planting of a hedge. The construction of the motte from river cobbles is clearly visible from cuttings into its side that have occurred in the last two years. At Gilling West early nineteenth century excavations on Castle Hill reported the identification of stone walling (Whitaker 1823, 67). This stone walling has been interpreted as the remains of a castle on this site due to the correspondence of the placename. It would therefore appear that the initial placement of castles in what was to become Richmondshire could be interpreted as following the pattern of the Anglo-Saxon

estates that preceded it. Richmond, itself, is not a documented Anglo-Saxon centre. The earliest historical references to Richmond and its castle occur well into the twelfth century and require analysis to determine their value.

The initial mention to the castle at Richmond occurs in 1171-1172 with a Pipe Roll reference to building works on the housing and tower (PR 18 Henry II p 5). The first datable reference to the town of Richmond occurs in 1090 (Peers 1953, 16). Peers provides no source for this historical reference although it is most likely to refer to the text of the borough charter for Richmond which dates to between 1137 and 1145 (Ballard 1913, 16). This charter states that Count Alan of Richmond confirms the rights of the burgesses of Richmond to what they were in the time of his father Count Steven (Count between 1093-1137) and his uncle, the second Count Alan (Count between 1089-1093). The evidence for the foundation of Richmond in the eleventh century is therefore unsatisfactory and is dependent upon whether this mid-twelfth century charter can be accepted as representing fact rather than an invented tradition. From an examination of other charters contained in Ballard (1913) that efforts were made to give many boroughs an impression of antiquity through possibly spurious reference to early customs. Few borough charters actually state that they are concerned with the new foundation of a borough but give an appearance of continuity in tradition. The text of the Richmond charter appears to indicate only a confirmation of existing practices rather than any foundation in the 1090s.

Other historical references to Richmond mention the Archdeaconry of Richmondshire. The earliest historical reference to the Archdeaconry identified by Greenway (1999, 47) is a charter issued by Osbert of Bayeaux who is named as Archdeacon. It is dated by to 1121-1128 according to the witness list, but the witness list appears to be from a different charter therefore possibly this charter is a fake (ibid. 47), but this list probably has been copied from a genuine charter.

The focus of the borough at Richmond is upon the castle site. This means it is most probable that the planning of the castle must have preceded the layout of the town, or that the two actions were contemporary. Therefore if it could be assumed that the estate and archdeaconry of Richmond were named after the town and castle rather than the opposite way around, Richmond then could be assumed to be eleventh century in foundation but any claim cannot necessarily be proven from the limited quality of the historical evidence alone. If the borough charter evidence is accepted for the dating of Richmond, and taken into account with the presence of castles at the Domesday estate centres of Gilling West and Catterick, then it

would appear that in the late eleventh century there is a major reorganisation of Richmondshire associated with the second Count Alan inheriting the estate.

From the discussion of the historical data the conclusion is that the foundation of Richmond Castle is most likely to date from after 1090 and there is no indication for when construction was likely to have finished. Stratigraphically the early gatehouse, and early walling predates the keep. The sequence of Pipe Roll references from 1171 onwards is traditionally assumed to refer to the construction of the keep. Therefore the early gatehouse must predate the 1170s. Like the other buildings discussed above that can be definitively dated to the eleventh century Richmond shares many of their features but the architectural features at Richmond that are considered to confirm the early dating of this site are paralleled at other sites that must date well into the twelfth century.

Architecturally, the stone remains at Richmond Castle do represent a confused pattern of construction. Plate 8 shows the junction between a tower and the curtain walling at Richmond to the inner face of the enclosure. The left half of Plate 8 shows the inner face of the tower, the right half the inner face of the curtain walling. It is clear from this plate that the construction of the wall and its incorporation into the projecting towers occurred over several distinct phases. The initial construction appears to have been the base of the tower. Plate 8 shows a break in the walling reaching up above the shadow of the photographer. Above this break the character of the stone in the curtain wall to the right of the plate changes to flatter stones that are incorporated into the build of the inner face of the tower. This incorporation only continues for a few courses and a considerable break runs the height of the wall above this. If this method of wall construction is examined in terms of planning then it is obvious that it cannot necessarily be claimed that Richmond was conceived as a castle enclosed within a stone wall from its foundation. The construction of the curtain walling at Richmond represents the work of multiple phases. The use of coursed rubble for the walling means that stone tooling has not survived on the cut faces of the stone so the attribution of much of this walling to the earliest phases is dependent upon its incorporation with the interval towers in the curtain wall. The interval towers contain the only datable architectural features in the build of this wall. Therefore it is only really the earliest phases of this walling that can confidently be attributed to the late eleventh or early twelfth century works at this site. To make any further assessment of the architectural development of the curtain walling at Richmond would require a major campaign of detailed recording.

Early architectural features can be identified at Richmond in the east curtain walling, the remains of the original entrance and at the south end of the enclosure at Scolland's Hall.

The complications in the phasing of the east curtain wall at Richmond and its relation to the interval towers mean that only certain features can be confidently attributed to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. The mural passages contained within the stratigraphically earliest walling at Richmond have triangular heads (see, for example Plate 9). Triangular heads to windows have been identified in Anglo-Saxon church architecture for example in the upper storeys in the south face of the tower at Barton-on-Humber. Triangular headed windows are also employed in the early, post-Conquest gatehouse at Exeter Castle. A triangular head to a door at Jarrow has been attributed to the early post-Conquest reconstruction work at this site (Cambridge 1994, 149). The presence of a single parallel of an architectural feature cannot be employed as significant dating evidence for the presence of other similar features.

The chapel tower at Richmond contains arcading that is claimed to be of an early date. Plate 10 shows a sample of the arcading within this chapel. The heads of the arcading are cut from monolithic stones and rest upon cushion capitals originally supported on detached shafts. The traditional belief that monolithic heads represent early dates is questioned in the next identifiable phase of architectural development due to their presence at Gilesgate Church, Durham. In the light of this questioning it is difficult to employ them to demonstrate an early date for this chapel. The original gateway at Richmond is shown in Plate 11. The gateway consisted of an outer and inner recessed order constructed from evenly sized voussoirs of square section supported on abaci with a nook and chamfered underside. The two orders of the gateway rested on nook shafts crowned with Corinthian capitals with volutes (Plate 12) and plain cushion capitals (Plate 13). The soffit of the entranceway arch was infilled with rubble with no voussoirs reaching through the soffit of the arch to meet their opposing numbers. The use of volute capitals would appear to be a characteristic of early architecture but their continued use at Selby Abbey, a building whose construction began in 1097 to 1123 (Fernie 1995, 40) that is contemporary with Durham Cathedral, means that they cannot be considered convincing evidence for an eleventh century foundation date.

The architecture of Scolland's Hall is similar to that identified in the gateway at Richmond Castle. The door accessing the first floor of the hall is reached via a forebuilding leading to a round-headed doorway of a single square order. The capitals employed on this doorway are of Corinthian type. The windows for the first floor hall at Richmond are, to the exterior, of two lights cut from monolithic stones. To the interior the two lights are confined within a single order or round-headed form of square section. There are no features at Richmond that are out of character for an early site.

The curtain walling and Scolland's Hall at Richmond contain many courses of herringbone masonry. Herringbone work is traditionally taken to indicate an eleventh century date but its survival and incorporation into buildings that must be later means that it cannot necessarily be considered to provide dating evidence. A fuller discussion of herringbone work is included with the dating for the gatehouse and curtain wall of Egremont Castle later in this chapter.

Richmond employed architectural features that would appear to confirm an early date. The problem with the dating of Richmond is how early or late the buildings actually are. The ambiguous nature of the walling at Richmond certainly makes any real interpretation of this site exceptionally difficult. A similar problem can also be seen at Bamburgh Castle.

The date of the great tower at Bamburgh Castle is one of the major problems of twelfth century archaeology in the North of England. There are certain features in this tower that would indicate an early date, possibly even that a late eleventh century date could reasonably be applied to this building. Renn dates Bamburgh to the late eleventh century (1960, 9-10) on the strength of the capitals for the door, the chapel apse and domed fireplaces but most importantly from references in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. By comparing the remains of Bamburgh with local early stone construction work this dating by Renn can, to an extent, be reinforced. The exterior of the keep contains many windows with monolithic heads for example those shown in Plate 14, although it must be emphasised that this building has undergone a considerable restoration in the nineteenth century and further extensive works in the second half of the 20th century. The basement vault is constructed from coursed rubble and is groined. This vault is shown in Plate 15. The vault is supported on piers with no abaci or capital, in certain places, especially the part shown in Plate 15 the vault almost looks to be constructed from false arches. The rubble construction of the vault contrasts markedly with the even, well-cut rectangular stonework of the vault walls and the arches in the cross wall and the piers. The apsed compartment of the first floor is also vaulted with a groin vault, but this vault has been plastered and as shown in Plate 16 is separated from the walling by a stringcourse with a simple chamfer to its underside. This vault has transverse arches of regular sized voussoirs that meet their opposite number across the soffit of the arch. The plinth at Bamburgh has been heavily restored as shown in Plate 17 but enough original stonework survives to show the original form has been followed. The plinth at Bamburgh parallels some early forms of attic base identified by Rigold (1977). The form of the plinth at Bamburgh is made up of an upper roll or torus, a fillet wider than any on the pier bases, a concave scotia, a short fillet and then the final torus roll; the plinth is therefore of an attic form. This places the plinth in Rigold's

class BI4 that is attic form of early and middle contexts with rigid bands (1977, 119). Two of the bases included by Rigold in this class have the large upper fillets and a similar overall form to the Bamburgh plinth although they lack the concave scotia (1977, 119 bases 113 and 114) and are found in eleventh century contexts. These two bases are shown in Figure 3. Obviously this association between pier bases and a plinth is problematic before we even begin to examine the geographical distance between Bamburgh and the parallels in southern England but when taken into account with the other dating evidence discussed above it does fit into the wider picture.

It would appear that it is possible that Bamburgh, like Richmond, dates from the first half of the period examined here and could be attributed to the initial phase of Norman stone building discussed in this section. The features described for these buildings do appear to resemble the other buildings that can be more securely dated to this period. To date Bamburgh to 1095 would require us to pick dates that emphasise the earliest possibilities for the development of these architectural features. Richmond does provide a more persuasive case for an early date than it is possible to construct for Bamburgh. These problems are largely concerned with the fact there are few early stone buildings in the north from which to make a comparison as well as the problems caused by the effective rebuilding of much of Bamburgh's great tower in the last centuries. The next section demonstrates that many buildings associated with the See of Durham contain architectural features that are comparable with Bamburgh and many of these buildings appear to be constructed in an attempt to provide an impression of antiquity. Therefore we simply cannot securely date this tower to the eleventh century. It may not even be possible to date Bamburgh to the first quarter of the twelfth century. The framework of building examined in this section reaches from just after the Conquest of the north with the construction of Durham Castle to the completion of St Mary's Abbey at c 1130, an almost fifty year period the examination of buildings here demonstrates the impossibility of providing fine dating for this period.

Buildings Contemporary with Durham Cathedral

The construction of the Norman cathedral church at Durham began in 1093 (Snape 1980, 21). It is apparent from the stonework planning in the construction of the plinth that the ground plan of the church appears to have been laid out from the beginning of its construction (Boney 1990). Construction started from the east end and the walls from the eastern arm to the crossing were completed in 1099 (Snape 1980, 21). The vault to the crossing was finished by 1104 (ibid.). Construction of the nave walls was completed by 1128 (ibid. 22) and the nave vault was finished in 1133 (ibid.). Durham brought new architectural features

and solutions to structural problems to the North of England. The new architectural features introduced at Durham include the earliest use of rib vaulting and cushion capitals, except for the cushion capital in the gatehouse at Richmond, if these can be dated earlier. Durham is the earliest site with an important architectural feature, the stringcourse at the height of the shoulder of the arch that is carried over the voussoirs of window heads.

Relatively contemporary with the construction of the cathedral at Durham, and partially inspired by Durham, was the beginning of work at Selby Abbey between 1097 and 1123 (Fernie (1995, 40). Due to the lack of documentation relating to the early history of the Abbey it is impossible to date the beginning of construction to any point within this period. It would seem that if the early remains of Selby, that is Fernie's phase I (1995, 42) are compared to Durham their difference in character can easily be seen. The early remains at Selby are similar to Lastingham, rather than to Durham, due to the use of a variety of capitals in the earliest surviving areas of the church rather than the more unified aesthetic that Durham demonstrates. Selby employs multi-scalloped capitals, as used on the round piers at Durham, and both sculptured cushion and volute capital forms. Fernie claims that Selby is dependent upon Durham for aspects of its design most notably the double bays with alternating cylindrical and composite piers in phases I and II and the use of the incised lozenge design on a cylindrical pier (1995, 44 and 47). The method of erecting the lozenge piers at Durham and Selby is the same. At both churches the lozenge piers were constructed with the facing stones of the pier cut to contain the 'cross' of four adjoining lozenges so only one form of stone needed to be used to build the body of the pier. This pier is shown in Plate 18. Other features Durham shares with Selby are the use of double chamfered courses in the plinths to piers.

It can be interpreted from the architectural remains at Selby that the building of this church continued following a pause in the twelfth century. This break in construction is shown by a masonry break west of the early architecture, but east of material that is of a later twelfth century character. To the west of the masonry break at ground and first floor levels of the north nave elevation the architectural forms are characterised by the use of waterleaf capitals, keeled rolls and shafts and undercut chevron (ibid. 42). It would therefore appear that it is only the architecture to the east of the masonry break that can be assigned to this period. The similarities between Durham and Selby are clear, but the continued use of volute capitals at Selby for the main arcade distinguishes between the two buildings. At Durham the use of volute capitals within the Cathedral church is confined to the inner face of the south-eastern door from the nave into the cloister. Volute capitals have been demonstrated to be a feature

that is usually considered to be associated with early buildings, but at Selby the ambiguities of the dating mean that this claim cannot be sustained.

Durham is similar to its sister church at Lindisfarne. This building is dated by Cambridge (1995, 67) to have been completed by 1150. Lindisfarne Priory Church shares many features with Durham including the use of cushion capitals, rib vaulting over the crossing and chancel and a double bay arrangement in the nave with alternating cylindrical and composite piers. At Lindisfarne, as at Durham, the nave and both aisles were vaulted. The aisles were covered with rib vaults, as was the crossing, while the central nave was groin vaulted. The presence of two different vault types at this church, especially one so similar to Durham, is surprising. It could be considered that the use of a groined vault over the nave is archaic when Durham had been rib vaulted throughout. There are other features in this church focused on the area of the west end that are also surprising when Lindisfarne is compared with Durham. The internal elevation of the west end is possibly the most surprising element of this building. By logic and the traditions of church building this should have been completed last. The "*Buildings of England*" volume for Northumberland describes the west wall:

"*The inner w wall emphasised the portal by giving it two orders of columns with block capitals and finely moulded arches. Above this is a narrow wall passage open to the nave in an arcade of five arches on short columns. The middle arch is a little larger than the others, and the detail of the whole arcade is curiously coarser, almost rude and primitive, by comparison to much of the other detail in the building.*" (Grundy et al 1992, 338).

The internal elevation of the western end of the church closely resembles the transept gallery and transept clerestoreys at Durham Cathedral. The oversized arches are supported on closely spaced piers with proportionally massive capitals and plain abaci with a simple chamfer. These architectural features would have been more than familiar to the monks of Durham whose access to the monastic elements of the cathedral at Durham would have been through the south transept at this time. Perhaps in this area of the church we have an example of an attempt to be consciously anachronistic with a groined vault and the "*primitive*" western gallery, two remarkably visible elements of the church. Lindisfarne Priory Church, as well as providing further questions concerning chronology, helps to answer others with the decoration of its rib vaults.

The crossing vault ribs at Lindisfarne were decorated with chevron work similar to that decorating the chapter house of Durham Cathedral built between the years 1133 and 1141 (Snape 1980, 22). Chevron work appears to provide a defining characteristic of stone building in the North of England for this second period. The early chevron work in the eastern arm of

Durham Cathedral is shallow cut onto the lateral face of the arch. At Lindisfarne the chevron work is cut into the lateral face of the arch and continues onto the edge of the arch. Chevron work of this type is characteristic of construction at this site datable to before 1150 (Leyland 1994a, x). Fernie identified three types of chevron work at Selby Abbey (1995, 43). These types are chevrons cut into the lateral face of an arch, chevron cut into the chamfered edge of an arch and finally chevron work cut into the lateral face and soffit of an arch joining point-to-point forming a pattern of lozenges over the arris of the arch. As with Durham these types of chevron work are dated to before 1150. Borg (1967, 132) divides chevron decoration into six basic types. These types are:

i. Chevron consisting of a single raised ridge of zigzag.

ii. More than one strand of chevron applied to the lateral face of an arch.

iii. Chevron curving over the main face and soffit of the arch.

iv. Chevron applied to the lateral face and soffit of the arch forming lozenges.

v. Chevron projecting from the wall face or soffit of the arch.

vi. Freestanding chevron.

It appears that the first four types of chevron decoration occur on buildings that can be dated to before 1150 and are the contemporaries of Durham Cathedral. The buildings in the earlier class lack chevron decoration. Chevron was probably spread through the North of England following the construction of Durham Cathedral. The transition to Borg's class five of chevron decoration occurs in buildings that are most likely dated to after 1150 and are associated with Bishop Hugh du Puiset of Durham and follow on from the construction of the new choir of York Minster.

Lindisfarne Priory Church is not the only building associated with the See of Durham that was constructed with what appears to be anachronistic architectural details. St Giles Church, Gilesgate was founded by Bishop Flambard and consecrated in 1112 as the chapel for a hospital at this site (Pevsner and Williamson 1985, 200). The surviving remains dating from this period consist of the north wall and the reset south doorway (ibid.). The three surviving windows in the north wall all have monolithic heads but the south doorway has shafts with cushion capitals. Pevsner and Williamson report that a stringcourse decorated with chevron runs around the inside of the chancel (1985, 200). The chevron decorated stringcourse and the presence of cushion capitals clearly associate this building with decorative features found in the contemporary cathedral but illustrate the continued use of monolithic window heads as a feature in an important building constructed by a major regional magnate. St Giles Church is

not alone amongst buildings constructed by Bishop Flambard in possessing architectural features, the monolithic window heads, that could be considered surprising for a building of this date and status. There is one castle site that also can be attributed to Flambard that has features that could also be considered archaic.

Norham Castle is the earliest stone castle site in the sample area that can be securely dated, and therefore used as dating evidence. The first phase of the keep at Norham Castle is dated to around 1121 from an entry in Symeon of Durham (Dixon and Marshall 1993a, 413). Dixon and Marshall's survey attributed the northern half of the present keep to the construction work of Bishop Flambard. The surviving elements of this building mainly consist of the vaulted cellar. The vault of this area was a rubble-groined vault that was divided into four bays with wide transverse arches springing from pilasters standing proud of the wall face. The vault, transverse arches and pilasters are shown in Plate 19. The exterior of the north wall of this building survives and shows that the internal pilasters were balanced on the exterior with shallow pilaster buttresses that died into a plinth consisting of a single row of chamfered stones. The surviving windows from this period are all tall, narrow round-headed loops with monolithic heads. Norham, like St Giles Church and Lindisfarne Priory Church, shows that major buildings of a regional magnate appear to have architectural features that are not necessarily of the latest fashion. Obviously the 1121 date for the construction work at this site is ambiguous as no detail is given as to whether this means the beginning or the completion of work so there is no clue as to the length of building campaign at Norham.

The monastic church of Tynemouth, Northumberland is dated by Craster to be at least partly completed by 1093 for the burial of Malcolm Canmore (1907, 51). By 1111 it appears that construction work had begun on the domestic buildings of the monastery (1907, 138). Cambridge (1994, 159-160) has questioned the early dates for the construction of the church at Tynemouth claimed by Craster. Cambridge states that the only certain fixed point in the chronology of Tynemouth is the translation of St Oswin's relics in 1110 (1994, 159). It is stated by Cambridge that work most probably started on the church in the mid 1090s following its acquisition by St Albans in 1090-1091 (1994, 159). The dating advocated by Cambridge for Tynemouth has also been followed in a more recent study of the reconstructed east arm of the priory church (Leyland and Sherlock 2000). But from 1110 onwards the conflicting dating of Craster and Cambridge can be seen to correspond with both believing that the east arm of the church, to the crossing had been completed by this time. The upstanding, surviving remains of this early church indicate that it shares certain features with Durham, that is the use of round and multi-shafted piers in the surviving elements in the nave and cushion capitals. Tynemouth

is distinct from Durham in using scalloped capitals and therefore follows the earlier York Minster in the use of this feature.

The mouldings employed on buildings of this period appear to be combinations of rolls, fillets and hollow chamfers. The use of simple chamfering appears to be absent, except when edge chevron decoration is employed, as in the nave of Selby Abbey and in many of the features visible in Durham Cathedral. Sculptural heads are employed as corbels for vault springers at Durham Cathedral, especially with the doubled heads employed with the nave vault at gallery level. Abaci of this phase are either of square or of polygonal form reflecting the shape of the capital underneath. It is also in this period that the first instances of hoodmoulds and stringcourses are combined together so the stringcourse is carried continuously around the building and over the voussoirs of the window arches. This feature is visible at Durham Cathedral on the west wall of the south transept and on the north wall of the nave at Lindisfarne Priory.

The lower storey of the gatehouse at Prudhoe Castle is most likely to be a contemporary of Durham Cathedral. The outer face of the gate consists of two orders of a rounded arch, the inner order is chamfered. Plate 20 shows the approach to the outer face and the view through into the courtyard. Both orders rest on an impost that is nooked and has a simple chamfer to its underside. Plate 21 shows a detail of the impost and the chamfering on the inner order of the arch. The impost is continued over the outer face of the gatehouse forming a stringcourse as Plate 20 shows. The inner arch of the gatehouse is shown in Plate 22. This arch is of two chamfered orders under a third order of voussoirs that are set in the wall flush with the outer order of the arch. The use of two flush orders of voussoirs can be paralleled with a number of sites in Normandy including Gisors (see Plate 23 and Plate 24) and Arques (see Plate 25). The double arch at Arques also rests on an impost with a simple chamfer to its underside. The construction of these features at Arques and Gisors can most probably be dated to the building campaign of Henry I in 1123 (Howlett 1889, 106). An intermediate arch within the gatehouse is supported on corbels consisting of paired heads (see Plate 26). This corbel can be paralleled to the corbels employed as springers for the nave vault at Durham Cathedral that are also of paired heads. The impost on this corbel has a nook and hollow chamfer and is therefore more complex than the imposts employed to support the vault at Durham, but its moulding is certainly not out of character for an association from this period onwards. It does appear that only the gatehouse and stretches of the curtain walling date from this period. The stonework of the keep is of different character to the gatehouse, the blocks are more regular in form being slightly squarer on average and are more closely jointed than those

in the gatehouse but it is most likely that the great tower is broadly contemporary with the gatehouse.

The attribution of Prudhoe as a contemporary of Durham Cathedral does not necessarily mean that its period of construction is confined to between 1093 and 1133. The similarities in construction between Durham and Lindisfarne mean that a date of up to the 1150s and possibly beyond would be entirely in character for Prudhoe.

BUILDINGS POST-DATING DURHAM CATHEDRAL

The buildings discussed in this section are separated from Durham Cathedral due to the use of different decorative features and schemes. The early church forms constructed by Cistercian and Augustinian communities represent a departure from the architectural forms inspired by, or contemporary with Durham Cathedral. What becomes apparent in this architectural phase are the social divisions that appear to differentiate architectural projects. If the architecture of the two early, datable Augustinian houses at Carlisle and Kirkham, North Riding of Yorkshire, is examined it can be seen that two relatively contemporary buildings cannot really have been much different. This difference must partially stem from the involvement of the crown in the establishment of the Augustinian community at Carlisle to serve as the Cathedral Priory. For a Cathedral an aisled church was employed, in most cases, the obvious exception being the unaisled early Romanesque nave that appears to have continued in use at York Minster until the very late thirteenth century. The early Cistercian churches at Rievaulx and Fountains are similar to the first phase church at Kirkham. These three churches represent a different tradition to that constructed at Carlisle and it is in this period that the division begins between royal foundations and the reformed religious. Obviously there are clear liturgical and functional differences between the churches of cathedrals, Augustinian Priories and Cistercian Abbeys. This is especially true for the naves of Cistercian churches that would have contained the congregation of lay brothers. This growth in reformed religious foundations in the North of England stems from the major landholders. As Table 3 and Table 4 show there is very little royal involvement in the foundation of the new monastic orders and houses of Augustinian canons at this period. The only foundation that can be attributed to the crown is the Augustinian Cathedral Priory at Carlisle. Table 3 shows that Stephen, Count of Boulogne founded houses of the order of Savigny in Lancashire. These foundations were prior to his becoming king and therefore must be seen as part of his actions as a regional magnate. Buildings that can be associated with the crown will be discussed first in this section, that is the Romanesque remains at Carlisle Cathedral; secondly the contemporary churches at Fountains Abbey, Rievaulx Abbey and Kirkham Priory; and finally the great tower

at Scarborough will be examined. The great tower at Carlisle, as it appears to be the earliest great tower in the North of England, will be examined in the next chapter.

The construction of Carlisle Cathedral was underway in 1129-1130. Summerson reports that ten pounds were passed to the canons of Carlisle in the Pipe Roll of 1129-1130 for the construction of their church (Summerson 1993, 37). Carlisle, to an extent, is a church contemporary with the final works of the cathedral at Durham but one that has distinct differences in its architectural form. There is little surviving Romanesque work at Carlisle due to the reconstruction of the eastern arm of the church and the demolition of most of the nave, so essentially only the crossing and two bays of the nave are survivals of this early work. The exterior of Carlisle Cathedral owes much to decorative features first used at Durham Cathedral, that is the use of shafted windows to the exterior and the combined hoodmould stringcourse that is visible over both the clerestory and aisle windows in the south face of the cathedral nave, and other windows sharing this feature in the south transept. Carlisle differs from Durham through the use of the many scalloped capitals in the south nave arcade. The piers of the nave are round with multi-scalloped capitals with round abaci for the south aisle, those to the north are plain. The abaci are of simple form with a simple chamfer at the lower edge below a nook, a feature that parallels Durham, but the use of round abaci and capitals is alien to the decorative scheme at the earlier cathedral. The arches of the arcade are of two orders with slight chamfers. To the nave the capitals carry half shafts that rise to the base of the gallery. The arched openings of the gallery are of two plain orders with evenly sized voussoirs. The base of the gallery is separated from the arcade with a plain stringcourse. The stringcourse is carried over the faces of the half shafts that end at this level. The clerestory is separated from the gallery by another stringcourse. The clerestory window openings are of tripartite form the central, tall opening has a roll moulding over the edge of the arch and is supported on two columns with scalloped capitals and plain abaci with a simple chamfer to its underside. The pattern of the nave elevation is preserved in the south transept that would appear to be earlier than the nave as it lacks the chamfering found on the nave arcade. Carlisle's relative similarity with Durham contrasts strongly with other buildings discussed in this section, and especially with other Augustinian churches.

Another Augustinian church that is contemporary with Carlisle is the church at Kirkham Priory. The architectural remains of the first church at this site are limited, but the surviving early history of this site and its relationship to the early Cistercian foundation at Rievaulx provide compelling evidence for the appearance of this early church. Little in the way of architectural features survive in this church except for one jamb of the doorway from the

church into the cloister. This jamb is shown in Plate 27. The jamb consists of paired attached shafts separated by an arris. This jamb stands on a tall base of undeveloped form. It is difficult to identify a convincing parallel for this base in Rigold (1977) but Coppack, Harrison and Hayfield (1995, 65) date the base towards 1140. The dating for the base stems from a document concerning the foundation of Rievaulx Abbey.

It appears that following the foundation of Kirkham Priory Walter Espec of Helmsley Castle became converted to the ideals of the Cistercian reform (ibid. 58). This led to the issue of a chirograph dated to between 1139 and 1143 that proposes that the canons of Kirkham should leave that site to the Cistercians and move to a new site. This chirograph details the development of the Kirkham site up to the date of its issue. It states that the canons are to remove the coloured glass from the church and all but one of the bells. The buildings for the canons at their new location, the church, chapter house, dormitory and refectory, are to be of squared stone and covered with shingles. The other buildings, the infirmary, cellarer's range, guest-house, bake house, stable, granary and barn were assumed to be constructed from other materials probably timber (ibid. 59). It is clear from the discussion of this document that construction work at the monastery of Kirkham had finished by 1139-1143. The limited survival of this church means that few conclusions can be made concerning its architectural form although it is clear that this church followed a different architectural tradition to Carlisle Cathedral, one that was more associated with the reformed religious at this time. The square east end of Kirkham would appear to predate the conversion of the east end of Lindisfarne Priory to a square presbytery and would be a contemporary with the apsed east end of Carlisle. The chirograph and the excavated plan of Kirkham indicate that it was similar in form and suitable for use as a Cistercian church. For whatever reason the Cistercians did not occupy the site at Kirkham. Two further examples of Cistercian architecture are relative contemporaries of the church at Kirkham, the churches at Fountains and Rievaulx.

Excavations within the south transept of the abbey church at Fountains in 1979-1980 revealed two phases of structural activity that predated the late twelfth century building on this site (Gilyard-Beer and Coppack 1986). The first phase of activity consisted of twenty-one post-pits and stake-holes cut into the original land surface and sealed by deposits (ibid. 151). The excavators interpreted these remains as the former oratory and a further building that could be interpreted as having been constructed in two storeys (ibid.). The interpretation of these remains follows the description of the early activities on site recorded in an early thirteenth century document called the *Narratio de fundatione Fontanis monasterii.* This document

records the presence of carpenters aided by the unskilled labour of the monks in the construction of buildings dated to the summer of 1134 (ibid. 150).

The first stone church constructed on site overlay the remains of the timber buildings. Within the excavated area the south transept, together with elements of the choir and presbytery were identified (ibid. 154). The first stone church at Fountains Abbey (referred to as Fountains I by Fergusson 1984) was built between 1135 and 1146 (ibid. 40-41). This date is supplied from the evidence in the *Narratio* for the establishment of a fabric fund by the monks in 1135 following Dean Hugh of York retiring and joining the convent and passing on his wealth and library (Gilyard-Beer and Coppack 1986, 150. The remains of Fountains I are limited to the foundations of the east end, crossing and the eastern most parts of the apparently unaisled nave. Fountains II, the replacement church was constructed in two campaigns. The eastern arm of Fountains II was built between 1148 and 1152 (Fergusson 1984, 41). The crossing and nave aisles were built between 1152 and 1160 (ibid. 42). Due to the reconstruction of the choir in the thirteenth century the remains of Fountains that are relevant to us here consist of the crossing and nave, the second campaign dated by Fergusson (1984, 42). As at Carlisle the arcade in the transepts at Fountains has arches with chamfered angles. The use of chamfering in this way appears to be a feature that distinguishes these later buildings from those following the traditions of Durham. Unlike at Carlisle the chamfered arcade at Fountains is made up of two orders of pointed arches with chamfering only on the outer order, the inner order retains its rectangular section. A hoodmould is continued around the outer order of the arcade. The abaci survive and are continued into the transept chapels as a stringcourse. The abacus-stringcourse is of plain rectangular section with a quirk to its lower edge. The upper windows in the transept are round headed with evenly sized voussoirs and stand on a plain stringcourse. A further stringcourse at arch springer level in these upper windows frames the heads of the voussoirs repeating this feature first noted at Durham Cathedral. The elevation of the nave at Fountains continues the theme first seen at Carlisle Cathedral with large drum-like piers supporting many scalloped capitals but in this instance of polygonal form with polygonal abaci decorated with a simple chamfer and quirk to their lower sides. The arches of the arcade at Fountains are of three orders, the inner and outer orders are chamfered, the central order is rectangular. As in the transepts the clerestory windows are round-headed and are surmounted by stringcourses. The piers towards the nave aisles have attached angle shafts that support the outer order of the arcade on this face. The nave aisles are individually barrel vaulted in a north-south direction; the vaults supported on round-headed arches that rest on corbels from the piers and outer wall. The springers for these arches have a hollow chamfer to their underside below a quirk. If the exterior transept elevations at

Fountains and Rievaulx are examined they are exceptionally similar to the basic elevation of an Anglo-Norman great tower. The exterior west elevation of the north transept of Rievaulx Abbey is shown in Plate 28. The construction of what are most probably the earliest great towers in the North of England, Carlisle and Scarborough, can most easily be attributed to this phase of architectural development together with the gatehouse and early phases of the stone enclosure at Egremont in Cumberland. The fundamental importance of the development of the great tower at Carlisle will be discussed in the next chapter.

The great tower at Scarborough is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls for 1158-1159 and 1159-1160 (PR 6 Henry II, 14; PR 7 Henry II, 36). This means that this tower is a contemporary of the crossing and nave aisles of Fountains Abbey Church II (ibid. 42). The elevation of Scarborough closely resembles the western elevations of the transepts at both Fountains and Rievaulx. The surviving tower is of three storeys over a basement. The tower would appear to have had a pair of windows in each face for each floor, except for the entrance face. The windows for the first floor appear originally to have received the same architectural treatment as the second floor window, but only one survives in sufficient condition to show this. The second floor windows are of two lights under a single, square outer order. A shaft of round section supports a scalloped capital with rectangular abaci with nook and chamfer to its underside that separates the two lights of the window. The heads of the windows are made up of finely cut voussoirs providing two round arches of square section that meet on the central column. The tympanum below the outer order is undecorated. The windows of the third floor consist of paired round-headed lights of square section with no outer order and no decoration to the shaft.

The gatehouse at Egremont Castle and the associated curtain wall both contain herringbone masonry. From the architecture of the gatehouse vault Egremont can most probably be attributed to this period. The herringbone masonry on the interior of this gatehouse and in the curtain walling is contemporary with the piers supporting the domical rib vault. The coursing of the stonework is shown in Plate 29. The wall and the vault appear to be of one build. The gatehouse at Egremont means that the use of herringbone masonry continued through the first half of the twelfth century in the North of England. The actual dating of Egremont is highly speculative: a complex domical rib vault such as this has no other identified parallels in the North of England. The creation of the barony based around Egremont dates from the 1130s (Turnball and Walsh 1994, 77). The foundation and construction work at the castle of Egremont is most likely to date from after this point, although there is no indication for the actual date of this site. The borough charter for

Egremont dates from 1202 and therefore can offer no closer dating (Ballard 1913, 91). It would seem that the historical evidence for this site provides two brackets within which to date the castle, although I feel it would be difficult to claim the construction of the Egremont gatehouse for much after 1130-1140. This late date for herringbone masonry in the north means that an eleventh century date for Brough Castle claimed by the Royal Commission (RCHME 1936, 50) cannot be supported. Brough, therefore, must be said to date from the capture of Cumbria by William Rufus in 1092 to the 1130s at the absolute earliest and possibly even as late as its reported destruction in 1174. The lack of any upstanding architectural features directly associated with the herringbone masonry at Brough means that no closer dating can be implied for this site. Taylor and Taylor (1964) questioned the use of herringbone work as a dating indicator. They concluded:

"*...we believe that herring-bone masonry was used by the Romans, by the Anglo-Saxons, by the Normans and even by later medieval builders. It follows that herring-bone masonry is not itself a valid criterion of date.*" (ibid. 13).

THE LATER TWELFTH CENTURY

The churches of the period from the 1160s to the turn of the thirteenth century in the North of England are probably among the most studied buildings in the country. This level of academic interest is due to the introduction of gothic architecture and the dating of its beginnings. Stocker (1999) provides the most recent discussion of the flowering of gothic architecture to the North of England. Stocker produces a list of closely related buildings that are characterised by these basic criteria (1999, 241). These criteria are:

i. The use of capitals based upon waterleaf types.

ii. A mixture of attached and detached shafts and piers.

iii. The elaboration of arch heads with mouldings of rolls and chevrons in hollowed form especially the roll and hollow gouged roll motif.

This chronological group of buildings appear to be inspired by Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Evêque's choir for York Minster (ibid. 237; Wilson 1986, 115). I believe that from an examination of the architectural forms from the buildings listed in Table 5 that they can be separated into two architecturally defined groups: those buildings that continue the Romanesque aesthetic and those that appear to break with the past. These architectural groups are linked to social groups. The crown or the See of Durham builds the buildings that continue the Romanesque aesthetic. It is the church buildings of the reformed religious who provide the break with the past. There is one building within the sample area that contradicts

this pattern: the surviving fragments of cloister from Bridlington Priory. The Bridlington cloister fragment dates to between 1147 and 1159 according to Thurlby (1989, 34). The cloister arcade at Bridlington is characterised by the use of deeply undercut chevron work. The similarity between the Bridlington cloister and the new work at York is confined to the chevron work. The few surviving capitals of the Bridlington arcade are of various forms but none are of waterleaf form therefore supporting Thurlby's claim for an earlier date. It would therefore appear that Bridlington does not necessarily fit into this picture, so a distinction can be presented between the architecture of the Benedictine community at Durham, the English Crown, the community at York Minster and the reformed religious.

The Continuation of the Romanesque Tradition

Building work associated with Hugh du Puiset, the Bishop of Durham, is characterised by the use of deep undercut chevron arcading. Surviving arcading of this form can be seen in the North Hall of Durham Castle and the Galilee Chapel at Durham Cathedral. Finds of chevron fragments have been found reused in the choir stalls at Bishop Auckland Castle Chapel (Cunningham 1990, 81) and in excavations at Stockton Castle (Aberg and Smith 1988, 185-189). Similar architectural motifs can be seen in the chapel in the keep at Newcastle. It must be noted that Newcastle was a building project of the English Crown, not the Bishops of Durham. A possible context for the architectural fragments from Bishop Auckland and Stockton is from now demolished chapels at these sites. Such a use for these architectural motifs would follow their employment in the chapel in the keep at Newcastle and in the Galilee at Durham Cathedral. It is clear from the use of chevron work and waterleaf capitals in the North Hall at Durham Castle that the use of this scheme of decoration was not confined to chapels. The wide dating range of the buildings employing this decorative feature indicates that closer dating of these features cannot be provided than for the life of Bishop Hugh du Puiset.

Hugh du Puiset appears to have begun a building campaign in his episcopal residences. This rebuilding has been identified in all sites where excavation or survey work has been undertaken. All of these residences, except for the great tower at Norham, share architectural parallels with the reconstructed choir of York Minster. It can be concluded from the building of the great tower at Norham and the North Hall at Durham Castle that this rebuilding focused on the more private residential accommodation of the bishops. Dixon and Marshall (1993a) argued that the great tower at Norham, in its contemporary reconstructed form, represents private accommodation for the bishops. The North Hall and Norman Gallery at Durham Castle are most easily interpreted as accommodation for the bishops along side the major hall of the castle in the west range. It would therefore appear that construction work of this period

is not focused upon halls but upon private residential accommodation where there are surviving buildings. At Bishop Auckland and Stockton Castle where this rebuilding is evidenced only in architectural fragments the picture is less clear. At Bishop Auckland a possible, original context for the chevron fragments has been suggested. The fragment was found in the rubble infill of the pews constructed by Bishop Cosin in the seventeenth century (Cunningham 1990, 87 and 81). It is known that the chapel at this site was demolished in the seventeenth century so there is always the possibility that the chevron fragments were from this source. The reuse of material sourced from the original chapel may be an attempt to link the earlier chapel with the conversion of the twelfth century hall into a chapel. It is obvious that no interpretation can be made of the remains found at Stockton although the excavators assume the stonework is from the castle hall (Aberg and Smith 1988, 176). This interpretation is due to references to a hall at Stockton reported in the Boldon Book (Austin 1982, 55).

This group of buildings together with the great towers at Bowes, Richmond and Middleham represent a major expansion in the private accommodation offered in the castles associated with the Bishops of Durham and Earls of Richmond. Bowes being the only surviving building within its enclosure does mean that it is difficult to interpret how this tower fits into this group. It is possible that the problems with the interpretation of Bowes arise because the Crown obtained the Earldom of Richmond ending the construction of other buildings that are not visible in the archaeological or historical record. This group of relatively well-dated buildings, including Middleham that is only dated through the presence of waterleaf decoration in the great tower, can be associated with two relatively contemporary towers in Westmorland, Brough and Brougham.

The great tower at Brougham is clearly of a late twelfth century tradition. The original stonework has been dressed with striated tooling and the use of moulded capitals for the windows and keeled rolls in the doorway are indicative of a late twelfth century date. The attribution of the tower at Brough to the reconstruction of the site following the attack of 1174 would appear to be more difficult to accept than the dating of Brougham. Brough contains none of the features that would be expected in a building of this date especially as the builders of this site also owned land in Brougham and are therefore most likely to have built the two towers at almost the same time. Brough contains no evidence of transitional architectural features. The one original twelfth century window surviving in the south wall of the great tower is of two light form with square heads under a round headed outer order. This is essentially the same form of window that is found in the great tower at Appleby that is considered to date to before 1174 from what is interpreted as its survival through the war of 1173-1174 (RCHME

1936, 8). Whether this similarity in window form represents a possibly earlier date for Brough, a late date for Appleby, or simply that the holder of the barony of Westmorland built two towers with similar windows is open to question. Whatever this window form means, and however the dating of these two towers can be interpreted, the construction work on castles that can be attributed to this period clearly demonstrates a focus on the provision of private accommodation in the form of great towers. The architectural detailing of these towers uses basic features of the Romanesque with round-headed windows, pilaster buttresses and simple forms of vault.

The chapel in the keep of Conisborough Castle is rib vaulted and is decorated with undercut chevron work. The capitals of this chapel are of a sculptured form. The great tower at Conisborough was constructed by Hamlin Plantagenet, the illegitimate half brother of Henry II, who held the estates between 1163-1202 (Johnson 1984, 20).

The architecture of the great tower and hall complex at Helmsley Castle shows the use of architectural features associated with the continuation of the secular traditions of plain, undecorated architecture. At Helmsley there are two clear phases of twelfth century stone construction visible in the hall range. Plate 30 shows this early stonework at Helmsley sealed below the later levels of the late twelfth century tower at this site. This single, surviving door head can be paralleled to the church at Bowes that is assumed to be constructed at the same time as the castle (Pevsner 1966, 84). Plate 31 shows the head of the north door of Bowes church. It can be seen that both door heads are similar in style, both employing a moulding that frames their chamfered voussoirs and connects with the abaci. Further parallels for this feature can also be seen at Richmond in the windows on the first floor of the great tower. Stratigraphically later buildings works at Helmsley overly this door head and have a different character in employing architectural features that appear to be new to secular buildings.

These later works at Helmsley consist of the reconstruction of the hall range and the building of the keep. These works continue the plain aesthetic that characterise secular architecture during the twelfth century but introduce the two-centred arch in windows and door heads. The great tower at Middleham Castle is most probably a contemporary of these later works at Helmsley in also using two-centred arches as window and door heads. The continuation of the secular aesthetic at Helmsley is exceptionally important due to the great support given to the reformed religious by the Especs of Helmsley. It is at Helmsley and Middleham with the introduction of the two-centred arch that the first real innovations within the Romanesque aesthetic can be seen.

The continuation of the Romanesque tradition is visible in both secular and religious buildings. The castle buildings that can be placed in this period due to surviving historical evidence are not necessarily of traditional great tower form. Neither Bowes nor Norham are built as a rectangular block, the assumed traditional form of the great tower. Neither, however actually contains architectural features that clearly relate to their historical dating. The vaulting in the basements is the only distinctive architectural form for both Bowes and Norham. The architecture of these two great towers possesses an almost timeless, undatable quality. It has been argued previously that the elevations of the transepts in early Cistercian churches such as Rievaulx and Fountains resemble the multi-storey elevations found in secular great towers. It can also be seen that the aesthetic that controlled the early stone architecture of the reformed religious is exceptionally similar to the secular aesthetic of essentially plain undecorated architecture. This plain aesthetic can be seen in all of the stone castle buildings included in this sample except for those associated with the Bishop of Durham or the chapel in the great tower at Newcastle.

The decorative schemes employed in the chapel at Newcastle and by the Bishop of Durham in his residential buildings are similar in character to that established at Durham Cathedral. These schemes are dependent upon the use of multiple shafting, chevron work and possibly ribbed vaulting. The presence of the Galilee Chapel at Durham Cathedral links the developing style of late twelfth century Romanesque architecture with one of the most important examples of earlier Romanesque in the North of England.

The architectural forms that have been considered to offer continuity from Romanesque forms, that is the use of chevron ornament and rounded arch and window forms, together with late twelfth century capital forms differ from contemporary buildings that can be characterised as following a more transitional gothic route. Essentially the difference between these buildings in terms of the architectural features employed on them is small, but the quality of their assembly provides a clear distinction.

Early Gothic Architecture

The group of buildings included in this section represent a major break from the architecture associated with the Bishops of Durham, the Crown at Newcastle and the Archbishops of York in the rebuilt Choir of York Minster. The buildings that make the break from the Romanesque traditions are associated with the reformed religious. It has been argued above that the first phases of stone buildings constructed by the reformed religious orders were of simple, plain forms and were therefore similar to much secular architecture and many parish churches. The second phase of buildings constructed by these orders that is to be discussed in

this section makes a departure from their earlier architectural associations. It appears that the second phase of buildings constructed by the reformed religious depart from the previous similarity to secular and parish church architecture and take their inspiration from the regions in Europe where the reformed orders were founded. The use of architectural forms inspired from the homelands of the orders ensures an architectural style distinct from other buildings in the North of England.

The development of early gothic architecture effectively begins with the church constructed at Roche, West Riding of Yorkshire, between 1160 and 1186 (Fergusson 1971, 31). Roche had a likely contemporary at Furness Abbey in Cumbria where the church is dated to between 1160 and 1175 (ibid. 1984, 62). The Cistercian church at Roche and the church constructed on what was the Savigny site of Furness mark the beginning of this transition. The importance of this group of buildings in an analysis of castle architecture is lessened considerably by the fact that no castle buildings can be associated with the new church buildings of the reformed religious. The regional origin of this style, as argued by Hearn for Ripon, and Fergusson (1975) for Byland (North Riding of Yorkshire), is the Ile de France and its eastern region (Hearn 1983, 123). This style of architecture therefore marks a return to the regions where the new, reformed religious movements were founded. Sourcing architecture from this region, rather than using the plain, inoffensive styles that have been argued to resemble secular architecture represents a transition in strategies for these religious movements, but a strategy that would only have resonated and held meaning for certain groups within society.

Members of these religious movements who had travelled to the homelands of their orders would have been able to connect the similarities of architecture between their sources in France and the resultant buildings in the North of England. Members of these groups would have also been able to make comparisons between the early, plain architectural aesthetic and the newly constructed buildings. Secular elites in the North of England would possibly read the new forms of building in a different way. These structures represent a clear departure from the early church forms that can be argued to be similar to secular buildings. This departure marks a specific social strategy in emphasising the relationships of the religious grouping and separating themselves through the change in architecture from the local magnates who founded their sites and made the success of the new foundations possible.

The choir at Ripon Minster provides the obvious problem with this interpretation. Ripon Minster was a college of secular canons closely linked to York Minster as a possession of the archbishop of York. The archbishop of York, Roger of Pont l'Evêque, is interpreted by

Hearn as the patron of the reconstruction of Ripon Minster through his donation of £1000 in old coin (1983, 87). Hearn's discussion of the reasons for the archbishop's donation also contains his evidence for the dating of the church at Ripon. It appears that Roger of Pont l'Evêque was a competitor of Thomas à Becket for favour and advancement within the church under Henry II (ibid. 88). Following the death of Becket and his canonisation Hearn believes Becket becomes a perpetual rival to Roger and the advancement of York Minster (1983, 92-93). The fire at Canterbury in 1174 destroyed the east arm of the cathedral and enabled its rebuilding in the gothic style as a splendid shrine for St Thomas (ibid. 93). Hearn interprets the new east arm at Canterbury as the first gothic east arm of a church in England (1983, 93). Hearn interprets the east arm of York Minster that Roger of Pont l'Evêque built prior to the reconstruction of Canterbury as a Romanesque building similar to Durham from a study of the in situ remains of the undercroft (ibid. 90). Hearn's exact interpretation reads:

"*...the remains of the massive piers in the crypt, scored with incised designs like those on the piers of Durham Cathedral, suggest that the décor of the choir was basically Romanesque and that it was richly decorated in a manner similar to that reported of the Canterbury choir prior to the fire of 1174.*" (ibid. 90).

Hearn's publication on Ripon predates by sixteen years the publication by Stocker (1999) of the architectural fragments from the York Minster choir. Stocker's examination of the architectural material from the church, rather than the undercroft, at York Minster shows that the superstructure of York Minster was entirely different to Durham. Hearn believes that Ripon was rebuilt as a cult centre in competition with newly rebuilt Canterbury. Stocker (1999) demonstrated that choir at York was in a gothic style. Therefore Hearn's idea that the reconstruction of Ripon is the earliest gothic building in the north, inspired by the rebuilding of Canterbury, is to an extent flawed. However the new choir at Ripon is more similar to the church at Byland than to the choir at York Minster. It cannot necessarily be determined whether Ripon predates Byland, or even predates Canterbury. The only dating evidence for the works at the Minster is the text of the donation by the archbishop to pay for the new fabric.

The text of Roger's donation (Hearn 1983, 136) appears to read as a support for the ongoing work of the new building at the church, rather than a grant to begin it. This would indicate that the work is more likely to be based around the wishes of the chapter at Ripon, rather than the archbishop himself. Therefore the chapter must be seen as the patron of the work, not the archbishop. Hearn links the reconstruction of the east arm at Ripon to a campaign to promote the veneration of St Wilfrid at Ripon as a major cult (1983, 93). The departure of the architectural form of Ripon from that at York towards an architecture that can

be associated with the reformed religious at Byland especially and other sites such as Old Malton Priory, North Riding of Yorkshire, may represent an effort by the unreformed, secular clerks at Ripon to express an affinity with the reformed religious. The reconstruction of the east end of Ripon as a shrine for St Wilfrid may be linked to the rebuilding at Canterbury for St Thomas. The historical evidence for such a link is tenuous, but what can be said about it is that it appears to represent an effort to increase the profile of Ripon as a nationally important cult centre. Unlike other cult centres Ripon would appear to be presenting itself through the architectural form chosen for its east end possibly as a reformed institution, but also expressing similarities to York Minster. The earliest rectangular ambulatory in the North of England is at York Minster (ibid. 1970, 203). The rectangular ambulatory at York, from the evidence of the crypt, did not have a range of low chapels reaching east from the east wall of the choir (ibid. 204) but the building ended with an east wall at full height. It is speculation to base an interpretation of the liturgical arrangement of the east end of the church from evidence obtained in the crypt. This picture at York is similar to that at Byland, where a full height east end without projecting eastern chapels survives (ibid. 205). It is most likely that the east end at Ripon followed the pattern started by York and continued by Byland. Perhaps this house of secular canons had suffered financially through the focus of donations and support for the reformed religious in the north. What is clear is that Ripon had problems raising the finance to complete their new works with the translation of St Wilfrid only occurring in 1224 (ibid. 1983, 97) seventy to forty-three years after the possible dates of the donation by Bishop Roger.

Ripon, therefore, may represent a complicated case of an institution employing the architecture of the reformed religious as part of a program to raise its profile and express an affinity through its association with the new ideas. Ripon, with construction beginning between 1154 and 1181 represents a contemporary building project with the Galilee in Durham. The architecture of these two buildings could not be more different and by association the ideas that they express and conform to are clearly distinguished.

The Final Phase of Romanesque/ Transitional Architecture in Northern England

The final two buildings covered in this chapter are the Church of St Cuthbert in Darlington and the great hall at Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland. Both sites are located in County Durham. Both of these buildings are associated by tradition with Bishop Hugh du Puiset of Durham (Cunningham 1980; Cunningham 1990). These two buildings represent a clear departure from the church and castle buildings constructed earlier in his episcopacy. At both Darlington and Auckland Castle chevron decorated arcades were not employed within the decorative schemes. This decorative motif that had characterised buildings associated with

Durham since the construction of the cathedral was abandoned at the end of the twelfth century.

The great hall at Bishop Auckland represents the greatest break with the architectural past of the Bishops of Durham in both its elaboration and in its advanced plan form. Auckland foreshadows the architecture of the thirteenth century with moulded capitals, rounded abaci on multiple grouped shafts and crocket capitals. There are still elements of the double bay system from Durham Cathedral visible at Auckland contained within the alternating capitals employed in the arcades. The greatest break with the past made by Auckland is its use of a cross-passage within the hall. Auckland represents the beginnings of the standardised medieval house plan in the North of England.

DATING EARTHWORK CASTLES

Publications by Barker and Higham (1982) and Higham and Barker (1992; 2000) have shown from the extensive excavations study of Hen Domen in Montgomeryshire the value of open area excavations of earthwork sites. Excavations on any sites within the sample area, except for Austin's work at Barnard Castle, are on a vastly more limited scale. The multiple phases of development at Hen Domen can in no way be interpreted from an examination of the earthworks at this site. The small number of sites that have been excavated using the open area techniques so successfully demonstrated at Hen Domen is minimal. Barker and Higham (1992, 353-359) list excavations that have been undertaken on sites revealing the remains of timber castles. The authors make no claims for the coverage of this list, but taken in conjunction with the data from Renn (1973), Cathcart-King (1983), Kenyon (1976; 1983; 1990a; 1990b) it can be demonstrated that there has been little work undertaken on any castle sites. Any interpretation of these sites can only progress from very limited information.

Within the wider sample area, to include all three Ridings of Yorkshire and Lancashire there are remarkably few excavations listed by 1992. In historic Cumberland and Westmorland no excavations have been undertaken on earthwork sites. At Aldingham in historic Lancashire limited excavations were undertaken. At this site a ringwork was infilled and raised during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to form a wide, shallow motte (Higham and Barker 1992, 61). The original excavator of this site also reported that a further increase in height of the motte was undertaken with the addition of a bedding trench for timbers to act as a revetment (Wilson and Hurst 1969, 258-9). The lack of secure dating evidence for this site, and also the lack of any building remains identified on the motte top make this site difficult to interpret. One must also question if this structure was converted into a shallow motte in the thirteenth century to resemble more the platform of a moated site, rather than a motte.

In County Durham the only excavated site that has revealed timber remains is Barnard Castle. The first, timber, phase at Barnard Castle was focused on the present inner ward. This area was surrounded by a timber palisade and contained a wooden hall with other timber outbuildings (Austin 1988, 14). It is also believed by Austin that the first phase stone gatehouse replaced an earlier timber example (1988, 15). The reconstruction of this castle began between 1125-1140. These works resulted in the construction of a keep and the rebuilding of the enclosure wall in stone. The first phase timber hall appears to be preserved in this phase (ibid. 16-17). The timber hall survives until the final phase of building activity in the twelfth century-, dated to between 1170-1185, when a stone hall is built as a replacement.

In Northumberland two sites have revealed the remains of timber structures: Prudhoe Castle and Nafferton Castle. Excavations at Prudhoe Castle have revealed the enigmatic remains of two phases of occupation that appear to predate the twelfth century stonework at this site. Keen (1982) examined the archaeological evidence for excavations at Prudhoe undertaken in the 1970s as part of a campaign to assess the survival of medieval buildings within the inner ward. The phasing revealed by these excavations consisted of a first phase of two post-built structures within a palisade encircling the northern part of the site (ibid. 175). Dating evidence for this phase comes from archaeomagnetic samples taken from "*...two hearths that were in use before any of the buildings, for which there is evidence, were erected.*" (ibid. 175). These samples provided a date range from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. They were compared by Keen to radiocarbon samples whose source is not stated, but that were dated to between the ninth to twelfth centuries (1982, 175). Keen splits the difference between these two dates and claims that an eleventh century date is the most reasonable interpretation. The second phase of construction work at this site consists of the replacement of the palisade with a rampart constructed from clay and stones, with the two buildings from phase one remaining in use. There is possibly also the evidence of an entrance tower constructed in the east side of the rampart (ibid. 177), but the evidence for the interpretation of this feature is exceptionally limited. Keen dates this phase to 1095, and interprets phase two, with the construction of the ringwork as the first use of this site as a castle (ibid.). Phase three of the development of Prudhoe is represented by the early stone remains that can be seen on site today, for example the curtain wall, gatehouse and later the keep (ibid. 177-181). The dating of first-phase development at Prudhoe does mean that it is possible this could be an early castle that is then developed and improved in scale over time, rather than an Anglo-Saxon centre resembling Goltho. The dating evidence for the early earthwork at Prudhoe is highly ambiguous, but is certainly instructive in emphasising that one cannot make generalised interpretations of earthworks from only an examination of their present form.

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle opened trenches at Nafferton Castle from 1958-1960 (Harbottle and Salway 1960; 1961). The earthworks at this site consist of a rectangular enclosure, embanked on three sides, adjacent to a cliff overlooking a burn. Nafferton only enters the documentary record in 1218 when Philip of Ulecotes is ordered to stop building a castle at Nafferton (Harbottle and Salway 1960, 132). The date of 1218 is also the reason why this site has not been included in the broader analysis. In 1221 it is recorded that the tower at Nafferton could not be defended, but it could be a danger to Newcastle. The King therefore ordered the tower be destroyed, the large timbers taken to Bamburgh, the slighter timbers to Newcastle to be used to build the gaol (ibid. 133). Despite the controversial construction of this site the buildings within the enclosure were built from stone in the first phase (Harbottle et al 1961, 177). Timber construction at this site was limited to a palisade on the north section of the west enclosure (ibid.). From the comments of the excavators, despite the evidence from their trenches they still believed that the first-phase buildings were mainly of timber, and simply had not been seen (ibid. 178) due to the 1221 documentary references.

Excavations at the Old Baile in York, reported by Addyman and Priestly (1977) provides some evidence for the general form of the motte at this site and the buildings that crowned it. The edge of the motte at this site appears to have been supported by a revetment or surrounded by a timber kerb (ibid. 124). This feature, if it is a revetment, would seem to be very similar to the later twelfth or early thirteenth century increase in height of Aldingham motte. The excavations at this site revealed an occupation surface on the motte top dating to the later twelfth to early thirteenth century. The motte was crowned with a palisade set into a trench around the edge of the motte. This surrounded a rectangular building that occupied the centre of the motte and a timber-lined pit flanked this building. Addyman and Priestly describe this pit as being encased in the mound, resembling the tower within the motte at South Mimms (1977, 128). It is unclear from the excavation report, and it is not mentioned by the excavators, whether the construction of this timber-lined pit, interpreted as the base of a tower, is of later or contemporary construction of the motte. What is reported from this excavation is the fact that the early remains could not be reached due to their extreme depth. This could mean that the motte at the Old Baile was increased in height during the twelfth century. This interpretation is not discussed by the excavators but could be the case from reading the report.

The motte at Newton-le-Willows, formerly Lancashire, has some excavations reported in 1988 investigating subsidence of the motte. Young, Gaimster and Barry (1988, 261-2) report that the motte was constructed of loose sand. This sand was secured in position by a series of turf lines revealed in section interpreted as repairs by the excavator. Earlier excavations on this

motte undertaken in 1843, when it was believed that the motte was a burial mound, found timbers that were interpreted by the more recent excavator as the remains of a motte tower constructed within the build-up of the motte.

The castle at West Derby, now in Merseyside, was excavated prior to a threat of redevelopment in the 1920s. This site was levelled in 1817 with the mound thrown down to fill the ditches (Droop and Larkin 1928, 47). The excavations at this site were limited to a trench across the ditch between the motte and bailey and a further trench over the outer bailey ditch. This limited trenching revealed little of the structure of the motte, but uncovered a rectangular frame in the ditch separating the motte from the bailey. This frame was laid flat at the base of the ditch and had mortise joints for four uprights. These mortise joints were interpreted by the excavators for holding upright timbers to support a bridge between the motte and bailey (ibid. 51). The presence of a permanent framework to support the bridge between the motte and bailey does possibly imply that the bridge was a more permanent feature.

The excavations at Sandal Castle in the West Riding of Yorkshire revealed the transition from an earth and timber castle into a stone structure during the thirteenth century (Mayes and Butler 1983). The excavations at Sandal revealed a double aisled hall in the bailey. This building had chambers to either end, with a kitchen to the north, interpreted by the excavators as the upper end of the hall. Access to this building was through opposed doorways at the end away from the upper end of the hall (ibid. 32-4). This interpretation of the hall is not actually supported by the evidence. Mayes and Butler (1983, figure 6) show the actual excavated data from this site. Only three walls of the hall were excavated, the east, long wall remained outside the trenches so the interpretation of the building with opposed doorways is entirely supposition. The plan itself shows no traces of internal walling meaning any interpretation of the plan is exceptionally problematic. The kitchen at Sandal was not the only food production area identified in the excavations, two ovens of different sizes were found in the bailey (ibid. 34).

The final excavation within the sample area and period was undertaken during the 1950s on the site at Huttons Ambo (Thompson 1959). Thompson interpreted two phases of activity at this site lasting through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first phase of the site consisted of a hall constructed within a large trapezoid enclosure. The hall is built from timber set in slots with postholes adjacent to the doorways, in the gable walls. The hall is most likely to have been constructed using timber sills set into the trenches supporting a partially framed superstructure (ibid. 87). The presence of the opposed doors in the short, gable walls of

this building resemble the pattern of access found in many towers with stairs rising to the short walls (see for example Middleham).

This short survey of remains has shown that where excavations have revealed remains on the site dating is only possible through the use of open area excavation techniques. Small narrow trenches prevent the recovery of occupation surfaces and datable material spread over a wider area. Data from which to phase and date sites can only be obtained from open areas. Excavations, such as those undertaken at Sandal and Hen Domen, demonstrate the long survival of timber buildings. From these sites it would seem that a life of over one hundred years from a major timber building should not be considered unusual. This lengthy survival has great implications for the dating of timber structures. Quite simply it means that the first phase of the site is dated only from historical assumptions, rather than dating evidence. The excavation of earthworks, where they have been opened and dismantled, as at Aldingham, shows that what may appear to be relatively simple earthworks may actually be considerably more complex. The limited number of excavations mean that any interpretation of sites rests on a limited corpus of material.

CONCLUSIONS

The illustration of the chronological development of architecture over the one hundred and fifty years covered by this thesis demonstrates that the chronological development of architecture is firmly embedded in its social context. The use of similar features in buildings, or the employment of the same architect, is indicative of social contact between those who commissioned the buildings. This examination has revealed that providing dates for the construction of buildings is highly problematic. To illustrate this point it has been necessary to examine two groups of buildings linked to the Bishops of Durham. The group of buildings constructed by the Bishops prior to 1150 includes the cathedral church and monastic buildings at Durham, the church at Lindisfarne, Gilesgate church in Durham City and the initial phases of Norham Castle. While the Bishops of Durham were building the most innovative church in North-Western Europe in Durham City contemporary buildings constructed by the See contain few, if any, of the innovations used in the cathedral. In certain cases within these buildings architectural features are employed that appear to be specifically selected for their anachronistic appearance. The problem concerning the anachronistic appearance of many castle buildings is further emphasised through the construction of castle buildings that are essentially plain almost entirely lacking possibly datable features. Examples of this problem can be seen at Bowes and Appleby.

The great tower at Bowes Castle is associated with the See of Durham through the payment of monies to Richard the Engineer included in the Pipe Roll entry for 17 Henry II. There is no detail here that can provide an undisputed date for the construction of the tower. The only feature that could be employed is the rib vault in the chamber cell. This vault, unlike that of the hall cell, dates from the construction of the tower and is cleanly coursed into the surviving facing stones. Therefore on architectural evidence alone Bowes is likely to postdate Durham Cathedral and the introduction of the rib vault and predate the apparent end of great tower construction. At the great tower of Appleby Castle the use of specifically datable architectural features at this site is confined to the thirteenth century moulded capitals that seal the tops of the vice stairs and confirm that this tower only reached its present three storey appearance long after its initial construction. The presence of a fossilised embattled pediment in the entrance face of this tower indicates that initially this tower was of only a single storey over a basement. The date of this initial phase of construction at Appleby is entirely open to question.

This study has revealed that the assumption that architectural form can be used to provide dates for a building cannot necessarily be supported. What is most apparent about twelfth century architecture is that chronological distinctions as expressed through architecture were not a great concern of the builders or patrons of these structures, whether churches or secular buildings. What can be discerned from the architectural forms selected for different buildings are data concerned with social ideas and contacts.

This means that changing architectural style is not necessarily a chronological issue. By attributing architecture to different social groups it has been illustrated that distinctions in architectural form are linked to different social groups. Most obviously this is illustrated by the difference between the architecture of the Cistercian and Benedictine monasteries. This distinction was so important to the early buildings of the reformed religious that the statutes of the Cistercians defined suitable forms of architecture that would distinguish their buildings from Benedictine monasteries (Fergusson 1984). The use of simplistic architectural forms shows the order following its early statutes with an explicit demonstration of its ascetic ideals. The buildings built by the Cistercian order not only distinguished them from the Benedictine order but also had the effect of imposing an architectural style that can be associated with secular elite buildings and parish churches. The plain forms and undecorated surfaces that characterise Cistercian architecture parallel surviving elite buildings such as castles in their shared plain aesthetic. It is not until the reformed religious are well established that they

appear to depart from their early statues controlling the aesthetic of their architecture and depart from both local and secular parallels for their work.

Possibly this should not be a surprising conclusion to reach. Architecture, like all archaeological phenomena, is socially determined. What have previously been seen as typologies indicating date must now be viewed as data indicating knowledgeable agents intentionally constructing buildings that reference existing structures and social identities. The extent to which differences in architectural form can be seen as meaningful is certainly open to question. The differences identified between early gothic architecture and architecture that continues the Romanesque tradition are relatively slight but are focused and collected in areas where they are exceptionally visible-the placement of chevron work, for example, is concentrated around the soffits of arcades, vaulting ribs and around doorways. It could certainly be argued that the selection of a few motifs in this way could be seen as similar to the worst excesses of culture history in defining a different culture with elementary differences. It is clear that the use of architectural features in a distinct, knowledgeable way provides a division. Unlike narrow cultural divisions identified in prehistory the division in architectural form identified for the late twelfth century can be supported through historical evidence. It would appear that established groups, the Benedictine communities in the North, the secular canons at York and the Crown, are constructing buildings that, although employing new features, contain elements that clearly reference the Romanesque past. These features are not visible in the architecture of the reformed religious.

The architecture of the reformed religious that has been encountered during this survey of remains dating to the twelfth century has identified two basic phases of development. The initial stone buildings constructed by the new orders, especially the first and second phase churches at Fountains and the nave at Rievaulx demonstrate an aesthetic that is essentially very similar to secular buildings and parish church architecture. A similarity to secular architecture given the emphasis on the separation from secular life emphasised by the Cistercians could be interpreted as surprising. The similarities between secular and Cistercian architecture in its first phase distinguishes this new order from Benedictine church architecture and reflects the more localised, familiar architecture of the parish church and local secular elites. These similarities are related to the attempts to securely establish the new order by associating their architecture with the architecture of the local, secular elites, the backbone of support for the Cistercian order. After 1165 the growth in security of the new orders is reflected in the change in architecture of Cistercian churches with the adoption of the Burgundian gothic style that characterises, for example, Byland. Cistercian architecture from this time onwards reflects the

locations of initial foundations of the order. This change in the form of architecture may relate to the growing corporate identity of the financially secure order.

Of course this tidy picture has contradictions the most notable being Ripon Minster. It has been argued that the noted similarities between Ripon Minster and Byland Abbey are a product of the problems experienced by this unreformed house of secular canons. The canons of Ripon choose to express a distinction with York through the construction of a choir that references the latest architectural styles of the reformed religious in the North of England, rather than their superior church, York Minster. Although with York Minster providing the basic inspiration for this late twelfth century architectural change the distinction between Ripon and York may not have been visible to many except the most informed.

This discussion concerning the dating of architecture in the north has touched on few of the stone castle buildings in the North of England that are to be covered in this thesis. The next chapter of this thesis, and the final chapter directly concerned with architectural dating attempts to place the development of stone castles in the North of England in the context of castle development throughout the Anglo-Norman realm.

CHAPTER THREE: INTERPRETING STONE CASTLE ARCHITECTURE IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

This chapter is concerned with the chronological and social interpretation of castle architecture in the North of England. As the previous two chapters have explained it is exceptionally difficult to date castle buildings from this period with any level of certainty. Chapter One concluded that the creation and use of medieval administrative documentation was essentially a socially conditioned process. Chapter Two concluded that the information required to create an architectural chronology was also embedded in social processes.

The objective behind this chapter is two fold: to critically examine the schemes for castle development that have occupied much writing on the subject and to examine the accommodation offered by the few surviving buildings. This chapter collates a wide range of material and for the first time demonstrates that the patterns of castle building, and especially the development of great towers, are linked to a wide range of social processes. The second part of this chapter is an examination of the accommodation contained within great towers.

A SCHEME OF DEVELOPMENT FOR CASTLE ARCHITECTURE IN BRITAIN WITH REFERENCE TO NORMANDY

This section is concerned with analysing the dating evidence, and therefore the scheme of development for castle architecture in the North of England. To provide a wider context and a greater depth to illustrate the many assumptions and problems that colour the dating of castle sites it is necessary to examine the architecture of sites across England and to reference contemporary architectural developments in Normandy. As the previous two chapters have indicated the dating of castle sites is totally dependent upon documentary data. This means that our ability to date sites is dependent upon the survival of documentation. Essentially this means that it is exceptionally difficult to date any castle sites prior to the beginning of the surviving continuous series of Pipe Rolls from 1155 onwards (this is not to mention the basic problems displayed by the Pipe Rolls discussed in Chapter One).

THE DATING OF NORMAN CASTLES

The fundamental horizon in castle construction is the year 1123. The importance of 1123 comes from the Chronicle of Robert of Torigni where this chronicle references the

construction, by Henry I, of a number of keeps or towers in Normandy (Howlett 1889, 106-7). For the North of England the only surviving stonework that appears to predate 1123 are: Scolland's Hall and other surviving early elements of Richmond Castle, the initial stone phases at Barnard Castle and the early stone remains at Durham. The early stonework at Richmond and Durham parallels the initial phases of construction at Caen in Normandy. The remains at Caen, like those early remains at Durham and Richmond, are not based around a stone great tower or keep but resemble the two northern English sites in containing ranges of buildings within an enclosure.

William the Conqueror constructed the town of Caen and the castle in the same campaign. The excavations at this site have revealed a scheme of development and a phase of castle construction prior to the redevelopment of the site with the surviving great tower and ground floor hall by Henry I (Boüard 1979, 39). The first phase at the castle of Caen is shown in Figure 4. The initial phase at Caen consisted of ranges of buildings of both stone and timber construction within a stone walled enclosure. The gatehouse was a two-celled structure with a tower to the rear and the front projecting into the surrounding ditch. The remains excavated at Caen are similar to many of the ringwork castles that are usually stated to be among the earliest in England. Ludlow, Shropshire, shares a similar gatehouse form, and also the early stone enclosure. The earliest work at Richmond Castle, North Yorkshire, consists of a hall, chamber and chapel built against, in this case, a stone enclosure. The plan of Richmond Castle can be seen in Figure 5. The most surprising similar site to Caen is that of the early manor site at Goltho. Beresford, the excavator of Goltho, dates the period five enclosure to between 1000 and 1080. This enclosure, just as that at Caen, consists of a range of buildings interpreted as halls, kitchens and bowers enclosed within a bank and ditch (Beresford 1987, 71-84). This enclosure, according to Beresford, is the latest in a sequence of three fortified enclosures (1987, 29). These enclosures are characterised by hall ranges found in association with other buildings variously interpreted as kitchens or bowers. The dating of this site has been questioned and criticised by Evison (1988) but at least the earliest fortified phase of this site is likely to predate the Conquest thereby providing a contemporary English parallel to the early castle at Caen. The earliest fortified phase of Goltho is shown in Figure 6. The important feature of Caen is the lack of any great tower until the reconstruction work attributed to Henry I. Caen therefore provides a yardstick against which to compare eleventh century castle building in England.

Castles constructed in England during the eleventh century essentially fall into two groups: those apparently based on great towers, and those that resemble Caen and are focused on enclosures. Traditionally the list of early castle sites that are based on enclosures includes

Durham and Richmond, but also Ludlow. The dating of many of these sites is highly questionable. Durham has a great volume of early documentary evidence and unlike so many sites a convincing archaeological sequence (Leyland 1994). The dating of Ludlow essentially must be based on the early arcading within the gatehouse (Renn 2000, 125). The historical evidence that traditionally ascribes Ludlow to before 1085 is unsatisfactory. To quote: "*Walter (de Lacy) died after a fall from scaffolding whilst supervising the building of a new church in Hereford in 1085, which suggests a close interest in stone building.*" (ibid.). This suggestion of an interest in architecture cannot in any way be considered adequate dating evidence for the construction of the early stonework at Ludlow. One of the most interesting points concerned at Ludlow is that the gatehouse was only blocked and the building converted into a great tower in the second half of the twelfth century (White 2000).

The group of early towers that are generally considered to have been constructed during the reign of William the Conqueror and into the first decade of the twelfth century consists of the White Tower in London, and the great towers at Colchester (Drury 1982), Norwich (Heslop 1994), Bamburgh (Renn 1960, 10), Corfe (RCHME 1970), Canterbury (Renn 1982) and Lancaster (Cox 1897). An examination of the dating evidence for all of these early sites except for the White Tower reveals that it is difficult to accept such early dates for their development into great towers. This examination focuses on examining the dating evidence for these sites and the associated sites that cross dates are taken from. Colchester and the dating of the development of this site by Drury (1982) provides much of the framework for dating many associated towers in southern England and East Anglia; this is because Colchester has the earliest foundation date for any great tower in England.

Construction of Colchester appears to have begun in 1074 to 1076 according to the Colchester Chronicle (ibid. 399) while construction work on the White Tower does not appear to have begun until 1077 (ibid. 400). Colchester and the White Tower are both distinguished from other English sites by the presence of the eastern apse. Excavations within the basement of the great tower revealed the remains of the podium of the Temple of Claudius. Reconstruction work on the Temple during the fourth-century resulted in the addition of a passage way to the southern side of the basilica (Drury 1984, 33). This passage terminated in a projecting square end to the west and a projecting apse to the east. The Norman builders of the great tower at Colchester reused the temple foundation for the tower. The plan of the late Roman temple complex at Colchester in relation to the plan of the castle is shown in Figure 7. The presence of the Roman foundation at Colchester does indicate that the idea for the projecting eastern apse is most likely to have been sourced from this site. The developmental

sequence of the great tower at Colchester in relation to the possible sequence at the White Tower reveals that although these buildings share basic similarities their relationship is more complex than the superficial similarities would reveal.

The initial phase of construction at Colchester consisted of the walling up to the first floor level. This is shown in the present remains as a line of battlements characterised by Drury (1982, 393) as temporary and is shown in Figure 8. It appears that the additions to this low structure at Colchester do not have roots that would indicate an intention to construct other floor levels on this building. Drury states that no detailed examination has been made of the garderobe shafts (1982, 393). The increases in height of the corner towers are said to have been completed prior to 1100 predating the construction of the first floor and upper levels of the tower (ibid. 398). This short chronological period of development is possible because the outer door has a slot for a portcullis (ibid. 339). The introduction of the portcullis is attributed to the reign of Henry I without any reference as to why (ibid. 399). The date of 1100 is supported by similarities between the fireplace on the first floor and those in the great tower at Canterbury the construction of which is dated to between 1085 and 1125 but is claimed to be most likely to date to 1100 (ibid.). This tidy chronological pattern is impossible to support and crumbles under the most basic level of examination. The undermining of the sequence for the chronological development of Colchester means that it is necessary to examine the evidence for the date of other associated buildings that provide the context for the dating of Canterbury and Colchester.

The actual dating of Canterbury, like so many other castles, is complex and it ties into wider groupings of other buildings. Renn (1982), the source referenced by Drury (1982, 399), provides the most recent examination of Canterbury. The dating of Canterbury is based on several distinct points. These are:

i. The domed fireplace that has parallels at Norwich and Castle Rising (and, of course, Colchester as claimed by Drury (1982, 399)) (ibid. 73).

ii. The use of Quarr stone in the plinth courses of the great tower (ibid. 72).

iii. The moulded plinth a feature that has parallels at Bamburgh (ibid.).

iv. General similarities between Canterbury and Domfront in Orne a tower attributed to Henry I (ibid. 73).

v. The use of two cross-walls parallel to the short axis of the building, rather than a single cross wall parallel to the long axis (ibid.).

These five points are used by Renn to date Canterbury to 1100 and are accepted by Drury (1982) to support the dating of Colchester. Drury's main source for the dating of Colchester is the shared fireplace design with Canterbury (1982, 399). Renn (1982, 73) states that the fireplace at Canterbury has two further East Anglian parallels. Castle Rising is the latest example of a building with a domed fireplace with tapering flues and is datable to 1138 (Brown 1978, 5). Therefore if the, exceptionally tenuous, early date for Norwich great tower supplied by Heslop (1994, 4) of the 1090s is accepted then it is apparent that this type of fireplace actually has an exceptionally long life of forty years and cannot be used to date Canterbury or Colchester at all closely. It is most likely that the traditional, later date for Norwich is the most convincing as it is based on the architecture of the forebuilding. Bigod's tower, the forebuilding of the great tower at Norwich, has a rib vault. This tower is judged to be contemporary with the main body of the tower due to the repetition of the decorative features (ibid. 33). The use of a rib vault at Norwich in the 1090s would make the construction of this feature contemporary with the first dated use of rib vaults at Durham, an unlikely case. There is apparently no rib vaulting in the initial phase of construction at Norwich Cathedral (1096-1119) where the aisles, ambulatory and radiant chapels are all groin vaulted and where required semi-domes are employed over apsidal sanctuaries (Heywood 1996, 78). If the traditional date for Norwich great tower of the 1120s, based on its similarities to the great tower at Falaise, is accepted (Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 754) then this means that both Canterbury and Colchester are more likely to date from the 1120s onwards rather than the turn of the twelfth century. The early date provided by Renn for Canterbury raises further questions when this complex tower is placed along side the extended scheme of development for Colchester that now must be considered to run until 1140 at least. It is therefore necessary to continue the examination of the dating of Canterbury to determine why it has been attributed to such an early date.

The use of Quarr stone in the lower levels of the plinth at Canterbury for mouldings and as fragments in the upper levels of the infill (Tatton-Brown 1980, 214) has also been taken to indicate an early date for this site (Renn 1982, 72). The dressings of architectural features in the upper levels of the great tower such as windows, reveals, strings courses on the buttresses and much of the plain coursing of the plinth is in Caen stone (ibid. 75). An interpretation of the use of different stone types in this building indicates that the supply of Quarr stone, sufficient for use as decorative features, ran out after the completion of the plinth, Caen stone then being employed for architectural stonework and remaining Quarr rubble employed as infill. Tatton-Brown (1980, 213-214) dates the ending of the supply to the period of construction of Canterbury great tower, but Quarr was used at both St Augustine's Abbey and

Canterbury Cathedral. Possibly the construction of the great tower at Canterbury was simply using up existing supplies of Quarr in the city from previous building projects. Tatton-Brown interprets the period of use of Quarr stone to 1070-1120 providing a wide range for the construction of the great tower (1980, 214). The context of the acquisition of Quarr stone for the great tower at Canterbury is not known and the date boundary provided by Tatton-Brown is unusual as the first building noted by him not to employ Quarr is the late Norman work at the Cathedral dated to 1151-1167 so really a wider boundary could be considered (1980, 214). This date clearly indicates that we simply do not know the actual chronological boundaries for the use of this stone. Therefore Quarr stone cannot really be considered to provide dating evidence at this site.

The dating of Bamburgh to 1095 is dependent upon a reference in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle stating that the castle site was too strong to be attacked (Garmonsway 1972, 231). This entry does not mention the great tower. To infer the presence of a tower from this limited reference is highly uncertain. At Bamburgh the apse is contained within the thickness of the wall therefore the extent to which there is a direct similarity between Bamburgh, the White Tower and Colchester is questionable. Only two great towers in England employ complex mouldings for their plinths: these towers are Bamburgh and Canterbury. With more examples indicating a tradition for moulded plinths then possibly claims could be made concerning the dating of this feature but with only two examples both of which have questions concerning their dating this feature cannot really be employed as dating evidence. Plate 17 shows the moulded plinth at Bamburgh Castle and Plate 32 shows the moulded plinth at Canterbury. A cursory examination of these two plates indicates that the plinth mouldings are in no way identical.

Canterbury is said by Renn (1982, 73) to be similar to Domfront. Domfront is one of the towers specifically mentioned by Robert of Torigni that was constructed in 1123 (Howlett 1889, 106-107). Renn lists the similarities between Domfront and Canterbury to the use of nooked buttresses (Renn 1960, 11). Nooked buttresses are also employed at Falaise, another site that can be attributed to after 1123 from references in the Chronicle of Robert of Torignis (Howlett 1889, 106-107). However nooked buttresses also appear to be a common feature among many other towers in both England and Normandy, for example Guildford in Surrey (Plate 33) and Brionne in Normandy (Plate 34) and therefore are possibly not useful as dating evidence or to provide a link between two buildings.

The final point given by Renn for the dating of the tower at Canterbury is its use of two cross-walls running with the short axis of the building rather than a single wall that runs

with the long axis (Renn 1982, 73). As with the parallel to Bamburgh, Corfe is the only identified example of a castle that has cross-walls of this type, and its dating is not secure. Corfe does not make an entirely convincing parallel for Canterbury. The reference given by Renn for the date of Corfe is to the Royal Commission volume for southeast Dorset (RCHME 1970). The Royal Commission attribute the great tower at Corfe to before 1105 because:

"*...Duke Robert was long confined at Corfe from 1106/7. It is unlikely that he would have been kept in a castle on a coast opposite Normandy if there were not a secure lodging therein, withal it was a stately and comfortable one. This then might imply that the stone Keep was standing in 1106.*" (ibid. 59).

This statement provides no evidence that the great tower was standing at this time at all. This is an assumption based on ideas concerning security, status and attitudes to comfort and is not dating evidence especially when the implications of this extension to the chronology of the towers at Canterbury, Corfe and Colchester are examined. This problem appears to be even greater for Lancaster where the dating of this important tower to 1102 appears to entirely be based on tradition (Renn 1960, 9). The only reference identified to the construction of Lancaster by 1102 is Cox (1897, 103) where it is stated that Roger de Poitou completed the castle prior to 1102 when he was banished. Cox provides no supporting evidence for this statement, it appears to entirely rest on tradition. I have identified no historical documentation that actually references such an early date even for the existence of Lancaster Castle.

What is clear from this examination is that there is no way that a great tower based around one or more cross walls in either England or Normandy can be convincingly dated to before the turn of the twelfth century. The earliest historical reference that can be employed to date great towers is the reference of Robert of Torigni listing the sites constructed by Henry I in Normandy during 1123 (Howlett 1889, 106-107) and other sites that receive towers or other works during his reign (ibid. 126). There is only one site in England that directly contradicts this picture and that is the Tower of London.

The Tower of London would seem to be the only great tower site in England that can be securely dated to the eleventh century. Impey and Parnell (2000, 17) reference new dendrochronological dates that confirm the tower was under construction by 1081. This date confirms the historical evidence for its construction beginning in 1077 and its use as a prison for Ranulf Flambard in 1100 that is traditionally taken to imply the completion of the tower (ibid.). This dating evidence does not include a discussion of the developing form of the tower that would be implied by such a long period of construction. In the Anglo-Norman realm the only other great tower where there is historical evidence for the existence of a great tower is at

Rouen, the historic capital of Normandy. It is most likely that it is the great tower at Rouen that is shown on the Bayeaux Tapestry. The representation of Rouen great tower from the Bayeaux Tapestry can be seen in Plate 35. It does appear very obvious that the importance of these two cities for the Anglo-Norman realm is expressed through the shared architectural forms of great towers. What appears to be unusual is that there is a gap of about twenty years before the construction of great towers within England and Normandy continues.

The implications of this examination of the dating evidence of the great towers that are considered to be among the earliest in England are great. The study of these few buildings has revealed the great efforts of many of the archaeologists and historians to date these towers to their earliest possible date rather than illustrate the full boundaries of possible dates. This means that the traditional interpretation of castle buildings is fatally flawed. Ideas concerning the development of great towers linked to the personal security of Norman lords in the period after the Conquest cannot be demonstrated to work, only the Tower of London can be shown to be demonstrably early. There are huge problems with any general interpretation of the development of great towers: the data simply cannot be supported. From sites that have been subject to archaeological examination it is possible to illustrate a pattern of development that provides a context that can link into other dated sites.

A New Scheme Showing the Development of Castle Architecture

The demolition of this traditional picture of great tower construction throughout England means a new scheme of development must be created using modern archaeological studies of the standing remains of stone buildings. This new scheme of development is dependent upon the archaeological study of three sites. The level of analysis that has been undertaken with these three studies is variable and two do contain certain issues that concern the chronology of the sites. As with many earlier studies the study of Portchester (Cunliffe and Munby 1985) and the excavations at Castle Acre (Coad 1976; Coad and Streeton 1982) are characterised by considerable efforts to claim the earliest possible dates for their buildings of great tower forms. The sites to be discussed in this section are:

i. Portchester Castle in Hampshire (Cunliffe and Munby 1985).

ii. Castle Acre in Norfolk (Coad 1976; Coad and Streeton 1982).

iii. Norham Castle in Northumberland (Dixon and Marshall 1993a).

The archaeological excavations at the Roman fort of Portchester were accompanied by an archaeological examination of the standing remains of the Norman castle at this site (Munby and Renn 1985). This examination revealed a sequence of development for the great tower

that parallels the sequence of development for Colchester: that is of a single storey building that is later converted into a tower. The argument for the initial form of the great tower at Portchester (phase 1A) being a ground floor hall can be summarised as follows (ibid. 75):

i. The stair is not placed at the angles of the building as would be usual but just out of the angles of the wall in the lengths of walling adjacent to the corner.

ii. The well has its axis at the inner angle of the walls and a blocked embrasure is visible that does not reach the outer wall face.

iii. Pairs of double splayed windows are found in the north, west and south walls of the great tower on the ground floor. The internal external splay of these windows is greater than that of the exterior. The windows used on the first floor of the great tower are of two light form with a splay only to the interior.

These features noted above have been taken to indicate that the initial phase of this building was a single storeyed two celled building divided by a cross wall. The second phase of this tower is marked by the addition of a first floor to the single storey building that is contemporary with the subsequent thickening of the walls. This thickening resulted in the blocking of the embrasure lighting the well and the external splay to the ground floor windows. The exterior walling of the tower over the ground and first floors is clean with no indication of any break to contradict the theory of the wall being thickened (ibid. 76). It is the dating of this conversion of the building from a single storeyed two-celled building that is fundamental for the wider picture of castle studies. There is little archaeological or historical evidence that can be employed to find absolute dates for the construction of this castle. The curtain wall that is constructed in period 1C, following the conversion into the tower in period 1B, post dates the filling of a pit containing Portchester ware that is dated to the eleventh century (ibid. 120-121). The historical evidence is equally sparse: the earliest references to the buildings at this site occur in the Pipe Rolls from 1173-1174 (ibid. 121).

Munby and Renn are forced to employ cross dating to other castle sites in southern England to provide a building context for Portchester. Munby and Renn date the heightening of the great tower to the 1120s on the strength that it is likely to predate the highly developed great tower at Rochester constructed by 1127-1129 (1985, 121). The implications of this interpretation are illustrative of our ideas concerning the advances of architecture. Rochester is a highly developed, complex building in terms of its plan, and the level of accommodation contained within this one tower. Rochester is probably the most developed, intricate great tower built until the construction of Dover and Newcastle and must be one of the earliest. The introduction of Rochester into the arguments for the dating of Portchester is an example of a

value judgement being made to imply an early date for this building. Phase 1B of Portchester is judged to have similarities with Corfe, but no detail of these similarities is given (ibid. 122). The evidence for the early dating of Corfe has been discussed, and dismissed. The most similar parallel to Portchester and the only other site that shows a similar scheme of development is the results from the excavation of Castle Acre (Coad 1976; Coad and Streeton 1982).

The excavation of the upper ward at Castle Acre revealed a pattern of development that is very similar to the early phases of construction of the great tower at Portchester. A phased plan of the upper ward of this site is shown in Figure 9. The initial phase of the great tower at Castle Acre has been characterised as a "*country house*" (ibid. 147). This characterisation is based upon the ground floor entrance to the building, windows that are thirty centimetres wide and walls of only two metres thickness (ibid. 150). The plan of the "*country house*" was essentially very similar to Portchester in following the basic great tower arrangement of two cells joined together on their long side either side of an east to west cross-wall. The northern cell of this building was more narrow that its southern partner. Castle Acre, unlike Portchester, in its initial phase was of two floors. The development of Castle Acre into a great tower was accompanied with an increase in the height of the enclosure but prior to this development a gatehouse was inserted into the initial phase of the enclosing bank (ibid. 161). The architectural detailing of the arch for this gatehouse survives on its inner face. The imposts are of plain simple chamfered form and the arch is constructed using two layers of voussoirs the same as employed at Prudhoe, Gisors and Arques castles. The excavators date this gatehouse to the eleventh century on the strength of the simple chamfering to the plinth (ibid. 164). The section across the site clearly indicates that the "*country house*" is contemporary with the construction of the gatehouse (ibid.) but the architectural evidence from the gate is inadequate to support such an early date. The form of the gate and arch could as easily date into the first half of the twelfth century and the simple chamfer of the plinth is entirely inadequate to ensure a date in the eleventh century. The elevations of the gatehouse are shown in Figure 10. The real reason for forcing such an early date onto the initial remains at this site is the historical reference to the death of the Earl of Surrey's wife in childbirth at Castle Acre in 1085 (Coad 1976, 84). To quote:

"*It is surely improbable that at such a time in her life the wife of one of the most powerful nobles in the country would have come to Castle Acre had there not been suitably grand accommodation ready to receive her.*" (ibid.).

This statement is not dating evidence for a building but simply places Gundrada, the countess of Surrey, at Castle Acre at the time of her death. It is also clear that the "*country*

house" is not the first building on the site at Castle Acre. Below stone remains of the "*country house*" is what Liddiard states is "*...best interpreted as a Late Anglo-Saxon manor house.*" (2000, 29). This structure is only dated to the Anglo-Saxon period if the stone buildings and bank at this site are as early as claimed by the excavator. The excavator does not explain why Gundrada could not have given birth in an early Norman timber hall or even an Anglo-Saxon manor house. It is now necessary to examine the evidence for the dating of the stone architecture at Castle Acre.

The early dating for the construction of the "*country house*" is supported by the find of a penny of Edward the Confessor under the soil of the first bank (Coad and Streeton 1982, 191). This terminus post quem is interpreted to provide a date for the beginning of construction at the site during the first decades of the reign of William I (ibid.). There is a heavy weight of supposition resting on this single coin and the report of a death that may not necessarily be connected to the building in any way. The architecture, history and archaeology at this site cannot necessarily support a date for this building phase placing it firmly in the eleventh century. The construction of this building must date to between the donation of the estate after the Conquest and at least to the 1120s or 1130s. These two dates can only really be introduced by estimating back from the conversion of the buildings in the upper ward. These problems concerning the dating of the initial construction work on the site obviously provide further problems with the interpretation of the later conversion of this building.

The second phase of development at Castle Acre converted the "*country house*" into a great tower. This conversion appears to have gutted the previous building resulting in changes to the ground and first floor levels and the removal of dressed stonework from the south door prior to its blocking (ibid. 164). As at Portchester the building was strengthened through the thickening of the walls but unlike Portchester the building at Castle Acre was not raised in height. Due to the lack of any door from this phase in the surviving levels of what is now a two celled tower it is most probable that access was to the first floor (ibid. 167). It appears that the plan to convert the two celled "*country house*" into a two celled great tower was not completed. The thickening of the south half of the building appears to have been abandoned and no effort was made to fill the window in the west wall (ibid. 167). The thickening of what was the cross-wall of the "*country house*" is later than the lining of the other walls in the northern half of the original building (ibid. 171). The final phase of the great tower at Castle Acre is that of a single celled tower on two floors joined together with a vice stair. The dating evidence for the final two is far more clear-cut than that for the foundation of the "*country house*".

The conversion of the "*country house*" must post-date a group of coins dated to the 1140s found in the make-up of the southern half of the great tower (ibid. 192). This date is supported in the numismatic report (Archibald 1982, 268-272). High status occupation of Castle Acre is judged to have ended by 1147 with the end of the direct male line and historical evidence for investment at other castle sites (Coad and Streeton 1982, 193).

The archaeological discussion of the development sequence at Castle Acre, like that at Portchester shows considerable efforts to try and associate the buildings with their earliest possible dates, whether archaeological, architectural or historical. This problem has also been demonstrated for the development of the towers at Colchester, Canterbury, Corfe, Lancaster and Norwich. From this short examination of Portchester and Castle Acre it is apparent that the development of these sites is lengthier than their excavators considered. The enlargement of the great tower at Norham shows that the processes of great tower construction continued into the second half of the twelfth century.

The Bishop of Durham's castle at Norham in Northumberland has been the subject of a survey of its standing fabric (Dixon and Marshall 1993a). The sequence of development and the later twelfth century form of the great tower at Norham, paints an entirely different picture of castle development than considered in many traditional schemes. The initial phase of construction at Norham is dated to 1121 and attributed to Hugh du Puiset the bishop of Durham at this time (ibid. 413). The initial form of the building was a first floor hall over a vaulted basement (ibid. 429). The first-phase remains make up the northern half of the building as shown in the phased plan included here as Figure 11. This first floor hall appears to have gone out of use in 1138 following what is described as its destruction in the Scottish campaign preceding the Battle of the Standard (ibid. 413). Dixon and Marshall date the reconstruction of this and extension of the hall remains to between the recovery of Northumberland in 1157 and the Bishop passing the castle into royal hands in 1174 (1993a, 413). The reconstruction of this building led to its conversion from a first floor hall into a great tower based around a cross-wall with the addition of the southern cell. The addition of the southern cell to the first floor hall provided either a single long chamber, or two chambers accessed from the hall with a further high chamber at second floor level in the eastern half of the southern addition (ibid. 429). The reconstruction of the tower in the later middle ages led to its conversion into a more accepted rectangular form (ibid. 430). The domestic plan of the second phase at Norham is interpreted by Dixon and Marshall (1993a, 430) as an increasingly private suite of rooms leading off from the early twelfth century first floor hall to the most private chamber, on the second floor of the eastern half, in the most ostentatious position.

The early phases at Norham probably are best compared with the early remains at Durham Castle that also included an early hall, like that at Norham another piece of construction work from Bishop Flambard (1099-1128) (Leyland 1994, Phase Plan V). The construction of this hall provided Durham with two halls as well as the east range buildings that appear to date from the time of Bishop Walcher (1071-1080) (ibid. Phase Plan III). It appears that Durham, from the initial construction of the castle, had a hall in the location of the present great hall and a range of other buildings to the east. It is difficult to interpret the function of these buildings but what Leyland refers to as the eastern range in the Bishopric of Bishop St Calais (1080-1096) is connected to the chapel with a range of lodgings and range of garderobes (ibid. Phase Plan IV). It appears that the most likely interpretation of the east range at Durham Castle is a chamber. The form of Norham Castle in the late twelfth century can be compared to other two-celled great towers such as the great towers at Norwich, Castle Rising and Middleham. It is only the raised chamber at Norham that really creates a significant difference between the aforementioned sites. The best parallels that can be provided for Norham, Middleham and the East Anglian examples can be found in Normandy and can be associated with Henry I.

This section started by emphasising the importance of the statement by Robert of Torignis concerning the construction of new towers at a number of sites from 1123 onwards (Howlett 1889, 106-107). The form of the towers built in Normandy that can be associated with these works of Henry I most resemble single storeyed, two celled structures constructed over a basement such as Castle Rising, Norwich and Middleham. Good examples of this castle form in Normandy can be found at Arques (Plate 36), Caen (Plate 37), Falaise (Plate 38) and Fécamp (Plate 39). All of these towers, except that at Caen that only survives as foundations, clearly follow the same pattern as the East Anglian examples and are most likely to be relatively contemporary. Middleham is a later example as waterleaf decoration is employed in the great tower. It appears that the great towers that can be attributed to the 1120, except, of course for Rochester, are of single stories over a basement divided into two cells. This is not to say that only great towers of the two floor, two cell types were constructed at this time. At Gisors, one of the sites referenced by Robert of Torigni (ibid.), the work that can be attributed to Henry I appears to be the earliest stages of the polygonal tower and shell wall. The polygonal tower is shown in Plate 40 and the shell wall in Plate 23 and Plate 24. The shell wall appears to contain the remains of a chapel the east end of the chapel is shown in Plate 41. There are also traces of a further structure within the shell wall possibly a private hall. Essentially the shell keep at Gisors contains all of the accommodation that is offered by a great tower such as at Castle Rising or Falaise. A further parallel to Gisors can be provided by the post twelfth century

remains on the motte top at Pickering. Both the mottes at Pickering and Gisors are certainly of the larger size with a wide plateau to their tops. Other mottes are not of a size where it is possible to include the scale of accommodation that can be seen at Gisors. To return to the scheme of development for rectangular tower forms the great tower at Carlisle provides an interesting perspective when considered in relation to Portchester, Castle Acre and Norham.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT TOWER AT CARLISLE

The castle at Carlisle, as Chapter One established, is the best-documented castle site within the sample area. Due to this level of documentation the great tower at Carlisle can be dated to before 1150 making this site almost unique in the north and because of this highly important. As well as the quantity of documentation relating to the castle site fossilized in the fabric of the great tower itself is the evidence for the complex development of this building.

The dating of the great tower at Carlisle can most easily be attributed to the 1130s. The construction of this tower is most likely to be the work of David, King of the Scots (Arnold 1879, 258). An alternative suggestion is McCarthy, Summerson and Annis (1990, 119-120) suggest that the tower is likely to date from the 1120s and was constructed by Henry I following references in the chronicle of Symeon of Durham. It is impossible to choose between these dates with any level of certainty.

The fabric of the tower shows that this site underwent considerable changes that can be attributed to at least two twelfth century building programmes. These building programmes can be attributed to the twelfth-century through the use of striated tooling on the surface of the stones. These changes can be seen in both the development of the plan and throughout the height of the building probably indicating many phases of construction, of which, two major events are visible. The first major construction event relates to the construction of the ground floor of the tower and the rise of the two stairs to first floor level. Plans of the different floors of the tower are included in Figure 12.

The ground and first floor were linked by two staircases (numbered five and seven on the plan, following the numbering, and plans of McCarthy, Summerson and Annis (1990, 76-7)). Stair number seven rises up through the eastern face of the tower to the first floor level, with the full height of the stair contained within the passage up the north face. Stair number five stands to the end of a modern passage in the north-western corner of the tower. This stair is accessed by a short L-shaped passage from which the stair rises in a clockwise direction. The access from stair five to the first floor is via a straight stair in the west wall numbered thirteen on the plan. This stair then accesses the western half of the first floor (room 9) through a

passage that also provides a window opening. This stair, number thirteen, continues to rise in the western wall until it is stopped at point fourteen. It appears that stair fourteen was stopped due to the presence of the window in the centre of the western wall. If stair fourteen had continued to rise it would have cut into this window. It is clear that construction of stair fourteen would have begun prior to the construction of the window, so we have clear evidence of a change of plan and internal elevation at this point. The changes in the plan of Carlisle make it unusual among great towers in England and require comparison with other sites.

Renn (1973) includes twenty-four detailed plans of great towers six plans have different methods of accessing the different floor levels from a vice stair reflecting the situation at Carlisle. The remaining eighteen plans all have the same form of access from the vice stair to the floor level. This point indicates that these plans have a greater element of planning than the other six. What this means is that the size of the individual winders, their height and width, must have been planned from their cutting to fit into the building. But this level of planning goes further. The angle of the placement of the first winder in the staircase would determine the angle of access up to the first floor, and at higher levels. To preserve the same pattern of access from the stair to each floor level clearly indicates the considerable planning that goes into the construction of a great tower.

This level of stonework planning in an Anglo-Norman building has been examined at Durham Cathedral by Boney (1990) and it is apparent that the builders of great towers undertook this level of planning. What are usually considered basic elements of Romanesque architecture, Boney concluded, involved considerable elements of planning. For example to lay out the exterior plinth at Durham involved the ordering and cutting of a considerable number of regular blocks of set height before any consideration could be made of the upper elements of the wall (ibid. 24). Boney estimated that fifteen hundred blocks of stone were required for the interior and exterior plinths alone, all of which had to be cut to the regulation heights (ibid.). When at Durham the plinth is surmounted, on both the interior and exterior faces, by ranges of blind arcading the detailed planning required to organise these elements prior to the actual construction of the wall becomes clear. Other elements of the Durham design, such as the incised spiral patterning on the piers, again involved planning in advance to ensure evenly sized stones not to mention the mathematical work required to layout the spiral in an even pattern (ibid. 25-6). The level of planning required to layout the stonework of Durham Cathedral is explicitly visible due to the decorative courses of stone employed in the plinths, blind arcading and piers. At Carlisle the same level of basic stonework planning is also visible.

This first phase of construction at the great tower shows what is most likely to be a change in plan at first floor level with the insertion of a window in place of continuing stair fourteen upwards. The implications of this change relate mainly to the provision of any mural chambers within the west wall at second floor level; the rise of the stair and the height of the vault required above it would have reduced the space in this area at second floor level. It is unclear, however, what leads to the abandonment of the stair rising at point fourteen, whether the provision of the window at first floor level or mural chambers at second floor level. This alteration to the plan at first floor level marks only the first change in the construction of the building; a further change can be seen at second floor level.

The surviving twelfth-century evidence within the great tower at Carlisle indicates that the original form of the building, like many others in the Cumberland and Westmorland area, was of two stories over a basement. Three other towers were also originally of this plan: Appleby, Brough and Brougham. In the east front of the great tower at Appleby, just above the floor level of the second floor, are fossilized battlements showing originally this tower was of one storey over a basement. It appears at least that the castles of Brough and Appleby were in the hands of the sheriff of Cumberland except for a period in the later twelfth century, and with their passing to Robert de Vipont in 1203 were finally separated from this office (Charlton 1986, 16). The simple two storey and basement plan appears also to be the original form of the great tower at Carlisle. There does not appear to have been any access from the second floor upwards in the original construction of the tower. The vice stair in the north-western corner ends suddenly at second floor level. It almost looks as if the intention of the builders was to continue construction of the stair, and the passage accessing room sixteen from the stair was cut through with the abandonment of this plan. The access from the second floor upwards is via the straight stair in the western wall. This mural chamber was not originally intended as a stair, but has been employed as the base of a stair. The original end of the mural chamber wall can be seen in the break of the stonework, as can the former springer of the vault. These points concerning the lack of access to the third floor must be seen in conjunction with the entire lack of Romanesque architectural features on this floor. In fact it cannot be proven that the original twelfth century building reached this height.

The chimney in room nineteen has been taken to show that the twelfth century tower was of a similar height to that of the present surviving structure (McCarthy, Summerson and Annis 1990, 88). The diagram of the stonework included in the *Carlisle Castle* volume clearly demonstrates a break in the stonework (ibid. 85). This has been reproduced as Figure 13. The character of the stonework changes above the base walling of the mural chamber. The actual

chimney is clearly of one build and must represent a conversion of the mural chamber. The arch creating the fireplace is bonded into the walling very cleanly, but the upper elements of the stone are not jointed into the side walling, the coursing does not align. An examination of the inner walling of the chimney revealed that the voussoirs of the fireplace arch were dressed with striated tooling indicating a twelfth century date. It is therefore clear that the great tower reached its present height in the twelfth century, but when this decision was made is totally unclear. We have no way of knowing whether this change in the building plan followed a break in construction, or was a decision made while the tower was being built. It does appear that the building break represented by the stonework aligns in height with a stringcourse in the southern wall. It cannot therefore be demonstrated that the great tower at Carlisle reached the characteristic form of great towers with a raised parapet wall hiding the roof. Carlisle appears to have been built over a lengthy campaign. During this campaign the tower has been subject to changes in plan, or possibly failures in the design process, leading to the problems in accessing the different floor levels from the stairs. These problems with the planning of the building may indicate that it is an early example of great tower architecture within the north. An obvious interpretation of the earlier form of this building is with a pitched roof visible from all sides, rather than hidden behind a parapet wall.

CASTLE ARCHITECTURE IN THE ANGLO-NORMAN NORTH

It can be seen from the remains at Carlisle that there is a level of uncertainty in the planning of the building. For a tower constructed in the 1120s or 1130s the confusion evident in the construction of Carlisle is possibly not surprising. Carlisle, it would appear, is the earliest great tower constructed in the North of England. Certainly Carlisle is the earliest tower to which any level of certainty can be applied to its dating. Dixon (1993) reaches this conclusion concerning the importance of Carlisle, but in an article that is largely concerned with the development of later medieval seigniorial architecture does not note the conclusion that must be reached for the examination of other great towers in the North of England. Carlisle is the earliest datable site to around 1120-1130. Middleham and Brougham are probably the latest rectangular great towers built within the north. At Middleham the waterleaf decoration would date this building to the 1170-1180. Middleham, however, is unusual in the construction of a squat tower of a single storey over a basement built around a central spine wall. The plan of this tower is more similar to examples from Normandy dating from the 1120s onwards, for example Arques. The doorway and fenestration of the great tower at Brougham also suggest a date of construction during the 1180s onwards. With Carlisle representing the earliest, and Brougham and Middleham the latest, it can be seen that the period of great tower

construction within the north only lasts between fifty to sixty years. If this date for Carlisle and the end of great tower construction in the north is considered against the evidence for Scottish control of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland from 1135 until its recovery by Henry II in 1157 (Lomas 1992, 38).

It is most likely that the great tower at Appleby and the great tower at Carlisle are the result of Scottish building during this period. An early date can be suggested for Appleby due to the general form of the architecture of this tower in presenting no chamfered architectural features. Appleby also has, fossilized in its entrance front, an embattled pediment showing that the tower originally only stood as a single storey over a basement. Moulded capitals sealing the upper levels of the two vice stairs show that the full height of this tower was not reached until the thirteenth century. The tower at Prudhoe also provides a further early example. There is a broad similarity in the quality of the stonework of the lower storey of the gatehouse and the great tower at Prudhoe. The great tower was formerly of two storeys over a basement. It is apparent that at ground and first floor level the tower gave access to a building attached to its east face that at least reached first floor level. Part of the north face of this structure survives incorporated into the post-medieval house now occupying the site of this structure. Prudhoe should be interpreted as a surviving element of a once-larger, more complex structure probably incorporating a now lost first floor hall. The extension to the great tower at Norham undertaken in the second half of the twelfth-century is probably analogous site to the tower complex at Prudhoe. Therefore, prior to the 1150s there are a group of early towers displaying a variety of forms, whether they stood independently or were formerly a part of a larger structure. It is also likely that probably two of these structures were built while the counties in question were under Scottish control. In the north outside Scottish control a different picture can be seen.

Yorkshire and Lancashire remained free of Scottish control prior to the beginnings of Henry II's reign. Within this area of Scottish control the English crown retained the castles of Newcastle and Bamburgh (ibid. 35). There is no data that would indicate the construction of great towers in Yorkshire prior to 1155. It is most probable that the great tower at Lancaster predates 1155 and that Bamburgh represents a contemporary building therefore these would appear to be the only great towers in the North of England constructed by the English crown prior to 1155. The evidence for the other great tower in Lancashire at Clitheroe would appear to date this site to the 1170s onwards and specifically to after 1178 (McNulty 1941). The documentary evidence for the endowment of the castle chapel also confirms the 1178 date as the most likely for the foundation of the castle and the subsequent construction of the great

tower (McNulty 1939). The great towers in Yorkshire would all appear to postdate 1155. Construction of great towers in this county began with Scarborough. The tower at Scarborough, according to the Pipe Rolls, dates from around 1157 onwards. This tower was built of three storeys over a basement with a complex forebuilding. The main body of the tower was divided by a north-south cross-wall. This cross-wall only separated the first and second floor levels; at third floor level there was no trace of such a wall. Unlike other towers of this period there is no trace of a pitched roof at third-floor level indicating this level was probably an open floor under a shallow pitched roof.

The end of the construction of the great tower at Scarborough is broadly contemporary with the beginnings of works on the tower at Richmond. Works at Richmond are most likely to have begun before 1171-1172 when the first documentary references to works on the tower are mentioned in the Pipe Rolls. The tower at Richmond is constructed on the site of the first phase gateway, projecting forwards from the extent of the enclosure. This tower consists of two stories over a rib-vaulted ground floor level with a central pier with moulded capital. This floor level was accessed from the first floor room via a vice stair in the south west corner. The access to this tower is currently from the wall-walk. Modern building works on the inner face of the current gateway have hidden any trace of a different access to the tower. At first floor level the tower has three round-headed windows which look to the north, out to the town. The second floor is accessed via a straight stair in the south wall that rises to a room under a pitched, open roof with fenestration to the east and west walls. The parapet above this roof contains a window opening above the level of the roof possibly to disguise the volume of accommodation contained in the great tower. The tower at Richmond contains no domestic features, such as garderobes or fireplaces. One must wonder if this tower was constructed for the display opportunities provided by the first floor windows as suggested by Renn (1994). Could this tower be better interpreted as an enlarged mural tower?

Great tower construction in the north ends with the building of Middleham and Brougham, but these sites represent the last of the rectangular towers built in the north and it is likely that they are broadly contemporary with the final phase of twelfth century construction at Barnard Castle in County Durham. This final phase of building is marked with the construction of a rounded great tower. This round tower is not an isolated structure it was built attached the great chamber that provided the main access into the tower at first floor level. With the basement the round tower was built of four floors with three chambers. The first floor chamber was the most elaborate with the second and third floor levels accessed separately from a mural stair.

The castle at Alnwick, while heavily restored in the early nineteenth century, contains a considerable volume of stonework datable to the twelfth century. The most probable, original earthwork form of Alnwick was of a central motte with a bailey against its southern side. Twelfth-century stonework is visible in much of the outer walling in the forms of simple plinths and shallow pilaster buttresses visible to the exterior of the walls. The keep, now occupying the motte was heavily restored and rebuilt in the nineteenth century replacing most of the original exterior stonework. The gatehouse opening onto the courtyard at the centre of the keep has a chevron-decorated arch to its inner face and outer faces. The more complex inner arch is shown in Plate 42. This would most probably date to around 1150. Due to the extensive reconstruction of the keep in the nineteenth century it is difficult to determine whether this gateway was only part of a shell keep or some other form of building. A plan dating to 1630 shows the keep consisting of a range of D-shaped towers projecting from the edge of the motte with a rectangular building constructed against the inner east face of the outer wall (Jackson1992, 13). The modern form of the keep has largely removed the pattern of towers visible on this plan.

Therefore to emphasise this important point only two great towers can possibly be attributed to the areas of the north controlled by the English crown to before 1155. These towers are Lancaster and Bamburgh. The areas controlled by the Scottish crown appear to have been slightly more prolific in their building campaigns with great towers either constructed by the Scottish crown, or under its authority, at: Carlisle, Appleby and Prudhoe. Alnwick also appears to represent a rare example of a stone castle where construction was probably under way in around 1150, placing it in a group with a number of other early sites based upon stone enclosures.

CONCLUSIONS

From the sites examined so far in this chapter it is clear that the simple pattern of great tower development advocated by Thompson (1987) or Brown (1976) cannot be supported. The practice of applying the earliest possible date to castle sites rather than revealing the full possibility of the dating boundaries appears to be relatively consistent throughout the examination of the earlier structures such as Corfe, Canterbury, Colchester and Castle Acre. If the true dating picture is taken for these buildings then the tidy picture that is generally proposed simply does not work. It appears that the construction of great towers across England begins in the 1120s, the only outlier being the White Tower at London. This date compares well with the references by Robert of Torigni to the construction of towers in 1123 onwards (Howlett 1889, 106-107) but other castle sites are referenced by the same chronicler that can

only be attributed to the reign of Henry I (ibid. 126). The archaeological and historical dating of so many great towers is so ambiguous that it is probably impossible to provide for a scheme that can tidily contain all the possible examples. This problem is most clearly illustrated by a comparison between Rochester, Newcastle and Dover. A charter giving permission for the Archbishop of Canterbury to build a fortification or tower dates Rochester from 1127 (Brown 1969, 8). The great tower at Newcastle is dated to between 1165 and 1177 from Pipe Roll references. Dover is also dated by Pipe Rolls to between 1180 and 1189. These complex towers bracket the most likely period of construction for the majority of rectangular great towers in England. For the sample area covered by this investigation the earliest great towers are the first phase at Norham and Carlisle that date to before 1155 and the beginnings of the Pipe Rolls. Other sites that could also date from before 1155 are the great towers at Prudhoe and Appleby. These two sites lack any dating evidence either from historical or architectural sources that can convincingly place them prior to 1155. It is most probable that Bamburgh also dates to the first half of the twelfth century.

The dating of great towers at castle sites in the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland to before 1155 implies that these towers must have been constructed while these counties were under the control of the Scottish crown. Elsewhere in England and Normandy from the 1120s onwards that great tower construction by Henry I is continuing at a pace. For whatever reason it is not until the reign of Henry II when the English crown begins constructing great towers in the North of England following on from its start with Bamburgh most probably built in Stephen's reign.

In simple numbers the castles with great towers represent a minor proportion of the total number of castles in the North of England. It is clear that on baronial sites there is a focus on castles based around enclosures or with mottes. The second stone phase at Prudhoe with the construction of the great tower appears to be the only baronial site where a great tower possibly dates to before 1155. The first floor hall at Norham does appear to be an idiosyncratic building type within the North of England. Norham is the only site where a single celled building of this kind has been identified and its relationship to towers based on plans formed from a single cell, such as Carlisle, is certainly open to question. In absolute numbers the construction of great towers prior to 1155 is certainly a minority activity. It is impossible to give a measured proportion in absolute numbers to those sites with towers out of all sites as so few can certainly be dated to prior 1155.

This study of the chronology of tower construction shows many of the interpretations that have been applied to these buildings simply cannot be supported. The idea that towers are

constructed to '*...nail the valley*' (Stocker 1992, 416) does not provide an explanation for this aspect of castle architecture. The majority of great towers most probably date from after 1123. In the north the majority date from after 1155. The simple fact of their chronology and development reduces the importance of the defensive imperative, and these buildings must be seen as part of a wider strategy of lordship.

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE ACCOMMODATION OFFERED BY CASTLES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND

The first part of this chapter has determined that the construction of great towers in the North of England occupied a very short chronological span during the twelfth century. The development of these types of buildings at a comparably late date has great implications for the expression of lordship. In this second part of this chapter it is necessary to examine and interpret the accommodation offered on these sites to show how it fits into growing ideas of lordship. This section will begin with an examination of the traditional interpretation of the accommodation offered by great towers and how conclusions have been reached concerning the form of these buildings. Following this discussion a new interpretation will be offered that places great towers in the context of the other buildings identified within the castle enclosures.

The fundamental question concerning the interpretation of the accommodation offered by a great tower is its relationship to any halls in the castle. The debate concerning this issue has focused upon two interpretations of the larger great towers based around cross walls and the function of Romanesque first floor halls. Essentially there are two views offered by archaeologists and architectural historians concerning the accommodation contained in great towers. That is that larger great towers, with cross-walls, contain both the castle hall and solar and smaller towers are directly comparable with the wooden towers found on mottes and therefore both contain the solar. This view is dependant upon a close relationship being argued between first floor halls and the halls contained in great towers. The alternative view of the great tower is that they did not necessarily contain halls but performed different specific functions. This new interpretation of great towers is largely based on the examination of the great tower at Hedingham in Essex by Dixon and Marshall (1993b). This examination concluded that the great tower had no function as accommodation (ibid. 19). Hedingham was interpreted as an elaborate ceremonial setting reflecting the growing power of the de Vere Family (ibid. 20-23). This idea was reached as there was no evidence for domestic features such as fireplaces, garderobes or accommodation. The conclusion reached by Dixon and Marshall (1993b) for Hedingham must be considered and compared to other tower sites. The massive implications of the interpretation of Hedingham are that the main accommodation at this site

has not survived, possibly only the ceremonial tower was constructed in stone. This assessment of the accommodation provided by towers within the sample area will begin with a look at the two interpretations of great towers and their relationship to halls and concludes with a survey of the accommodation offered in the castle sites with surviving stonework.

Thompson in a series of volumes and articles in the early 1990s (1991; 1992a; 1992b; 1995) expounded his theory that larger great towers of internal dimensions greater that ten metres contain halls. Those with internal dimensions less than ten metres are interpreted as containing solars (1992a, 20). Solar great towers, from their size, are therefore analogous in function to the towers that crown mottes. The obvious problem with this distinction is the assumption that a space larger than ten metres marks the distinction between a hall and solar. The troubles with this simplistic interpretation of such complex buildings not to mention that many of the solar great towers contain rooms that possess hall-like characteristics: for example Newcastle and Richmond (Thompson 1991, 65). At Castle Acre, Helmsley, Norham, Portchester and Scarborough, all listed by Thompson (1991, 64) as hall great towers there is good evidence from the surviving remains of existing halls not contained in the great towers. Thompson also includes Hedingham on his list of hall-great towers (ibid.) although; admittedly his volume was published prior to the publication of Dixon and Marshall's (1993b) re-examination of Hedingham.

From the excavated evidence alone it is difficult to interpret what accommodation would have been contained on a motte top. At Hen Domen the sequence revealed on the motte top is shown in Figure 14. The structural remains identified on the motte are based around a rectangular structure that is divided into two cells with sides that are approximately six metres long. This structure has a relatively long structural life and undergoes conversion through its existence (Barker and Higham 1982). The building of the rectangular structure begins with the construction of the motte and it is assumed to be of two stories (Barker and Higham 1982, 1992 supplement to 1988 report). The final phase of works on the motte top was a framed building that appears to date into the late thirteenth century and was evidenced by the eroded daub from its wall cladding (ibid.). The access to the motte top, for the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was through building LIa (Higham and Barker 1992, 333). This building gave access to the motte bridge and thence to the motte top. Building LIa, through the massive size of its foundations, is interpreted as a first floor hall. Building LIa is shown in Figure 15. Possibly building LIa could be interpreted as a solar tower, rather than as a first floor hall. As Figure 15 shows the southern side of this building remains unexcavated and it is unclear why the building has been interpreted in this way. I feel that building LIa and its successors

represents a more convincing parallel to stone rectangular towers than the buildings standing on the motte top. This interpretation of motte towers can be paralleled in the evidence provided by the reconstruction of what are assumed to be timber towers in stone. The placement of building LIa in relation to the motte at Hen Domen is analogous to the location of the North Hall at Durham Castle shown in Figure 16. This interpretation can be examined in relation to two further aspects of twelfth century architecture, what stone buildings are constructed on mottes, historical evidence for motte architecture and the general form of mottes, and the interpretation of mottes that have no other earthworks.

Essentially there appears to be a strong distinction between earthwork mottes and rectangular stone towers. There appear to be only three examples of a motte having a rectangular stone tower placed on it, at Guildford, Surrey, Okehampton, Devon and Clun in Shropshire. The tower at Norwich is also constructed upon the motte, but the scale of the motte is more attune to the bailey of any other castle. This distinction may relate to building patterns, the original wooden structures built on the mottes may have survived to the beginning of the thirteenth century when they are more likely to be replaced with round or polygonal towers. The majority of twelfth century reconstructions of the accommodation on mottes in stone appear to be the construction of shell keeps. The lack of stone buildings replacing timber motte towers may indicate that these buildings performed different functions. A further interpretation could be that by the time motte towers required replacement they had fallen out of use. It may be that the timber towers built on motte tops survived beyond the period covered in this dissertation. Pickering Castle, and the references to the reconstruction of York following the burning of the motte tower in the Pipe Rolls, possibly provide evidence that mottes are not necessarily used for accommodation at these sites.

In 1191 the Pipe Rolls reference work on the castle of York (PR 3 Richard I p 61). This work would appear to be the reconstruction of the motte tower following its destruction in anti-Jewish riots that year. In 1190 there are references to the work on the motte and castle of York (PR 2 Richard I p 58-59). It is apparent from these two references that work on the motte would either be specifically referenced or is included under the general phrase of work on the castle. In 1212 there is a specific reference to improvement on the housing of the castles of York and Pickering (PR 14 John p 113). This reference when taken into account with the 1209 reference to the castle and royal housing of Pickering (PR 11 John p 127) would appear to indicate a distinction between the royal housing and the castle at this site. If the motte is considered as part of the castle then it is clearly not considered to be part of the housing or

royal housing. There are problems with this interpretation of the Pipe Rolls but this valuable evidence could give a compelling indication as to the use of mottes.

Without a greater sample of excavations the interpretation of the buildings formerly on mottes is speculative. The sizes of mottes examined as part of this thesis range from the largest at Durham and York down to a range of exceptionally small mottes. At the southern border of County Durham, standing to the top of the bluff over the River Tees are two mottes at Blackwell and Egglescliffe that appear to be isolated from any further earthworks and are proportionately so small it is difficult to believe that they functioned as the foundation base for timber towers. Simply by examining the size of these mottes it is apparent that the buildings that once stood on them, if any, cannot have been on a similar scale to those at York or Durham. Whether this group of small mottes had any buildings on their crown is open to question without any data from excavations. Predicting the nature of any, now lost, buildings is impossible.

It is difficult to believe that great towers such as Carlisle and Middleham that are placed in the innermost wards of the castle contain anything other than the most private accommodation. These towers must be analogous to the reconstructed great tower at Norham. The halls for these towers are most likely to be found in the outer wards of the castle. At both Carlisle and Middleham the outer wards have undergone later development. At Carlisle the continued military presence until the 20th century has removed any traces of a hall in the outer bailey. At Middleham the spread of the settlement over the outer ward has hidden any possible traces. At Dover it appears that the north-east curtain wall of the inner ward was constructed with the intent of placing buildings up against it (Coad 1995, 34). This north-east face of the inner curtain is straight and the towers in this section had upper stories and garderobes at first floor levels. Coad argues that the royal expenditure on Dover essentially ends with the death of Henry II in 1189 (1995, 36). Expenditure on domestic buildings at Dover picks up in John's reign following the loss of Normandy. The Pipe Rolls contain reference to spending on a hall in the outer bailey for 1214. The new hall constructed at Dover by 1240 backed onto the north-east face of the inner curtain wall (ibid. 45). This hall appears to have replaced an early thirteenth century building constructed by John. The reconstruction of this building range by 1240 and its replacement by a what may well have been a larger hall removed the south-west wall of the buildings constructed by John and constructed a new wall facing towards the great tower further to the south and west of the previous wall. The direct evidence for the twelfth century hall at Dover is limited, but I believe that it is compelling. An argument has also been

presented for other castle sites where more convincing evidence can be employed to demonstrate that the great tower contained only private accommodation.

The great tower at Trim Castle in County Meath consists of a rectangular main block with rectangular towers that project from the centre of each side (see Figure 17). The projection to the north side of the keep has since been lost. This intricate plan for the great tower enabled rooms to be connected by passages and staircases, rather than an arrangement based around suites of rooms that connect directly (McNeil 1990, 332). McNeil interprets the arrangement of the plan at Trim to contain private accommodation for the lord and other rooms that could be employed as lodging ranges. But most importantly at Trim the remains of the hall can be seen adjacent to the north tower. It can therefore be clearly demonstrated at this site that the accommodation provided in the tower was not intended to include a hall. The dating of this site is exceptionally important. McNeil places the construction of the great tower to around the year 1200 (1990, 33). This makes the construction work at Trim a relative contemporary of the great tower at Dover. Trim certainly provides convincing evidence for the construction of great towers as private accommodation.

The recognition that twelfth century manorial buildings such as Boothby Pagnal are chamber or solar blocks that have survived their associated halls stems from a conference published in 1993 (Merion-Jones and Jones 1993). The papers contained in this volume discuss the evidence for the development of the standard late medieval house plan of the hall with cross passage flanked by service rooms by the cross-passage and a solar at the upper end. Many of the important articles in this volume specifically distinguish themselves from defensive architecture by not discussing or drawing parallels with the surviving great towers in both England and Normandy (for example see Blair 1993; Impey 1993). This is of course not to say that castle architecture is not employed to develop the argument concerning the relationship between ground and first floor halls. Impey (1993, 84-85) discusses the buildings at Caen Castle prior to the construction of the Exchequer Hall. It is claimed that the buildings from the initial phase of occupation can be interpreted as a chamber to the ground floor Exchequer Hall. Impey makes no note of any possible relationship between the Exchequer Hall and the later great tower. For its scale the great tower at Caen makes a more convincing suite of chambers to be associated with this major new hall. Why Impey did not consider this plan does raise questions, but it is an interpretation followed by Blair (1993, 2) where the claim is made that the halls in great towers "*...functioned exactly like normal ground-floor halls but were raised at an upper level...*". Why it is that the small percentage of castles that contain major great towers that can be interpreted as containing halls should be so different to other

contemporary castle and domestic buildings is curious and as an interpretation does not stand up to examination.

There does not appear to be any real reason why great towers are interpreted as different to domestic architecture. These assumptions of their differences to domestic buildings are based upon ideas of their military role. When compared to the accommodation that can be identified on twelfth century manorial sites the distinction between castles and manors is essentially one of scale. It must also be remembered that many of the isolated mottes or small motte and bailey castles encountered over the countryside were probably effectively manorial in status. The construction of a motte and bailey rather than a manor will tie into the concerns of the individual author of the buildings. This idea that great towers appear only to contain private suites of accommodation agrees with the interpretation for Norham offered by Dixon (1993, 26-27) where it is stated that the tower was associated with a ground floor hall. There is also the possibility of a specifically ceremonial function for great towers as at Hedingham (Dixon and Marshall 1993b). This is probably also the case for the great tower at Richmond where no domestic features are visible within the building. The tower at Hedingham, like that at Richmond, must have been associated with a full range of domestic buildings. This interpretation of great towers as private accommodation aligns these buildings into the more general picture of twelfth century buildings of a manorial status (as discussed by Blair 1993). This interpretation means that for the twelfth century, as for the later medieval period, a more unified basic plan for complexes of buildings is visible that appears to crosscut status groups demonstrating a social unity that is as visible, and has been argued for by Johnson for the later medieval period into the sixteenth century (Johnson 1993). It is clear that the later medieval domestic plan is not visible in smaller housing in the twelfth century and probably developed in the thirteenth century (Gardiner 2000). Therefore there is an element of unity of building design that cross-cuts the class structure in the sense that both peasant and elite houses are made up of complexes of disconnected buildings. In many ways this is similar to the pattern of accommodation that Gilchrist identified at male monastic houses where to move through the building it was necessary to travel around the cloister that effectively connected the buildings (1994, 164 Figure 67). In this sense the patterns of access are exceptionally similar between secular and monastic buildings for this period with accesses forcing people who were moving between buildings to leave and re-enter buildings even, when as at a monastery, they were constructed in continuous ranges.

When examined against the later medieval house plan it is difficult to see how social relations can be read from the plan of buildings in the same way for the twelfth century. For

the later medieval house plan the use and control of space within the house can be considered to be analogous to the spatial formation of parish churches and would have been understood by those who lived in the houses and attended the church in similar ways (Graves 2000, 130).

To understand how the plans of these sites worked it is necessary to apply the ideas of an archaeology of practice to the plans and standing remains of these castles. The disconnection of buildings within the enclosures implies that movement between the different structures was more important, and expressive, than movement within buildings. In East Anglia, at Norwich and Castle Rising, architectural emphasis focused on the exterior of the forebuildings of these towers. This focus of decoration is less visible in the sample of castles in the North of England due to the poor survival of forebuildings, the only complete, heavily restored example, can be seen at Newcastle. It is only at the end of the twelfth century at Dover and Newcastle that the twin towered gatehouse develops. Prior to the construction work at these sites gateways either were simple openings in the wall, openings through a rectangular tower or adjacent to a rectangular tower (White 2000). The use of these simple gatehouse forms encourage the visibility of people as they move through the defined spaces of a castle, from the more private to the more public areas. It should be noted that the development of the twin-towered gatehouse is broadly contemporary with the introduction of the late medieval house plan at Bishop Auckland.

I have stated that great towers or keeps offer private accommodation that is analogous to chambers in later medieval buildings but it is necessary to expand on the concepts of privacy that are displayed by these buildings. Some ideas of the concepts of privacy can be obtained from the criticisms of the life of William Rufus, the '*Constitutio Domus Regis*' the constitution of the royal household under Henry I (Johnson, Carter and Greenway 1983) and the *Romance of Tristan* (Curtis 1994). One of the many varied criticisms reported of the life of William Rufus is the lack of candles used in the court at night. Barlow reports that William of Malmesbury states Henry I restored the practice of lighting residences at night (1983, 104). The attacks on the morality of the court under William Rufus were based on the ideas that immorality is easier when it cannot be seen. The widespread issuing of candles throughout the royal household is well documented in the '*Constitutio Domus Regis*' (Johnson, Carter and Greenway 1983). This volume shows the issues of candles to individuals within the royal household; in a day these number five hundred and thirty-two candle ends issued within the household together with eight large candles and ten small candles. The watchmen are issued with four candles of unspecified size each. Fifteen individuals are issued with an ample supply of candles. To produce the required five hundred and thirty-two candle ends this must mean

that candles are burnt in the chapel and the candles issued to the watchmen are issued to the household as candle ends once they have been burnt.

This emphasis on the use of candle is continued in secular literature of the same period. The manuscripts of the prose Tristan examined and translated by Curtis date mostly from between 1230 and 1235 (1994, xvi). Curtis states that the actual basis of the Tristan stories date from the growth in popularity of courtly literature in the second half of the twelfth century (1994, xv). There are several specific episodes in the prose Tristan that examine attitudes to the use of light and attitudes to privacy within castle buildings. The first passage examines the wedding night spent between King Mark of Cornwall and Iseut (ibid. 95). The sequence of events within the bedchamber is detailed as follows. Iseut enters the bedchamber and gets into bed; King Mark enters the room, undresses and gets into bed. Tristan and his squire are in the bedchamber also. The King undresses and takes off his shoes and gets into bed. Tristan then extinguishes the candles and is asked by King Mark why he has done this. Tristan claims this is to preserve the modesty of Iseut on her first night with her husband. Of course the actual reason is so Iseut, who is no longer a virgin, can be replaced by her servant who is. It would appear that the use of candles is viewed as a preservation of decency within social arenas. A major part of these appear to be performed in public, in visible spaces. So even in what could be considered a private space, the marital bedroom on a wedding night, was actually relatively public to members of the family or other individuals of similar status.

It appears that the expressions of status in the twelfth century are based upon the activities performed by individuals. Herbert, in an examination of medieval clothing, emphasised that the expression of status in clothing was largely confined to the quality, workmanship and quantity of the cloth used, rather than a different cut (1999, 129). Unlike the later medieval house plan the use of space within twelfth century buildings does not appear to relate to status in the same way lacking the status defined elements within rooms. Status within the castle buildings appears to be based around movement between the public and private spaces of the castle that are disconnected and contained in different buildings. This disconnection of units of accommodation means that status is emphasised by moving publicly between public and private spaces. These public private areas are marked out and emphasised by their architecture. The massive construction of great towers that has led to their survival to today emphasises their importance. Private areas within castles are emphasised by their location within enclosures, separation by banks, ditches, walling and gatehouses. This separation and distinction of elite areas does not affect their visibility to any great extent because of the provision of raised access through forebuildings, or raised exterior staircases.

Twelfth century gatehouses lack barbicans and tend to be flush with exterior walls, or only slightly project. These features emphasise the visibility of people moving out of enclosures, through gatehouses making them visible as soon as they leave one enclosure and move into the next. The use of a single range of gates rather than the complex gatehouses of the thirteenth century onwards provides views through into more private, controlled spaces. It is only at the end of the twelfth century that the architectural forms begin to change with the development of the late medieval house plan visible in the great hall at Bishop Auckland constructed by Hugh du Puiset where the change to expressions of status being based upon the placement of individuals within architectural spaces.

To clarify the interpretation made here it is argued that the vast majority of castle buildings from the twelfth-century have simply not survived to be examined today. The limited numbers of excavations undertaken on castle sites have only targeted aspects such as defences or obvious elements of building plans. I feel that keeps or great towers contain private accommodation, and are analogous to the buildings frequently referred to as first floor halls, for example Boothby Pagnal. These buildings are solar blocks, in the sense that they contain private accommodation at first floor level raised over a basement. An analogous space to these buildings within great towers is the first room accessed from the exterior at first floor level. Other rooms within great towers are likely to be best interpreted as chambers, again as private accommodation. In larger towers such as Dover or Newcastle it is possible to see a suite of rooms. At Dover there is a major room and minor room separated by the cross-wall with a chamber contained within the width of the wall of the minor room. At Newcastle a major outer room occupies the body of the tower attached to a subsidiary chamber built within the width of the wall. At both of these sites the tower is likely to have been accompanied by a hall. The building at the foot of the motte at Hen Domen Castle is likely to be best interpreted as a solar tower, a single storey building built over a basement, similar to Boothby Pagnal that is traditionally interpreted as a first-floor hall. The difference in these buildings is mostly one of scale, and investment. The number of surviving great towers whose presence in the landscape is due to their massive wall thickness; the volume of masonry at these sites confirms the level of investment. This investment is not visible in other buildings that can be considered more public, such as halls, which simply have not survived as visible features at castle sites to the same extent as great towers.

The construction and use of documentation and buildings are embedded in the developing social contexts in which lordship was expressed during the period discussed here. Section Two continues with this theme in exploring two possible strategies in which ideas and

concepts of lordship were expressed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by examining links between sites that are expressed through the active manipulation of the landscape or the employment of architectural forms to provide references between buildings and sites.

SECTION TWO: SYMBOLIC ASPECTS

Section One showed that the routes of the architectural interpretation of buildings are embedded in the social context of the buildings, and the other associated evidence, such as documentation. Section Two continues and broadens the argument began in Section One that architectural similarities must have a greater meaning than simply expressing aspects of chronology. Chapter Four expands this argument by examining the landscape setting of a group of sites and arguing that an aspect of their design must have been to provide a symbolic association with Durham City.

Chapter Five expands the focus of this document to beyond the northern counties to examine the architecture of the great towers at Dover and Newcastle. For these two towers it is argued here that they are linked to each other through a broad similarity of plan and pattern of access. But this long-recognised similarity has led to other architectural references between the two towers and their associated cult centres of Canterbury and Durham cathedrals not previously being recognised. The expression of lordship at these two towers not only linked the two sites together, but also expanded this frame of architectural reference outwards.

The use of architectural features, earthwork forms and settlement locations and plans cannot simply be dismissed and argued only as a chronological link but it is demonstrative of the active use of material culture to express a wide range of ideas concerning lordship.

CHAPTER FOUR: CASTLE SITES REFERENCING DURHAM AND DURHAM CITY

It will be argued in this chapter that a group of four sites bear spatial similarities to Durham City. The focus of these similarities is the peninsula area of the city, referred to by Bonney (1990, 26) as the military zone, essentially the area south of the North Gate as marked on Figure 18. It will be argued that the similarities between the four castle sites and the peninsula of Durham go beyond the chance identification of superficially similar patterning within the landscape. It is concluded here that the similarity to Durham was included as an aspect of the planning of the castle sites.

The castle and cathedral of Durham dominated the enclosed area of the city whose eleventh and twelfth century appearance can be reconstructed partially from archaeological and architectural remains together with texts containing descriptions of the peninsula area. The layout of the peninsula today is conditioned by the locations of the castle and cathedral selected by their builders in the late eleventh century. The locations of these buildings in turn appear to be based upon the plan of this area laid out by the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics who are reported as founders of the city. The argument presented in this chapter is that Durham was a centre of power in the North of England during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The importance of Durham was due largely to the presence of the Bishop, his household, the Cathedral Priory, the city itself and probably most importantly, St. Cuthbert. The entwined secular and ecclesiastical powers vested in the bishops together with their great wealth as represented by Durham City was expressed spatially as a particular concept of lordship by the bishops, themselves, and other great magnates in the North of England.

This chapter will begin with an analysis of the changing plan of Durham City during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This chapter will then proceed with an analysis of the plans of Bishopton and Bishop Middleham castles and the towns and castles at Appleby and Warkworth. To provide a comparison with this small group of sites included in this chapter is an analysis of all the residences associated with the bishops of Durham. It is concluded here that the establishment of sites that the importance of Durham to the region was employed as an aspect of the ideas of lordship. At certain sites, such as Warkworth, there are a greater number of cues taken from Durham while both Bishopton and Bishop Middleham have close historical links to the See of Durham. At Appleby fewer cues are taken from Durham. It is clear from these sites that an aspect of their planning was to take some ideas from Durham, and adapt and employ them within a wider strategy of lordship.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE PLAN OF DURHAM CITY IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMUNITY AT DURHAM

The primary source for the foundation of the City of Durham is Symeon's History of the Church of Durham (Stevenson 1993). In 995 it is reported by Symeon that Bishop Aldun received a vision telling him to escape, with St. Cuthbert's body from their present location (ibid. 671). The community then found themselves on the eastern side of the city where the vehicle holding the shrine of St. Cuthbert refused to move (ibid.). The Bishop suggested that an explanation for the behaviour of the shrine should be sought from God, and the community prayed and fasted for three days and nights (ibid. 672). Eadmer, one of the religious, received the revelation and suggested the shrine was moved to Durham at which point the shrine was able to be moved again (ibid.). Once the peninsula had been reached the community built a church from wood, in which they placed the shrine of St. Cuthbert (ibid.).

The most likely reason for the choice of the peninsula at Durham is its similarity to the island of Lindisfarne, the spiritual home of the Durham community. The peninsula at Durham is surrounded on three sides by water. Lindisfarne, when the tide is out, is in effect a peninsula. At high tide Lindisfarne is an island. The choice of isolated sites, such as Lindisfarne, stems from the early foundation of the monastic movement that was embedded in the ideas of physical isolation (Morris 1989, 93). Lindisfarne answered the basic requirements of a monastic community in terms of isolation, but was also conveniently located near to the Anglo-Saxon royal centre at Bamburgh. Durham, to an extent, fits the basic requirement of an Anglo-Saxon monastic site. The actual level of isolation possible on the peninsula at Durham is lessened by the presence of the church and settlement that may have been based around St Oswald's church in Elvet. There is a reference in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 762 mentioning the consecration of Bishop Peohtwine at Elvet (Garmonsway 1972, 51). It is therefore possible that there was already high status settlement on the Elvet side of the River Wear prior to the establishment of the community on the peninsula. It must be mentioned that Cramp does not date any of the four fragments of Anglo-Saxon sculpture from St Oswald's church in Elvet to earlier than that at the historical date for the foundation of the Cathedral (Cramp 1984 Durham St Oswalds Corpus nos. 1-4; Durham Cathedral Corpus nos. 5-14). A recent re-examination of the sculptural material from St Oswalds dates this material to before 995 (Adcock 2002).

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CATHEDRAL

After the initial 'discovery' and settlement on the peninsula work continued apace. Symeon's description of the initial site of the peninsula is confused. It is described as a "*...moderate-sized plain in the midst was covered with a very dense wood. This had been kept under cultivation, having been regularly ploughed and sown.*" (Stevenson 1993, 673). This site in the centre of the peninsula was chosen for the site of the first church that was built out of wood (ibid.). Carver (1980) has questioned the accuracy of Symeon's foundation story in a discussion of the archaeological evidence for early medieval Durham. Carver makes much of the statement in Symeon that:

"*The said bishop, assisted by all the populace, and by Uhtred, earl of the Northumbrians cut down the whole of the timber, and in a brief space of time made the place habitable. The entire population of the district, which extends from the river Coquet to the Tees, readily and willingly rendered assistance as well to this work as to the erection of the church at a later period...*" (Stevenson 1993, 673).

Carver has interpreted this statement to indicate that the settlement of the bishop and community at Durham was most likely to be on the secured, fortified peninsula (1979, 16). The identification of "sandy soil" filling the basement of the north range of the castle buildings constructed by Bishop du Puiset had been interpreted as a bank representing the northern face of the castle enclosure (Jones 1928, 79). Leyland goes further in his interpretation than Jones and believes that this bank represents a pre-Conquest defence of the peninsula (1994, 28). There is no dating evidence for this proposed bank other than that it is sealed by du Puiset's hall. So whether or not this fill, interpreted as a bank, represents the Anglo-Saxon defences that successfully held back the Scottish attack of 1040 (Stevenson 1993, 680) is open to question. If this fill does represent the Anglo-Saxon defences then it would appear that the castle was constructed on their line clearly representing a strong element of continuity in this area of the city. An alternative and equally valid explanation could be that it is more likely that this bank represents the northern extreme of the Norman castle enclosure. The steep rising ground that separates the peninsula from the market area (see Figure 18 for a reconstructed map of Durham City) is still very visible today (see Plate 43). These topographic differences must have been a more important aspect of the topography of the city prior to modern developments. The arrangement of building plots within the area of the north gate shown in Figure 18 confirms this interpretation. A break is visible in the arrangement of burgage plots to the north of the North Gate on Saddler Street and to the north of the castle bank on Silver

Street demarcating this area. It is therefore entirely possible that the north wall of the castle and military zone reflect a major Anglo-Saxon boundary within the settlement.

The evidence for direct continuity in the area of the cathedral is less clear. There is, in Symeon's history, evidence of a sequence of churches. The first church dates from the initial occupation of the peninsula. It is described that the community made: "*...a little church of branches, and in it they placed the body for the time being.*" (Rollason 2000, 147). Following the construction of the church built with branches the forest that formerly occupied the peninsula was cut down (ibid. 149), the body of St Cuthbert was then translated into a church, known as the White Church, where it remained for three years (ibid. 151). Rollason questions whether the White Church was a new construction or if the community used a pre-existing site, possibly St Oswalds in Elvet (2000, 150 note 11). After three years occupying the White Church the body of St Cuthbert was translated to the major church (ibid. 153). This major church survived until its replacement from 1093 onwards by the present cathedral.

Rollason's interpretation of Symeon's text has great implications for the spatial arrangement of the early ecclesiastical buildings. There is certainly no necessary indication in the Latin text or translation that the White Church is a new build; it only states that the body of St Cuthbert was translated into it (ibid. 150 and 151). The lack of distinct locations for St Cuthbert during the construction of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral does open up many possibilities for the early ecclesiastical topography of Durham. However, the next passage in Symeon does provide some interesting evidence concerning possible locations for the branch shelter: "*At the place where it had formerly rested, however, miracles began to be manifested...*" (ibid. 151). The passage goes onto explain that a crippled woman was cured after dragging herself across the site of the branch church. After this cure was recognised: "*...everyone in the city hurried to the church, the bells were rung...*" (ibid.). The dating for this episode is unclear, but it occurred after a considerable time, probably placing this cure outside the three years that St Cuthbert was stored in the White Church. This would imply that the branch church was located near to the Anglo-Saxon cathedral meaning it would be near to the present cathedral.

The evidence concerning the location of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral comes from both historical and archaeological sources. Symeon makes some useful references to its location. For example when Robert Cumin was attacked in Durham City in 1069 the house in which he had secured himself and his retinue was set on fire, the sparks from the house then caught the western tower of the church (Stevenson 1993, 686). This evidence for the risk of fire to the west tower may mean that the shorter Anglo-Saxon church did not have its west end directly above the gorge as the present cathedral does. This pattern of occupation reflects that which

continued into the twelfth century until the creation of Palace Green by bishop Flambard (Bonney 1990, 34). This placement of buildings filling the areas adjacent to both the Anglo-Saxon and present cathedral possibly indicates continuity of occupation within the peninsula area despite the great building projects at the cathedral and castle. With the evidence that is discussed later concerning the spatial relationship between the Anglo-Saxon and present cathedral it is clear that some re-organisation of buildings that were previously adjacent to the early cathedral must have occurred. Obviously any attempt to link this limited historical data with spatial continuity is hazardous. Other archaeological and historical evidence for clear continuity of the cathedral site comes from an examination of the burial rite in relation to the present cathedral.

From the evidence of burials found in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that there is considerable continuity in the location of burials that are likely to be contemporary with the demolition of the Anglo-Saxon church and the construction of the Norman cathedral. Excavations at the east end of the Norman chapter house revealed five graves that were interpreted as the burial sites of Bishops. Stratigraphically below these graves were the in situ remains of seventeen male, female and children's graves (Lowther, Ebbatson, Ellison and Millett 1993, 44 site no 81). The burial rite of five of the seventeen individuals was characterised by the use of charcoal (Carver 1980, 13). Carver has interpreted these as graves from the earlier cemetery, predating the chapter house construction and representing a sequence of burial tradition based around the use of charcoal as a preservative (1980, 13). The use of charcoal in the burial is continued with its use in the burial of bishop William St. Calais (ibid. 13). Therefore there are strong elements of continuity in the burial practice, and in the location of high status burial that cross over the traditional break seen with the Conquest and the construction of the new cathedral with the foundation of the Priory. It is clear that charcoal or ash accompanying burials is a high status tradition that has a life stretching into the late twelfth century to thirteenth century (Daniell 1997, 32). The apparent end of this tradition is likely to be linked to the construction of the chapter house by 1155 (Roberts 1994, 53).

An analysis of the historical evidence for the location of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral has revealed that it may have been to the south of the present cathedral (Briggs, Cambridge and Bailey 1983). This historical interpretation can be supported with an analysis of the earliest architecture contained in the monastic buildings. This new location for the early cathedral would therefore place the burials found in the present chapter house beyond the east end of this church. This placement of the chapter house over the site of earlier burials associated with

the unreformed community may represent a strong element of continuity linking the Benedictine community whose cycle of daily use focused strongly on the chapter house, the burial location of their predecessors.

Cambridge analysed the historical evidence for the placement of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral in relation to the present cathedral (Briggs, Cambridge and Bailey 1983, 91-98). Cambridge determined that the early cathedral had stood to the south of the present cathedral in a discussion based around the archaeological evidence for cenotaphs marking the location of the resting places of St. Cuthbert's body (ibid.). Briggs, Cambridge and Bailey then continued to discuss a dowsed plan of what is assumed to be the remains of the pre-Conquest cathedral (1983, 96). This is not the place to discuss dowsing, although in a later volume the same authors present the results of a resistivity survey that failed to find any feature that correlated with the data from the dowsing survey (Bailey, Cambridge and Briggs 1988, 44). The dowsed plan also does not resemble the description of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral provided by Reginald of Durham which describes it as a building with two stone towers, one at the east end, the other at the west (Clapham 1930, 88).

Further evidence for the location of the early church can be found in the location of the monastic refectory at Durham. The refectory undercroft and elements of the monastic east range at Durham Cathedral are the only surviving buildings that appear to have been constructed while the Anglo-Saxon cathedral was still standing (Snape 1980, 22; Roberts 1994, 52-53). The early Norman vaulting most visible at the eastern end of this building does not continue through its full length. This would indicate that the refectory as initially planned was shorter than the present south range. The location and length of this building implies that the cloister, as originally planned, had shorter sides than at present. The south-eastern corner of the cloister appears to have been fixed with the construction of the refectory undercroft so for a cloister with shorter sides to fit into the plan with the refectory then the church would appear to have been further south than the present Cathedral. The extension to the western end of the monastic refectory appears to have been required to square the new, larger cloister that was created by the construction of the present cathedral to the north of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral. This evidence from the length of the refectory would correspond with the placement of the chapter house at the east end of the pre-Conquest church and the interpretation of Cambridge placing it to the south of the Anglo-Norman Cathedral. There is evidence in the continuation of Symeon's history that the extension of the cloister was undertaken by Ranulf Flambard (Rollason 2000, 277).

The continuity of high status burial from prior to the construction of the chapter house possibly from back into the Anglo-Saxon period represents considerable stability in the areas chosen for this practice. The probability that the castle was constructed to employ the Anglo-Saxon peninsula defences, and the considerable stability in the site of the Cathedral shows a very similar pattern of change between the Anglo-Saxon and Norman cathedrals as at Winchester. It would therefore appear that the basic elements of the town plan, that is the location of the Cathedral and the bank separating the peninsula from the lower town, are referenced in the locations of the castle and cathedral. The archaeological evidence for the layout of the rest of the City and its relationship to the military zone through the eleventh and twelfth centuries is less clear.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOWER TOWN

The 1993 archaeological survey of Durham City revealed that, at the time of this publication, there were only two sites within the city that contained stratified eleventh or twelfth century material (Lowther, Ebbatson, Ellison and Millett 1993, 38 and 42). The only archaeological site to reveal archaeological deposits, and structural evidence of this period is the Saddler Street site excavated by Carver (1979). More recent excavations of burgage plots in Claypath, Durham City have not revealed an early structural sequence comparable with Saddler Street.

The Saddler Street excavations revealed the partial remains of structures and, most importantly property boundaries of tenements (Carver 1979). The absolute dating of the phasing of the Saddler Street site is based upon the concordance of a series of radiocarbon dates, small finds and typological dates (ibid. 21 Fig. 11). The dating of period two at this site is fundamental as it is at this point that the tenements were realigned and fenced (ibid. 71). The characteristic urban organisation of Durham City is shown in the reconstruction of the tenements within the city and military zone shown in Figure 18. The dating of phase two at this site is based on two radiocarbon dates, the identification of a nail and fragments of pottery. The first radiocarbon result is taken from leather from a midden and is dated to approximately between 700 and 1000 AD (ibid. 21 Fig. 11). The second radiocarbon date is dated to approximately between 950 and 1150 AD (ibid.). Artefact dating is provided by a nail (small find number 98) dated in the small finds report to between the tenth and thirteenth century and is thought to have been used for a horse-shoe (ibid. 18). The reference to the dating of this type of artefact is based upon parallels identified from the palace at Cheddar (ibid.). The three nails found at Cheddar providing the parallels to the Durham nail are in contexts dated from the eleventh to twelfth century onwards (Rahtz 1979, 44 and 268). The pottery dating is also

unsatisfactory. Parallels for the finds within this sequence range between the seventh to ninth century levels at Jarrow (Carver 1979, 40), an unstratified, undated sherd at Hart, County Durham (Austin 1976, 118 find number 194) and parallels found at the apparently later sites at New Elvet, Durham City (Carver 1974, 126-127). Carver dates the formal layout of the tenements to the eleventh or early twelfth centuries (1979, 71). This dating implicitly associates the layout of the tenements with the coming of the Norman bishops. The dating evidence for this development shows that no such fine distinction can be made. I feel that it is entirely possible that the development of tenement properties in the city dates from prior to the Norman conquest of Durham and the north. It is clear from much of the work concerning settlement planning in the medieval period (for example: Beresford 1967; Campey 1989; Harvey 1984; Roberts 1972) that the social processes behind the establishment of a settlement are not understood.

The presence of early settlement evidence on Saddler Street shows this street follows an ancient alignment. The establishment of burgage plots to the west of Saddler Street fossilised the line of the approach to the military zone of the City. The approach to what was to become Palace Green, the castle and cathedral is not direct from the market place. As Figure 18 shows Saddler Street leads into the North and South Baileys that lead across the east face of the peninsula to its southern point. It is possible from the first edition OS plan to reconstruct the property boundaries lining the North and South Baileys. From the evidence of the form and location of the Anglo-Saxon Cathedral it is probable that the line of these roads is preserved from the Anglo-Saxon establishment of the City. The street plan that would appear to be established leading from the line of Saddler Street means that there is no direct access from the City to the castle. To get to Palace Green it is necessary to turn off from the line of Saddler Street and turn west into Owengate. Owengate now leads into Palace Green, but must have originally circled the site of the castle and connected with the road linking the castle and cathedral. This approach to the castle means that it is effectively hidden from view until one is on Palace Green. This approach to the castle adds to the drama of the layout of Durham City. The castle stands in a place that is visible throughout the City and the surrounding banks of the River Wear, but on approach it is effectively hidden from view. This specific point of the approach through the city is one of the most distinctive features of the arrangement of Durham.

The major alteration in the plan of the city is the clearance of Palace Green, the area to the north of the cathedral and the south of the castle marked on Figure 18, by Bishop Flambard in the early twelfth century (Bonney 1990, 26). From the references to the fire

danger to the White Church (Stevenson 1993, 686) it is apparent that buildings were constructed adjacent to the Anglo-Saxon cathedral. These buildings appear to have remained in use until their clearance by Bishop Flambard in the early twelfth century. What is at question here is the character of the tenement plots that these buildings stood on. If the sequence establishing the tenements in Saddler Street predates the Conquest then it is most likely that the buildings on the present Palace Green between the cathedral and castle are also of tenement form. This would have meant that Palace Green originally was a street leading between two rows of tenements stretching from the castle gate to the cathedral's north door. The change in ground level still visible between South Bailey and Palace Green is sill visible today and is shown in Plate 44. The upper level of this rise towards Palace Green probably represents the embankment that marked the division between the backs of tenements to the east side of Palace Green and the line of the Bailey. If this interpretation is correct then it is only really into the twelfth century with the clearance of Palace Green that the military zone of the city is created. A question does arise concerning the burgage plots that line North and South Bailey. It is claimed generally by tradition that the military tenants of the Bishops occupied these plots (Bonney 1990, 26). With the introduction of knight service it is clear that the allocation of this area of the city to the military tenants would itself have resulted in a population dislocation.

It can be seen from the discussion that Durham from its foundation and through the twelfth century was a developing townscape. The major imposition onto the landscape of the city was the construction of the castle, a building constructed by the crown and occupied as an elite residence by the bishops. Further changes to the city can be seen with the development of the military zone and the separation of the peninsula from the city a process begun with the clearance of Palace Green and the settlement of military tenants on the baileys of the castle. There is a weight of history behind the changing landscape of Durham City. Essentially the most important foci remain in fixed, unchanging positions. The historical data, especially for the successive reconstructions of the Cathedral emphasises continuity of location and tradition, essentially a similar emphasis made with the introduction of the Benedictine community and the removal of the secular clerks by the first Norman bishop.

CASTLES CONSTRUCTED TO RESEMBLE AND REFERENCE DURHAM CITY

In this section I am going to argue that two castle sites can be associated with Durham both historically and morphologically. These two sites are Bishopton and Bishop Middleham both in County Durham. I am going to argue that the development of Bishopton references

aspects of Durham at a particularly important point concerning the succession to the bishopric in the anarchy during the reign of King Stephen. The development of Bishop Middleham is more difficult to date and does not appear to relate particularly to a specific historical episode in the same way as Bishopton.

BISHOPTON

The development of Bishopton Castle is intimately tied into the political problems that beset the Bishopric following the death of Bishop Geoffrey Rufus. Bishopton stands in the south of County Durham between Darlington and Stockton. The importance of Bishopton Castle stems from the role played by Roger de Conyers in supporting the incoming Bishop, Bishop William of St Barbe. From the story detailed by Symeon of Durham concerning the disputed election of the 1140s Roger de Conyers provided material and support to William of St Barbe with his developments at Bishopton. It will be argued here than the form of the peninsula at Durham influenced an aspect of the development of Bishopton.

The disputed election occurred through the efforts of William Cumin, the Chancellor of the King of the Scots to become Bishop of Durham and therefore reduce the authority of the English crown over Durham and its possessions. The story behind Cumin's attempt to gain the Bishopric is detailed by Symeon of Durham's History of the Church of Durham (Stevenson 1993). It is necessary here to detail the events of Cumin's attempt to become bishop to place the selected form of Bishopton in context. This sequence of events associated with Bishopton Castle is taken from Stevenson (1993, 751-756).

William Cumin travelled to Durham and met with Bishop Geoffrey Rufus. During his interview with the Bishop he realised that the Bishop was near to death. Cumin obtained pledges from the Bishop's household and the keepers of Durham Castle to surrender to Cumin on the death of Bishop Rufus.

Bishop Rufus died and his corpse was kept hidden by Cumin's adherents in the castle. Cumin travelled to speak to the King of the Scots to obtain support in his attempt to become Bishop. At the same time as Cumin's audience with the King of the Scots Bishop Rufus's body was disembowelled in an attempt to preserve it and hide the death from the monks. On Cumin's return to Durham from Scotland the monks were admitted to the castle and King David enjoined the Empress Matilda to issue her consent for Cumin to become Bishop. The Empress granted her consent.

King Stephen's supporters prevented the investiture of Cumin as bishop. Cumin was then forced to stay in Durham for three years to further his attempts to gain the bishopric.

In the second year following the death of Bishop Rufus (1141) the monks of Durham travelled to York to enquire of the advice of the Chapter concerning the situation. The Chapter at York gave the Prior of Durham the authority to appoint a Bishop and excommunicate Cumin's adherents. Connected with the grant of authority from York messages were sent to Rome explaining the situation and a grant was issued for the election of whomever the monks of Durham wished. The Prior, Archdeacon and other officials from the church of Durham then gathered together with their grants of authority and elected the Dean of York, the future Bishop William of St Barbe.

In 1144 the Bishop of Winchester, who was also the Papal legate, received the Bishop of Durham elect and secured the consent of King Stephen for his election. Following these examples of support William of St Barbe returned to York and issued letters of excommunication against Cumin and his supporters in Durham.

It is at this point Bishopton enters the story. In 1144 Symeon of Durham reports that Roger de Conyers, one of the Bishop's barons constructed a fortress for the Bishop (ibid. 152). For the purposes of this chapter much is resting upon this phrase. It is known that Roger de Conyers held lands at Bishopton. The remains of Bishopton, as they are visible today, consist of a motte and bailey castle standing within the loop of a series of fishponds accessed from the village via a causeway. A plan of Bishopton can be seen in Figure 19. A view of Bishopton Castle from the south is included as Plate 45. There is no historical evidence that can be employed directly to place the construction of the fishponds and the associated motte and bailey to link with the historical references in Symeon of Durham. If the form adopted for the castle at Bishopton is considered and associated with the succession problems to the bishopric then an argument can be presented that Bishopton was constructed with Durham in mind by standing within a loop of fishponds (see Plate 46) and being accessed over a causeway from the village. A view of the causeway from the bailey of the castle is shown in Plate 47. It is this symbolic association between the castle at Bishopton and the plan of Durham that will be discussed here and reinforces the identification of Bishopton with the historically referenced site.

The argument concerning the form of Bishopton employing ideas from the City of Durham can be advanced with an examination of the relationship between the levels of the fishponds and the ditching at Bishopton. The peninsula of Durham itself was, like Bishopton surrounded by a sheet of water whose level and flow would have been managed. At Durham the waters of the River Wear are managed through the presence of mills that are documented from before 1183 (Austin 1982, 11). Medieval fishponds, like those at Bishopton, functioned

by separating fish of different sizes, through the use of banks or separate ponds, to reduce the loss of young, smaller fish from the feeding of larger fish on them. The banks dividing up the fishponds at Bishopton are laid out in a way suggestive of performing this function of separating the fish. It could be argued that the use of the banks to separate the sheets of water within the fishpond would reflect the presence of wears dividing the waters of the River Wear in Durham to manage the waters of the river for the mills. The height of the separating banks within the fishponds gives a good idea of the height of water that would have originally filled the fishponds. A profile of the castle earthworks at Bishopton is included as Figure 20. Figure 20 shows that if the fishponds were filled to their maximum functional height with water then the outer ditch earthworks, and the ditch about the motte would remain dry. This therefore means that to maintain the functionality of the fishponds, that is to preserve a water level that allowed the separating banks to keep the fish from mixing, it was necessary for the castle earthworks at this site to remain dry. This management of the water at Bishopton means that the water at this site would have been confined to the loop of fishponds. This plain of water would not have isolated the site from the rest of the landscape around Bishopton. The castle, as Figure 19 shows, was accessed from the village by a causeway from the main road. This causeway would have provided a break within the fishponds ensuring they were of a looping shape reflecting the form of the River Wear at Durham. Like the approach to the castle at Durham the castle at Bishopton is not directly approached, the causeway crosses the north-west face of the castle reaching the adjacent corner. This approach would mean that the north-east face of the castle would have been exposed and visible from the approach. The access through to the south-west side of the castle would have made this face of the site visible from the approach. Therefore anyone approaching to the bailey would gain a full impression of the castle standing within its fishponds.

The site selected for Bishopton is low lying and today still remains damp. The castle earthworks stand to the south of the village at the lowest point of the surrounding landscape, a location clearly intended for the collection of water rather than indicative of any idea of a defensive location. The arrangement of the ponds and their construction in relation to the earthworks and the height of the water mean that it is clear the use of water was not intended as a defensive feature. The provision of the banks within the fishponds, that are essential for their use, would mean informed people who have seen fishponds before would understand what they were and realise that they are only shallow bodies of water. The presence of the loop of fishponds around Bishopton and the planning that went into the construction of the earthworks and fishponds to ensure the functionality of the pond system clearly point to an intent to construct a site that brings ideas from Durham to Bishopton. The historical context

of the construction works of Roger de Conyers, and the use of this site as the Bishop's base within the lands of St Cuthbert during a time of great instability and violence within the real City of Durham point to an attempt to create a new, legitimate secure site that brings ideas from Durham.

BISHOP MIDDLEHAM

The identification and description of the Bishop of Durham's residence at Bishop Middleham as a castle rests largely on its inclusion in the earthworks chapter of the Victoria County History (Page 1905, 357). The site at Bishop Middleham is first referenced in the episcopacy of Bishop Philip of Poitou (1197-1208) (Page 1928, 204). Philip of Poitou is reported as staying at Middleham on two occasions (Greenwell 1871, 250 and 301). These references to the presence of the bishop do not provide any description of the buildings or their surroundings, but from the charters of Finchale Priory some from 1241 onwards are referenced as being addressed from Bishop Middleham. Three charters issued by the bishops of Durham to Finchale Priory are dated at Bishop Middleham (Raine 1837, 170, 179 and 190). One charter dated by Raine to 1254-5 describes Bishop Middleham specifically as a manor (1837, 179). It is possible from the other documentary evidence, largely dating from the fourteenth century, to build up a pattern of the accommodation at this site. There is no data from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries to indicate the form or type of accommodation at Bishop Middleham. In 1316 there are references to Bishop Middleham having a hall with chapel, a kitchen and an old wall that surrounds them (Raine 1839, 119). Richard Kellaw, Bishop of Durham, died in a small chamber at Bishop Middleham in 1316 (Hardy 1874, 834). The most detailed evidence for the buildings at this site comes from the bailiff's report of 1349-1350 listing the repairs required by the buildings of the manor to bring them to a serviceable condition (Greenwell 1857, 238-240). The most detailed description of the Bishop Middleham buildings is of the chamber to be repaired that has 200 lead nails supplied to fix the ten windows in the chamber and lead nails to fix the leads for guttering (ibid. 239). The wood supplied for the works on the chamber included two thousand five hundred lathes, six hundred nails for the attachment of planks and one hundred board nails for the windows (ibid.). The presence of lathes on the list possibly indicates the presence of a plaster ceiling. Other buildings or rooms are mentioned such as the chamber over the services, the grange that required scaffolding to stabilise it and porches of both wood and stone (ibid. 138).

It is argued here that the form of the fishponds at Bishop Middleham and the particular selection of a peninsula site provide a reference to the peninsula of Durham City. Figure 21 shows the plan of the settlement at Bishop Middleham and the relationship between

the palace site, peninsula and church. A view of the castle site can be seen in Plate 48. It will be noted that unlike at Durham the church at Bishop Middleham is not on the peninsula, but is sited where the peninsula protrudes from the rising ground to the south of the village and can be seen in Plate 49. The properties associated with the church, the glebes associated with the rector and vicar, appears to be a primary element within the village plan. The south row of tofts abuts this group of properties and the length of this row appears to be determined by the presence of the glebes. It could therefore be argued that the glebes would appear to predate the village plan. This could indicate an early, possibly pre-Conquest date, for the foundation of the church. The dating of the castle site is considerably more ambiguous, especially the dating of the fishponds.

The dating of the fishponds at Bishop Middleham without any excavation can only be achieved through historical evidence and from their similarity to the ponds at Bishopton. A view of the pond to the south of the peninsula is included as Plate 50. The only historical evidence for the fishponds at Bishop Middleham is a donation of two young swans to Robert de Hilton in 1313 (Hardy 1873, 480). This donation does not directly reference the fishponds, but in the bailiffs' records for 1349-1350 published with Hatfield's Survey a restocking of the manor farm at Bishop Middleham is discussed including the acquisition of swans (Greenwell 1857, 240). It is therefore easy to assume that these swans would be placed on the fishponds surrounding the manor.

The historical evidence reveals that it is difficult necessarily to claim that the fishponds date from the first construction of the manor at Bishop Middleham, but the only references to their existence are to their use, not to their construction. The site at Bishop Middleham also lacks distinct evidence for a foundation date, the site appears as an address in the charter of Philip of Poitou. It is entirely open to question whether Bishop Middleham represents a new foundation during the episcopacy of Philip of Poitou. It could simply be that Bishop Middleham emerges into the documentary record with the survival of letters from the episcopacy of Philip of Poitou.

Bishop Middleham represents the only example of a residence of the Bishop of Durham where there are references to Durham City. If the village of Bishop Middleham is examined as a whole then it can be seen to be entirely possible that the land occupied by the palace may well be a land allocation dating from the Anglo-Saxon period. The evidence for the form of the village at Bishop Middleham comes from both cartographic and historical sources. The Boldon Book (Austin 1982) indicates that the pattern of landholdings within the village is exceptionally similar to that recorded in the later Bishop Hatfield's survey (Greenwell 1857).

The references to property holdings in both the Boldon Book and Hatfield's Survey clearly distinguish between lands held in the village of Bishop Middleham measured in customary measures, bovates or carucates and land measured in acres (Sheppard 1966; 1974). The greatest distinction is made between land held by bond tenants in both Hatfield's Survey (Greenwell 1857, 180-183) and the Boldon Book (Austin 1982, 25) and other types of tenant. The landholdings of bond tenants are expressed as holdings based on bovates of land, customary measures of land. In both volumes again holdings of non-customary tenants, for example cottagers, are expressed in acres; a measure of area rather than a customary measure. Hatfield's Survey gives further information concerning the manorial holdings within the village than the Boldon Book and details that the manorial lands are divided into two types, distinguished by their measurement systems. There is a bulk of manorial land in Bishop Middleham that is expressed in carucates with further areas defined in acres (Greenwell 1857, 183). The holdings expressed in carucates are indicative of land within the subdivided field system. The holdings measured in acres are separate, enclosed fields within the lands of the village. From the similarities of landholdings detailed in the Boldon Book to those in Hatfield's survey it is possible to demonstrate that the historical evidence clearly indicates great continuity of landholding between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. This continuity of landholding is likely to be expressed through the continuity of the plan of the tofts in Bishop Middleham visible in the first edition Ordnance Survey plan. The tithe plan provides further evidence for the development of the plan of Bishop Middleham. The tithe plan reveals that the glebe lands are focused around the church, adjacent to the southern row of tofts. This row of tofts fits to the east side of the glebe lands associated with the vicarage. It would appear from this analysis of the plan of Bishop Middleham that the palace site and peninsula represent a focus of settlement in the village.

Both Bishopton (Figure 19) and Bishop Middleham (Figure 21) would appear to indicate specific attempts to construct castle or palace sites that closely reference the peninsula of Durham City. At Bishopton the development of this site appears to be linked to a specific attack on the legitimacy of the line of the Bishops of Durham with the attempt of Cumin to take the See. At Bishop Middleham the reason why a form analogous to Durham was selected is not indicated from the historical record. The most obvious context for Bishop Middleham is that the construction of this site represents an expansion of the demesnes of the Bishops of Durham in the south-west of the county.

Other Twelfth-Century Residences of the Bishop of Durham

This section is a short examination of other residences associated with the bishops of Durham. At some of these sites, Easington, Stockton and Crayke, the castle or manor house is located adjacent to the church or chapel. This short examination demonstrates that none of these sites resemble, in plan, whether based on the surviving earthworks or relationship to their associated settlements, Durham City.

County Durham

The palace site at Bishop Auckland does not contain any diagnostic earthworks. Fragments of chevron-decorated stonework have been recovered from the seventeenth century choir stalls of the current chapel (Cunningham 1990). These fragments are paralleled to a number of other sites associated with the bishopric that were built in the later twelfth century. The palace at Bishop Auckland stands to the east end of the main east to west street; the chapel is located further to the west of the castle site. The general plan of this settlement in no way resembles Durham City.

The Boldon Book contains references to a court at Darlington. It is the responsibility of the villeins of Darlington to enclose this court (Austin 1982, 57). It is unclear, however, where this court was located.

At Easington, to the east of the parish church, stands the remains of Seaton Holme, a thirteenth century hall house with cross wing. Recent works at this site have recovered architectural fragments that indicate the presence of other ranges of contemporary buildings. Pevsner and Williamson state that this building is likely to have been extended for the occupation of Bishop Farnham following his retirement in 1248 (1985, 257). The church and manor house stand to one side of a square village green with housing plots to all four sides. The Boldon Book contains no references to a hall or court at Easington, this is probably due to leasing of the lordship farm (Austin 1982, 21).

A temporary residence is described under the Boldon Book entry for Stanhope, but no location is given for this site. Under this entry the villeins of Stanhope are to build a kitchen, larder and dog-kennel at the great chase. They are also required to provide straw for the hall, chapel and chamber (ibid. 41).

Stockton Castle is known through limited excavations and probably is referenced in the Boldon Book. The passage referring to this site reads as follows "*...held the old toft of the hall next to his house...*" (ibid. 55). Aberg and Smith (1988, 176) assume that this hall is that of the castle. The remains identified in the excavations included two stone-built drains

constructed over two phases (ibid 180). The second phase drain included architectural fragments dated to the late twelfth century. The only structural evidence for buildings located on the site was three-sides of foundations that had been robbed out. The architectural fragments recovered from the site included material dating to the later twelfth century that were comparable to other contemporary sites associated with the bishops of Durham (ibid. 188). A plan of Stockton is included as Figure 22, this shows that the castle was located at the south end of the high street, to the east of the town chapel. The River Tees, where in the later medieval period a staith was built to service the castle, provided the east boundary of the castle site. Stockton High Street stretches north from the junction of the enclosures between the chapel and castle.

East Riding of Yorkshire

Howden appears to have been the focus of an estate in the East Riding. In 1122-1128 Ranulf Flambard notified Ailred, on of the priory monks of a donation made to St Cuthbert and his community in Howden (Rollason 2000, 8). A late medieval manor house survives in the village of Howden decorated with the arms of Bishops Skirlaw and Langley (Pevsner 1972, 264). This manor house stands to the east end of the parish church, a former collegiate church built, on what Pevsner describes, as a cathedral scale (1972, 258). This church was refounded as a collegiate establishment in the thirteenth century.

The manor house at Howden, together with the church, stands on the south side of a triangular market place which is lined with burgage plots.

North Riding of Yorkshire

Crayke Castle stands to the west end of Crayke parish church, at the head of a wide green stretching to the south. The remains of the castle consist of a post-medieval range built onto the remains of a late medieval kitchen (Ryder 1983, 102). These later remains are constructed around a motte. King Ecgfrith gave the estate based on a three-mile circuit around Crayke to St Cuthbert. (Rollason 2000, 47 and 98). This estate was donated so that Cuthbert might have a resting place while travelling to York. Crayke stands near to the modern road leading from Durham, through Darlington and Northallerton, to York. One must question whether Crayke Castle was built on the site of an Anglo-Saxon residence.

The two twelfth-century castle sites at Northallerton both stands separately from the town. The earliest site stands to the north of the settlement; it has been extensively damaged by the presence of North-Eastern railway running through it. A motte and bailey site stands near to the south of the parish church, to the west of the main street of the borough. These two

locations are difficult to relate to the historical references to castle construction in the vicinity of the settlement. William Cumin apparently built this first castle at Northallerton during the anarchy (ibid. 293). It is possible that this site remained in use until 1176 when the site was demolished (Thompson 1994, 434) or it could be that a different site was established. The motte and bailey site located in the cemetery, to the east of the town, apparently remained in use as a residence into the later medieval period. It is most likely that this site was founded after 1176. Figure 23 shows a plan of Northallerton, and the location of the two castle sites. It can be seen from this plan that the settlement at Northallerton, in relation to the locations of its castles, bears no resemblance to Durham.

Northumberland

The Boldon Book contains references to a court at Bedlington in Northumberland. This court contains a hall that the villeins are required to cover (Austin 1982, 29). Bedlington stands at the centre of an estate, referred to as Bedlingtonshire, on the coast of Northumberland consisting of six townships, including Bedlington. Bedlington functions as a base in the south of Northumberland for travelling on to North Durham, Norham and Holy Island. This is demonstrated by the post-Conquest move of the body of St Cuthbert through to Holy Island following the Harrying of the North where Bedlington is one of the stops (Rollason 2000, 187). There is no clear location for where this court was located within Bedlington. The first edition OS map suggests a possible location to the west of the church site on the site of Bedlington Hall, near to the vicarage.

Norham Castle stands to the east end of the east-to-west street that makes up the borough. To the west end of the town the street widens to form a triangular market place. The church and vicarage stand off to the north side of the market place at the opposite end of the town to the castle.

TOWN SITES ASSOCIATED WITH DURHAM

This part of the chapter will begin with an analysis of the plans of Appleby and Warkworth. These two town sites both resemble Durham in their general plan. Firstly they will be examined and secondly the development of the towns of Barnard Castle and Richmond will be discussed.

APPLEBY

The foundation of the castle and town of Appleby, unlike that of Durham lacks specific historical details. It is generally believed that Appleby represents an early post-

Conquest foundation in Westmorland. This early date for the foundation of the town of Appleby is due to its use in an address clause of the foundation charter issued to Wetheral Priory by Ranulf le Meschin (Summerson 1993, 19). It is generally believed that the castle at Appleby was initially constructed as a motte and bailey due to the 'keyhole' shape of the present house and tower enclosure (Perriam and Robinson 1998, 252). A view drawn by Buck reinforces this interpretation of the site as a motte and bailey by showing a ditch separating the tower and house. Buck's view of the castle alters the alignment of the house and tower against each other and therefore cannot be seen as an accurate, factual representation of the site. The plan of the inner bailey and its surrounding earthworks is shown in Figure 24. The interpretation of Appleby as a motte and bailey is certainly open to question and the exact original form of this site cannot necessarily be determined from its present plan.

As at Durham, as shown in Figure 25, the castle at Appleby is constructed across the neck of a peninsula. In parallel to Durham access onto the peninsula at Appleby is adjacent to the location of the great tower. At Durham, of course, the motte stands adjacent to the access through the North Gate. Figure 25 shows the plan of Appleby is exceptionally similar to the proposed reconstruction of Durham shown in Figure 18. The main features of the town plan at Appleby are the north to south double row of burgage plots stretching between the gate of the castle north to the parish church. The outer earthworks of the castle at Appleby demarcate the inner ward from the town and condition the approach up to the plateau the castle stands on above the river. Essentially this outer enclosure at Appleby works in a similar way to Palace Green at Durham in providing a space that emphasises the scale and importance of the building that is being approached as well as controlling and influencing access to the buildings.

The borough at Appleby that occupies the peninsula is part of a wider range of settlement about the setting of the castle. To the east of the castle, over the river stands the church of St Michael, Bondgate. Stretching north from St Michael, Bondgate is a short row of tenements. These tenements are marked on Figure 25. Morris (1989, 52-57) analysed the landscape contexts of churches dedicated to St Michael. Morris states that a good proportion of the sites dedicated to St Michael are located in elevated positions, even locally elevated positions. The location of St Michael reflects this interpretation standing on a rise above the short row of properties making up Bondgate. To the south-west of the castle there is a further group of tenements. The provision of two parish churches for Appleby works well when their parish boundaries are considered. The church of St Lawrence standing at the north of the Appleby peninsula serves the parish that is essentially made up of the borough and is confined to the peninsula. St Michael serves a wider parish including the properties excluded from the

borough, those outside the peninsula. A hogback tomb is employed as a lintel to the north door of St Michael's church. The presence of this hogback, dated by Bailey and Cramp (1988, Corpus number Appleby 1) to the tenth century, is indicative of an earlier church on this site. The form of the parish boundaries with the boundaries of St Lawrence being confined to the peninsula, effectively as an island with the parish of St Michael, would appear to indicate that St Michael is likely to predate the foundation of St Lawrence and therefore the borough.

It is therefore most likely that the borough at Appleby represents a contemporary foundation to the castle and parish church of St Lawrence. This interpretation of the settlement of the town at Appleby means that it represents a unified picture of settlement. This picture would appear to be reinforced by the order visible in the town plan Figure 25. This possibly is not surprising if Appleby does represent a late eleventh or early twelfth century town foundation to support the position of Ranulf le Mechines in Cumbria. Appleby's early foundation means that it is most likely to predate the reorganisation of Durham, and possibly most importantly predate the foundation of the Cathedral and Bishopric of Carlisle. Appleby is not mentioned on the itinerary of the travels of St Cuthbert's body through the North of England prior to its final settlement at Durham in 995 but Cumbria and the southern border area of Scotland are well represented. In Cumbria St Cuthbert's body is taken to Carlisle and Cockermouth. Carlisle, certainly, is an important pre-Conquest centre. The status of Cockermouth in the pre-Conquest period is less clear although Cockermouth in the twelfth century appears to have been the head of a compact estate and single parish separated from the Barony of Copeland. It is most likely that an important aspect of the travels of St Cuthbert's body around the north was to reinforce the control of the Bishops of Lindisfarne over their wide diocese that would have included historic Cumbria until the creation of the Bishopric of Carlisle. It is possible to see the form of Appleby as a partial response and reference to the ecclesiastical authority of Durham, but this interpretation is undermined due to the donation of both parish churches at Appleby to St Mary's in York (Summerson 1993, 10). It is possibly best to interpret the similarities between Appleby and Durham as being based around expressions of Lordship.

WARKWORTH

The castle at Warkworth, like that at Appleby, is part of a settlement that appears to be constructed to resemble the peninsula of Durham prior to its twelfth century reorganisation. A plan of the town of Warkworth is included as Figure 26. The town of Warkworth has long connections to the monks of Lindisfarne as in 737 Ceolwulf, the king of Northumbria gave it and its church to the Abbey (Hunter Blair and Honeyman 1954, 3). This historic link to the

'ancestors' of the monks at Durham cannot obviously provide data for a link across time but does provide a greater level of historical context for the development of the town and castle. The development of the castle at Warkworth and the relationship between the twelfth century stonework and the earthwork plan raise considerable questions concerning the traditional picture of the motte and bailey at this site. The development and dating of the motte and bailey earthworks at this site are fundamental to its interpretation as a site similar to Durham and may help to provide a historical context for the plan.

The twelfth century remains at Warkworth are focused on the bailey. A plan of this site is shown in Figure 27. The pattern of the surviving walls at Warkworth are very similar to the later remains in the area of the bailey. The twelfth century remains on the eastern side of the bailey mark a boundary well in from the outer earthworks. This could therefore indicate a contraction in the area enclosed with the conversion of the site to a stone walled bailey. As Figure 27 shows the twelfth century stone remains at Warkworth only align to the edge of the enclosure to the west. Figure 26 shows that the western side of Warkworth castle is aligned to the river, the twelfth century stonework on this side aligns to this defined boundary. This side of the castle is the only side where the twelfth century material aligns to the earthworks. The earthworks marking the southern boundary of this site align to the south wall and gatehouse that stand on a foundation and with surviving walling that is attributed to the late twelfth-early thirteenth centuries. It appears from the plan that the twelfth century wall surviving in the east and west curtain wall does not stretch as far south as the late twelfth-early thirteenth century frontage. When this evidence is taken into account it cannot necessarily be demonstrated that the earthworks at Warkworth are a primary element of the development of this site. Figure 27 shows that the stone enclosure stands within the larger earthwork. There is, of course, no reason why the earthworks at this site could not have post-dated the stonework, with a smaller twelfth century stone enclosure standing within the extensive, later earthwork remains of the present motte and bailey. Warkworth is mentioned in the Chronicle of Jordan Fantosme. This chronicle mentions that the Scots did not bother to attack Warkworth as it was: '*weak in wall and trench*' (Michaeol 1840, 27). This twelfth century description is totally at odds with the present appearance of the earthworks at Warkworth that are extensive and impressive in their scale. A view of the main ditch is shown in Plate 51, this ditch is extensive in both width and depth. A view of the motte is shown in Plate 52. This motte is certainly among the largest in the North of England. The present appearance of the earthworks at Warkworth contradicts the description given by Fantosme. It could certainly be assumed that these earthworks would be improved with the construction of the late medieval castle and the impressive keep that crowns the motte. Works at this later date can only obscure the interpretation of this castle in its

twelfth century form. Whether Fantosme can be used to provide a date for the earthworks is open to question but on the balance of evidence a case can certainly be made for the construction of the motte and bailey castle at Warkworth dating to the late twelfth to early thirteenth century. With the construction of the motte and bailey at this site cutting off the neck of the peninsula Warkworth achieved an appearance similar to Durham.

The connections between Durham and Warkworth through the twelfth century are focused on the architecture of the parish church of St Laurence. The church of St Laurence stands as an almost complete example of twelfth century architecture. This church contains features that are clearly attributable to the influence of Durham Cathedral. The focus of the similarities between Warkworth and Durham is concentrated on the interior and exterior of the chancel. The exterior of the chancel is enlivened with two stringcourses. The first stringcourse runs at windowsill level. The second string course runs at the level of the springers for the window heads. This is then carried around the voussoirs as a hoodmould. The exterior of the chancel is shown in Plate 53. This treatment of linking a stringcourse and hoodmould together is used on a number of churches associated with the See of Durham and is visible on the west face of the south transept of Durham Cathedral. The combined hoodmould and stringcourse is used on the north face of the chancel of Norham Parish Church (Plate 54) and survives later rebuilding work on the east face of the south transept of Northallerton parish church (Plate 55). This simple architectural feature obviously does not only have associations with Durham but the combined hoodmould and stringcourse is a feature that does appear to have an association with the bishopric. At Warkworth the full extent of the links to Durham Cathedral can be seen once the interior of the church is examined.

The chancel at Warkworth is one of the few vaulted chancels in England. The Warkworth chancel is vaulted with a rib vault that is decorated with chevron work. The '*Buildings of England*' volume for Northumberland reveals the extent of the similarities: "*...there is a display of richness directly derived from the example of Durham Cathedral.*" (Grundy et. al. 1992, 612). While the extent of the similarities between Durham and Warkworth may have been ambiguous on the exterior of this church, the interior uses features that are directly derived from the Cathedral at Durham and indicates the maintenance of a close relationship between the two towns in the twelfth century.

The dating of the town plan at Warkworth must remain a mystery due to the lack of archaeological work. The reference to the donation of the church at Warkworth in 737 cannot be related to the associated settlement and be employed to date the settlement but other evidence can be used. There are three pieces of Anglo-Saxon sculpture at Warkworth parish

church (Cramp 1984 Corpus numbers Warkworth 1-3). These pieces of sculpture date to the first half of the tenth century, the tenth to eleventh century and the eleventh century respectively. The presence of Anglo-Saxon sculptural fragments at Warkworth church provides a relatively secure date for the church. It has been argued that in the context of the expansion of settlement on the coastal fringe in Lincolnshire that the identification of sculpture indicating burial can be linked to the foundation of churchyards and therefore of their associated settlements (Evison and Stocker 1999, 80). The sculpture at Warkworth may indicate a similar case. To the east of the churchyard was the later medieval chantry. These three properties indicate an ecclesiastical focus to the north end of the peninsula at Warkworth. This group of ecclesiastical properties represent an influential focus in the developing plan of this town.

The west row of tenements within the town of Warkworth share common fore and rear boundaries. The line of the river conditions the alignment of the rear boundary of the plots. The front boundary of the west row of plots aligns to the western boundary of the churchyard. The vicarage occupied the north plot of the west row as part of this ecclesiastical focus. The alignment of the road fronting the eastern row of properties is conditioned by the location of this bridge in one case and the ecclesiastical focus. To return to the castle its relationship to the southern boundaries of the east and west rows of tenement plots again can provide some phasing evidence.

Warkworth, like all other castles, stands within a unit of property. The boundaries of this property unit are clearly marked at Warkworth through the southern ends of the east and west rows of the tenement plots. It has been argued that the earthwork remains, in their present form, represent an expanded enclosure for the castle that is larger than its early twelfth century form. If this interpretation of the expansion of the castle is correct then the direct morphological relationship between the castle and town can only be attributed to the late twelfth to early thirteenth century. It is most likely that the development of the town predates this extension to the castle with the southern extent of the town. Obviously it is difficult to try and connect the events of the expansion of the castle and the development of the town.

It would appear from the development, and possible phasing, of the plan of Warkworth that the town develops from the late Anglo-Saxon period onwards. The development of the motte and bailey castle that seals the similarity of the plan of Warkworth to Durham could be dated to the late twelfth to early thirteenth century. The ambiguous relationship of the stonework to its enclosing earthworks leaves the possibility of a late date for the construction of the motte and bailey. Warkworth reflects Durham through its late twelfth to early thirteenth century form of a motte and bailey cutting off the peninsula of the town. If

the surviving Anglo-Saxon sculpture at Warkworth is an indication of a date for settlement in the peninsula area, or at least occupation and use of the church then this site is a relative contemporary to the foundation of Durham City in an exceptionally similar situation. This similarity to Durham is possible conditioned by the ownership of Warkworth by the earls of Northumberland in the pre-Conquest period. Carver has indicated that the earls of Northumberland were also heavily involved in the foundation of Durham City (1980, 12). So at Warkworth there is the possibility of an extended series of links between Warkworth and Durham. It is on the turn of the twelfth to thirteenth century that the links between Warkworth and Durham are updated and reinforced with the construction of the motte and bailey around the existing castle site. The pattern of similarity between sites is not only confined to the group examined here, there are other sites within the sample are where the spatial patterning is exceptionally close.

A Wider Context: Richmond and Barnard Castle

Appleby, Durham and Warkworth are not the only towns in the sample area that are based around remarkably similar town plans. The boroughs of Richmond and Barnard Castle are related in employing similar locations and town plans. A plan of Barnard Castle is included as Figure 28 and a plan of Richmond castle and town is included as Figure 29. The dating of Richmond has been discussed earlier in Chapter Two it is apparent that both settlements and castles are likely to be close, relatively contemporary foundations. At both sites the castles stand on high rock outcrops over river crossings, both sites are characterised by large enclosures with the main focus of building within the castle well away from the towns, but near to, and highly visible from, their associated river crossings. At both sites the early focus of settlement within the towns is in a radial pattern around a wide market place focused towards the exterior wall of the castle. From Figure 28 and Figure 29 it is clear how exceptionally similar these two settlements are.

The arrangement of the boroughs and castles at these sites possibly implies elite processions through the settlement and into the castle or out from the castle to the parish church. At Richmond the great tower has windows at first floor level that would have overlooked the marketplace and barbican. As Renn (1994) has suggested it is possible that these windows could have been used to display the lord. At Barnard Castle the outer line of the curtain wall has survived less well so it is unclear whether any similar display features previously overlooked the marketplace at this settlement.

The obvious spatial similarity between the two settlements is further emphasised when the borough charters are examined. Barnard Castle has two issues of borough charters where a text survives: one is dated to 1175 and the other to 1215-1227 (Ballard 1913, 26). For the two issues of charter included in Table 6 the grant of rights to the burgesses of Barnard Castle stem entirely from the grants to Richmond. This focus on spatial form and similarity of borough rights to Richmond by Barnard Castle could be based on the success of Richmond as a borough and source of income. Richmond is probably the closest borough to Barnard Castle and most likely to be the borough with which the burgesses of Barnard Castle will have been most familiar. If the relationships between Barnard Castle and Richmond are viewed as a strategy of lordship then a further context of meaning can be applied to these similarities. For much of the twelfth century claims were made by the bishops of Durham that they were overlords of the lands associated with Barnard Castle (Austin 1979, 53). The independence and power of the earls of Richmond can simply be measured through the huge scale of their landholdings based around Richmond. The similarity of settlement plan, castle setting and dependence upon social practices within Barnard Castle on Richmond can be viewed as a strategy of lordship emphasising the similarities of Barnard Castle to Richmondshire and therefore its independence from the bishops of Durham presenting an entirely different case to Appleby and Warkworth.

CONCLUSIONS: THE SCALE AND INFLUENCE OF DURHAM IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

It is necessary here to emphasise the point that this is not an examination of castles and their associated landscapes, but is an investigation into the physical constructs of lordship in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Durham represents a specific group of ideas and concepts associated with a particular model of lordship. This model of lordship was exploited and based centrally on Durham's importance as a regional centre, as a market, as a cult centre and most importantly as an example of entwined secular and ecclesiastical lordship. It is, of course, not only the plan of Durham that can be seen to be influential in the North of England during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

One must wonder if the emulation of other settlements was undertaken as an aspect of settlement planning. The placement of a castle was most probably determined by a pre-existing pattern of landholding so to an extent the possibilities of emulation through castle building are limited to architectural forms. Possibly this can explain the similarities in plan between the great towers of Carlisle, Brough and Brougham. The use of particular architectural forms is

also a likely form of emulation, but one which is less easy to detect due to the loss of the vast majority of twelfth century buildings.

Emulation or expression of links to another lord could well be demonstrated through the dedication of a parish church, or the endowment of an altar within a church to a particular saint. Other similar strategies could be expressed through endowments to particular monastic houses. A link to Durham may well be expressed through a donation to the priory or in a more limited way through the foundation or support of another Benedictine house. Many of the earliest foundation of monastic houses in the north were alien priories, daughter houses of monasteries based in Normandy. This type of foundation expressed, and enshrined, links between an individuals Normandy and English estates. The foundation or endowment of a Cistercian house can also express an aspect of social links through the selection of a motherhouse and the subsequent institutional links that would be emphasised through this structure. In this chapter only a small example of types of emulation has been discussed but it is probable that other ranges and extents of emulation were practiced throughout medieval society.

The development of town and castle plans that appear to be based on Durham must be seen as strategies of lordship and expressions of similar aspects of power and authority. Possibly a focus on Durham represents a strong emphasis on continuity across the Conquest. The development and changes visible within the City of Durham have been explained in great detail but these changes fit within a close framework of tradition and appear to emphasise their links with the past.

CHAPTER FIVE: NEWCASTLE AND DOVER: DEFINING THE STATE OF ENGLAND THROUGH THE ARCHITECTURE OF ROYAL CASTLES.

Dover and Newcastle stand at opposite ends of England but have long been recognised as being architecturally related (Platt 1982, 4). The discussion of these similarities has largely been limited to the form of the great towers but it has also touched upon the considerable similarities between the Black Gate at Newcastle and the Constable's Gate at Dover (Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 634 and 747). Dover has also recently been examined by Coulson (2001). The resemblance between the two sites stretches from their reconstructions during the second half of the reign of Henry II and continues through into the mid thirteenth century. The likenesses in the great towers of Dover and Newcastle have been traditionally explained through the Crown employing the same architect for their construction, Maurice the Mason or Engineer (Platt 1982, 40). Explanations of this kind do have value in explaining the form of the two buildings but it removes the role of the patron. In the case of Dover and Newcastle the patron of the buildings was the Crown. The similarities between Dover and Newcastle can only be explained through employing basic concepts concerning the authorship of buildings and therefore the relationship between the client and architect. Dover and Newcastle, while possessing many shared features, are also very different to other contemporary great towers. There are no other English great towers that possess entrances at the second floor level. Excepting the great tower at Rochester, there are no other English towers that demonstrate such complexity in their internal layout. It must be remembered that Rochester is almost fifty years earlier than Newcastle and is one of the earliest great towers in England.

If the similarities between Dover and Newcastle were confined to works constructed in the possible lifetime of one architect then it could be argued that this chapter should focus on that architect alone but this is not the case. The similarities, and close relationships between the architecture of these two sites continues from the twelfth century and is maintained up to the mid thirteenth century. But the thirteenth-century construction work on main gates at both sites is separated by almost twenty years, yet despite this chronological gap similar forms of gatehouse are constructed at both sites.

This chapter will begin with an examination of the great towers at Newcastle and Dover. This will focus on the possible role of Maurice the Engineer at these two sites with an examination of the documentary evidence for his involvement. This chapter will then move

onto an analysis of the plans of the two towers and the extent to which they can be said to have similarities. The two towers will be placed within a wider context for their development through an examination of other contemporary building projects in their regions. The second part of the chapter will concentrate on the similarities between the Black Gate at Newcastle and the Constable's Gate at Dover beginning again with an analysis of the historical material for their building campaigns and then an analysis of their shared architectural features. The conclusion reached in this chapter is that there are continual efforts by the authors of these buildings to create similar structures in these important areas of the country. Newcastle and Dover, for the eastern side of England, mark the main access into the country from both Scotland and France.

THE GREAT TOWERS OF NEWCASTLE AND DOVER

"*Dover keep's defensive concept was becoming outdated even before its completion.*" (Coad 1995, 33).

The development of the great tower at Dover appears to mark the end of construction of large rectangular towers in the Anglo-Norman realm. Dover was certainly the last rectangular tower built by the Crown and was among the final rectangular great towers constructed in England and Normandy. The architectural form of Dover, as has been argued previously, actually marks the end of a relatively short period of construction for great towers. The earliest great towers in southern England and Normandy date from the 1120s onwards, excepting the outlier of the Tower of London, the now lost towers at Rouen and Bayeaux and the surviving remains of the tower at Ivry-la-Bataille. In East Anglia it is apparent that the tradition of great tower building begins rather early with the construction of Norwich, dating from the 1120s and continuing with work at Castle Acre and Castle Rising culminating in the construction of Bungay. In the North of England great tower construction focuses largely in the second half of the twelfth century except for the tower at Carlisle and possibly the towers of Appleby and Bamburgh. Newcastle and Dover, therefore, mark the end of what is a relatively short period of great tower construction in England, and an even shorter period in the North. It is necessary here to examine the similarities between the two towers that have been traditionally to linked due to the presence of Maurice the Engineer at both of these sites (Harvey J 1984, 202). If we are to examine these buildings and begin to analyse their similarities then it is essential to determine the level of involvement that Maurice may have had with each building. It is therefore the first task to examine the historical evidence for the involvement of Maurice at both of these sites before continuing with an analysis of their similar features.

MAURICE THE ENGINEER AT DOVER AND NEWCASTLE

Newcastle and Dover are traditionally attributed to the design of Maurice the Engineer or as he was styled when working at Newcastle Maurice the Mason (Harvey 1984, 202). The first reference to Maurice working at Dover is dated to 28 Henry II or 1181-1182 (PR 28 Henry II p 150). By this date Dover would appear to have been under construction since about 1168 (Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 630). It is assumed that the works beginning in 1168 include the walls and other buildings around the castle but the documentation has few specific references to individual buildings. This problem has been solved by the editors of the *'History of the King's Works'* through a reference to the construction of the tower at Dover dated to 1187 (ibid.). This reference, used to date the construction of the tower, actually reads that at Dover during the reign of the King, in this case Henry II, a strong tower was built (Stubbs ii 1867, 5). This reference is included in the year 1187 in the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough. The text of the chronicle about this date concerns much travelling to and from Normandy by King Henry and disputes with the King of France. The reference to Dover in this passage is clearly included as part of the background to the travels of King Henry, rather than necessarily a reference specifically linking the construction of the tower. The importance of Dover as a staging post for travel into England from the continent is discussed later in this chapter.

The other evidence employed for the dating of the Dover great tower are the payments to Maurice the Engineer in the Pipe Rolls (PRs: 28 Henry II p 150; 29 Henry II p 160; 30 Henry II p 144; 31 Henry II p 224; 32 Henry II p 186; 33 Henry II p 205). Maurice's assumed attendance in Dover and the fact he receives no payments after the financial year 1186-1187 does correspond very closely with the reference to the construction of the tower at Dover dated to 1187 (Stubbs ii 1867, 5). This could be taken to indicate a presence clearly related to the works on the tower. What is lacking from this historical evidence is any clear data relating to the *start* of works on the great tower at Dover. This evidence would be necessary to attribute the construction of the tower to the attendance of Maurice. The payments of monies to Maurice at Dover can probably be placed in context with an examination of his role at Newcastle.

At Newcastle there is only one reference, and one payment to Maurice the Mason, as he was then (PR 21 Henry II, p 184) this is for the year 1174-1175. The full set of Pipe Roll references to the castle at Newcastle first mention the work on the tower in the year 1171-1172 (PR 17 Henry II p 66). This would indicate that the tower at Newcastle was under construction for three years prior to any documented involvement from Maurice. The last reference to the

construction of the tower occurs in 1175-1176 (PR 22 Henry II p 137-138), only one year after the involvement of Maurice the Mason. There is a further reference to expenditure at Newcastle in 1177-1178 that specifies work on the gate of the castle (PR 24 Henry II p 60); no further mention is made of the tower. There then appears to be a hiatus in spending on Newcastle with no new works until 1194 with expenditure on the royal housing in the Newcastle (PR 6 Richard I p 132). It is therefore clear that the building campaign associated with the great tower is most likely to have ended by 1175-1176 or even up to 1177-1178 at the very latest. With an involvement that would appear to be limited to one year it is difficult to believe that Maurice can be determined as the architect of the great tower at this site. At Newcastle, the less ambiguous references in the Pipe Rolls undoubtedly mention the construction of the tower. Later references that do not mention the tower imply its completion and suggest that Maurice was involved only very late in the project.

On the basis of the data from Newcastle Maurice cannot be claimed as the designer of this tower. It is entirely possible that payments to Maurice for his work at Newcastle were included in the monies associated with the writs authorising the expenditure on the building works and Maurice was at Newcastle through the entire campaign. If Maurice's career as evidenced in the Pipe Rolls is compared with other masons or engineers then his works are very limited. A good, almost contemporary example would be Urricus, who also may have worked under the name of Wulfric (Harvey 1984, 351). Wulfric was present at Carlisle to work on the repairs following the Scottish wars in 1172-1173 (PR 19 Henry II p 2). Under the name of Urricus he worked in Surrey in 1184-5, in Nottingham in 1193-4, in Normandy in 1201, at Carricfergus in 1210 and was dead by 1216 (Harvey 1984, 305). Richard the Engineer, the architect for much of Hugh du Puiset's episcopacy had a different form of career. Richard was maintained by the Bishop with half the lordship farm of Newton near Durham (Austin 1982, 11). Richard is only referenced directly working on one castle, at Bowes in 1170-1171 (PR 17 Henry II p 63) although it can be assumed he worked on other buildings for the Bishop, especially at Norham Castle and possibly even on the Galilee Chapel. Richard's employment at Bowes would appear to have been either by the Crown as a local architect following the acquisition of the Earldom of Richmondshire or employment by the Earls of Richmondshire that was terminated within a year of the Crown acquiring the building site at Bowes. It is likely that, following the examples from the other architects and masons, that had Maurice been present at Newcastle it would have been referenced. It is most probable that an unnamed master undertook the design of the tower at Newcastle. Maurice may have been brought in to aid the completion of these works. Maurice's employment at Newcastle dates to after the Scottish war, therefore he may have been employed to speed the completion of the tower.

Expenditure grows considerably in the years 1174-1175 and 1175-1176 with respectively £175 13s 7d and £150 7s 28d spent at the works (PR 21 Henry II p 183-184; PR 22 Henry II p 137-138). The late involvement of Maurice at Newcastle opens up the possibilities for the designer of Newcastle and its relationship to Dover. It may well be that Maurice was employed as a man who could complete buildings and manage the site, rather than as an architect. With this project management role in mind for Maurice at Newcastle the possibility of a different architect for the great tower at Dover must also be explored.

Ralph the Mason is named as working at Dover on the Pipe Roll for 17 Henry II (p 137), for the year 1170-1171. He is also paid for his work at Dover in 28 Henry II (p 150) for the years 1180-1181. Between these dates Ralph is employed at Chilham Castle in Kent (PR 18 Henry II p 135) and on the royal chapel at Winchester Castle (21 Henry II p 199). These references show Ralph working on three different royal building projects compared with Maurice's two. Ralph is also described as the 'mason royal of Dover' in 1170-1171 (PR 17 Henry II p 137); on no occasion is Maurice described as anything other than Maurice the Mason, or Maurice the Engineer. It is assumed by Harvey (1984, 239) that Ralph's two appearances in the Pipe Rolls are determined by the fact that he is a junior to Maurice the Engineer. This assumption is based on the belief that payments to an engineer or mason would be included in the expenditure on a building and would not necessarily be issued under a separate writ. We have no way of knowing the structure of payments to an individual architect or how these would be administered, or even recorded in writs. Harvey believes that Ralph is working at Dover between 1170-1171 and 1180-1181; his presence at the building works only shows up in the Pipe Rolls when he is in receipt of a bonus (1984, 239). Ralph's pay at Dover in 1170-1171 and Chilham in 1171-1172 is certainly phrased as a bonus specifying two pounds as a gift for his service to the King (PR 17 Henry II p 137; PR 18 Henry II p 135). The payments made to Maurice the Engineer during his work at Dover are under liberate writs, that is issues of treasure authorised under a separate writ from the building works. One possible interpretation of this evidence is that Maurice was employed at the end of building campaigns and was paid a bonus on successful results.

It has been demonstrated that the historical evidence cannot be used to support an early role in the construction of Newcastle for Maurice the Mason. It can also be demonstrated that Maurice the Engineer would also appear to have been a late arrival at the works in Dover. Maurice is likely to have been employed along side Ralph the Mason who is documented as working on important royal buildings in the South-East. It is therefore difficult to attribute Dover, and it similarities to Newcastle, to the designs of Maurice. It is entirely possible that the

great tower at Newcastle inspired Maurice who employed and adapted the design for the later, larger tower at Dover. Dover, of course, lacks the evidence at Newcastle for the considerable changes in plan as the tower grows in height. It is equally possible that Maurice had no actual investment in the design of either tower due to his late arrival at both sites.

These two towers must be viewed as similar, but similar because of the style and patron of their architecture, rather than simply from the documented presence of an individual. The only individual who can be documented as holding a continued interest in both Dover and Newcastle is Henry II. These buildings have been linked so closely together due to the tyranny of the documentary record placing far too much emphasis on two short references to the presence of one individual.

The Architectural Similarities Between Newcastle and Dover

The accommodation offered by the great tower at Dover is entirely different in scale and scope to that offered by any other tower in England short of Bamburgh, Colchester and the White Tower. Newcastle, while smaller in scale, certainly is still an immensely complex building and is comparable to Rochester in scale and complexity of plan. To fully understand, and to illustrate the similarities between these two buildings it is necessary to move through them appreciating their patterns of access and architectural complexity. Plans of both great towers are shown in Figure 30 and Figure 31.

Dover differs from Newcastle in the treatment of its plinth. At Dover the plinth projects at an even angle around the base of the tower. The plinth at Dover is a simple un-enriched sloping plinth shown in Plate 56. At Newcastle sections of the plinth differ in their treatment with some parts being made up of stepped, chamfered sections and other simple un-enriched sloping sections. A section of the plinth at Newcastle is shown in Plate 57. Individuals moving around the bases of these towers could not fail to notice the clear differences in the plinth forms between the two castles. It is while walking around the towers that the other major difference in their construction is visible; this is the polygonal north-west corner at Newcastle. No polygonal corners are employed on the great tower at Dover. The employment of polygonal forms in English royal architecture would appear to begin with Orford (Brown 1964, 14). At Orford the external body of the tower is polygonal with three projecting towers clasping the body of the tower. The building works at Orford were under way between 1165 and 1173 (ibid. 4) therefore predating the work at Newcastle. The traditional interpretation of polygonal towers, such as Orford or Conisborough is that these are essentially transitional structures constructed prior to the adoption of rounded architectural forms

(Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 77). The reason given for the adoption of polygonal forms of architecture is that it makes undermining the corners of building more difficult and reduces the possible damage from stone projectiles (ibid.). When the plan of Orford is examined the absurdity of this suggestion becomes clear. Figure 32 shows the plan of the great tower at Orford. It will be noted that the three rectangular projecting towers increase the number of corners to undermine from four to six. This structure now gives six corners to undermine, rather than the four usually on offer in a rectangular tower. Heslop (1991) undertook a detailed study of the great tower at Orford. Heslop concluded that the form selected for the great tower at Orford was based around a series of complex mathematical principles rather than any effort to enable defenders to defend the corners of the tower (1991). Even if Heslop's interpretation of Orford is incorrect his reading of Orford, to an extent, must lead us to question the reasons for the construction of a polygonal corner at Newcastle.

To return to Newcastle, the actual shape of the polygonal corner of the tower would offer little to no defence against undermining. Figure 33 shows a square corner imposed onto the polygonal corner at Newcastle. It can be seen that the polygonal form selected for this building leaves the point of the north-west corner exactly where it would be if a square corner was selected. A more likely explanation for the polygonal corner is that it contains a staircase of three flights leading from the mural chamber in the north wall of the basement to the mural chamber in the north wall of the first floor. It is entirely possible that the polygonal corner acted as a buttress to this corner containing the stairs.

The exterior form of the great towers at Dover and Newcastle is exceptionally similar. Both towers have buttresses that clasp their exterior angles and possibly originally rose into towers projecting above their rooflines. At Newcastle Victorian restoration and the insertion of a vault at roof level has removed any evidence for the original treatment of the parapet. At Dover there is also clear evidence for rebuilding work on the upper levels of the great tower including late medieval re-fenestration and the later restoration of the inserted windows not to mention the extensive post-medieval building works at this site to ensure its continued use as a military centre. However the remains at both sites survive sufficiently to remain instructive of the original form of the building. At Newcastle the face of each side of the tower was distinguished with a central buttress. This, as is shown in Figure 30, includes the east face of the tower so this buttress is covered by the forebuilding. At Dover the east side of the body of the tower is not enriched with a buttress. As Figure 31 shows the south-east corner of the tower is actually cut in from its east side. This feature at Dover is an indication that the forebuilding was planned from the initial foundation courses of the tower. The forebuilding at Newcastle

presents a more complex picture than that at Dover. It is possible that the forebuilding at Newcastle represents an addition to the site. The extensive damage caused to the entrance front at Newcastle by an explosion in the nineteenth century has led to considerable repairs to the stonework over this face of the tower leading to the replacement of much of the facing stonework. What can be discerned is that the tower has a central pilaster buttress that is overlain by the forebuilding. This, in itself, may indicate that a forebuilding not in its present form may have been intended for the site. At other sites, such as Bowes or Brough, where a forebuilding is clearly an addition, there is not even a break in the plinth to enable a clean joint to be made between the forebuilding and the tower. Newcastle also presents the further problem or interpretation due to the steep gradient of the stair; a problem that does not occur at Dover.

The forebuilding at Dover wraps around the south-east corner of the great tower with its ground-floor access against the south side of the tower. The staircase contained within the Dover forebuilding rises evenly and gently to a similar height to that at Newcastle. The stair at both towers rise to the main access into the second floors. The stair at Newcastle has considerably less space in which to rise to the second floor of the tower. The stair does not wrap around the tower, but only rises on its east side. This relatively short horizontal distance for the stair to rise for two stories and reach the second floor entrance door means that the stair is exceptionally steep when compared to Dover. Possibly the access to the great tower at Newcastle indicates that it may have originally been conceived with the first floor entrance more usual in such designs or that the sharp rise in the stair was forced onto the builder due to the more restricted site at Newcastle. It must be remembered that it is only at Newcastle and Dover where the entrance to the tower is on the second floor.

It could be argued that there is no evidence for the original form of the forebuilding at Newcastle to include a stair rising to the second floor. A change in the design of this feature would have to have occurred shortly after laying out the foundations for this part of the design, otherwise it would be visible in the rising stonework. It is clear from the examination of the tower at Dover that provision had been made for the forebuilding from the start. This possible change in plan at Newcastle, that is the forebuilding rising to the second floor, is paralleled by another important change that is visible from the second floor level of the great tower with the insertion of the mural gallery. Together these two changes indicate that there is considerable uncertainty concerning the design and layout of this tower.

The access to both Dover and Newcastle leads up through forebuildings that rise to the second floor of the towers. Dover and Newcastle are the only towers where such an extensive

rise occurs in the staircase; access to the level of the first floor is the norm. Dover and Newcastle differ from other sites where there are extensive remains of the forebuildings through the pattern of access from the head of the forebuilding stairs into the main body of the great tower. At, for example, Castle Rising the forebuilding leads into a chamber from which the largest cell in the body of the tower is accessed (Dixon 1998, 48-51). Dixon interprets this room as a waiting area designed to dominate and impress visitors to the castle. It is possible to discern a similar access pattern into the great tower at Bowes. Figure 34 shows the ground plan of Bowes including the outline of the forebuilding. The foundations marked on this plan indicate that the stair ends in a platform wider than the staircase; possibly this is a similar pattern to the access at Castle Rising.

This relatively simple pattern of access that is visible at Castle Rising and Bowes differs from that at Dover and Newcastle. At both Dover and Newcastle the staircase ends adjacent to the door into the main body of the great tower, but at the head of each stair is a further room that is only accessed from the head of the stair. Traditionally it would be most easy to interpret these rooms as guardrooms but this does not appear to be the case. At Newcastle the 'guardroom' is decorated with blind arcading. Other than the chapel in this tower it is the only room where arcading is used in the walling. The presence of this decorative feature clearly indicates that the status of this room is more than simply a guardroom. The placement of these rooms at the head of the stair not covering the access into the tower implies that they are not being used simply to impress people prior to their entry into the hall but are employed as waiting rooms. The placement of a waiting room so that it does not cover the entrance to the hall implies a division of people gaining access to this room, those who can climb the stairs directly and then enter the tower and those who are obliged to wait and be called.

At Dover and Newcastle the entrance door giving access to the cells of the second floor of the great tower was highly decorated. At Dover especially the access up the staircase was covered and enclosed with parapets and overlooked by windows. Doors controlling access up the stairs were located in two places, together with a turning bridge. The provision of features such as this at Dover is paralleled at a reduced scale at Newcastle. The doorway at the base of the stairs at Newcastle was crowned with a wooden gallery supported on stone corbels fronting onto a small tower. The approach up the staircase faced a platform over the waiting room and possibly other galleries as one ascended the staircase. The entire picture presented by the building is one that emphasises a military role. Newcastle presents a similar picture to the approach into the great tower at Dover, but at Dover the scale of the approach is considerably greater. Dover also differs from Newcastle in having a chapel that is accessed from within the

forebuilding; the chapel at Newcastle has an access adjacent to the forebuilding from the enclosure.

The differing accommodation offered by the two towers clearly distinguishes them. Dover is a two celled tower built around a cross-wall while Newcastle is constructed around a single cell. The restricted ground plan of Newcastle gives the building a more elongated appearance when compared to the squat, almost square outline offered by Dover if the two sites are viewed from a distance. This difference in profile is probably the greatest distinction that can be made between the two buildings. It has already been argued that great towers are most likely to contain private accommodation. At Dover, as at Newcastle, the accommodation offered by the great tower essentially comprises of two suites of rooms on the first and second floors and access to chapels. At Dover, due to the presence of the cross-wall, there are two major rooms, while at Newcastle there is only a single room. Much has been written about the presence of the eighteenth century brick vault inserted when the castle was adapted for cannon (Renn 1973, 173). This vault stretches from below the wall gallery at third floor level, up to the modern, flat roof of the tower. It is usually thought that the second floor at Dover filled two stories with the gallery shown in Figure 31 looking into the second floor as well as looking out. From the evidence at Newcastle it is clear that the gallery in this tower was above the roofline (see Plate 58). At the Tower of London a roofline has also been identified that is below the gallery that would have been at third floor level. Where it has proved possible to identify twelfth century rooflines during this investigation they have invariably proved to be steep, and have risen to their full height within the walls of their towers. Excellent surviving rooflines dating to the twelfth century can be clearly identified at Brough (Plate 59), Brougham (Plate 60) and the first phase roofline at Appleby (Plate 61). There is therefore no reason to believe that the arrangement of the roof at Dover would have departed from these other examples and had a gallery that fitted under the roof. This would mean that the present brick vault at Dover actually represents the proportions of the original roof in this building in rising from the same level, below the mural gallery. The arrangement of the gallery at Newcastle represents what appears to be the second major change in the plan at this building during its construction.

In the south side of the second floor at Newcastle, shown as the disconnected portion in Figure 30, is a gallery, accessed from the south-east stair in the wall above the second floor chamber. This gallery connects with a staircase that begins to rise within the west wall and then terminates. The termination of this stair is shown in Plate 62. It is clear that the presence of this staircase means that it would not be possible for the third-floor gallery to fully encircle the building; this staircase can only have risen in this wall of the building interrupting the gallery.

This change from a rising staircase to a mural gallery represents an alteration to the plan of the tower. At Carlisle, earlier in this thesis, it has been argued that the change in plan at this tower is due to a lack of knowledge and general planning in the construction of this building leading to confusion as the building rises in height. At Newcastle, a different picture can be seen; the change in plan is distinct, clear and abrupt, entirely different to Carlisle. The sudden termination of this feature does leave interesting possibilities for the reconstruction of the original intended form of the upper levels of the tower at Newcastle. Traditionally the blocking of this stair has been attributed to the war of 1174 leading to a break in construction and a change in plan when work recommenced in 1175 (Knowles 1926, 17). The stair rising through the west wall of the tower presently connects to a spiral stair in the north-east corner of the tower that rises through the north-east buttress to the roof. This vice stair rises from the level of the gallery that would have been above the roof level. It would appear that the stair rising in the west wall ends below the lowest joints where the roof timbering is visible in the west and east walls. This interpretation is highly speculative, but it could be argued that it is the insertion of the roof at this point that determines the end of this staircase and leads to the construction of the gallery above the roof level. The most likely interpretation of this staircase is that it was planned to lead to upper chambers, as at Orford (Renn 1973, 271). The chambers at Orford were above the corbels supporting the roof of the hall. Orford lacks a gallery above the hall, this space being occupied by the aforementioned chambers. The construction of the mural gallery would have required the termination of the staircase rising in the west wall as its location would have made the provision of a full circuit of the gallery impossible. At Newcastle, for whatever reason, the original plan form appears to have been changed to leave the tower in its present form.

What can be summarised from this examination of the two towers is that Newcastle has undergone changes in plan during its construction. The original form intended for this tower may well be different to that which we see now. There are reasons to believe that Newcastle was originally planned as a tower with a first-floor access with a more common, gentle climb up its forebuilding staircase although the evidence for this interpretation is very limited. During the construction of Newcastle the building underwent drastic changes in plan to reach its present form. Dover, by contrast, represents a tower where a level of detailed planning has been followed through in its construction. Dover and Newcastle in their final forms are exceptionally similar. These similarities stem from the second floor access and the provision of two suites of rooms over a basement.

Most importantly the similarities visible in the twelfth century architecture of Newcastle and Dover continue to be displayed in important elements of the thirteenth century architecture at these sites with the construction of the gatehouses at both sites, but possibly the most interesting aspects of the construction of these buildings is the features they share with their local cult centres.

The Context of Henry II's Construction Work at Dover and Newcastle

The context of the building works at Dover and Newcastle has frequently been couched solely in the terms of the improvement and modernisation of two royal castles. The murder of Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral in 1170 provides a context for much of the construction work at Dover and, as will be argued later, specific elements of the architectural form of this building are linked to the setting of the saint in this cathedral. At Newcastle the construction of the great tower can also be seen in an ecclesiastical context. It is suggested here that an element of the inspiration behind parts of the architecture at both Newcastle and Dover is from the architecture of the greater churches in their regions. The links between these two royal castles and their associated cult centres are not only expressed through architectural forms but can be demonstrated to have meanings concerning their placement in the landscape and more explicit expressions of links through the dedication of chapels.

It is first necessary to examine the architectural similarities between Newcastle and its associated cult centre before moving onto Dover and the late twelfth century developments at this site and its possible associations with Canterbury and the growing cult of St Thomas.

The Chapel at Newcastle

The chapel in the basement of the forebuilding at Newcastle is part of a group of late twelfth century buildings in the North of England that have been identified as possessing the characteristics of early gothic architecture. A list of these buildings is included in Table 5. The ideas and concepts of architectural dating have been questioned and criticised above, where I concluded that similarities in architectural form must have greater meaning than simple ideas of chronological development and inspiration. Architecture and the particular choice of architectural forms are employed actively within social strategies and provide a social context within which buildings must be discussed.

The chapel within the great tower at Newcastle is generally considered to be a parallel to the Galilee Chapel at Durham Cathedral in architectural form and in date. The similarities

between the two buildings are essentially limited to the arcading based on paired piers with paired waterleaf capitals and the use of heavy undercut chevron mouldings on the soffits of the arcades. The waterleaf capitals from the Galilee at Durham are shown in Plate 63; those at Newcastle can be seen in Plate 64. The arcade soffits are also characterised by the continuation of the shafting under the soffit as mouldings. The divergences in the architecture of these two buildings is based on the employment of keeled mouldings on the underside of the soffits at the Galilee Chapel (see Plate 65) while those at Newcastle are half round in profile and can be seen in Plate 66. There are clear further differences in the wider application of architecture between these two buildings. The Newcastle chapel is a single, vaulted cell with rib vault; the Galilee is five aisles wide divided by a four bay arcade. It has been argued that the Galilee was originally constructed with a timber roof of a barrel-shaped form (Harrison 1994, 224). A timber vaulted ceiling would have resembled the stone vault at Newcastle.

The documentation concerning the construction of the Galilee Chapel is limited in not providing clear dating evidence for this structure and the context of its construction. It appears from the writings of Geoffrey of Coldingham that the original location intended for the Galilee was at the east end of the cathedral (Raine 1839, 11). Coldingham explains that the construction of the Galilee at the east end of the cathedral failed with the piers sinking into the earth, no matter what efforts were made to support the building. This failure of the buildings the east end was interpreted as disapproval of God and St Cuthbert. This led to the construction of this building at the west end of the cathedral. No explanation of the possible function of the building that was originally planned at the east end is given in the writings of Coldingham.

The completion of the Galilee Chapel is dated to between 1174 and 1189 by a charter donating land to provide lights for the chapel to St Mary in the west part of the church called the Galilee (Halsey 1980, 60). This charter is not only the evidence for the dating of the Galilee, but it is also the evidence for the function of the building. There is, of course, no evidence in this charter for the original liturgical function intended for the Galilee in its initial location at the east end of the cathedral. Halsey (1980, 61) interprets the original location of the Galilee as a setting for the relocation of the relics of St Cuthbert in a more expansive location rather than as an eastern Lady chapel.

The Galilee and chapel at Newcastle share basic architectural similarities with the capitals and open arcading at Durham and the capitals and blind arcading at Newcastle. These sculptural elements of the architecture are, of course, not the same but they are clearly similar. The waterleaf capitals in the Galilee in Durham are shown in Plate 63 and the capitals from

Newcastle are included in Plate 64. Essentially we have to question whether this similarity is simply fortuitous or an intentional aspect of the design of the two buildings. The construction work on the chapel at Newcastle is part of the earlier work on the great tower; there being no convincing break in the masonry between the forebuilding and body of the great tower. It is therefore likely that the construction work at Newcastle may have been completed prior to the decision to construct the Galilee at the west end rather than continue to attempt with the construction work on the east extension to Durham.

It is therefore entirely possible the basic function and intended referencing of the chapel at Newcastle has been lost due to the structural problems encountered at the east end of the Cathedral.

The Chapel of St Thomas at Dover Castle

Unlike the similarities between the chapel at Newcastle and the Galilee at Durham the chapel of St Thomas at Dover has fewer similarities with its local cult centre at Canterbury. The sequence of construction that links the chapel at Dover in relation to the cathedral at Canterbury is complex, and unlike that at Durham and Newcastle is not tied together with a close architectural similarity. At Canterbury and Dover the architectural similarity is limited to the use of crocket capitals in both the chapel and the cathedral. Canterbury is documented as the first use of foliate capitals employing decorative motifs that have been sourced from northern France (Mair 1982); it would appear that the capitals selected for the chapel of St Thomas at Dover follow this innovation. The dating of the new construction work at Canterbury ties in with the building at Dover and provides a dated context for the construction of both sites.

The murder of Thomas Becket at Canterbury in 1170 was an event that '*...profoundly shook the Christian world.*' (Poole 1955, 214). In just over two years Becket was canonised. The importance of the cult of Becket in Medieval Europe cannot be overestimated and, most interestingly, it was spread across the continent through the marriages of Henry II's daughters (ibid. 215). It is clearly in the focus of the growing cult of St Thomas that Henry's work at Dover must be viewed. A context for this work at Dover can be partly provided by the itinerary of Henry II.

From the references to Henry's travels it is apparent that Dover was one of the primary ports for travel to Europe. One particular documented visit by Henry to Dover does provide a greater context for the construction work at the castle. On 22nd August 1177 Henry landed in England with King Louis VII, Philip, Count of Flanders, William, Earl Mandeville and a range

of other European dignitaries (Eyton 1878, 228). The purpose of this landing was for Henry to accompany this visiting party to the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury. It appears most likely that the party stayed at Dover prior to, and following the visit to Canterbury. The King of France did not travel further than Canterbury as a charge for transporting his baggage recorded in the Pipe Rolls only covers this distance (ibid.). On this one occasion it can be seen that Dover is employed as the starting and end point of a visit from European notables to the shrine of St Thomas. It could be argued that an important aspect of the building works at Dover were to provide an impressive setting for visits of this nature, however infrequent. Dover, therefore, with a chapel dedicated to St Thomas that shares some architectural cues with the new works at Canterbury provided a luxurious and impressive setting for the beginning of the pilgrimage to Canterbury. It must also be assumed that Dover retained its importance as a port linking England to the continent. Royal messengers of the English and from other European monarchs would be received at Dover that would provide an impressive gateway into England or a backdrop for the departing.

It can therefore be seen that while the form of the great towers at Dover and Newcastle provided a link between the two sites specific architectural cues also tied the two castles to their associated cult sites. Developments at the two castles sites continue to cross-reference each other into the thirteenth century thereby employing architecturally similar ideas at both sites for a period of almost one hundred years, but the similarities between the two sites actually being in the pre-Conquest period..

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS AT DOVER AND NEWCASTLE

At both Dover and Newcastle there is evidence for the two castles being constructed near to Anglo-Saxon churches and burial communities. The church of St Mary-in-Castro at Dover is a pre-Conquest foundation with fabric dating from the late tenth or early eleventh century (Coad 1995, 18). The church is associated with an extensive late Saxon cemetery containing a mixed burial community. The upstanding remains of the church at Dover and its associated burial community can be compared to archaeological finds identified at Newcastle.

At Newcastle the encroachment of the city into the bailey of this site has ensured that areas of this site have been subject to archaeological excavation due to the requirements of development control. It has long been known that the castle site was founded on a pre-Conquest cemetery. Excavation work under the railway viaduct to examine the extent of this cemetery continued into the 1990s. The excavations undertaken at Newcastle in 1990 revealed that grave furniture with decorative motifs datable to between 1080-1100 were employed in this cemetery (Nenk, Margeson and Hurley 1991, 194-5). In 1992 the excavations revealed that

graves from this cemetery were cut into the rampart, slope and ground surface of the first phase of the castle. The excavator interpreted the life of the cemetery as lasting into the late twelfth century (ibid. 1993, 286). The alignment of the bodies in this cemetery in part respected a building, interpreted by the excavator as a small church or chapel. This possible chapel was rebuilt in the Norman period (ibid. 1991, 194-5). This cemetery and possible chapel remains in use through what must be almost the first one hundred years of life of the castle at Newcastle.

The pre-Conquest cemetery at Newcastle, and the likely presence of a chapel at this sites, parallels the contemporary remains at Dover, excepting the great scale of the church at Dover. It is not discussed by Coad whether burials continued at St Mary-in-Castro into the post-Conquest period; it would appear that early post-Conquest construction work led to the end of the cemetery's life (Coad 1995, 21). The continued use of the cemetery at Newcastle is unusual and entirely conflicts with our traditional picture of castles and can only be seen due to the excavation work that has continued at the site due to the spread of the town. The continued use of the cemetery at this site may indicate that the castle might have been abandoned, but this does conflict with the documentary evidence.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY GATEHOUSES AT NEWCASTLE AND DOVER

The architectural similarities between Dover and Newcastle are not only confined to the twelfth century construction work on the keeps. Both sites receive new gatehouses in the thirteenth century. Like the architectural form selected for their keeps both gatehouses are similar, but different in scale and, so far, the author has been unable to identify any other parallels for the form of gate selected. The nearest parallel identified to these two gatehouses is the south gate tower at Trim Castle in County Meath, Ireland. This gatehouse consists of a single round tower containing a central gate passage (McNeil 1997, 28). This gate is different to the gatehouses at Dover and Newcastle as it stands on the line of the curtain wall, rather than projecting forwards as at the two English sites.

The construction of the Black Gate at Newcastle dates to between 1247-1250 (Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 747) while the Constable's Gate at Dover dates to the 1220s (ibid. 634). There is a gap of between twenty to thirty years linking the dates of construction the two gates. Despite the chronological gap there are visible similarities between the two gates that clearly indicate they are closely related. It is traditional to ascribe these two gates as demonstrations of the ideas of flanking fire that are claimed to be developing through the second half of the twelfth and into the thirteenth century at sites such as Dover, Orford and

Framlingham with the construction of polygonal architectural forms at Orford and projecting mural towers at Dover and Framlingham. Dover is important on a European scale with its early walls with flanking towers.

The Black Gate at Newcastle and the Constable's Gate at Dover have both been placed within the context of the development of military ideas of flanking fire (ibid. 118). It is in this context of the application of the military ideas of providing a strong point projecting from the outside walls to command the land ranged before them. In the case of a projection from the wall it was also necessary for the projection to be able to defend its flanks. Certainly the gatehouses of Dover and Newcastle project from their wall lines (see Figure 35 and Figure 36) and would command the area of land before their enclosures depending, of course, on the placement of the arrow slits and the provision of trained archers for longbows or crossbows and a good supply of arrows or bolts.

Defence apart, the most important aspect of these two parallel gates is their function as accommodation with the provision of a suite of rooms at first floor level and above. In many ways these two towers mark a return to some of the ideas associated with the great towers of the twelfth century in stacking accommodation. At Dover the greater scale of the gatehouse provides a more extensive range of accommodation. It is clear to this extent that both the gatehouses at Dover and Newcastle fit well within the general development of twin-towered gatehouses that date through the thirteenth century emphasising the importance of accommodation in these buildings but the projecting oval tower with gate passage through the centre distinguishes and demonstrates the continuing similarity of these two sites.

CONCLUSIONS

The architectural development of the castles at Dover and Newcastle represents a pattern of similarity that link these two sites together for a period of almost one-hundred years and geographically across the length of England. The resemblances between these sites cannot, for the thirteenth century developments, be the result of the employment of the same architect as has traditionally been claimed for the twelfth century. The parallel gatehouse form that is selected for Newcastle cannot even be attributed to contemporary building campaigns with the clear gap in time that is visible between the construction of the gatehouses at Newcastle and Dover. It must be seen that these similarities only have real meaning when placed and expressed in a social context.

I suggest that simple architectural similarities can provide a social meaning and context for interpretation. The identified similarities between the Galilee at Durham and the chapel at

Newcastle are great. At a basic level of meaning it appears most likely that the two buildings were contemporary constructions. As Table 5 shows there are a number of relatively contemporary buildings to these two examples. It is clear that they also bear a relationship to York Minster in the shared use of undercut chevron work. From the other contemporary examples of buildings included in this list there are no others that are similar to Newcastle and the Galilee, except those constructed by the Bishop of Durham. It is clear that had the bishops of Durham not been such prolific builders there would have been fewer parallels. The chapel at Newcastle and the Galilee at Durham are, quite simply, different from other buildings included on this list. This picture of similarity conflicts entirely with the likeness between Dover and Canterbury where they are limited to a close relationship of capitals types, vaulting and the assembled architectural references rather than a direct copy. The architects of the new works at Dover also make a considerable effort to distinguish the architecture at this site from other contemporary buildings in England by looking to Europe, and specifically northern France for inspiration. A distinct choice is made for the architecture at Canterbury to depart from English precursors; this is not only a simple matter of ideas travelling across the Channel. The similarities between Dover and Canterbury, and therefore, the linkage between the two sites are expressed through the dedication of the chapel, rather than just through its architectural form. The irony of the 'key to England' employing architectural forms sourced from France via a group who chose to distinguish the setting of their most important relic from other sites in England is a further indication of the poverty of ideas expressed by the Crown in this period. This expression of similarity or linkage whether expressed through architecture or dedication clearly holds many social means that are expressed across the landscape and are indicative of the efforts of the medieval Crown to exploit aspects of the cult of St Thomas for their own means.

The greatest similarity between the two castle sites has to be their attempted associations with their local cult centres but it is necessary to examine the audience who would have seen or understood such a link. Like St Thomas at Canterbury St Cuthbert at Durham was an important regional, national and international saint. The miracles associated with St Cuthbert certainly lacked the immediacy of those linked to St Thomas in the years following his murder but the convent at Durham ensured a continued focus of devotion to the cult of St Cuthbert. Dover certainly is on the most convenient route to Canterbury via the sea. It must be stated that Newcastle is not the closest port to Durham. It would be more likely that visitor sailing to Durham would land at Hartlepool and travel by land from there rather than from Newcastle. This aspect of the transport links to Durham must therefore cut the knowledgeable international or sea-born audience who would view and understand these sites considerably.

Newcastle does stand on the main route north to Northumberland and up to Scotland. It is also at one of the more convenient crossing places in the Pennines. Following the Tyne Valley to the west or along the route of Hadrian's Wall to Hexham and onto Carlisle is probably one of the easier east-west route ways in the north. Newcastle while not likely to be the most important sea route towards Durham does stand at a fundamental point in the transport routes of the North of England. It is most probable that the chapel at Newcastle would have been employed for services as part of the reception of the Kings of Scotland as they travelled south. It is probably partially for this particular audience that the strong architectural similarities were emphasised between Durham and Newcastle. It is also probable that much of this meaning was lost with the change in the building campaign from the east end of the Cathedral to construct the Galilee at the west end.

It is frequently argued that Dover and Newcastle represent the final phase of the rectangular great tower in England (Coad 1995, 26). This, by following a chronological interpretation, would appear to be correct. If these buildings are examined independently of a typological yardstick and are seen as buildings in their own right then their examples of technical achievement shine through. Dover and Newcastle together with Rochester are examples of the most complex of the rectangular great towers constructed in twelfth century England. Rochester is considerably earlier than both Newcastle and Dover being built in the 1120s placing it among the earliest great towers constructed in England. Dover and Newcastle are the only two sites to exceed the architectural achievement of Rochester. It is at these twin sites that the elegant solution of providing access to the towers via the second floor is first employed. This pattern of access alters the experience of entering a tower entirely. With the forebuilding stair rising to the second floor level of a building of two stories over a basement this means that for the first time the open roof can be employed as an architectural feature to emphasise the importance of the space.

An element of the planning at both Dover and Newcastle was intended to preserve the similarities between the two sites over a remarkably long period of time. This level of similarity that is maintained is limited in scale and is confined to elements of the buildings, that is the form of the great towers, the use of projecting rectangular mural towers and the design of the main thirteenth century gates at both sites. The direct similarity between the two sites is limited but similar ideas are behind the construction of the two sites. It can be demonstrated that Dover stood at the beginning of a major route way into England. Newcastle also was a major port, and stood on the approach from Scotland into the North-East of England and at a pivotal point on a regional level. The position of Newcastle standing just to the north of the

boundary between Durham and Northumberland is also significant. Newcastle essentially stood isolated from the areas of England where the Royal writ ran. To the south of Newcastle in the lands of the Bishop of Durham the independence of the bishops from the writ of the king was gradually being established during the twelfth century (Scammell 1966). To the north Northumberland stood as a patchwork of differing rights and authorities held by the various landowners including the Kings of Scotland. The surrounding landscape of Newcastle therefore cannot be seen simply as a uniform series of estates; the sheriffs of Northumberland had varying levels of authority and power over the different landholders, if any level of authority at all. The relationship to the Galilee, possibly originally intended as a setting for St Cuthbert, must be seen as an aspect of a symbolic strategy within the divided authorities and power structures of Northumberland and the North of England.

At Dover and Canterbury the association between the castle chapel and the Cathedral appears to have been maintained through the shared use of crocket capitals and the dedication of the chapel. The irony of the association between royal government and the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury is, of course, that the orders of the king created this martyr.

This analysis of sites that resemble Durham, and the links between Dover, Newcastle and their associated cult centres shows that an aspect of the construction of lordly identities was referencing sites associated with other lords, or even major ecclesiastical buildings. It is entirely probable that more sites based on the types of repetitive symbolism examined in Chapter Four can be seen. The next section of this document examines the wider social arena in which lords operated through focusing on the landscape contexts of castles.

SECTION THREE: LANDSCAPE ASPECTS

"*I do not say that the function of woman is to pray or toil, let alone to fight, but they are married to those who pray, toil and fight and they serve them.*" (McNamara 1994, 3-4 citing a twelfth century Bishop of Limerick)

This section is an examination of the relationships between castles, churches and settlement evidence. The relationships between these social institutions are not fixed, but develop through the period under study and, as will be explored in this chapter, they are demonstrative of a wider pattern of socio-economic changes that cut to the core of eleventh-twelfth century society. The late eleventh and twelfth centuries mark the end of what is referred to as the village moment, the broad period in which nucleated villages appear to have been founded in the English landscape (Lewis, Mitchell-Fox and Dyer 1997, 227). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the theoretical underpinnings of the idea of the village moment, but what can certainly be stated is that there is an association between castle sites and regular, nucleated settlement.

The Conquest of the North of England also marks the beginning of the expansion of urban settlement in the study area with the foundation of boroughs by the crown and other lesser lords. The same individuals who are founding boroughs in the North are also endowing both male and female monastic houses, moving through from early foundations of Benedictine houses into the reformed religious of the twelfth century. The expansions of urban settlement and the foundation of monastic houses are contemporary, socially linked processes being undertaken by the same families within their estates.

This focus on the foundation of monastic houses and urban sites should not reduce the importance of the developments in the rural landscape. It has been stated that the foundation of nucleated rural settlements is part of a long social process, but from examinations of the historical sources for settlement it is clear that the development of nucleated villages occurred along side changing ideas of lordship (Faith 1997). While it is clear that urban settlement is chronologically and socially linked to the foundation of monastic houses in the post-Conquest period it is apparent that rural settlement is chronologically linked to the development of the parish structure and it may well be that there are social links between these two processes. Morris (1989, 229) states that the structure of parishes becomes fixed towards the end of the twelfth century. It can therefore be seen that the establishment of nucleated villages is chronologically linked to the foundation of churches and the establishment of the parish structure.

These dramatic changes in the landscape of the North of England are linked by chronology, and in the case of the foundation of parish churches, boroughs and monastic houses, possibly also by patron. It is apparent that the foundation of castles corresponds with the chronological development of settlements and religious institutions. Castle construction over the period this investigation covers is contemporary with changes in both the settlement pattern and ecclesiastical landscape, but it is clearly more integrated into the landscape changes associated with the development of new monastic houses and the foundation of boroughs. In these cases it is sometimes possible to name an individual who has acted as a founder of the monastic house or issued the charter of rights for the beginnings of a borough.

This section begins with an examination of the broad social context behind castle construction in the North of England with an examination of the processes of social and landscape changes to place castles within their social context. The following chapter will then continue with an examination of the spatial development of both urban and rural settlements within the sample area. The penultimate chapter of this section will finish with an examination of isolated castles sites. The final chapter of this thesis is a discussion of the architectural form, historical documentation and landscape context of the great tower at Bowes in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Bowes represents a site demonstrative of the ideas expressed throughout this thesis. Firstly, however, the social context of the twelfth century will be examined and placed in the context of the development of castle sites within the North of England.

CHAPTER SIX: SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE LATE ELEVENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURIES

This chapter places the development of castles and landscape transformation into a broad social framework that ties these shifting ideas and situations together. This social framework is based around the developing ideas associated with the renaissance of the twelfth century and the changing practices in landscape management that are contemporary. The basis of the developments in this period are the changing ideas associated with monastic reforms and the growing dominance of monastic ideas to reform the church and improve society.

It is argued in this chapter that many of the castle sites examined as part of this study that exist as a single motte or as an undistinguished earthwork with no associated historical data are intimately tied into these changing social processes. I propose here that these sites are evidence of the expansion of demesne farming towards the end of the twelfth century and are being constructed as arenas for administration. This change in estate management is intimately linked into the social changes that had effects right across medieval society.

A major part of these social changes are linked to the foundation of towns across the landscape of the North of England during the later eleventh and throughout the twelfth centuries. The growth of the urban settlements in the north is paralleled by the development of monastic houses. The monastic houses are founded by the same lords as boroughs and in themselves are evidence for the developing social ideas during the period of study.

GENDER RELATIONS

The attempt to reform the church from the mid eleventh century onwards has great implications for the expression of gender within the secular world. In the background the ideas of the church reformers advocated the exclusion of women from public activities, confining them to a role as part of the laity (McNamara 1994, 7). This reduced role for women within the church was accompanied by a greater focus on the relationship of women with the church (Duby 1998, 1). Much of the basis of this new emphasis may be linked to the fixing of the ideas of succession that focused on the lineage and legitimacy of the recipient of lands (Green 1997, 60). The removal of women from positions of power within the church came from two sides. The focus on enforcing celibacy within the clergy removed the supporting roles played by the wives of priests, and also attacked the hereditary basis of some unreformed institutions such as the clerks of Durham Cathedral prior to the foundation of the priory or the hereditary priest at Hexham Abbey. Further attacks on the role of women within the church came from reformed monastic institutions such as the Cluniacs and Cistercians who refused to recognise female

monastic houses that claimed to follow their rule. This attack on female monasticism and the support for clerical celibacy was only part of a wider series of broad aims that the general climate of reform hoped to achieve.

Clerical celibacy and the reduction of female influence on the church was only part of the wider objectives of the reform movement. It can also be seen that the ideas of the reformers change over the late eleventh century and continue to advance through the twelfth century.

Constable (1996, 4) notes four aspects of the religious changes and reform of this period that effectively begins in the mid eleventh century. The first phases of reform are associated with the morality of the clergy, especially with efforts to ensure a celibate clergy. Further phases of the reform are associated with the removal of secular control of the church, especially over the popes. This can also be seen as a parallel in reduction of secular control over parish churches and the general reduction of secular control over all levels of the church. The third and final aspects of the reform are associated with the emphasis within the church on monasticism and the final point was focused on the personal reform of all people. It can be expected that the growing emphasis on individual morality would also have implications for social relations within families and households.

Cantor (1960, 47) referred to the period from the second half of the eleventh century into the first decades of the twelfth century as the "*...ending of the Benedictine centuries...*". The Benedictine monastic houses had been effectively absorbed into medieval society by this period, with their heads becoming indistinguishable from other tenants-in-chief as landlords and holding other elite responsibilities (ibid. 48). Essentially the reaction against the wealth and social integration of the Benedictine houses was the reformed order of the Cistercians who supported their monastic houses from the works of the lay brothers, and did not follow a role entwined in the workings of the state in the same way as the Benedictines. The multinational government of the Cistercian order, based on the annual general chapter and the visitation of the abbot of the mother house enabled a greater separation to be maintained between the monastic house and the state or region within which it was based. This structure of the Cistercian order reflects the efforts of the Gregorian reformers who brought forwards ideas concerning the removal of the secular monarchy's dependence upon religion as a justification and source of power. Van Engen (1986, 275) has questioned the idea of a decline in Benedictine monasticism during the period under discussion. It is emphasised that the Benedictine orders retained their localised importance and remained important on an intellectual scale across Europe (ibid. 283). But what is clear is the challenge in ideas from the

Cistercian order. This can most clearly be seen in the foundations of monastic houses in the North of England. It is only the Bishop of Durham who continues with the foundation of the priory at Finchale and the cell on Farne Island. Other than Finchale, the latest foundation of a Benedictine priory is at St Bees in Cumberland during the 1120s. It is clear that foundations of the reformed religious and houses of canons supplanted investment in new Benedictine houses in the North of England.

The displacement of Benedictine monasticism continued by the growth of educational institutions based in cathedrals, rather than schools within monasteries. These new schools were developed in Italy and northern France but were attended by the elite from England (Cantor 1960, 53). Instead of producing monastic intellectuals who went onto become government ministers the new schools created secular clerics and lawyers, for example Nigel of Ely, the writer of the '*Dialogus de Scaccario*' (ibid.). The importance of these schools is that they provided specialist administrators who were employed by modernising kings such as Henry I.

A further aspect of the ideas concerning the separation of religious and secular authority had greater localised effects in the North of England. The ideas of the reformed religious, especially the various orders of canons, advocated the removal of parish churches from secular control and for them to be placed under the authority of the reformed religious and the revenues used to support these institutions. In extreme conditions, such as with the reconstitution of Hexham Abbey as a house of Augustinian Canons this involved the replacement of the hereditary priest with the canons (Burton 1994, 48). Burton states that the function of many foundations of Augustinian Canons was as a replacement for institutions of an unreformed nature. The increased emphasis on celibacy and a regular life within religious institutions is tied into the ideas of the reformers and the general campaign of improving religious institutions in the period following the Conquest.

The general pattern of all these reforms can be seen to emphasise a growing distance between the clergy and the people. This is due to the new enforcement of an unmarried status on priests who may have previously led a lifestyle that more closely reflected their parishioners. On a localised scale, within the parish, this change must have led to a clear social distinction between the priest and his flock. Participation, and elite support, for the ideas of the reformers can be shown by the almost complete change in monastic foundations in the first quarter of the twelfth century within the North of England. It is clear from the study of Cownie (1998, 154) that the major objectives in the establishment of a monastic house was to provide a group of religious who would pray for the souls of the founder, and other members of the family. It is

clear that this function of the monastic house was believed to be at least as effective with a reformed house than with a Benedictine establishment. The transformation of the monastic landscape after the 1120s certainly supports this.

Throughout the northern counties, other than the lands of the See of Durham, there are foundations of reformed monastic houses and houses of canons marking a total halt to the foundation of Benedictine monasteries. This total transformation of the patterns of monastic foundation by the elite has implications that would have affected the bulk of the people. Foundations of Augustinian houses are likely to have been provided with parish churches as part of their endowments, following the objectives of the reformers to reduce secular influence over the church even to the lower scales. These two aspects of the reform process would have had an influence over the lives of the people in the North of England during the eleventh century, but the transformation of the gender system can be demonstrated to have an influence at a more localised, defined level.

The removal of women from positions of influence throughout the church by the enforcement of clerical celibacy, the reform of houses such as the clerks at Durham Cathedral and the refusal of the reformed orders to recognise associated female congregations shows the efforts to exclude religious women by the reformers. These efforts were continued into the secular world with efforts to ensure the subordination of women. In the later twelfth century the writings of Stephen of Fougères discussed the failings of elite women (Duby 1998, 4). Fougères focused on married women when specifically discussing the sins of females. Elite women are described as:

"*Queening it along side their husbands in the great hall...doing nothing, idle, they were, first and foremost, more exposed than other women to sin...they should be the first to be reprimanded because in their prominent position they occupied they were watched and imitated...through them sin might be spread. Married women 'sowed hatreds', they were the 'seeds of war'.*" (ibid. 4-5).

Fougères states that women suffered from three basic vices. Firstly women opposed the general course of events thereby defying the divine will. Secondly they were intractable, aggressive and would not tolerate supervision. This intractability mean that between married couples there was a continual rebellion. The final vice of women was lust. Women were considered to be too weak willed to control themselves in the face of this vice. The sins women were guilty of were based upon the idea that women were passive, receptive creatures. The three sins detailed above are based on action: to change a situation, to act against authority or to initiate sex. To break 'the rules' and follow these sins women would be acting like men in

taking the initiative and leading, rather than following as God ordained. The treatment of the life of Eleanor of Aquitaine in contemporary narrative documents is illustrative of the limited roles which women were pigeonholed into during this period. Eleanor breached the basic requirements of her continued subordination to her husbands and consequently prevented her husbands expressing their masculine social roles through controlling their family, households and landholdings.

THE LANDSCAPE

Harvey (1973; 1974) identified a pattern in estate management from the second half of the twelfth century onwards whereby the lands of the greater estates that had previously been leased out were returning to direct management of the demesne. Harvey (1974) attributes this pattern of change to the increase in prices during this period; I believe that the transition to demesne farming may mark a more fundamental change in social practices related to the developing ideas of this period that become visible in the arena of estate management.

Faith (1997) documents the growing interest of lords in their estates and the developing systems for controlling the lives of their peasantry. Over the period covered in this volume the concept of 'lordship' can be seen to be a growing, changing, series of social relationships between the lord and their peasantry. The leasing of estates in the period prior to the Conquest and up to the mid twelfth century places a middleman paying a fixed fee to the lord between the peasantry and the lord. This effectively places a barrier between the lord and the peasantry across much of the landscape until the change to direct management begins in the mid twelfth century. The transition to the direct management of lands as demesne places the household of the lord directly in contact with the peasantry. Documentation such as the *Boldon Book* (Austin 1982) provides considerable evidence for the direct management of the demesne, but with some areas of the estates within County Durham remaining at lease. Entries showing direct management of the demesne detail the labour services owed by the villeins, for example at Wolsingham the villeins "*...reap and cart the whole corn crop of the Bishop from the lordship farm of Wolsingham...*" (ibid. 39). For other settlements it is stated whether the 'lordship farm' is in the hands of the Bishop or if it has been leased, what the value of the lease is. Documentary evidence such as this is simply not to be found for secular estates, but the changing pattern of land administration has been documented by Harvey (1973 and 1974) and it is clear that this change had both social and economic consequences.

The end of the twelfth century is considered to be the point in time when the village moment ended (Lewis, Mitchell-Fox and Dyer 1997). The village moment is considered to be the period between the ninth and the end of the twelfth century, the chronological point in

history when the nucleated villages are founded in the landscape. I believe that it is not a coincidence that this also marks the period of growing interest, and investment in villages and the agricultural landscape by lords. Many explanations for the emergence of the regular, nucleated village have been put forward that rely on ideas of lordship, or, as Harvey (1983 and 1984) has claimed that at some theoretical point in history when the areas of Holderness were under the same lord the characteristic, regional field systems of long strips were laid out in this area of Yorkshire. This claim of a massive investment, and interest by the lord in the landscape of this part of East Yorkshire in the Anglo-Saxon period clearly contradicts the data put forward by Faith (1997) showing how lordly investment in the landscape and its population increases over time to a height in the late twelfth century.

Similar claims of lordship providing an explanation for the supposed foundation of the landscape of nucleated villages in County Durham have been made by Roberts (1972; 1987). In this case it was assumed by Roberts that William the Conqueror's Harrying of the North had denuded the landscape of County Durham of population. This dislocation of the population, according to Roberts, enabled the Bishop to reorganise the villages and their field systems into a more regular form. This case is clearly built on a number of suppositions: at the basis of this argument is whether an eleventh-century army would be capable of reducing the population of an area so effectively. A plank of the evidence for this interpretation is provided by the entries for 'waste' in the Domesday folios for Yorkshire. These entries have been interpreted to mean that the settlements were abandoned, effectively wasteland. Examination of the 'waste' entries by Wightman (1975) concluded that this term actually meant the 'waste' settlements were not paying tax. Further work on this data specifically in the light of the interpretations placed on the Harrying of the North by Palliser (1993) has concluded that there simply is not the evidence for such a great dislocation of population.

The evidence for the relationship between lordship and the rural community from the data examined by Harvey and Faith indicates that during the period of the village moment lords are unlikely to have been a major factor in the foundation of villages. In fact the changes in estate management during the twelfth century with the growth of the direct management of demesnes means that the end of the village moment is the point at which lords have the greatest involvement in their estates. From this chronological relationship it might even be interpreted that the greater involvement of lords in their estates may have been an important factor in ending the village moment.

The involvement of a lord in the direct management of a village and its demesne is mediated through the social processes of administration. It has been seen above, in Chapter

One, that through the eleventh and twelfth centuries there is a growth in written administration by the royal government, and that the level of information contained in this documentation increases in quantity and detail over time. It has also been shown with the production of faked charters at Durham Priory during the twelfth century the growing dependence on documentation is illustrated by socially conditioned activities such as that. The growth in direct management of estates has implications for gender relations within elite families. With land being leased out at fixed rents there is little requirement for administration, simply collecting their payment, produce or service that settled the lease terms. With direct management of estates there is a growth in the requirement for estate managers to administer estates thereby reducing the public roles formerly available to elite women in this area. This reduction in female roles in estate management is paralleled in national government with the growth of the appointment of ministers (McNamara 1994, 21). It can be seen that the transition to direct management of estates would have reduced the opportunities for female public activities and through the processes of administration increased the opportunities and arenas for male expressions of status.

It is possible also to document elements of the reduced public role for women in the countryside and boroughs of the twelfth century north through the data provided by the growing use of documentation in administration. In the *Boldon Book* there are references in the entries for settlements held in demesne, for example Boldon in this case, state that the service requirements for agricultural work are to be undertaken by the whole household, except for the housewife (Austin 1982, 13). Whatever the motivation for this entry its intention is clearly to confine married women to the private spaces of the household, no matter that the agricultural services to be undertaken may be more efficient with a larger workforce. This entry must be read as expressing the idea of containing married women and keeping them out of the public arena of the demesne fields of the estate. In this sense the elite administrative practices are following the engendering ideas of the twelfth-century reformers and enforcing them onto the peasantry. Ironically, by excluding married women from labour services, the elite may have provided them with greater opportunities for status bearing work. In the later medieval period the role of women as brewers is well documented (Bennett 1986; 1987). For women who could not afford the time or equipment for brewing their time that could otherwise have been spent working on the Bishop's demesne could be invested in the family plots. Like brewing, improving the family food supply could have brought peasant women greater status and importance within the family and also a greater public role through the utility and value these works brought to their family. It is not only within the rural sphere that efforts are made through the administrative process to control and define the roles played by women of a lower

status. Twelfth-century borough charters issued by the elite contain regulations that can be interpreted as an effort to control the public activities of women.

The 1202 borough charter for Egremont, Cumberland, includes references to the burgesses providing one man per plot for working at mowing or ploughing on the summons of the reeve (Ballard 1913, 95). Like the work details in the *Boldon Book* this confines the public works of the burgesses to males. The Newcastle borough charter dated to the reign of Henry I specifically expects women to undertake the work of baking and brewing (ibid. 157). The payment of forfeitures for brewing in villages is discussed by Bennett (1986; 1987) and it was determined that this was an activity that could be undertaken within the home. The importance of the Newcastle charter is great as the rights of the burgesses of Alnwick, Carlisle, Durham and Norham take this charter as the source for the grant of rights in their boroughs. The Egremont charter contains further details of the efforts to contain female public activities. The differential fines applied to men and women for similar misdemeanours can show this distinction. If a man insulted his neighbour, and was convicted, he was fined three shillings (Ballard 1913, 155). If a woman insulted her female neighbour she would be fined four pence. There is a clear discrepancy between the level of fine between the male and female for the same crime, but the entry for the female contains further details of attempts to control their public behaviour. If the complainant in a case of one female insulting another is not successful in their claim, and does not obtain a conviction, then they are bound to pay a four pence fine; there is no such provision of this kind for any of the insults, or injuries from men to other men. The lesser monetary value of any fine can be taken to indicate that the value of a woman's reputation was considered to be of lower value than that of a man. The fine payable for the failure of an action by one woman against another could be interpreted as an effort to reduce the possibilities of actions being brought in court. This can be considered an effort to prevent women using the public arena of the court. Intriguingly the charter makes no effort to account for insults that cross the gender boundaries; perhaps it considered the worlds occupied by men and women not of the same family to be so distinct the opportunity would not arise.

This investigation has examined all of the surviving borough charters for settlements within the sample area. It is only the examples from Newcastle and Egremont that contain data of this kind detailing elements of gender distinctions, but all other charters use the masculine when discussing property holders. The majority of the charters studied here do not provide specific lists of conditions within which the burgesses operate. As an example the two charters issued to the burgesses of Barnard Castle dated to 1175 and 1215-1227 both state that the burgesses hold their properties as in the liberties of Richmond (ibid. 26). The charters for

Richmond do not specify the liberties by which the burgesses of this settlement held their lands, but state that they are the same as the liberties granted by the previous lords (ibid. 16). This occurs on both the surviving twelfth century charters dated to 1137-1145 and 1145-1175. Charters of this type are illustrative of the growth of social practices associated with medieval documentation. The issuing of a charter provides a documentary record of the grant of the rights, but what is actually granted is established and manipulated through changing social practices associated with the granting and enforcement of these rights. In this sense the administration of a borough ties into both the elite ideas of gender roles and the developing practices of administration with the growing use of documentation. Urban sites therefore present a similar pattern to that demonstrated for rural settlement. It is necessary now to tie the role of castles into this material.

CASTLES

Castles are the arenas in which the repetitive social actions called administration occurred. It can be demonstrated that the ideas and institutions associated with the social changes of this period spread out from castles. Castle owners, and other members of the elite are responsible for the changing pattern of monastic foundations from the 1120s onwards. The change from leasing estates to direct management of the demesne lands begins in this period and has strong implications for the reduction of public roles for elite females with the growth of specialist estate managers, and the expansion of administration into these areas. This pattern of exclusion is paralleled at a national level with the appointment of specialist administrators reducing the role played by queens. The life, and activities, of Eleanor of Aquitaine is employed to demonstrate the failings of women (Duby 1997). Possibly Eleanor would have had a more satisfactory life had her role as a royal spouse not been reduced due to the presence of specialist administrators, such as Thomas à Becket. The exclusion of women from public life at elite levels is paralleled by the references to their control and exclusion in administrative documentation. Due to the changing social role played by the creation and use of administrative documentation during this period there is little substantial evidence, only vignettes of data, but with the growing dependence on documentation in localised administration during the thirteenth century, and into the fourteenth century the levels of surviving data increases.

As well as providing a focus as the centre of an estate, and a social focus castle sites, through their architecture where distinguished from other settlement sites. The work of Liddiard (2000) and Creighton (2002) has shown that the immediate settings of castle sites were distinguished from lesser settlements through the use of features such as fishponds,

dovecotes, warrens, gardens, orchards and parks. Other associations frequently identified were churches and nucleated settlements. These landscape features distinguish castles from lesser sites, but place them within the wider aristocratic mentality in associating castle sites with landscape features generally associated with the elite. The use of castles as the focus of an estate and centre of administration also demonstrates this aristocratic ideal in the use of spaces associated with these social practices.

The castle at Brougham, Westmorland is discussed more fully below, but at this site there is evidence that the construction of the hall is possibly contemporary with an expansion of the demesne. At other sites, especially where there is evidence for the foundation of a new borough there is no evidence for the castle predating the borough. At Richmond and Barnard Castle there are possibly morphological reasons to suggest that the castles and boroughs were laid out as part of the same process. At other sites there is a less clear morphological relationship between the borough and its associated castle, but there is no evidence not to believe a contemporary foundation with the castle and settlement. At Morpeth and at Kendal the changing, developing relationships between the borough and the elite is expressed through the shifting of the castle sites in the thirteenth century and spatial developments within the boroughs. With certain foundations of new settlements, especially the boroughs there is no reason not to believe castles were not established as a centre of administration with the foundation of the settlement the picture for rural sites is considerably more complex.

In the analysis of the individual settlements in the next chapter it can be seen that the majority of villages that contain a castle site are of regular, nucleated form. The greatest proportion of sites also contains evidence for an Anglo-Saxon church. Where excavations have been undertaken on both church and village sites, for example at Wharram Percy in the East Riding of Yorkshire, it was determined that the church and the village were likely to be contemporary foundations in the Anglo-Scandinavian period (Beresford and Hurst 1990, 84). There is little evidence to believe that castles associated with the majority of rural settlements are not additions to an existing, earlier settlement especially where there is the evidence for an Anglo-Saxon foundation date for the church or even a burial community of the pre-Conquest period. The dating of rural castle sites is at least as problematic as that for urban sites. The majority of castles are generally believed to date from the early post-Conquest period on the basis of very little evidence. The discussion of the dating of castle architecture included earlier in this thesis determined that many sites were given dates so early that they could not be supported on a rational examination of the evidence. It was demonstrated that many archaeologists were dating castle sites to the earliest extreme that the evidence could support. It

is proposed here that we are seeing a more dynamic landscape development. I am proposing that many of the castle sites, especially the isolated mottes and those with little or no documentary evidence, are the result of the expansion of demesne farming in the later twelfth century. These sites are constructed as centres of administration within estates, bases for professional administrators. Sites of this type are rare, and absent in many areas, for example within the lands of the Bishop of Durham and generally in Westmorland. We are therefore not looking at an extensive pattern of sites, but a few being used in certain areas. There is no reason to proclaim a general movement to construct small castles for this function but it is in these arenas and in other castle sites that the ordering of society occurs.

Chapter Seven will continue with an examination of the landscape context of castles in both urban and rural sites.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT AND CASTLES

This chapter focuses on the spatial contexts of castles. Out of the one hundred and twelve sites that have been examined as part of this thesis thirty-six can be classified as urban, forty-three are located in villages, and twenty-six are in isolated sites. These numbers add up to one hundred and five sites. Out of the remaining seven sites two exist only as place names. Gaittecastellum, in upper Teesdale, County Durham only exists as a historical reference to this name, while Castle Carrock in Cumberland is only evidenced by its modern place name. The remaining five sites are essentially unconvincing earthwork forms without any certain locations or are unconvincing as castle sites. The group of thirty-six urban sites includes the towns of York, Pickering, Morpeth, Kendal and Northallerton all of which have two castles. The presence of castles at Ripon, West Riding of Yorkshire and Hexham, Northumberland, is highly questionable. These sites are discussed in Appendix 2. There are, therefore, in effect twenty-eight settlements with castles in the north that have urban characteristics. Urban characteristics have been determined from the list of twelfth century borough charters produced by Ballard (1913). The limited number of charters that have survived to be included by Ballard (1913) has been supplemented with Beresford and Finberg's (1973) list of medieval boroughs. The provision of a dividing line separating castles standing in villages from the isolated sites is a subjective division. Where it is clear a site plays no part in the plan of the village, for example Raby, where the castle stands isolated in the park it has been separated from the general group of rural sites. Other sites such as Bewcastle and Liddel in Cumberland present a less controversial proposition; standing on the high moor near to the Scottish Borders they are clearly isolated from any settlements. The next chapter is a discussion of the landscape context of sites that are isolated from settlements or churches.

The placement of a castle in relation to a settlement or, even in an isolated location implies a series of choices made by the builder. These choices are required to fit within a social framework of existing rights and patterns of ownership that are attached to the land. In certain cases it is necessary to remove these existing rights. The ways of removing these existing rights range from negotiations, to the use of violence. Whatever mechanism was selected has been entirely lost in time. If a site is to be constructed in demesne lands then it is likely that the level of existing rights that apply to the land are less. As the previous section discussed there are reasons to believe that the social processes behind the foundation of castle sites are tied intimately into the social practices of estate management. From an examination of many of the modern maps castles tend to be associated with parks. In the case of Bishop Middleham,

County Durham, the wall enclosing the park survives. Other sites stand within areas of compact demesne. It is possibly the management of labour services associated with the large, compact blocks of land that led to the construction and placement of a castle in these areas. The excavations at Hen Domen in Montgomeryshire showed that the castle was constructed over a pre-existing field system (Higham and Barker 2000, 11). At Sandal in the West Riding of Yorkshire the remains of medieval ploughing was also identified below the castle earthworks (Mayes and Butler 1983, 70-2). The castle at Hen Domen was also constructed adjacent to some house platforms that probably predated the foundation of this site. The extensive, long-running fieldwork at this site has revealed a pattern of development similar to that which can be seen for many boroughs. The documentary evidence for the foundation of boroughs on demesne lands is compelling and convincing. The development, and associations between castles and boroughs will be examined later in this chapter.

This section is concerned with the examination of the relationships between castles and settlements and the extent to which this can be examined through spatial patterning and developing administrative relationships. To emphasise the social basis of the study behind this chapter it is also necessary to examine the basic spatial relationships between castles and settlements. Boroughs are corporate organisations. The best analogy to the rights of a borough is contained in the introduction line to the 1188-1239 charter for Morpeth. This charter states that the burgesses hold their land of Roger de Merlay as Roger holds his of the king in the charter he holds as issued to him (Ballard 1913, 21). Obviously this charter leaves wide areas of possible meaning for these rights but what a charter does is provide a group, the holders of burgage tenure, with a corporate, if not class identity. For rural settlement a less clear set of relationships can be established. The growth of direct management of demesne changes the role of the castle over time, bringing it into focus as an arena for the social processes of administration.

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND TO C. 1200

The limited information in Domesday can be employed to present a starting point for the examination of the urban development of the north. The Domesday entries for York indicate a densely occupied city. It is stated in Domesday that the construction of the castles laid waste to one of the six shires of the city (Faull and Stinson 1986, 298a). Other settlement evidence from York contained in Domesday provides further information for the development of the city. Domesday contains references to the construction of housing that cut into the city ditch (ibid. 298b). The area occupied by the King's Fishpond is shown in Figure 37 and it

would appear that it originally held arable land, meadows and gardens and two mills. Domesday shows that York in 1086 was a major urban centre and one that was developing and changing with new additions to the cityscape. Outside York, in the rest of Yorkshire there is a considerably different picture.

In the Domesday folios for Yorkshire urban settlements are referenced at Dadsley with thirty-one burgesses (Darby and Maxwell 1962, 75). Tanshelf is by far the largest settlement in the West Riding with 60 burgesses (ibid. 76). Tanshelf is listed under the landholdings of Ilbert de Lacy, it is therefore most likely to be a predecessor settlement for Pontefract (ibid. 77). These two settlements mark the only settlements possessing urban character in their documentation for the West Riding.

Two settlements in the East Riding of Yorkshire are listed in Domesday as having a burgess population. These settlements are: Pocklington with fifteen burgesses (ibid. 227) and Bridlington with four (ibid. 226). Out of the two sites it is only Bridlington that receives a historical reference of a castle in 1143 with the fortification of the monastery during the anarchy (Arnold 1885, 315). It is clear that urban development in the East Riding of Yorkshire was extremely limited according to Domesday when employing the criterion of reference to burgesses. It is possible, though to interpret the references to urban development in the Yorkshire folios as representing a growing process of small town foundation that may have its routes in the pre-Conquest period. Domesday, as a source for the history of the north is limited due to its smaller geographical coverage. The Yorkshire Domesday folios do not cover England north of the River Tees so for County Durham and Northumberland it is necessary to depend upon other sources of data.

From archaeological excavations and historical data it is clear that Durham was a regional centre of great importance due to the presence of the market, the seat of the bishop and the importance of the relics of St Cuthbert. The archaeological and historical evidence for the development of the city of Durham around the time of the Conquest has been discussed in Chapter Four. To proceed north from Durham it is difficult to identify any other urban centres that could conceivably date to the eleventh century. The castle at Newcastle dates its foundation to 1080 (ibid. 211). It is most probable that the legal foundation of the borough at Newcastle also dates from this time. Archaeological excavations on the site of the castle indicate that there is occupation in the form of a cemetery predating the castle clearly indicating some sort of pre-castle settlement on site that may have been reconstituted as the borough.

It would appear from the historical and archaeological record that Durham and York are the only major urban centres to the east of the Pennines in the years following the Norman Conquest. West of the Pennines an exceptionally similar picture can also be seen.

The Domesday folios for Cheshire record one borough within the county of Lancaster and the south of Westmorland that was under the control of the English crown in 1086. This borough is Penwortham in Lancashire. Penwortham is referenced as having six burgesses and a castle (Darby and Maxwell 1962, 414). The capture of Carlisle in 1092 and the subsequent expansion of the lands of the English crown into the northern half of Westmorland and Cumbria add the city of Carlisle to this list of urban sites. Archaeological evidence from Carlisle indicates its continued function as a regional centre during the eleventh century (McCarthy 2000).

This examination of the historical evidence for urbanism at the time of Domesday has shown that there are three major cities Carlisle, Durham and York in the North of England at this time. The Domesday folios for Yorkshire and Cheshire show there are a limited number of boroughs present in the landscape. For the undocumented counties of Northumberland and Cumberland it is possible one or two boroughs may date to before 1086. It should be noted that Penwortham is also the location of a castle site. The identification of these small boroughs from the map evidence is probably impossible, the boundaries of their plots probably being relatively indistinguishable from rural settlements.

Domesday shows that the North of England is essentially a rural landscape in the post-Conquest period with a series of major cities with few small boroughs and markets. There is a clear parallel between the urban landscapes of the north and its monastic landscapes. There is the clear presence of major religious institutions that appear in the historical record and a series of other smaller institutions for which the evidence largely consists of fragments of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The other less formal markets, fairs and other exchange centres are also likely to follow this pattern consisting of informal markets held in a fixed cycle of times and locations.

The foundation of boroughs continues into the twelfth century and it is from this period that the majority of sites with urban character must date. Urban character here has been determined from two sources of evidence: historical references to burgage tenure and the characteristic form of burgage plot as seen in the map evidence. Urban centres were not the only formal, administered establishments for the pursuit of trade. Britnell states that a number of surviving market charters issued for Yorkshire were based on settlements associated with baronial castles or in other areas of the country in proximity to new monasteries (1996, 21).

Prior to the twelfth century the main source for the identification of urban settlement has to be the Domesday Book folios for Yorkshire and Cheshire. The Domesday evidence for urban development within the north will be examined first to provide a picture of the settlement pattern in the later eleventh century. Following on from the discussion of the Domesday data it is necessary to examine the historical context of the foundation of castle boroughs in the north with the data contained in the borough charters. The final part of this section is an examination of the spatial relationships between castles and their associated urban settlements.

THE SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN SITES

From the sample of settlements associated with castles in the counties of Cumberland, Durham, Westmorland, Northumberland and Yorkshire there are fifteen settlements that have surviving borough charters including the two charters issued for the Durham City and the Borough of Elvet. In the same counties Beresford and Finberg list historical evidence for thirty-nine boroughs including Elvet out of the one hundred and sixty-three castles included on the database for these counties (1973). It may well be that charters were never issued for the majority of boroughs and that an expression of similar customs to another borough and the following and enforcement of these customs was all that was necessary for the foundation of most boroughs. This type of charter would appear to be the most frequently issued form of words and it becomes more common during the later twelfth century with the City of York employed as the source of rights provided for other settlements.

The first, and most striking point, concerning these charters for towns associated with castles is that only one charter in the sample area mentions the castle. This is also the only charter contained in Ballard (1913) that actually mentions a castle at all. The burgesses of Egremont, Cumberland, were obliged under their charter to provide twelve armed men for forty days for the defence of Egremont Castle in the event of war (ibid. 90). The traditional interpretation of urban castles as defensive zones associated for security with a town looks rather shaky when this total lack of references is accounted for. Ballard (1913, 90) lists one other example of a pre-thirteenth century borough charter that details a military obligation being placed upon the burgesses by their landowner. The borough charter of Swansea states that the burgesses are obliged to serve in the army when summoned at their own expense. Hollister ascribes the presence of this entry on the Swansea charter for military service as the survival of the Anglo-Saxon Fryd duty (1962, 27). Whether the Swansea entry does actually reflect an Anglo-Saxon tradition enshrined in an Anglo-Norman charter is certainly open to question. What is clear from these two references is that military concerns are low on both a

national and local scale. When it comes to the foundation of a borough other concerns are clearly expressed through the terms contained in the charters. This lack of expression of military concerns in the terms of borough charters is contradicted by the general interpretations that have been made of urban castles.

Drage (1987) and Thompson (1991, 145-157) both interpret and discuss urban castles as a mode of defence in association with their towns. Research on this subject has advanced little and ideas appear to have moved on less with Drage's (1987, 130) suggestion that excavations in outer baileys of urban castles should be undertaken to see whether they are employed as shelters for troops. Carlisle contradicts this interpretation where the large outer bailey appears to be a later addition to an early earthwork core (McCarthy, Summerson and Annis 1990, 11). The multiple baileys visible on important urban royal sites such as York can also be shown as later developments. The extension of York Castle in 1070 caused the loss of a house (RCHME 1972, 60) the stone reconstruction under Henry III may also have led to the abandonment of the western bailey to the Franciscan Friary. The Old Baile at York, the second castle within the city, appears not to have undergone the later bailey extensions seen at York Castle. This site seems to have been the object of competition for who did not own it in the later medieval period (Addyman and Priestley 1977, 119). Therefore it seems unlikely that the Old Baile received the extended or additional baileys visible at other sites. At the royal castle of Guildford in Surrey a similar late pattern of expansion to the royal castles of York and Carlisle can also be seen with the old bailey ditches being infilled between 1150 and 1200 while a new, more extensive enclosure is marked out (Poulton nd., 5). A parallel, but earlier, development can be seen at Durham with the construction work of Bishop Flambard (1099-1128) converting the entire peninsula of Durham into a series of outer baileys of the castle (Bonney 1990, 34). A further example of this type of expansion can be seen at Newcastle where the developments of the early thirteenth century lead to the encroachment of the castle onto the surrounding properties. The expansion of the castle at Newcastle before 1213 led to a charter being issued in this year offering payment to those who had lost land with the expansion of the new works at the castle (Ballard 1913, 238). These examples show that even for urban castles that appear to have remained in use for long periods, such as York and Carlisle, it cannot be claimed that they represent fixed locations within towns but shifted their boundaries and spatial relationships with their associated settlements. It is clear from the example of the Newcastle charter that it was necessary for the Crown, in this case, to negotiate with the citizens to compensate for the loss of land at this site.

At Carlisle the change in focus of the castle site can be clearly seen with the construction of a new gateway in the later twelfth-century that, for the first time, gave direct access from the castle into the city. Figure 38 shows a plan of Carlisle Castle and City. The original entrance to the castle led from the east wall of the inner bailey and out of the site. The new later twelfth-century gatehouse was constructed in the walling enclosing the outer bailey leading to the main street through the city, past the cathedral. This change in the access arrangements of the castle indicates a new focus on the city, and more importantly a different approach through the expanded castle enclosure to the inner bailey, rather than the former direct access. From examining sites such as Carlisle it is clear that the earthwork site stood in a larger unit of property. At Carlisle, over time, the castle earthworks have effectively expanded to fill the property unit. At other sites, for example Egremont, the castle earthworks stand within a wider unit of property that in turn appears to have been enclosed within a late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century wall (Caine 1923) that could be considered to be broadly contemporary with the borough charter.

It is possible that Northallerton presents a similar picture to the shifting pattern visible at Carlisle, but instead of moving the outer boundaries of the castle, the location of the castle is shifted. The two castle sites at this borough appear to be an initial foundation and its successor. Figure 23 shows the location of the two castle sites in Northallerton essentially within the same unit of property, to the west of the main street of the borough. It appears from an examination of Figure 23 that the borough at Northallerton is an addition to an existing settlement based around the parish church at the north end of the main street. The earlier castle site stands to the west of the site marked on the figure as 'Palace, site of' it appears to be the one demolished by Henry II in 1174 (Page 1912, 35). An examination of the entrance passage into this motte and bailey shows that it is oriented towards the site of the parish church and what could possibly be the earlier settlement around it, rather than the borough. The church at Northallerton has six fragments of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture; all appear to be from crosses, rather than from funerary monuments. The borough at Northallerton is not mentioned until the end of the thirteenth-century so may not actually fit into the dating criterion for this thesis (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 187). It is clear, for this site, like that at Carlisle, that the castle was focused towards the church, and probably towards the early settlement also in the later half of the twelfth century from a location, or orientation that did not take into account the presence of a settlement. This interpretation of the earlier castle site at Northallerton is speculative due to its exceptionally poor survival from being cut by a branch of the North-East Railway.

At Brough, Westmorland, the castle site focuses towards the green that now occupies the centre of this shrunken borough. A plan of Brough is included as Figure 39. Despite the shrinkage of the borough at Brough the broad plan of this settlement can be seen. The castle at Brough stands to one side of the main street, that originally would have run up to the south side of the castle enclosure, in through the east gate of the former Roman fort. The settlement form of this site has been preserved adjacent to the market place, on the south row. Brough presents a similar settlement form to that at Thirsk in the North Riding of Yorkshires. A plan of Thirsk is included as Figure 40. At this site the castle also fronted onto the marketplace. Although the site was destroyed in 1175 (Page 1923, 45) its earthworks were visible early in the twentieth century. Both Richmond and Barnard Castle present a very similar settlement form, in both these sites, whose plans are included as Figure 28 and Figure 29 respectively. At both Richmond and Barnard Castle the castle site is effectively triangular in shape occupying bluffs above the river. At both settlements the curtain walls of the castle occupy one edge of the market place. Both the market places in these sites also contain the town chapel. At Richmond the chapel occupies the central area of the market place while at Barnard Castle the chapel is confined to one side of the market place. None of these sites, except for Thirsk, contain a parish church, but are only serviced by chapels. Brough is within the parish of Kirby Stephen while Barnard Castle is in the parish of Gainford. There is a parish church at Richmond, like that at Thirsk, it is without the area of the borough, Richmond's standing to the north-west of the borough outside its boundary. The parish church at Thirsk stands to the north of the borough, away from both the castle site and the probable predecessor settlement of Old Thirsk to the east of the borough.

It is possible that certain points can be made concerning the spatial development of the early boroughs and whether this spatial element has any link to the growing ideas of documentation and administration. Both Richmond and Barnard Castle are early boroughs that probably date their foundation to the end of the eleventh century. Thirsk is likely to be early with a first mention of the borough in 1145 (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 189), but little is known about the actual form of the castle at this site. For the early borough charters, and other sites that appear to be boroughs of early foundation, it does appear that the castles tend to be located adjacent to the market place. The nature of the earlier borough charters implies a greater role for the lord in interpreting the charter due to the grant of rights issued in another town, or by a predecessor as lord. Grants of this type fit into the developing movement from verbal communication to the written record, and into the changing society of the twelfth century as detailed earlier in this chapter. As one examines Table 6, the list of foundation dates for boroughs, there is a pattern of developing spatial distance between the castles and the

boroughs. But possibly this interpretation is contradicted by the construction of castles in locations near to settlements that predate them. A good example of this problem is Pickering, North Riding of Yorkshire.

The church at Pickering provides evidence that the settlement and church predate the construction of the castle. A plan of this site is included as Figure 41. The castle at Pickering does stand distant from the associated borough that is based around the church of St Peter and St Paul, but it is apparent that the castle stands within a park laid out around Pickering Hall. This indicates that there is a likelihood that the castle originally stood within a park; traces of this park remain in the elaborate gatepost that stand by the cross street to the south of Pickering Hall. In the case of Pickering it is probable that the church is an Anglo-Saxon foundation. Laing (1991) lists four fragments of Anglo-Saxon sculpture dating from the tenth century onwards, including one fragment of hogback. The presence of this sculpture does indicate that it is unlikely the site of the church has been moved so it could be said that the castle is likely to have been constructed as an addition to an existing settlement. This pattern is similar to what can be seen at Northallerton where it is likely that the properties around the church predate the foundation of the borough.

The borough charter for Alnwick dated to 1157-1185 does appear to be a foundation charter for the borough in this town (Ballard 1913, 25). The charter states that William de Vesci 'have granted' to the men who are the burgesses of Alnwick and their heirs hold their property as the burgesses of Newcastle do. The position of the castle at Alnwick is adjacent to the borough, but within a park, that according to Figure 42 stretched to the north-east of the main area of the borough. Alnwick, therefore, represents a similar picture to the other early sites in having a castle located well to the centre of the settlement; even though it stands within a larger unit of property. Two sites, Morpeth in Northumberland and Kendal in Westmorland, demonstrate changing spatial relationships between the castles and their associated boroughs with the development of these sites into the thirteenth century.

The settlement at Kendal stands within the area of Westmorland under the control of the English crown prior to William Rufus's invasion of Cumberland and north Westmorland. It is clear from Domesday that there is no reference to any borough at Kendal in 1086, but there appears to be a settlement based around the church here by this date. Mumby (1985) discusses the development of the borough of Kendal. As Figure 44 shows the borough of Kendal developed along the north-south road through the settlement. The focus of early settlement, according to Mumby is the area around the church known as 'Kirkland'. This interpretation is due to the presence of Anglo-Saxon sculpture at the church of Holy Trinity

(Bailey and Cramp 1988, Kendal Corpus number 1) and the reference to Kirkby as the centre of the Strickland estate in Domesday (Morgan 1978, 302a). The development of the borough at Morpeth provides a similar picture to the growth of Kendal. At Morpeth, from the morphological and documentary evidence the borough develops in two distinct phases. The development of the boroughs at Kendal and Morpeth provide a contrasting picture to the planning and layout of the twelfth century boroughs discussed in this chapter. The borough charter for Kendal dates to 1222-1246 (Mumby 1985, 111), while the two charters issued for Morpeth date from 1188-1239 (Ballard 1913, 21) and 1239-1266 (Hodgson 1832, 117).

The initial foundation charter for Morpeth focuses on the first phase development of the borough. The charter, issued between 1188 and 1239 (Ballard 1913, 21), the lifetime of Roger de Merlay, refers to the first phase in the development of this borough. Figure 43 shows a plan of the burgage plots and the locations of the castles and parish church at Morpeth, Northumberland. Figure 43 shows that the first phase of the borough consisted of the east-west street running parallel to the river that separates it from the site of the castle at Ha'Hill. This row can be distinguished from the later phase of borough development that lines the road to the north by the lack of 'herringbone' fitting of properties at the junctions between these roads. A charter dated to between 1239 and 1266 documents the expansion of the borough to the north dated within the lifetime of Roger de Merlay II (Hodgson 1832, 117). This charter survives in three separate versions: Hodgson (1832) lists two; Ballard and Tait (1923) list three. This charter describes an extension to the borough of forty-three tofts founded within an area of land bounded by the River Wansbeck to the west, to the north of two individual tofts and to the south of the dyke of the monks of Newminster (Hodgson 1832, 117). The area of land described here fits very well with the street leading north from the market place. At Morpeth the expansion of the Borough is paralleled by changes to the spatial relationship between the castle and the town.

In the 1830s excavations on the site of Ha' Hill, the early castle, revealed twelfth-century capitals and voussoirs carved with a billet moulding (ibid. 390). The remains at Ha' Hill are said to be those of the castle attacked by King John in 1216 (Cathcart-King 1983, 338), but this report does not occur in any contemporary chronicle and is only mentioned by Leyland (ibid. 370). Obviously the lack of a contemporary reference to the destruction or abandonment of the castle site at Ha' Hill is problematic when considering the dating of this structure, but the architecture of the second castle site at Morpeth does provide some clues. As Figure 43 shows the new location of the new castle site is on a hill, above the location of Ha' Hill and overlooking the town. The dating evidence for the new site is limited. The gatehouse most

probably dates from the fourteenth century. Renn (1973, 249) lists this site as a Norman foundation evidently assuming construction following on from the reported destruction of the earlier site at Ha' Hill. Beyond the use of an earthwork to support the enclosure wall it is difficult to see why Renn makes this interpretation.

Archaeological evidence for the date of the second castle at Morpeth comes from the junction between the curtain walling and the gate tower. The stonework of the gate tower appears to be later than that of the curtain wall; it is also of an entirely different quality. The gatehouse stonework is of even-sized, almost square blocks, while that of the curtain walling is broadly squared rubble with short, discontinuous courses. It can be argued that curtain wall is of a different build, and appears to predate the gatehouse. Therefore it can be said that the new castle site must have existed prior to the fourteenth century construction of the gatehouse; how much earlier than the building of this feature is entirely open to question. What can be shown from the documentary evidence is that the borough at Morpeth is expanded by seigneurial action in the thirteenth century. By the fourteenth century the early castle site adjacent to the borough had been abandoned. The new castle site must have been occupied by this date for it was improved with a new gatehouse of this period. A very similar pattern to Morpeth in Northumberland can be seen at Kendal in Westmorland.

At Kendal it is apparent that the borough was probably developed as an extension to an existing village, possible the settlement of Kirkby within the estate of Strickland as detailed in the Cheshire Domesday folios (Morgan 1978, 302a). The parish church of Kendal, located within the postulated area of Kirkby contains one fragment of cross-arm dated from the late eighth to early ninth century (Bailey and Cramp 1988 Corpus number 1). Munby (1985) discusses the development of the borough of Kendal in the context of its borough charter. Munby concludes that the initial settlement at Kendal is expanded in a single phase from the nucleus of Kirkby. Certainly an examination of the plan of the settlement confirms this interpretation. The pattern of plots is shown in Figure 44. It can be seen from this figure that the long, narrow burgage plots are the primary focus, and structure of the town plan. Later infilling is visible in the area of the market place. Kendal presents a similar pattern of castle location to Morpeth with the shift of the site from a castle adjacent to the town to one placed on a nearby hill, and as Figure 45 shows, one within the demesne. The beginning of occupation at this site is traditionally dated to the thirteenth century, from the surviving stonework, but Perriam and Robinson (1998, 335) state that occupation of the earlier site, Kendal Castle How ended c. 1184. Perriam and Robinson also claim that Kendal Castle, the later site, was attacked by King John in 1216 (1998, 348). Close evidence for the dating of the

move from Castle How to Kendal Castle is exceptionally difficult to come by. The movement of the sites must occur at some point in the later twelfth century to the mid thirteenth century; no closer dating can be suggested with any confidence. Both Kendal and Morpeth, therefore present a similar picture of spatial change over time and may suggest elements of a framework within which to examine the spatial development of other sites over time.

The majority of castle sites that are located within, or near to boroughs demonstrate architectural development or have historical documentation indicating they are occupied beyond the end of the twelfth century. At certain sites, for example at Bishop Auckland, the surviving late twelfth century hall is not located in an area of the site that is adjacent to the borough, but it is distant. Later developments at this site have compromised the survival of any earthworks. In other sites where the castle is close to the associated settlement there is an effort in the later twelfth century to expand towards the town, for example at York and Carlisle. At Durham the creation of the 'military zone' of the city defines and emphasises this change. At other sites, such as Northallerton, this movement has already been discussed. Very few of the castles associated with boroughs go out of use during the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. This is essentially confined to Kendal, Morpeth and Thirsk. The castle at Thirsk was reported to have been destroyed in the twelfth century. The site was located adjacent to the market place as shown in Figure 40. For whatever reason this site was abandoned. It is suggested here that the ideas of the elite change through the twelfth century. There appears to be a movement to emphasising a separation between associated boroughs and castles. This can be achieved in a number of ways, the most extreme being the abandonment of a castle site, but can move through the scale of adding new baileys to a site, constructing new walling or even increasing the complexity of a gatehouse. Certainly this method is archaeologically the most visible, for example the construction of the barbican at Richmond and the changes to the gatehouse associated with the construction of the great tower. In terms of the gatehouse the greatest advances occur with the construction of new gates, such as the Black Gate at Newcastle in the thirteenth century. The extreme projection of this gate, its complex passage and the numerous doors, holes and drawbridge guarding its route emphasise the separation between the town and the castle. The most extreme change occurs with the movement of a castle site into the centre of demesne lands associated with the estate. Certain points can be made concerning the relationship between the lord and his tenants in the lands associated with the castle and settlement.

The references to demesne land contained within the charters for Morpeth and Kendal show that the foundation and expansion of urban settlement was undertaken on demesne

lands. The surviving charters indicating the expansion of Morpeth in the thirteenth century have demonstrated this. From the few references in other charters and the data contained in other documentation some points can be made concerning the expression of lordship and rights in the demesne lands associated with a castle. At Egremont the rights of pannage for the pigs of the burgesses are confined to lands that they are required to mow or plough as a labour service towards their rent (Ballard 1913, 56, 61, 95). These lands are the demesne lands of the lord. The Egremont charter, in this way, is more comparable to the labour service requirements for the bishop of Durham's rural tenants detailed in the *Boldon Book* (Austin 1982). No other borough charters examined as part of this work contain such onerous conditions. At Norham there is a reference to demesne lands within the borough being used to provide further lands for the burgesses. The charter issued to Norham by Hugh du Puiset includes references to the burgesses sharing common pasture on Witterig and Thrinelawrig with the men of the monks (Ballard 1913, 58). The Bishop also donated the marsh of Fultrotts. This is described as being near to the borough of Norham. The late twelfth century Norham charter specifically mentions that the rights of common pasture are to be shared between the men of the monks and the burgesses. This limited right to the use of the land is indicative that it is a grant from the Bishop's demesne. There is no evidence within the charter that any other residents of Norham have rights to this land. At Norham, therefore, it would appear that the lands of the borough have previously been demesne and are most likely to be intermingled with non-burgage tenants and lands held by the men of the monks.

What is clear from the evidence concerning demesne lands where it is included in the charters or other associated documentation is that the boroughs occupy and employ land that has been demesne. Boroughs, and most importantly, the lords who establish them work within existing patterns of landholding. The general respect of rights can be seen to be paralleled in the detailed expression of rights contained in the texts of borough charters. This clear evidence demonstrates that the establishment of elements of settlements slots into existing patterns of landholdings and legal rights. This unsurprising conclusion can be revealed for the foundation and expansion of borough settlements due to their greater volumes of surviving documentation.

The development of castle boroughs in the North of England is tied into a series of social processes linked to earlier patterns of land ownership and development. It is clear at a number of sites that there is some evidence of a pre-Conquest church: a full list of the fourteen urban sites with evidence of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture or architecture is given in Table 7. At two of the sites on this list, Bishop Auckland, County Durham, and Malton, North Riding of Yorkshire, the site containing stone sculpture is located in a different settlement to the

borough. At Malton, in Old Malton, to the north-west of Malton a fragment of late ninth to early tenth century cross shaft was found (Lang 1991 Corpus number Malton 1). At Bishop Auckland the sculpture is located in the parish church of St Andrew, to the south of the borough and castle at Bishop Auckland. At these two sites the borough is located away from the earlier settlement and ecclesiastical provision. The creation of the new borough led to new ecclesiastical provision for the boroughs in the form of a chapel at Bishop Auckland and two parish churches at Malton reflect this. In both of these cases the founder of the borough has evidently had to negotiate with the institution holding parochial rights over the area. At Malton the parish church had been converted to a house of Gilbertine Canons by 1154 (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 142 and 166). The two churches in the borough were given to this house as part of its endowment. At St Andrew's in Auckland this Secular College was founded in 1083 with the clerks who had formerly served in Durham Cathedral before the foundation of the Benedictine Priory (ibid. 413 and 420). Possibly following this history of relations with the Bishops of Durham it is easy to see why the bishop was unable to found a separate parish church at Bishop Auckland and was only able to build a chapel in the market place. The Bishop of Durham was unsuccessful in founding a parish church in another borough with castle foundation at Stockton within the ancient parish of Norton (Page 1928, 363). But at Stockton, as Figure 22 shows, the castle and chapel stand next to each other at the south end of the High Street that stretches north, parallel to the river Tees. These three examples show the close interactions between institutions and lords with the foundation of boroughs and the involvement of other institutions tied to the lords with rights over lands. It is now necessary to look outside the growing towns and into the wider rural landscape.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTH

The construction of castles in the North of England begins in a settled but developing landscape of nucleated villages in the lowland arable-farming areas with a looser scattering of hamlets and discrete farms in the uplands of the five northern counties. The development of boroughs in the north presents a less problematic scheme of development when compared with the debates concerning the development of villages. The classic lack of stratigraphic layers at rural sites means that this pottery may well be the first datable material on site, but not necessarily the first evidence of occupation. This problem can be seen at two sites located in County Durham. Austin in excavations and survey at Hart, County Durham (1976) and Thrislington (1989) found little dating evidence to provide a foundation date except for pottery dating to the late twelfth to early thirteenth century. Austin took this pottery to be the dating

evidence for the nucleation at Thrislington. From the survey work at Hart and Thrislington it is apparent that pottery only appears at rural settlements from this date (ibid. 165-166). The lack of stratigraphy means earlier occupation cannot be seen. But it is generally assumed that the archaeological evidence slots into the explanatory model of the 'village moment'. The village moment is generally defined as the period between the ninth and twelfth centuries during which the landscape of nucleated villages was created in the regions where this type of settlement is a characteristic form. It is clear that the chronological period covered by this examination includes the final century and a half of the village moment and it is necessary here to expand on the social processes behind villages.

The end of the twelfth century is considered to be the point in time when the village moment ended. I believe that it is not a coincidence that this also marks the period of growing interest, and investment in villages and the agricultural landscape by lords. Many explanations for the emergence of the regular, nucleated village have been put forward that rely on ideas of lordship, or, as Harvey (1983 and 1984) has claimed that at some theoretical point in history when the areas of Holderness were under the same lord the characteristic field systems of long strips were laid out. This claim of a massive investment, and interest by the lord in the landscape of this part of East Yorkshire in the Anglo-Saxon period clearly contradicts the data put forward by Faith (1997) showing how lordly investment in the landscape and its population increases over time to a height in the late twelfth century. This interpretation of the documentary evidence by Faith is supported further by the work of Harvey (1973, 1974). Britnell also argues that great estates, from the 1180s onwards, led to a growing elaboration of administration within secular estates (1996, 132). This picture of a growing lordly interest in estates contradicts the more general claims made for the role of lordship in the foundation of settlements. This is especially true when the work undertaken by historical geographers, such as Roberts is examined.

Roberts (1972; 1987) believed that William the Conqueror's Harrying of the North had denuded the landscape of County Durham of population. This dislocation of the population enabled the Bishop to reorganise the villages and their field systems into a more regular form. This case is clearly built on a number of suppositions: for example that the eleventh-century army would be capable of reducing the population of an area so effectively. In Chapter Seven the evidence for the dating of nucleated rural settlements was examined. It was determined that much of the historical evidence for the transformation of the landscape did not support this argument. It should also be remembered that the Harrying of the North was not the only military expedition that led to destruction in the North. In 1080 Odo of Bayeaux

led an expedition into Northumbria as retribution against the murder of Bishop Walcher (Aird 1998, 98). Kapelle (1979)'s chapter discussing the governance of the north prior to the reign of Henry I is entitled '*Governance by Punitive Expedition*'. The individual chronicles report these military expeditions differently because, as Chapter One discussed, chronicles are not reportage. Further work on this data specifically in the light of the interpretations placed on the Harrying of the North by Palliser (1993) has concluded that there simply is not the evidence for such a great dislocation of population. A further level of data can be applied to these points when the evidence for pre-village settlements are examined.

In Westmorland the earthworks of settlements from the early medieval period survive in the uplands of the Eden Valley. In an examination of these settlements Roberts found that there was a significant chronological gap between the termination of settlement within these earthworks and his assumed twelfth-century expansion of settlement (1993). Pottery excavated from within the steadings was datable to the Roman period or earlier (ibid. 444). If this pottery represents the final settlement at these sites there is clearly a large gap in our knowledge of the settlement structure throughout the post-Roman period until the foundations of villages in the period between the ninth to twelfth centuries. This conclusion obviously means that there is a generation of settlement that has yet to be identified through archaeology, a post-earthwork and pre-village site. Taylor (B. Taylor pers. comm.), in an examination of the rural settlement of Cambridgeshire, concluded that settlements prior to the foundation of villages and the construction of churches are actually exceptionally fluid. Taylor's examination of the SMR data for Cambridgeshire demonstrated that through the Roman and early medieval period settlements were fluid, rarely offering any 'continuity' of occupation in a particular area or of a particular site. This fluidity and movement is also evident in the provision of cemeteries in the early medieval period, with few sites, if any, representing continuous use over more than a small number of generations. It is really only once churches are founded that burial practice finds a focus in the landscape. Morris (1989, 228) states that there is an '*increasing trend towards localism in the structure of ecclesiastical provision.*' Church foundation followed this movement with many foundations made during the tenth and eleventh centuries. This movement towards localised church foundation is also accompanied following the Conquest with the foundation of monastic houses on a more localised scale than had been the case prior to the Conquest. The structure of parishes followed this establishment of localised ecclesiastical provision with the framework broadly settled during the twelfth century. The churches, and burial grounds, established in this period remained, and in some areas still remain, the focus of burial practice for the majority of their associated communities well into the nineteenth century. It can therefore be seen that there is a compelling chronological link

between the foundation of churches and the establishment of settlements. This chronological link should not, however, be misunderstood. There is a clear, demonstrable role for lords in the social processes behind the foundation of parish churches, but the evidence for lords playing a direct, unambiguous role in the foundation of nucleated rural settlements is lacking when the social practices associated with settlements are examined.

The work of Faith (1997) and Harvey (1973, 1974) demonstrated that lords, until the later twelfth century, were likely to have a semi-detached relationship to most of their estates through the leasing out of demesne lands. From the end of the twelfth century there is a subsequent growth in the amount of land that is directly managed as part of the estate. This movement towards direct management continues through the thirteenth century and is probably associated with the continued foundations of boroughs on formerly alienated areas of demesne lands through this period. From this period onwards it appears that the network of rural settlements is effectively established, but rural settlements continue to develop and change with expansion and development of field systems, the increase in size of the village envelope and the processes of assarting and the foundation of new discrete farms to the boundaries of settlement. These processes of growth and change in urban and rural settlements continue into the fourteenth century, but the socio-economic changes that occurred in this century, together with the impact of the Black Death ended this period of settlement growth and began a series of different social processes that impacted differently across the urban and rural landscape. It is now necessary to return to examine the foundation of settlements.

The excavations at Wharram Percy presented a similar problem to the remains encountered at most deserted medieval village sites; that is little stratigraphy was encountered during the excavations of the house plots. At Wharram excavations within the parish church revealed the growth of this building from the tenth-century onwards, and this was judged by the excavators to be contemporary with the earliest development of the nucleated village (Beresford and Hurst 1990, 84). The early church at Wharram Percy was constructed from timber in its first phase, probably as an estate chapel prior to obtaining parish church status and burial rights. If one is to look for a social mechanism to explain this link between the church and settlement they we could look to a model where the lord near to his manor founded the church. The mechanisms by which the settlement was established near to the church could be many and varied and could range between an agreement between a group of tenants who held land in the area of the church to settle together, near to the church enabling the nucleus of the field system to be laid out across their former, probably dispersed housing. It is probable that

more compelling reasons can be suggested for the movement and reorganisation of a settlement.

It is possible that in the North of England, especially in the counties covered by this thesis, an impetus for the foundation of villages adjacent to churches were the troubles encountered by the community of St Cuthbert on Lindisfarne and the subsequent travels with the shrine from 875 onwards until the settlement in Durham in 995. Certainly in the case of Elsdon, in Northumberland, it is known that the community of St Cuthbert rested here during their travels around the north. Figure 46 shows the settlement, church and castle at Elsdon. The Norman castle site is marked on this plan as the earthworks known as the 'Motte Hills'. The church of St Cuthbert at Elsdon stands in the centre of an expansive green fronted by the original settlement to the west. The motte and bailey site at Elsdon is located to the north-east of the parish church and is located on a hillock overlooking the settlement. The castle at this settlement is clearly located for topographic reasons, employing the natural hillock to emphasise the location, and extensive earthworks of this site. At Elsdon the motivation for the formation of the settlement could well be linked to the presence of St Cuthbert giving the church site the quality of an important relic. Specifically this reason for the foundation of a village can only have been the case in a few settlements; Elsdon is the only rural settlement with a castle in the sample area that was visited by the Lindisfarne community, but other sites have good evidence for the presence of an Anglo-Saxon church.

Out of the sample of one hundred and twelve sites examined in this thesis, thirty-one occupy the same settlement as a church with either surviving Anglo-Saxon architecture or stone sculpture. Where there is evidence in the form of funerary sculpture from a site it indicates that the church had some form of burial community associated with it. For example at Wharram Percy the burials of the late Anglo-Saxon lords were identified within the church (ibid. 64).

At Kildale, North Riding of Yorkshire, excavations in the chancel in the early twentieth century revealed a series of Anglo-Scandinavian burials (Page 1923, 252). The motte at this site is occupied by a modern farm and stands to the west of the parish church. Kildale itself is isolated from any settlement. The motte at Kildale has been damaged by the cutting of a railway along its south side, but has the characteristic flattened top and break in slope to the sides. There is no obvious bailey at Kildale, except towards the church. Kildale is certainly not the only site with Anglo-Saxon sculptural evidence and a close relationship to a castle site. Kildale looks most likely to have been a village that declined in size. A most likely location is to the south of the church site, adjacent to the rectory and later hall. It is apparent from the first

edition OS plan of the landscape around Kildale that the decline in occupation of the village resulted in the foundation of discrete farms across the landscape of the former village site. Kildale, in this sense, does differ greatly from other castle sites where Anglo-Saxon sculpture is present.

At Catterick a fragment of Anglo-Saxon sculpture was identified built into the west wall of the present church. The presence of this fragment in the walling of the church provides a likely context for the two other fragments found in the Catterick area, but not securely located within the village. Cramp dates all three fragments to the tenth century. Pallet Hill, a tumulus to the north of the parish church of St Anne is believed by Page (1912, 45) to be a possible motte. Butler (1994, 73) is entirely more convinced and states Catterick is likely to be one of the earlier castles founded in Richmondshire. Like Kildale, the churchyard provides the most convincing bailey at Catterick. In this case the churchyard at Catterick stands on a natural rise in ground level with a considerable drop to the south and east. The village settlement at Catterick stretches to the west of the church site and would apparently be a regular, nucleated settlement. Historical evidence for Anglian Catterick is discussed by Wilson et al (1996 1-2). Bede states that Catterick was one of the Northumbrian royal *vills.* The area is named as an important royal residence in the eighth century where it is used for ceremonial occasions into the 760s. It is stated by Wilson et al that by the Anglo-Scandinavian period the settlement of Catterick was probably focused in the area of the present village. Certainly the dating suggested by Cramp for the fragments of sculpture is well within the period suggested here for the foundation of the settlement, the castle site itself would therefore represent a later addition to the settlement.

The church at Kirby Malzeard stands adjacent to the now lost site of the castle in this village; this is shown in Figure 47. One of the two fragments of Anglo-Saxon sculpture from this site is a hogback grave marker. At Kirby Malzeard there are two clear elements to the settlement associated with this church and castle site. The castle at Kirby Malzeard occupies the area to the north of the parish church. To the south of the parish church is the main east-west road running through the village. To the south of this street, as Figure 47 shows, there is a long row of properties, bounded to the south by a back lane. Approximately half way along this line of properties there is a north row of properties laid out on a similar scale. It is clear that the plan elements of this village imply a growing, developing settlement, but one that has experienced planned, organised growth.

At Pickhill, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, Money Hill, the motte of this castle stands to the west of the parish church. It is most likely, as Figure 48 shows that the bailey for

this site was to the west of the motte, away from the church. Figure 48 shows an area of land marked as possessing earthworks with a convincing curved boundary leading north from the motte. Two fragments of hogback tombs have been found at All Saints church indicating a burial community of Anglo-Saxon date. The settlement at Pickhill stretches to the south of the church with properties lining the east and west sides of this north-south road. It is clear that this settlement has undergone considerable changes in the post-medieval period with the railway line, for example, running directly across the motte.

At Warden, Northumberland, in the church of St Michael there are four grave markers of Anglo-Saxon date; the west tower of the church, and possibly parts of the nave are also of Anglo-Saxon date. The remains of the castle at Warden consist of a damaged ringwork adjacent to the parish church. It is unclear whether the church was included within any bailey for this site due to the presence of a modern road running through the village separating the church and castle site. The settlement at Warden has, like many in Northumberland, undergone considerable changes in the post-medieval period due to the growth of the coal industry, and the subsequent decline in agricultural employment associated with the subsequent enclosure. The presence of the nineteenth century settlement to the east of the parish church certainly implies the presence of the medieval settlement in this location even through no features can be seen to definitively prove its location.

The motte at Wooler, Northumberland, stands to the north of the church. Due to the topography of the ground around this feature the only possible location for a bailey is the site of the church and its graveyard. A plan of Wooler is included as Figure 49. The church of St Mary at Wooler contains a possible Anglo-Saxon grave slab. It is apparent from the plan of Wooler included that the settlement contains early features stretching to the west and south of the parish church site. It is likely that this settlement has undergone considerable planned growth in the medieval period.

These sites all show a castle constructed adjacent to a parish church with a burial community in existence prior to the Conquest. In the case of Kildale and Catterick there is an effort by the builders of the castle to include the pre-existing church site into the enclosure, this is possibly also the case for Wooler. At the other sites, due to the poor quality of the surviving earthworks it is more difficult to interpret whether there is an intention to enclose the churchyard and incorporate it within the castle earthworks. The probable dating of the castle site at Catterick has been discussed in Chapter Two. It was determined that Catterick was likely to be an early foundation within the estates of Richmondshire. As discussed above the dating of the village moment broadly is from the ninth to twelfth centuries; this places these

settlements well within these boundaries. It is generally apparent from these settlements that it is unlikely that the castle played an important part in the morphological growth of the settlement. There is possibly, in a number of these cases, an effort by the builder of the castle to directly associate his new development in the village with an earlier church. This pattern of development is probably best illustrated by Laughton-en-le-Morthen, West Riding of Yorkshire.

The church at Laughton-en-le-Morthen stands to the west of the castle site, at the head of the east-west village street which is lined with properties to the north and south. Figure 50 shows a plan of the settlement sourced from the first edition OS plan. It appears from this plan that the church and village appear to be enclosed in a common boundary that defines the extant plots of the village. Later development in the village has led to expansion towards the parish church with properties infilling the area around the castle enclosure. The north row appears to be a single, planned unit stretching from infill in the area of the church and castle site. The south row of properties shares the same boundary line to the road leading south, at the end of the village street. The unit of property that the castle and church stand in determines the north line of the tofts to the south of the castle site. It would appear that these tofts are an addition to the village plan. At the west end of the north row there also appears to be a group of properties infilling the area between the church and the north boundary of the settlement. The church at Laughton-en-le-Morthen contains Anglo-Saxon masonry in the north and west walls and especially the impressive, surviving north doorway; this doorway is shown in Plate 67 (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 373-376). There are also two fragments of moulded Anglo-Saxon stonework built into Norman masonry (Collingwood 1912, Corpus number 1). The surviving Anglo-Saxon remains at Laughton-en-le-Morthen are indicative of a major church at this site from an early date; there is also the possibility of a differing form of this building implying an change in the assumed spatial relationship with the adjacent castle site.

Ryder (1982, 71-84) discusses the architectural function of the Anglo-Saxon material that is clearly visible in the north-west corner of the parish church, adjacent to the west tower. It can be seen on the map of this settlement that the church and castle sites are almost adjacent. It can be see from the plan, included as Figure 50, that the present form of the church essentially dates to the 14th century (ibid. 75) stands well to the centre of its enclosure adjacent to the castle site. The traditional interpretation of the form of Laughton-en-le-Morthen is that the Anglo-Saxon material in the north-west corner of the church was a portico (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 373-376). Ryder confirms this interpretation but also suggests that they could have formed part of a portico attached to a former Anglo-Saxon crossing that is now enclosed within the thick walls of the 14th century tower (Ryder 1982, 73-74). For the tower base to have

formerly been an Anglo-Saxon crossing means that the west end of this putative church would have been very close to the edge of the bailey. Ryder reports that the bailey is 18.2 metres west of the tower (1982, 74). Ryder believes that if this interpretation is possible then there must be a chronological break between the use of the church and the construction of the castle. To quote:

"*If one imagines the Norman Builders coming to reconstruct a ruinous church in the second half of the 12th century they might well have found its proximity to the earth-and-timber castle, which was probably constructed towards the end of the eleventh century, inconvenient...*" (ibid. 74).

This interpretation of the spatial relationship between the castle and church at Laughton-en-le-Morthen is based upon a series of assumptions, not least the assumption that the area around a castle should be clear of buildings. A simple examination of the settings of many castle buildings covered in this investigation can demonstrate that many castle sites are indeed constructed adjacent to Romanesque churches. It is also assumed that the castle, assumed to be occupied from the late eleventh century onwards, was occupied and constructed while the adjacent church was decaying to be rebuilt in the mid twelfth century. If Ryder's second interpretation of the church at Laughton-en-le-Morthen is correct then it is likely that the western projection from the putative crossing led even closer to the castle.

The spatial arrangement of the settlement at Laughton-en-le-Morthen is highly instructive for the points made concerning the settlements where castles are additions to an earlier settlement. At Laughton it is apparent that the regular row village and church appear to be a settlement to which the castle site was added. An alternative interpretation of this site could be that the castle actually represents the development of an earlier Anglo-Saxon elite site. The line of the unit of property the castle stands in is shown in Figure 50; the lines of this enclosure connect with, and relate to the rear boundaries of the north and south rows of properties. Domesday places Laughton-en-le-Morthen at the head of the lands of Roger de Busli (Faull and Stinson 1986, 319a). It is also stated in Domesday that Earl Edwin had a hall at Laughton; at Catterick also there is the historical evidence indicating a pre-castle elite settlement.

The group of sites discussed above fit into the wider group of thirty-seven castles sites that have an association with either Anglo-Saxon sculptural evidence or Anglo-Saxon architecture out of the sample of one hundred and twelve. Included in this group of thirty-seven sites are the castles of York and the Old Baile. Therefore just under one third of the castle sites in the sample area are associated with evidence for an earlier church site. The

presence of York, and the North Riding within the sample area possibly skew these figures. Both of the sites at York are associated with the general presence of the parish structure established in the City prior to the Conquest. Out of the forty-two castle sites in the North Riding sixteen are associated with Anglo-Saxon sculpture. Other than the City of York the North Riding gives the highest proportion of castles to surviving Anglo-Saxon remains. Respectively the other counties all offer a lower proportion of sites when compared to the count of Anglo-Saxon churches. In Northumberland there are twenty-four castles and eight sites with Anglo-Saxon sculpture, offering the next highest ratio. In both Durham and Cumberland there are sixteen castle sites with respectively four and three sites with Anglo-Saxon sculpture associated with them. In Westmorland there are eight castle sites associated with two sites containing Anglo-Saxon sculpture. What could be interpreted from these figures is that the North Riding of Yorkshire appears to have a more developed pattern of churches across the landscape by the time of the Conquest. This can also be said to probably be the case for Northumberland. In County Durham, it appears that this county lags behind its northern and southern neighbours. What is most likely to be skewing the figures for Durham is the relative domination of the Bishop and Priory as landowners, and the subsequent low number of castles in the county. Across the Pennines both Westmorland and Cumberland have higher rations of castles to surviving Anglo-Saxon sculptural evidence indicating a less developed parish structure by the conquest of these two counties. It must also be noted here that the English Crown did not acquire Cumberland and the north of Westmorland until the reign of William Rufus.

It is most likely, from the spatial arrangement of most villages that the castle site is not a primary part of the plan of the settlement. In the case of the urban sites examined above it is possible to see that in many cases the castle is at a fundamental point in the plan or was closely integrated into the settlement. This setting of sites is most likely to be due to the earlier foundation of villages and castle sites being an addition. At one site in particular, Bowes Castle, a documentary reference is claimed by the editors of the *Victoria County History* that the Pipe Rolls for the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Henry II (1187-1188) record expenditure on the completion of the village and tower of Bowes. This reference to expenditure is the only documentary indication identified by the author relating specifically to the foundation, and possibly the planning of the village. To follow on from the work of Faith (1997) it is most likely to interpret investment from lords as being directed towards churches, rather than into landscape reorganisation in the pre- and early post- Conquest period. It would appear apparent, however that certain castle sites that are most likely to be early foundations, for example Catterick, are founded adjacent to churches. The documentary reference to Bowes

may well mark the beginning of royal investment and direct management over the estates of Richmondshire. Bowes Castle itself could be constructed as an arena of administration for an area of the estate that has newly been brought into direct management. Bowes, in some cases, though does reflect what may appear to be early castle sites in that it shares its outer earthwork enclosure with a parish church. Bowes will be examined in more detail in Chapter Nine.

The construction of these sites so close to pre-existing churches is probably indicative of a number of ideas and social strategies. The church would be a focus of population within a parish, a regularly attended central place that marks important transitions in the life of the community, burial, marriage and death together with the services throughout the year marking out the Christian calendar. The presence of a church within a castle enclosure, or even adjacent to a castle is in direct contrast to what one would have thought following the reaction to the fortification of Merrington Church, County Durham, during the disputed election of the Bishop of Durham in the 1140s.

According to Symeon of Durham (Stevenson 1993, 728) the church at Merrington was fortified by the supporters of William Cumin, the usurper of the bishopric. Symeon states that the church was nearly surrounded by a ditch and that turrets had been constructed. On hearing of the fortification of this church the supporters of the rightful bishop, who were based at Bishopton in County Durham at this time, attacked the church and destroyed the fortifications. The present church on this site dates from the nineteenth century and is evidently a rebuild of the Romanesque church formerly on this site (Pevsner and Williamson 1985, 345). To place this attack on Merrington in the context of the military campaign over the disputed succession this does appear to be the first instance of a positive military action by the supporters of the rightful Bishop, William of St Barbe. The specific reason given by Symeon for this attack is the fortification of the church, rather than a quick advance against an uncompleted, or weak fortification. These military activities at Merrington, where the conversion of a church into a castle was seen as an offence to God is contradicted by the construction of the church site on top of the motte at Beaumont-on-Eden.

BEAUMONT-ON-EDEN: THE CONVERSION OF A CASTLE INTO A CHURCH

The church of St Mary Beaumont-on-Eden provides compelling evidence that it was once part of the castle complex recorded at this site (Curwen 1913, 38; Perriam and Robinson 1998, 59). Beaumont church is established as a castle site due to the convincing remains of a motte that the present church now stands on. Further evidence is provided by the placenames within the village. The area to the north-east of the church is called Castle Green

(MacLauchlan 1852, 80). The area of Castle Green is described as being partly enclosed by earthworks (ibid.). A view of the church from Castle Green showing the motte can be seen on Plate 68 and a plan of the settlement at Beaumont in Figure 51. Beaumont is also historically noted as being a residence in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with periodic interruptions, of the le Brun family (Curwen 1913, 38).

It is generally assumed that Beaumont remained the residence of the le Brun family until their move to Drumburgh castle. The importance of Drumburgh Castle as a residence for the le Brun family is confirmed by the issue of a Licence to Crenellate on 24th of August 1307 (CPR 1307-1313, 11). Beaumont-on-Eden does not represent the usual picture of an abandoned motte and bailey castle.

At Beaumont the architecture of the present church appears to predate the licence for Drumburgh Castle. The architecture would appear to indicate a late twelfth to early thirteenth century date. The south doorway of this church is of two orders; the outer order is chamfered, the inner is of semi-circular form (Plate 69). The outer order is supported on nook shafts with waterleaf capitals and square abaci with simple chamfers. The abaci continue onto the inner order of the doorway where the follow the shape of the responds and become rounded, again resting on waterleaf capitals of a rounded form. The two arches are made up of evenly size voussoirs whose coursing does not align. The east wall of the church is decorated with three bays of blind arcading that now contain the chancel windows, one bay of which runs along the north wall. This arcading is shown in Plate 70. The arches of the arcading are of pointed form, resting on square abaci. The capitals are of simple moulded form. Like the south doorway this section of arcading appears to be of twelfth to thirteenth century date. To return to the south door it is clear on examination that this architectural feature is not a doorway, but in reality is an open arch. Pevsner interprets this arch as a reused chancel arch (1967, 65). The evidence to provide a definitive function for this building, and especially this arch, is certainly difficult to obtain. But Beaumont provides an exceptional example of how the structured actions of knowledgeable human agents both reproduced and created reality (Barrett 1988, 8).

The historical evidence for the parish and manor of Beaumont on Eden is summarised in two short pages by Graham (1931, 48-50). The earliest reference to the church at Beaumont occurs in 1296 when Elias de Thirwall is presented as rector to the parish church (ibid. 48). After this date there are almost continuous medieval records for the rectors of this church (ibid. 48 and 49). Other aspects of Beaumont church also indicate that it is of a late foundation. The tithe plan for Beaumont-on-Eden shows that the living of this church came with no glebe lands (Beaumont and Kirkandrews-on-Eden Tithe Plan). This lack of provision can be seen as

an indication that the establishment of the field system at Beaumont-on-Eden predates the foundation of the church. This also shows that with the foundation of the church no donation of manorial lands was forthcoming to provide for a glebe. The lack of glebe lands could indicate that the church is a secondary development to the village as its establishment would appear to post-date the foundation of the field system.

To summarise, the evidence for the church at Beaumont having once been part of a complex of castle buildings is limited. It is possible to show that Beaumont was probably the primary seat of the Le Brun family until the issuing of the Licence to Crenellate for Drumburgh in 1307. Coulson has examined in a number of articles how Licences to Crenellate should be examined (1982; 1993). It has been concluded by Coulson that the licence is a methodology for classifying the upper classes rather than as an actual permission to construct a castle. The issuing of a Licence to Crenellate means that a copy of the Licence is recorded in the Patent Rolls, the roll recording documents that have been issued under an open seal. The issue of the Licence then records the names of the applicant and the name of their property. A licence, therefore, means royal recognition of the ownership of property and the recording of this fact on the Patent Roll. This development of social practices emphasising the importance of references to the status of an individual on governmental documentation such as the Patent Roll is clearly a development of the ideas examined in Chapter One. The possession of a document to show the status of an individual is clearly a development in social practices and must represent changing ideas of allegiance to the crown in requiring the security of a royal document to demonstrate status. This aspect of security must have been an encouragement for those lower down the ladder of status, like the le Brun family, to apply for this type of documentation.

Prior to the issue of the Licence is the presentation of Elias de Thirwall to the rectory in 1296. It can be demonstrated that the church site of Beaumont-on-Eden had not changed site from the examination of the tithe plan. Lands on which a church had previously stood would have been classified as ecclesiastical land, and therefore no tithe could be charged. Therefore the site of the church must have always been the motte top. It is now therefore necessary to focus on the structural remains left standing on the motte.

There are two architectural elements of this church that survive from the twelfth to early thirteenth century; these are the present south doorway and the arcading on the east and north interior walls. The interior of Beaumont Church, including the arcading, has been painted very heavily rendering breaks in the stonework invisible but several points can be noted. Where the blind arcading crosses between the east and north walls it is set exceptionally

deep into the north wall, far deeper than that into the east (see Plate 70). The arcading also does not fit the east wall, ending far short of its join with the south wall. The exterior of the east and south walls have a single course chamfered plinth that runs the full width of the east wall, and as far to the south as the eastern jamb of the south door. The plinth does not continue west of the south door, and is not visible on the west wall. The west wall looks to have been rebuilt comparably recently. It is of similar rubble stonework to the other walls but has many chamfered offsets built into the coursing. The north wall is cleanly bonded to the east wall, but lacks the chamfered plinth visible on the east and south walls. The reuse of architectural features in this building have rendered it interpretation difficult but a compelling case can be made for the castle at this site having remained in use while the church occupied the motte. The surviving architectural elements in this building i.e. the doorway and eastern blind arcading, like with so many churches, appear to indicate that they have been reused from an earlier building. The most obvious context of reuse for these architectural features is from secular buildings formerly of the castle.

The case has been made for this site that elements of the building survive from its previous incarnation as a castle building, most probably as a single storeyed ground floor hall constructed on the motte in the late twelfth to early thirteenth century. To convert the hall into a church required the consecration service to be performed. The consecration ceremony itself is the point at which this building changed from a castle into a church. The actual ceremony of consecration can leave traces within the archaeological record (Parsons 1989). The use of ash, the production and burning of candles have been identified in the remains of the Anglo-Saxon church at Raunds (Parsons 1996). At this site a pottery vessel which had been used, according to the chemical traces within it, to produce candles had been set within the floor of the church at a point where it was adjacent to the likely position of the altar (ibid. 58-62). This vessel, as well as being used for the production of candles contained ashes (ibid.). The use of ashes within the consecration ceremony is well attested. On the day of the consecration the bishop:

"*...in the dust and the ashes on the floor draws the alphabet in the form of a great St Andrew's cross from one corner of the church diagonally to the other, and again joining the two remaining corners. Then there is the blessing of water, and of salt and ashes, which are mixed together and sprinkled over the water; then wine is added and the bishop goes around making the sign of the cross with this mixture...*" (Parsons 1989, 10)

These actions provide for the conversion of the building, once it is built, into a church. It is the consecration, not necessarily the construction, or the form of the building that creates

a church. At Beaumont it is this ceremony, undertaken at some point prior to 1296, that converts the surviving building and the earthworks from secular to ecclesiastical use. As well as the conversion of the building the outer form of the earthworks would have been altered by the consecration of the church. Beaumont-on-Eden in having a rector and being recognised as a parish church would have held burial rights. The area demarcated for burial at present is the area of the motte. The use of this earthwork for burial over the years has reduced its steep sided form, but unlike at other long-used churchyards the church of Beaumont-on-Eden has not suffered the ground rising around it: the church occupies the plateau of the motte that is relatively unencumbered by funerary monuments. So in this sense the exterior form of the castle site would have changed gradually, over time through its use as a burial site and church.

Beaumont illustrates a very simple point: like many castle buildings, or the remains of many it is very similar to a parish church. In this case the consecration ceremony converted the remains at this site from secular use into a church. The line between the two building types was therefore very close and this similarity is reinforced architecturally. The majority of surviving stone castle buildings are apparently in the form of great towers. Their survival relates probably to the extreme width of their walls, and in some cases their continued use. Building types that appear to be vastly underrepresented in the corpus of surviving remains are basic ground floor halls. The church at Beaumont in this case probably represents a fortuitous survival.

In social terms the interpretation of Beaumont is intriguing. There is every reason to believe that there is an overlap between the occupation of the castle site and the use of the building on the motte top as a church. Certainly where there are timber framed buildings on mottes it is generally assumed that these fall in status. Examples can be seen at Durham Castle in the twelfth century where it is stated in 1153 that the keep was employed as a dungeon (Leyland 1994a, 412), but this statement is contradicted by other commentators who believe the bishop's private residence also occupied the keep at this time (Thompson 1994, 427). At Shrewsbury the tower on the motte was repaired in 1164-5 and 1172-3 with further works in 1228-9 (Higham and Barker 1992, 138). It appears that the motte tower, dating from before 1164-5 stood until its collapse between 1269-1270 (ibid. 139). If Leyland's interpretation of the historical evidence is to be accepted and taking the evidence of Shrewsbury it can be seen that through the second half of the twelfth century and into the thirteenth century the occupation of mottes appears to be changing from timber towers to stone shell-keep arrangements as at Pickering, more complex towered forms like Clifford's Tower at York or even simple round or polygonal towers. At Beaumont the form of the surviving stonework is indicative of a later twelfth to early thirteenth century rebuilding. This rebuilding probably indicates a continued

investment in the buildings on the motte, rather than the drop in status assumed by Leyland for Durham but more like the programme of maintenance indicated for Shrewsbury. The ability to demonstrate continued occupation on the tops of mottes is limited to the maintenance of buildings on mottes whether demonstrated through documentary references or architectural evidence.

CONCLUSIONS TO RURAL SITES

It is most likely that the conversion of the motte at Beaumont-on-Eden from a castle into a church happened while the bailey of the castle site remained occupied. This presents an opposite picture to that which can be seen in the conversion of Merrington Church in County Durham from a church into a castle. The disgust shown by contemporaries of the conversion at Merrington from a church into a castle can be used as a yard-stick with which to measure the social implications of the castles constructed adjacent to churches.

Chapter One included a discussion of the historical evidence from the chronicle of Jordan Fantosme (Johnson 1981; Michaeol 1840) concerning the Scottish invasion of the North of England under William the Lion. It was explained how the differing social relationships are expressed through differing practices of siege warfare. It was shown how where feudal social relations had been maintained attacks were not pressed once it was clear the castle was effectively defended and opportunities were given for the network of social relationships to come to the aid of the occupants of the site. The key to this type of social relationship that occurred across battle lines was based upon recognising the legitimacy to hold the property or take part in actions that implied or recognised such as position, such as a lord.

The social ideas that control and condition the actions of a military attack are replicated in the context of the relationship between castles and churches. This is illustrative when the attack on the church at Merrington is compared to the early castle foundations that are adjacent to existing churches. It is, of course, entirely unclear to what extent any banks or ditches encircled these pre-existing churches but the social processes that underpinned the construction of a castle site must be considered. The foundation of a castle in the immediate post-Conquest period is likely to have occurred in a context of violence. It is generally assumed that an important basis for the maintenance of dominance over a region is the use of a castle site as a fortified base for a group of mounted knights who can ride forth from the site and dominate the landscape. It should be noted, however, that few castles, other than the royal foundations in the north, are directly attributable to the immediate post-Conquest period. It is also difficult to see the Conquest of the north as a single event. But in reality the expansion of Norman power over this area was a series of staged processes. These processes relate to

localised practices, for example the passing of a particular estate to a lord. Domesday shows that much of the land in Yorkshire and the south of Westmorland had been established as Norman estates by 1086, this process continuing in Cumberland, north Westmorland and Northumberland into the reign of Henry I. Other more dramatic changes to the relationship between the Norman state and the north can be seen in the Harrying of the North, together with the associated construction of the two castles in York, William Rufus' invasion of Cumberland and Henry I's establishment of the bishopric centred on Carlisle. The gradual conquest of the north has been examined in the introduction where it was shown that it was not until the later twelfth century that much of the north could be considered under the writ of the English crown. It was also emphasised that much of Northumberland was only in England geographically, politically much of this county was attached to Scotland or owed a strong allegiance to Durham thereby only retaining a changing, undefined relationship to the English crown.

The English hold on the north is effectively unchallenged following victory in the war of 1174. From this date onwards until the end of the period under study here the Scots are unable to again challenge English power over this region. The recognition of this fact is further emphasised by the completion, and improvement of the castle at Newcastle during the late twelfth century and its expansion into the thirteenth century. Aspects of the design of this site have been examined earlier in Chapter Five where it was concluded that it is possible that aspects of the chapel arcading were based on the Galilee at Durham Cathedral. For our purposes here what is important is the administration of the English-controlled parts of Northumberland by the sheriff based at this site in a newly improved castle. The recognition of this expansion of control is expressed through repetitive social actions, or administration. Administration, in this way, provides a mirror of recognition in that status and position are recognised on both sides, by the administrator and those reporting to them. Coulson (1982; 1993) in his studies of licences to crenellate examines a series of similar social processes.

Licences to crenellate are documents that on face examination give permission for an individual or, more rarely, a corporate organisation, to construct defences. Coulson's study of these documents revealed that they actually have a deeper social meaning. The first point that is noted in studying licences to crenellate is that they are never turned down. This is because those who apply for them are aware that they will receive the licence unless they are actively hostile towards the crown (1982, 70). The licence, in this way, can be seen to reflect the two-way nature of administration. The act of applying for a licence emphasised the recognition by the applicant of the issuing power, as well as the reverse subjection of the applicant. Licensing

can therefore be seen as a way of emphasising the legitimacy of lords, and by the subjection the legitimacy of the crown. Prior to the beginnings of licensing, in around 1200, the participation of individuals in administrative practices, such as the collection of data for the completion of the Pipe Rolls, the witnessing of charters and other practices such as these repetitively emphasise the relationship, and position of people.

To return to the wider picture of lordship across the rural landscape, it is necessary to recognise the role of social practice within the establishment of the elite. Licences to crenellate are indicative of the recognition of status, and membership of the elite. This has been well established by the expansive work of Coulson (1991) on this subject and the strong focus on Bodiam, examining this castle, its landscape and licence in detail. The details of licensing and the archaeology of Bodiam Castle has been examined in the introduction to this study and this demonstrated the wider interpretations that must be placed on castle sites. The construction of castles, and for the thirteenth century onwards, the issuing of licences to crenellate is intimately tied into the social practices of the elite in recognising and classifying other members of the elite. Prior to the use of licences the legitimacy of lordship was recognised, and expressed, through the foundation of monasteries, the maintenance of churches and the expression of relationships between elite families and groups through social contacts. Administrative practices and the continued role in the administration of the state and participation in local expression of status from the crown further reinforced social roles. But the legitimate holding of land was not only expressed to other members of the elite, but also to the lower classes. It is clear that the position of the elite was maintained through their dominance of the lower classes. This dominance is expressed through the administrative processes undertaken on estates as well as through domination by violence. As the first chapter of this section discussed the involvement of the castle building elite in estate management grows over the twelfth century. With the beginnings of direct management of estates from the turn of the thirteenth century onwards individual members of the elite have different relationships to their landholdings than from earlier in the century. Obviously this change alters the relationship between the elite and their lower tenants and peasantry by the introduction of officials to manage the interests of the estate-. As the study of Beaumont-on-Eden has shown ideas of legitimacy are not only tied into recognition by the elite, but are also to relate to the peasantry and other tenants of the elite. These ideas and expressions of power and legitimacy may be linked to, in this case, partly to the foundation of a new parish church.

The changes to the castle site at Beaumont-on-Eden appear to be aimed more towards the people of this small estate near to the Solway Firth in Cumberland. This interpretation is

based partly upon the time during which the bailey of the castle must have been occupied while the church was in use on top of the motte. The use of architectural features that are clearly reused, and the placement of this new church on a motte emphasise the former function of this space. The exact sequence of change and development of the site at Beaumont is impossible to unravel from the few archaeological and historical strands that have been left to us. But Beaumont represents a scheme of development that I have been unable to parallel elsewhere in the sample area or country. The incorporation of a church into a castle site reflects the pattern visible on the sites that possibly indicate early foundations following the Conquest. The presence of the paired institutions of castle and church in locations adjacent to each other is a relatively common phenomenon, but also a significant number of castle sites are isolated from churches or villages, and it is these that will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: ISOLATED CASTLE SITES

The previous chapter analysed the spatial relationships between urban and rural castles and their associated settlements. Isolated castle sites are ones, which on present evidence, do not have any associated settlement. These sites make up a large proportion of the sites examined in this study. The objective in this chapter is to examine whether these sites were constructed originally in isolated locations or whether landscape changes following their construction have led to their current isolation.

A number of castle sites encountered in this investigation are isolated from any form of settlement. Certain of these sites appear to have become isolated due to post-medieval landscape developments. The isolated motte at Styford, Northumberland, stands to the north-west of Styford Hall. The hall is dated to c. 1800 (Grundy et al 1992, 207). Other farm buildings in the roads around Styford are all of very similar forms indicating a major estate reorganisation probably in the nineteenth century. The '*Buildings of England*' volume for Northumberland specifically notes Styford High Barns as a planned farm of c. 1840 (ibid.).

A very similar picture can be seen at Castle Eden, County Durham. Here the evidence for the former castle site consists of documentary references donating the chapel of the castle to St Mary's Abbey (Surtees 1816, 280; Farrer 1915, 2-3). The present house assumed to be on the site of the former castle dates to between 1758 and 1780 (Pevsner and Williamson 1985, 122). A further example of what may be two sites isolated by post-medieval changes to the landscape are the castles of Lythe and Mulgrave. These two sites stand near to the eighteenth century house also called Mulgrave Castle. The stone site of Mulgrave Castle stands within the extensive woods to the south of the house (Pevsner 1966, 260). As Figure 52 shows the motte at Lythe also stands within the estate associated with the eighteenth century Mulgrave Castle. The village at Mulgrave stands to the north of the eighteenth century house and again is a 'model' village probably laid out in the nineteenth century with the final phase of improvements to the house. The actual settlement of Lythe is distant from the two castle sites at approximately two kilometres to the north-east. The church at Lythe, according to Collingwood (1912) contains thirty-three fragments of Anglo-Saxon sculpture from separate monuments, an exceptionally great number, but the church itself, like the two castles, is separate from the settlement at Lythe.

The extensive motte and bailey at Bellister, Northumberland also appears to be isolated due to post-medieval developments on the site. At Bellister the thirteenth century hall house with fourteenth century tower has been extended in the early nineteenth century (Grundy et al

1992, 166). Castle Hill at Easby stands within the grounds of a nineteenth century home farm. These developments are associated with a range of contemporary nineteenth century farm buildings that occupy part of the area of the bailey. In the case of Bellister these remains are most likely to represent an extensive farm of manorial status. At Buttercrambe, North Riding of Yorkshire, the heavily eroded motte and bailey castle stands within the grounds of Aldby Park, an early Georgian house dated to 1726 (Pevsner 1966, 93).

This group of sites, except for Brancepeth and Castle Eden, are all established in settlements that do not contain parish churches. At Lythe the parish church stands isolated away from the village that is also distant from the motte site. The parish church at Lythe also contains Romanesque capitals and a tympanum (ibid. 231) indicating twelfth century investment at this site together with the extensive range of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The lack of ecclesiastical provision at the other sites in this section may be part of the reason for the settlement dislocation discussed above.

Two sites in County Durham, according to the evidence from the first edition OS plan also are isolated. Both of these sites stand near to the line of the River Tees to the south of the county. It is difficult to see how these two, small isolated mottes could have been used to support buildings. Other sites adjacent to the River Tees have been identified as castles, for example Round Hill Ingleby Barwick, North Riding of Yorkshire, stands opposite the River Tees from Egglescliffe. This site is listed by Cathcart-King (1983, 519) as a motte, but it is clearly a burial mound (B Vyner pers. comm.). The function of these two mottes is open to question but it would appear from their size that they cannot function as a base for a tower, except one on an exceptionally limited scale.

ISOLATED CASTLES IN WESTMORLAND

Two sites in Westmorland, today, stand isolated from any settlement. Brougham and Pendragon castles both stand in the barony of Westmorland. Pendragon stands to the south of Brough and Kirby Stephen. Brougham stands to the west extent of the barony near to Penrith; Pendragon is located in the uplands to the south of the barony. The earliest phase of stone construction at these two sites consists of a stone tower, with no evidence of any further buildings. Summerson, Trueman and Harrison (1998) recently examined the castle at Brougham. The great tower at Brougham dates from 1170-1210 (Trueman and Harrison 1998a, 142). This tower appears to stand, isolated from any other buildings that leave a surviving architectural trace today. It is also clear at this site that the earthworks may not be of a single phase. The terracing towards the north of the site leads towards the river, while not connecting cleanly to the ditch to the south and east sides of the castle. The ditch to the south

side of the site follows the north boundary of the former Roman fort to the south of the castle site. At the west a further ditch can be seen that does not connect with the ditch to the south side of the castle. A plan of the site and its earthworks can be seen in Figure 53. The great tower at Brougham, until 1214 is only associated with a part of the landholdings at Brougham, a major potion being held in drengage. It is only in *c.* 1214 that the portion formerly held in drengage is purchased (Summerson 1998a, 153). Following this purchase of the land it is most likely that the building referred to as the 'Early Hall' is constructed against the east face of the keep (Trueman and Harrison 1998a, 143). The construction of the early hall from its few surviving architectural features can certainly be placed within the first half of the thirteenth century. Possibly the construction of this building relates to the expansion of the demesne landholdings at this site.

At Pendragon the tower survives to the base of first floor level, but enough stonework is visible to demonstrate that this tower originally stood to two stories over a basement. The access from the ground floor at Pendragon led into a passage with two doorways, both giving access to the first floor via vice stairs. These two stairs were accessed via two separate doorways leading off the entrance passage. One door had a monolithic stone lintel, the opposite door a round-headed arch as a head. These two doorways appear to offer two different statuses of route to access the first-floor of this tower. The remains at Pendragon are not sufficient to enable much of the plan of the first floor to be interpreted other than it appears to have been based around a single central room with mural chambers to the corners. The base of the tower at Pendragon is distinguished with a continuous plinth to the base of the wall, except for the later medieval garderobe projection constructed against the south-west corner the plinth is continuous around the building. The plinth, and the assumed complexity of the internal plan of the tower, indicates that the tower was likely to have always been freestanding. The size of the enclosure around the tower does also preclude the presence of major buildings within the enclosure. Both Brougham and Pendragon therefore were originally constructed as isolated towers. At Pendragon convincing earthworks can be seen enclosing the tower, while at Brougham the lack of a stratigraphic relationship between the tower and the earthworks, and their incomplete nature does mean an argument can be presented interpreting this site as an unenclosed tower in its first phases. Grenville (1997, 87) has observed that the presence of a hall at a manorial site is most likely to relate to whether the lands associated with that site were farmed as demesne or leased out. The social implications of these two approaches to farming therefore had an effect on the spatial form selected for the castle site. It could be argued, especially for Brougham, where there is evidence for the late involvement by the castle owners

in the agricultural development around the village that this may have resulted in the retention of an earlier settlement pattern.

ISOLATED SITES WITH DOCUMENTATION

The remains traditionally associated with Sowerby Castle consist of the slope of a hill that retains some evidence of scarping. The castle at Sowerby is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls between 1185 and 1188 (PRs: 32 Henry II p. 99; 33 Henry II p. 95; 34 Henry II p. 191) and with three further references in 1190 (PR 2 Richard I p 50), 1193 (PR 5 Richard I p 75) and 1195 (PR 7 Richard I p. 214). Each of these references mentions the castle at Sowerby; that dating to 1195 refers to spending of 3s on the plate of the church of the castle of Sowerby. The present location of this site consists only of a scarped hill overlooking a farm known as Castle Farm. Sowerby's existence, and identification, as a castle is dependent upon the documentary references from the Pipe Rolls, these have been linked with the scarped hill at this site to create a castle. Any interpretation of Sowerby is difficult due to the limited nature of the evidence at this site. Sowerby stands within an area of Cumberland known as Inglewood; an area of the county retained by the crown under Henry I (Perriam and Robinson 1998, 193). Within the wider landscape the castle site at Sowerby is located at the interface between the uplands of the Inglewood forest and the lowland pastoral landscape of the Carlisle plane. It is most likely that this site was constructed to exploit these landscapes. It appears from the early Pipe Roll entries that the sheriff, Robert de Vallibus, was actually rendering payments from the castle indicating that it is providing a source of income for the crown. Most probably this income is from farming the lowlands or hunting the uplands, but probably a combination of both. Possibly the foundation of this site represents the establishment of a demesne estate in this area in the later twelfth century.

Hood Hill in the North Riding of Yorkshire represents a similar site to Sowerby. The evidence for this site's existence in the twelfth century is limited to the issue of the Licence to Crenellate dated to 1264 that, in the usual language of these documents, states that John de Eyvill can enclose a place of his called Hood with a dyke and wall of stone (CPR 1258-1266 p. 342). It appears from the text of this document that the site at Hood predates the issue of this Letter Patent. The original site of Hood is not certain. Cathcart-King (1983, 518) associates this site with a series of undiagnostic earthworks to on a promontory overlooking Thirsk on the brow of the Hambleton Hills. These earthworks have been selected as the hill on which they are found is called Hood Hill. The earthworks at Hood contain no trace of any stonework, so, as Coulson (1982; 1993) has suggested there may not be any evidence of any building works resulting from the licence, even if this site is correctly located and any earthworks from the

castle survive. If this is the location for Hood, then this site is likely to represent a similar situation to Sowerby as a centre exploiting the local resources, in this case Hood is likely to have focused on hunting.

CASTLES OF THE UPLANDS

Green Castle, or Gunnerton, at Humbleton in Northumberland stands to the west of Wooler, a further settlement with a castle site. Wooler and Green Castle stand to the eastern edge of the Cheviot Hills on the route north from Mitford and Morpeth. Like the other sites discussed below Green Castle, Humbleton, is constructed at the junction between the uplands of the Cheviot Hills. What is unclear with this site is its relationship to the motte at Wooler that is adjacent to the church. There is no historical data with which to make any chronological distinction between the two castles. It would seem most logical, and most likely that Wooler represents a successor castle to Green Castle, Humbleton that was founded with an associated settlement at a lower altitude. This interpretation can be supported partially by the presence of stonework fragments on the top of the motte at Wooler.

The castle site at Bewcastle is enigmatic. The castle itself stands adjacent to the parish church and churchyard. The church and churchyard are dominated by the presence of the Bewcastle Cross, a massive cross-shaft in the form of a steep pyramid dated by Bailey and Cramp (1988, Bewcastle Corpus number 1) to the first half of eighth century. The castle and churchyard occupy the remains of a trapezoid enclosure that must mark out the remains of a settlement about a Roman fort (Graham 1911, 244-250). The present stone remains of the castle at Bewcastle are clearly late medieval and are probably built onto an earlier ditched platform. From the evidence of the Anglo-Saxon sculpture at Bewcastle the church was in use from at least the eighth to mid eleventh century (Bailey and Cramp 1988, Bewcastle Corpus numbers 1-7) with grave covers dating, at the earliest, from the eighth century onwards. The volume of sculpture at this site therefore indicates a church with burial rights and therefore some form of settlement. St Cuthbert's Bewcastle is certainly a parish church in the post-Conquest period (Nicholson and Burn V2 1976, 477). For the first half of the twelfth century, following the capture of Carlisle by the English Crown, the estates based around Bewcastle were held by Gilles, the son of Bueth together with the lowland estate of Gisland based around the castles at Brampton and Irthington (Perriam and Robinson 1998, 43). During the mid twelfth century the two estates were divided with Gisland passed to Hubert de Vaux by Henry II (Sanders 1960, 124). Morphologically, in the landscape around Bewcastle there is no trace of any settlement in the extreme upland location of this site. The estates of Bewcastle are based to the north of their former partner of Gisland. Bewcastle may represent an area of hunting

grounds and summer pasture for the lowland areas of Gisland. An examination of the map evidence shows a lack of modern settlements in the whole of the Bewcastle area further survey work may indicate the presence of sheilings providing material evidence for the wealth of this are to be based around large scale seasonal pastoral activity.

Near to Bewcastle, also in the extreme uplands of Cumberland, against the border with Scotland stands the castle of Liddel. This castle is reported as taken by the Scottish in the war of 1173-1174 (Stubbs 1867, 65) it is also reported that Jedburgh Abbey had the right of fishing on the waters between the ditch of Liddel and Canonbie Priory (Barrow and Scott 1971, 163). Liddel evidently remains occupied for a considerable time and is reported taken in 1346 by the Scots (Stevenson 1839, 345). The barony of Liddel appears to have been passed to Turgis Brundos by 1121 (Sanders 1960, 73) but there is no clear relationship between this estate and any possible Anglo-Saxon predecessor. The pattern of estates around Carlisle and towards the Solway estuary are characterised by more compact, small estates such as that based around Beaumont-on-Eden or Burgh or those in the Inglewood forest. The estate of Liddel appears to be similar to that of Bewcastle, placed in an upland area to exploit that type of resources. Liddel stands to the boundary of the debatable lands, an area of pasture and grazing lands not within the control of either the Scottish or English crowns in the later middle ages and sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. It is therefore most likely that the estate of Liddel was also based on pastoral farming.

CONCLUSIONS

The interpretation of isolated castle sites does present certain problems as there is little with which to associate these castle sites. For certain examples a case can be made that later landscape changes may have involved a considerable alteration to earlier settlement patterns, for example Styford and the sites based around Mulgrave. The well-documented establishment of model villages and farmsteads during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to changes in the areas where elite settlement had continued, for example at Bellister in Northumberland. Earlier landscape change may have meant castle sites were associated with depopulation, shrinkage of settlements or even desertion in the medieval and early post-medieval periods. An example of this can be seen at Bolam in Northumberland where the road between the assumed location of the castle and the Anglo-Saxon parish church is lined with the earthwork remains of the former nucleated village. It is highly probably that factors such as these have distorted the spatial relationships between many castles and settlements.

It is a tautology to state that isolated castle sites tend not to be associated spatially with parish churches. The placement of castle sites away from other institutions may be a result of a

different form of economic base such as a site specifically located to exploit upland hunting resources. The '*Boldon Book*' demonstrates that the Bishop of Durham, in the later twelfth century, had an extensively organised programme of hunting involving the collection of manpower resources from all over his estates between the Tyne and the Tees (Austin 1982, 37). Other secular owned sites lack the documentation for any organisation of hunting on this scale, but archaeological evidence for the later medieval period at Barnard Castle suggests that the character of this site was almost a processing zone for hunted resources (Austin 1984, 75). At Barnard Castle the economic resources exploited were based on hunting while at other sites it is possible that pastoral farming may have been more dominant as a economic basis for a castle site. It would only be possible to discover information of this sort through a series of excavations on isolated sites dedicated to identifying deep stratified deposits containing faunal and other environmental data. Isolated sites, therefore, may have played an exceptionally important part in the social life of estates with much of the labour force of an estate focused on the site for the hunting season. Activities such as these must have encouraged social interactions between the elite, killing the animals and the peasantry herding deer to their deaths using the ropes produced by the villeins of Aucklandshire (Austin 1982, 37) when they are called by the bishop. The hunt, and sites possibly associated with hunting must have offered great social opportunities for feasting and gift exchange of the meat obtained, and possibly also the gift of hunting dogs or hawks as kept in twelfth century County Durham by Ralph the Crafty.

CHAPTER NINE: BOWES: A GREAT TOWER IN ITS LANDSCAPE

Bowes Castle stands in modern day County Durham; originally it stood at the north-west extent of the honour of Richmondshire. This honour was established in 1071 with the acquisition of the estates of Edwin earl of Mercia by Alan, count of Brittany (Peers 1953, 16). It generally assumed that the earthworks at Bowes date from soon after 1071 (Summerson 1993, 21) but there is no evidence for this. The earthwork form of Bowes Castle will be examined later in this section. The examination of Bowes Castles is illustrative of several points concerning the placement of castles in the landscape, their form and relationship to parish churches.

This examination of Bowes will begin with a discussion of the form of the great tower and then move onto the immediate landscape context of the tower and its placement within the wider landscape. To conclude the construction of this tower will be then placed in its social context.

THE GREAT TOWER AT BOWES

There are two published detailed interpretations of the great tower at Bowes: these are Clark (1882) and Renn (1973). These two investigations both interpret Bowes as a three-storeyed tower consisting of two upper floors over a basement, with all three floors divided into two main cells. The VCH volume for the North Riding also includes an analysis that provides a radical reinterpretation from the earlier study of Clark. This examination departs from the surveys of Clark and Renn in claiming that the windows for the east part of the building at first floor level are actually doorways (Page 1914, 45). Clearly this is not the case. This examination of Bowes differs in suggesting a different form for this building that will be explained, as the description of the surviving remains proceeds. A plan of the great tower is included as Figure 34.

The basement floor of the great tower is, like the first floor, divided into two cells with a north, south cross wall. The cross wall is not centrally placed, but divides the tower into two unequal portions. The basement floor is accessed from the vice stair in the south-east corner of the tower. This staircase opens into the main cell of the tower at basement level. This half of the tower is vaulted with a chamfered, groined rib vault that has been inserted into this part of the tower. The cross wall separating the two cells of the tower has a doorway to its south end that opens into the west cell of the tower. This cell has a ribbed groined vault that is part of the original build of the tower. The ribs of this vault are of half round form, entirely different to

those of the inserted vault in the adjacent part of the tower. Loops contained in the north, south and west walls light the basement. There is apparently no loop in the east wall. This wall was covered by a forebuilding in a later phase of twelfth-century construction on site.

The first floor of the tower contained the only entrance to the building, via the forebuilding constructed against the east face of the tower. The tower had been constructed with a full plinth around the base of the wall, over which the forebuilding had been built. This shows that a stone forebuilding had not necessarily been planned from the start. The entrance passage from the forebuilding leads into the main cell of the tower, referred to from here onwards as the hall. This space provides access to the chamber, to the west end of the floor and to the staircase in the south-east corner. There are two further mural chambers at first floor level. The mural chamber in the north-east angle leads from the hall via a small lobby. This chamber has a raised-back fireplace, the only fireplace in the great tower (Renn 1973, 113-115). Due to the changes in public access through this building it has not been possible to examine this part of the tower. The second mural chamber at first floor level was located in the east side of the tower and was accessed from the hall, and possibly also the entrance passage. Just east of the wall dividing the hall from the chamber at the west end a passage leads from the south wall of the hall to the garderobes located in the south-west corner. This passage appears to give access only to a single garderobe. Two windows lit the hall, one in each of the north and south walls. These windows appear to contain the traces of iron glazing bars fossilized in their reveals. The presence of these glazing bars indicates that it is most likely that the windows in the tower were filled with coloured glass. It is known from documentary evidence that Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine were donors of stained glass in both religious and secular contexts (Caviness 1984, 135). Finds of medieval window glass were reported in 1994, but it is not stated whether it was coloured or not (Neuk, Margeson and Hurley 1994, 207).

The chamber occupies the west third of the building at first-floor level (see Figure 34) and must have been accessed through its now lost east wall. This room was lit with a major window in its west wall, just to the north of the short passage leading to the garderobe shaft. It appears that there was no connection between the hall and chamber garderobe shafts.

Due to the loss of most of the internal facing stones, especially at first-floor level and above, it is difficult to interpret the upper levels of the tower, but it is exceptionally clear that this tower actually presents a more complex picture than has traditionally been seen.

This reinterpretation of the great tower at Bowes is dependent, firstly, on an understanding of the reasons for thick walls in a great tower. It is clear that great towers have thick walls due to their height and for the construction of mural passages and chambers to

encourage movement within the walls. In the previous section the great tower at Newcastle was examined. At this site it was demonstrated that the polygonal corner of this tower was most likely constructed to contain a dogleg staircase, rather than only as a defensive addition. If a vice stair is employed at the corners of a tower it is clearly necessary to construct walling of a sufficient width to contain a feature such as this. It is usual, as can be seen at Bowes, to contain the stair within a buttress; the wider south-west buttress at Bowes contains the garderobe shafts, its greater width can be linked to this structural function. At Bowes it can be seen from Figure 34 that at first-floor level mural chambers, passages or garderobes are constructed in the width of all of the walls. It can be seen from Figure 34 that the main element of construction that conditions the width of the exterior walling of this building is the dimensions of the staircase in the south-east corner. The width of this feature clearly conditions the proportion and projection of the buttress containing it. The shallow projection of the buttresses at Bowes is standard for towers of this date in only employing thin pilaster buttresses, rather than the later medieval deeper forms. A further element that clearly conditions the proportions of the walling is the mural chamber in the north-east corner. This chamber, like the staircase, clearly takes up the full space available within this corner of the tower, especially within the buttress. The great tower at Bowes has been intricately planned and built. The mass of walling itself is great, but is most closely determined by the width of the features it is required to contain. The regularity of the construction at this site is as exceptional as the scale of the stones employed to face the exterior, some of which are up to almost a metre in width. Much has been argued earlier concerning the level of planning that actually is employed in the construction of a tower, but it is clear for Bowes that it contains none of the problems that have been seen at other sites: specifically Newcastle and Carlisle where changes in plan have occurred during the construction of the towers.

Once one reaches the second floor of the tower at Bowes the design of this building departs from its generally assumed form. The inner face of the rise of the staircase in the south-east corner is shown in Plate 71. It is clear from this plate that rather than just rising to the second floor the staircase actually rises to a doorway that would lead out into the wall. Plate 72 shows the exterior east face of the great tower. It is clear that the doorway base surviving in the plate, just to the north of the staircase actually has no access from the staircase. This doorway is of exceptional importance in the interpretation of the putative second floor of the tower. If Plate 71 is examined it is clear from the stone coursing that if the second-floor level is at the base of this doorway or lower then it would cut into the arch of the two side windows. With the probability that coloured glass was used to glaze these windows it is difficult to believe that the passage of light though them would have been interrupted by the presence of a floor. A

more likely form for this floor level could be that the floor was actually a mezzanine, reaching only as far as the window. The considerable loss of facing stones to the interior of the tower has made any interpretation of this level of the building highly problematic, but the full-length floor level simply does not work in relation to the heads of the windows. To move from the hall to the chamber end of the tower is further demonstration of the intriguing form of this building.

The west wall of the great tower contains the garderobe shafts that service the garderobes for both the chamber and the hall within the south-west buttress. The exterior view of the buttress and west wall is shown in Plate 73. It is clear that there are two major shafts for the garderobes shown in this plate. An examination of this plate shows where the second-floor level of the tower must have been for this section. The arched head of the first-floor window is well preserved in this elevation; the break in the walling between the window and the garderobe shafts appears to relate to the previous access to the chamber toilet, a loop at ground-floor level and probably a further major window at second-floor level. It is clear that the correspondence of these three features has lead to a major split in the walling. It is also clear that a further garderobe shaft rises up from the second floor level to what must be a third-floor level, meaning that the tower at the chamber end is of three floors over a basement, while at the hall end the tower would appear to only have been a single storey probably with mezzanine over a basement. A proposed reconstruction of the form of the great tower is suggested here and is included as Figure 54. This figure is broadly based on the surviving remains of the great tower and others in the region including features such as the raised walling over the roof, hiding this from the view of people standing at ground level.

The broad form of the tower is similar to the general form of a church. The forebuilding, at the east end (please see Figure 34) is accessed from the south and from the wall scars in the east wall of the body of the tower is likely to have only reached first floor level. When viewed from the north the forebuilding staircase would not have been visible, and this building would have appeared to be narrower than the body of the tower. It is only at the west end of the tower that the building rose to enclose a second and third floor level. The symbolism of a building with a tall west end is clear; this building would have resembled a church. The arrangement of the forebuilding staircase in wrapping around the south-east corner of the building means that this feature would not have been visible when the tower was viewed from the north west, when on the main road through the settlement.

THE LANDSCAPE CONTEXT OF THE GREAT TOWER

Associated with the construction of the great tower at Bowes is the development of the wider landscape around the castle site including the rebuilding of the church and possibly the layout of the village.

The great tower stands within the ramparts of the Roman fortress of Lavatrae, occupying the north-west corner of this still-visible landscape feature. From aerial photographs of Bowes showing the outline of the fortress and the rig and furrow of the field system it is clear that the west gate of the fort remained in use providing an access into the field to the west of this site as a furlong boundary within the rig and furrow is visible leading away from this point. The Ministry of Works has partially reconstructed the castle enclosure probably during its period of guardianship, but it is clear from excavation work undertaken in undisclosed areas of the fort that the earthworks about the castle were not complete. No earthworks have been identified to the west of the castle site. The enclosure boundary here is provided by the west boundary of the surviving Roman enclosure. The quality of this enclosure boundary is comparably low, but was clearly respected during the medieval period. Air photographs of Bowes show rig and furrow ploughing respecting this boundary with no evidence of ploughing within the former fortress. Air photographic evidence does also show other features that are possibly related to the tower occupying the south-west quarter of the former fortress.

The parish church at Bowes stands immediately to the east of the great tower. The north door of the church is shown in Plate 31. The head of this door is a type that has been employed as a window head in the great tower at Richmond and is paralleled by a doorway at Helmsley Castle, shown in Plate 30. These parallels would indicate it is most likely the church was rebuilt in the second half of the twelfth century contemporary with the great tower. The lateral relationship between the great tower and church can be seen in Figure 55 is also enforced by their shared location within the fort. Both Graves (2000) and Genville (1997) have argued that there is a similarity in practice, and in plan form, between medieval houses and parish churches. If one examines the plan of a medieval church it can be seen that it is based around the division between the chancel and nave. The chancel represents a space accessed only by the priest; in this sense it is a private, restricted space. The plan of the church can be seen to correspond with the plan of the great tower at first floor level. Within the great tower, as Figure 34 shows, there is a division of space that can be seen to broadly correspond with the plan of the church. In the great tower the chamber can be seen to reflect the chancel, the main body of the tower reflects the nave of the church. One must consider that the social practices

undertaken within these two buildings are similar, and may well have been recognised as such by the various participants.

The churchyard, and the roadway leading south from the former north gate of the fort provide the east boundary of the castle site. Excavations undertaken in the Roman fort in 1967 demonstrated that there was no evidence of an enclosure to the east side of the great tower (Wilson 1968, 179-181). The roadway demarcating the west side of the churchyard, between this feature and the great tower leads further south turns to the east providing the south boundary of the churchyard. This lane continues to the east as the back lane of the south row of properties. This row of properties has been interpreted from the first edition OS plan in Figure 55 and it is clear that the original pattern of properties stretches east from the churchyard to the crossroads at the end of the village. This figure shows that the south row of properties are broadly of even size and are contained within the line of the main road, to the north, and the back lane to the south. The main east to west road at Bowes, where it runs through the settlement, is wide and probably indicative of the presence of a former market. The north row of properties at Bowes has been interpreted as long tofts. These properties stretch a considerable distance north of the line of the street; their full extent is marked on Figure 55. It is apparent from the field examination of the northern extent of these properties, and evidence from aerial photos that the rears of these properties have traces of rig and furrow ploughing. The boundaries of the north row of properties show a curve to their east sides. This curve is reflected in the evidence for ploughing contained within these properties. Now either the rears of the long tofts have been ploughed subsequent to the establishment of their boundaries, or the construction of the enclosures in this part of the village postdate the ploughing and follow the lines of the former rig and furrow. It is difficult really to come to any definitive conclusion of this matter.

The implications of the presence of long tofts in the wider landscape around Bowes will be examined in the next section, but it is here that the general form of the village shall be discussed. The plan of the village shows that the former Roman fort is a fundamental part of the general plan of the settlement. It is apparent from a charter dated to 1148 that the parish church was in existence at this date (Clay 1935, 130). This charter is a confirmation of the transfer of the advowson of the church at Bowes to the Hospital of St Peter in York. From the form of the doorways of the church at Bowes it seems most likely that the nave is the result of a rebuilding postdating or broadly contemporary with this confirmation charter. This issue will be examined in the next section. The presence of the church within the Roman fort indicates a long-term focus of settlement in this area, probably from the sub-Roman period onwards. Page

(1914, 41 note 26) states that there is a reference in the Pipe Rolls to the construction of the village for the years 1187-1188. What this phrase could mean is certainly open to question, but the village has good evidence of planning. The presence of the church, that is known to have existed prior to 1148, incorporated well into the south row of properties does open the possibility that this row of tofts, the vicarage and church are of a single unit of planning prior to 1148. It could also mean that the south row of properties is actually an extension onto the pre-existing unit of the vicarage and church. What is clear, however, is that the broad proportions of the north-east corner of the Roman fort have given the general proportions of this row. The north row of long tofts does present an entirely different picture. It has been stated that these contain rig and furrow within the lands to the rear of the street frontage. It is not clear whether this rig and furrow predates, or postdates the enclosure of these plots to become long tofts. The most likely interpretation of these remains would be that the toft boundaries have been laid out over a pre-existing field system. From this limited evidence a most likely interpretation of the phrase highlighted by Page (1914, 41 note 26) is that the north row of long tofts would appear to be a secondary development of the plan. As the next section will explain the specific choice of long tofts for this village has considerable implications within the wider landscape of the North of England.

THE WIDER LANDSCAPE

Bowes village stands at a fundamental point in the landscape of the North of England. The wider landscape of Bowes is shown in Figure 56. To the west of Bowes, along the line of the modern A66, there is the Rey Cross. This fragment of Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft stands adjacent to its former site in the line of the modern A66, within the remains of a Roman marching camp. The Rey Cross is the traditional burial marker of Eric Blood Axe, the last Viking King of York (Vyner 1993, 20-22). The lifting of the cross in 1990 revealed no such remains, but under the cross a scattering of limestone chippings were revealed surrounding this features, and probably highlighting its location. Lang (2001, 283) dates the cross-shaft fragment and socket to possibly the tenth century. This date is arrived at due to the historical association between the raising of the cross to mark the burial site of Eric Blood Axe rather than an assessment of the art-historical evidence from the cross-shaft.

If one travelled east from the Rey Cross towards Bowes along the original Roman road network before one reached the fort of *Lavatrae* at Bowes the road system split, with a northern branch of the road leading upwards, eventually to the crossing of the River Tees above Barnard Castle. As Figure 56 shows the construction of long tofts as the north row of the settlement at Bowes overlies the former line of this road. The evidence of ploughing in this part of the

settlement is limited, and it is not possible to determine whether there is a break in the rig and furrow that would relate to the continued use of the road prior to the ploughing. This diversion of the road system through the settlement at Bowes marks a major change for how one would reach Barnard Castle. The removal of this spur of the main road focuses movement through the north towards Catterick firmly drawing movement into the heart of Richmondshire away from the boundaries of the barony.

The location of the Rey Cross was not only linked to the death of Eric Blood Axe in legend, but was also the boundary marker between the western-most extent of the North Riding and Westmorland. In this real sense the cross-marked the boundary between two counties, two baronies, Richmondshire and Westmorland, and two dioceses, marking out the boundary of the newly created see of Carlisle. The cross is supported in its function as a major boundary by the presence of the Hospital of the Rey Cross. The location of this hospital, also known as the Spital on Stainmore was to the south of the cross, and is marked on Figure 56. Knowles and Hadcock (1971, 330 and 387) date the foundation of the hospital to before 1171 when the hospital first appears in the documentary record. This documentary reference to the hospital occurs because this institution is passed to the nuns of Marrick who then took the responsibility of paying the stipend for the chaplain. This change to the management of the hospital is demonstrative of an effort to fully incorporate this small institution into the wider pattern of monasticism in Richmondshire. It is apparent that this hospital was founded with the intention of providing a comfort to travellers. The pass at Stainmore was an important route way connecting Westmorland to the north of Yorkshire and south County Durham. North of Stainmore the Tyne Valley provided the next main route between east and west; south of Stainmore other high passes were used to cross the Pennines. A hospital performing a similar function to the Hospital of the Rey Cross located within Richmondshire at Brompton Bridge has been excavated. Gilchrist reports that the hospital of St Giles was founded by 1181 (1995, 51). This hospital stood between Swaledale and the Vale of York; in this sense it occupied as similar location to the Hospital of the Rey Cross. Gilchrist states that the architecture of this hospital, during the twelfth century, consisted of a stone chapel with a timber hall, these stood within a stone walled, pebbled yard (1995, 53). In many ways architecture of this type resembles secular or parish church architecture rather than building patterns more usually associated with monastic houses. The endowment of a hospital so close to the border of the barony on Stainmore can be seen as an attempt to incorporate and define this boundary. The inclusion of the hospital with the endowment of the nuns at Marrick marks a further effort to associate this institution with the more important monastic institutions of Richmondshire. It can therefore be seen that there is an effort within the

barony of Richmondshire to define the boundary with Westmorland, but also to ensure that the definition of this boundary was closely entwined with other institutions within Richmondshire. Many of these changes can be seen to be relatively contemporary, especially the transfer of the hospital to the nuns at Marrick, construction work on the great tower at Bowes, and building works at Richmond Castle.

The great tower at Bowes is broadly a contemporary of the great tower at Richmond; both towers are mentioned in the Pipe Rolls following the passing of Richmondshire to the crown. It could therefore been considered that contemporary works at these two major demesne castles in Richmondshire marks a major building campaign within the barony. At Bowes these works also appear to have been undertaken on the church as well. Pevsner (1966) lists many churches in Richmondshire that have rebuilding works undertaken on them in the second half of the twelfth century, it is therefore clear there is a background of building works undertaken in this period. Chapter Three discussed the dating evidence for great towers in the north; the construction of the great tower at Richmond marks the beginning of the second phase of great tower construction in the north. It is also not only the great tower at Richmond that Bowes has a close relationship to.

The standing remains at Brougham, like those at Bowes, can for part of their history be interpreted as resembling, and referencing the form of a church. A plan of the castle at Brougham, in Westmorland, is included as Figure 53. The initial development at Brougham appears to be a great tower constructed in the 1180s. The clearest parallel for the architectural treatment of this building appears to be the great tower at Dover; the keeled mouldings contained in the first floor door surround would also indicate a date from this decade when the form of the building is considered. The parallel between Bowes and Brougham is seen in the thirteenth century with the construction of the building referred to as the early hall against the east face of the keep (Trueman and Harrison 1998b, 108). This early hall would have initially been of only one storey over a basement with the keep of two stories and a basement representing a western tower. Therefore like Bowes, Brougham also presents a church-like appearance but the building only reached this form in the thirteenth century. Brougham also has further similarities to Bowes when the earthworks of the two sites are compared.

The earthworks of Brougham Castle, like those at Bowes, indicate that it is possible that the tower was not fully enclosed from its first construction (Blood and Welfare 1998, 79). The primary features of the earthworks at Brougham appear to have been a ditch that only covered the western side of the present enclosure. This ditch appears to have been altered with the construction of the present trapezoid earthworks that reflect the late medieval enclosure

wall. Therefore, just like Bowes, it would appear that the earthwork enclosure at Brougham is a later addition to the site. The construction of the south and west ditches would appear to be contemporary, or at least post-date, the construction of the early hall, and early south-east building which are judged to be of contemporary (Trueman and Harrison 1998a, 143). Therefore it is only in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, which is the earliest possible date, when the earthworks would appear to fully enclose the castle. Therefore just like at Bowes we see a site where what has usually been considered a simple set of earthworks has been recently examined and found to be more complex than previously imagined. Unlike Bowes it is not possible to definitively state that Brougham throughout the second half of the thirteenth century, when the keep and early hall resembled the layout of a church, did not appear to stand enclosed within an earthwork circuit. It must be stated that the north side of the enclosure at Brougham appears only to have been scarped, so the appearance of the hall and keep as an unenclosed building may have been preserved longer on this face, until the construction of the north enclosure wall. In these two ways the great tower at Brougham does resemble the immediate setting of the unenclosed Bowes, but Brougham does lack the context of an associated village and church.

Brougham is not the only tower that Bowes has an affinity with. The documentary evidence suggests that Richard the Engineer, the architect referenced in the Pipe Rolls for work at Bowes, through his work for the Bishop of Durham extended the tower at Norham (Hunter Blair and Honeyman 1966, 15). This work, from the study of Dixon and Marshall (1993a), is likely to have been focused on the south half of the great tower. Norham and Bowes are the only two sites that have documentary references to the work of Richard the Engineer, but it is probable that he worked on other contemporary sites for the Bishops of Durham. Richard's employment at Bowes may also indicate that he worked on other sites in Richmondshire, possibly also the great tower at Richmond Castle, the construction of which was probably completed during the construction of Bowes. The parish church at Bowes contains architectural features, specifically the north doorway, that would indicate construction work that is contemporary with the great tower. It is difficult to believe that if Richard the Engineer worked on the great tower at Bowes he had no involvement with the works on the adjacent church.

The construction of the tower at Bowes was not an isolated development within the settlement but appears to have been part of a major reorganisation of the landscape of the north-west corner of the estate of Richmondshire. The effects of the construction of this tower

had resonances across the north of the county of Yorkshire and for part of the twelfth century of England.

CONCLUSIONS

The construction of the great tower at Bowes is contemporary with the movement towards the expansion of demesne agriculture towards the end of the twelfth century. It is probable that the development of the castle and village at this site is part of this wider movement in the social attitudes that characterised estate management from the later twelfth century onwards. This socio-economic explanation for the presence of the castle and village of Bowes is not satisfactory when considering the landscape changes that are associated with the village, and the form of the castle site. For whatever reason Bowes is constructed to partially reference the general architectural form of a parish church. The tower has a context provided by a number of other buildings, the contemporary church at Bowes and the great towers at Richmond and the hall and tower complex at Brougham that in its final phase of development grows to resemble the assumed form of Bowes.

The resemblance of the great tower at Bowes to a church is only a partial; it may well have become more apparent once one approached the tower that it was actually a castle. The probably lack of any enclosure around this tower can only have increased the ambiguity of this site. Bowes is constructed at a time when there are fundamental changes to the social practices of estate management. These points, and their social implication, have been expanded on in the previous chapter. As was suggested in the introduction to this chapter there is no evidence to indicate that the present tower is not the first construction on site of a castle at Bowes. Bowes therefore represents a building that is contemporary with the developments of direct management of the demesne and the new ideas and expressions of lordship that accompanied these changes. It is possible that the form of the building selected for Bowes is indicative of these new ideas of direct management with slight changes to the building form to reference a church. The placement of Bowes at such a fundamental point in the landscape of the north may also have closely influenced a more ambiguous architectural form. The approach into Richmondshire from Westmorland can be seen to indicate this also. The incorporation of the Hospital of the Rey Cross into the wider monastic community of Richmondshire shows a greater effort to define the boundary of the estate. The presence of the hospital itself, and the legendary associations of the Rey Cross, can only have emphasised the boundary of the counties and baronies. Prayers within the hospital undertaken by the travellers crossing the pass at Stainmore will have mentioned those who were responsible for the endowment of this small, isolated community reinforcing and emphasising the authority of Richmondshire. The

alteration of the road system around Bowes associated with the construction of the long tofts will have also reinforced the boundary of the barony through ensuring travellers had to pass through Bowes before turning north towards Barnard Castle once the pass had been crossed.

The buried archaeology of the castle at Bowes is a mystery. It is apparent that by the time the field work was undertaken for the *Victoria County History* (Page 1914) the great tower at Bowes is described as: "*The only part now remaining is the keep, which stands alone on a site broken by mounds and ditches in all directions.*" (ibid. 45). Plates included in this volume (ibid. facing page 46) show that the ground level, at the time of the photograph, entirely covers the plinth of the tower. By the time Renn undertook his fieldwork for the volume published in 1968, the plinth has been exposed and the uneven ground around this tower has been levelled. English Heritage holds no records for the works undertaken to even the landscape around this tower. The plan published by Wilson (1968) has no detail showing any trench locations and the description of the works makes no reference to the general levelling at this site. These works, when undertaken, must have been contemporary with Renn's examination of the site; it is therefore most likely the levelling of the ground had already taken place. One can only wonder what this massive, almost two metre reduction in ground level has destroyed. As I will discuss in the Conclusions this reduction of ground levels at sites in the guardianship of the state is a general phenomenon. I have also found no records held in the relevant Sites and Monuments Record, the National Monuments Records or local English Heritage offices for archaeological works undertaken as part of the reduction.

CONCLUSIONS: THE CONTEXTS OF CASTLES

This investigation has retained at its heart the fact that the archaeological record is the creation of human action. Human actions are not fixed but develop and change over time and space. This investigation has focused on the construction and use of castle sites over the period between 1066-1216. An aspect of the development of sites is the changing expressions of lordship over this period. The archaeological study of buildings, landscapes and sites enables us to take glimpses of this world. To see these changes it is necessary to gain a perspective on the chronological development of sites throughout the north and it is here where this investigation began.

It has been argued that castles can only be understood with a fuller examination of what the sites are associated with, and the materials that archaeologists employ to interpret castles. Chapter Six examined the broader social processes that were linked to social changes during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was shown in this chapter how over time lords become more involved in the management of their lands. This transition impacted upon the social relationships within the lordly family, and on the management and administration of estates. This development in administration can also be tracked in the changes that can be seen in the Pipe Rolls. Chapter One began with an examination of the documentary evidence traditionally used to date castles. It was concluded here that the administrative documentation that traditionally provides dating evidence for castles actually provides much evidence for the social changes of the developing administrative system. Our ability to create a chronology from this material must be conditioned by this process, and the limitations of the evidence recognised. This examination of documentary evidence continued with an analysis of references to castle sites in literary sources. This analysis also emphasised the social basis of warfare, showing that military interactions around castles are governed by a series of feudal rules. In some cases during warfare symbolic concerns are clearly in mind. Chapter Four examined the context of the castle at Bishopton. Bishopton was constructed in a form that referenced Durham Castle and city during the contested election to the bishopric.

The use of similar earthwork forms at Bishopton to reference Durham can be seen to parallel many of the ideas discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Chapter Two examined the sequence of buildings constructed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries that could be dated from documentation. It was determined in this chapter that there are broad sequences of buildings with similar architectural characteristics but what was identified was a lack of concern with representing chronological development in architectural forms. The buildings constructed by the See of Durham through the twelfth century demonstrate this new perspective on

architectural development. This group of buildings, especially those constructed in the first half of the twelfth century, contain features that are archaic when compared to Durham Cathedral. The explanation for this use of archaic features is that builders and patrons are actively employing architecture to reference other buildings or express a range of ideas. This is also true for the early churches of the reformed religious who employed architectural motifs, and a series of statutes to enforce this style of building, that reflected secular stone or parish church architecture rather than the architecture of the Benedictines. This active use of architectural or spatial features was examined in Chapters Four and Five. In Chapter Four it was argued that a group of sites followed similar spatial forms to Durham as part of a strategy of expressing ideas of lordship. In Chapter Five the architectural similarities between Dover and Newcastle were examined and it was concluded that an aspect of the design of the two towers was to create a similarity between the two sites, and also to reference a relationship between the chapels in the towers and their associated cult centres. In this way an architectural similarity is being employed actively to express a wide-ranging series of ideas and expressions of lordship.

Chapter Three continued this theme in examining the development of stone architecture during the period under study here. It was concluded in the first section of this chapter that the dating of the majority of great towers places their construction from the 1120s onwards. In the north of England the majority of great towers date to after the 1150s. I argue later in Chapter Three that great towers contain private accommodation for the lord, his family and close retainers. The introduction of this new space, and its short-lived period of construction indicate a further series of changing ideas concerning lordship but ideas that are dominant for a limited time.

Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine examined the spatial relationships between castles and their associated settlements. The examination of the documentary evidence for castle boroughs in Chapter Seven revealed that there was a lack of concern for military matters in the borough charters throughout the period under study here. It was only at Egremont and Swansea where any specific reference to military duties of the burgesses was made. It was argued in this chapter that few urban castles actually maintain a fixed outer boundary defining a spatial relationship with their associated settlement, but that the boundaries of these sites are relatively fluid, and appear to reach their greatest extent in the later twelfth century. At some sites the fluid boundary between the castle and settlement was not expressed through the expansion or multiplication of enclosures, but through the shifting and developing of new castle sites. This general fluidity of spatial forms that can be seen in urban sites appears to emphasise a growing distinction between urban sites and castles. Architectural forms are employed to emphasise the

growing spatial distance between urban sites and castles. The only way in which a transition of this nature makes sense is to see it as part of a changing, developing series of ideas about how concepts of lordship are expressed. If one runs through a list of the more famous later medieval castles considering their immediate locations one is struck by the number that are located in more isolated situations, distant from any settlement. There are obvious contradictions to this statement, for example the Welsh castles of Edward I, but broadly there appears to be a movement over time towards more isolated sites. It would appear that the later medieval use of parks is different from their use in relation to earlier castle sites. This point strays out of the chronological straitjacket imposed on this work but certainly provides an interesting perspective concerning the spatial relationship between the elite and those who supported them financially in their position.

The second half of Chapter Seven focused on castles located in rural sites. The research for this part of the chapter focused on the idea that the construction and use of a castle conveys a series of ideas concerning the legitimacy of a lord's expression of power. This was examined in certain ways, by comparing early castles constructed near to churches with the fortification of Merrington Church during the Anarchy. The ability to construct a castle without developing opposition advertises the legitimacy of a particular lord's hold on an area of land and expresses this fundamental basis of lordly power whether this site be Richmond Castle or the small motte at Blackwell, above the River Tees in County Durham.

This study has brought basic problems of how to weigh evidence to my attention. The greatest problem I have experienced is how to relate archaeological and historical evidence. I found the publication of Rollason's translation of *Symeon of Durham* enlightening (2000). Rollason's meticulous footnotes in this volume detailed mistakes and misdating within the text. The editing of the Symeon manuscript shows we know at least as much history as the author wanted to tell us, but our knowledge, and requirements for detail are greater than the contemporary chronicler's concern for this issue. When using chronicle data within this study I have assumed that it is factually correct, unless I have identified a secondary source, or comments from an editor saying otherwise. I can be reasonably sure that there is a good chance Laurence of Durham's description of Durham Castle (Raine 1880) is factually correct. Laurence was connected to Durham Cathedral and must have had numerous opportunities to observe the castle buildings. William of Newborough's description of Scarborough (Howlett 1884, 104) is also exceptionally detailed. Can I be confident William of Newborough ever visited Scarborough and studied the castle? It feels unfair to introduce this data to this study, but two articles by King (1782; 1786) contain descriptions and illustrations of castle buildings

that are, frankly, eccentric. King does not detail in his publications whether he travelled to the sites studied, but in the descriptions and illustrations for these studies there are many inaccuracies. If we cannot look at these good descriptions with confidence what can we do? I have not examined this question in the section on chronicles where I simply accepted any statements unless there was good evidence not too. When considering these points the site that most readily comes to mind is Warkworth. This site is described as having weak earthworks in the twelfth century but the earthworks visible today are impressive in scale. It is possible that the earthworks at this site are an addition, but in the general pattern of analysis it is assumed that they are the original construction of a timber and earthwork castle. The most recent examination of Warkworth (Johnson 2002) has focused on the architecture of the late medieval great tower, but did not question the chronology of the earthworks on which it stands. Without dismantling the motte at Warkworth it is impossible to know the truth of the development of the earthworks at this site.

As I argued in Chapter Three I believe that great towers provide private accommodation for the lord and probably his family and close retainers. In certain case due to the survival of documentary evidence there is good evidence that a hall accompanies great towers, or in the case of Pickering the motte is accompanied by a hall located in the bailey. The excavations at Hen Domen, and the clearance of half of the bailey at this site, have shown that this site was packed with buildings dating to multiple phases. The only site in the sample area where a comparable pattern of development can be seen is at Durham Castle. The fuller picture of Durham Castle has been discussed by Leyland (1994) and has been made possible by the level of archaeological work undertaken over the years and the extensive documentary record. Without a greater survival of documentary data or buildings or a wider programme of excavation we will never know the extent to which the few surviving buildings relate to those which have been lost. This loss of the overwhelming majority of twelfth century buildings, whether constructed of stone or timber, places limits on our ability to provide a wider, more meaningful interpretation of many structures. In this way I have followed the approaches criticised by Gilchrist (1999, 109) in not explicitly discussing castles as a gendered spaces. Gilchrist, however, did have the advantage of studying later buildings that were also associated with a greater level of documentary data and that survive in a more complete form or have been excavated. I examined the development of a series of social ideas over the twelfth century in Chapter Six that were linked to the exclusion of women from many public activities, the creation of new monastic identities and the direct management of estates. The buildings studied by Gilchrist were built at a later stage of this developing process and therefore are likely to reflect other ideas of, and female reactions to, the changing social background. Gilchrist,

also, had the advantage in not following a regional focus, but selected sites with good building remains, excavation records or documentation. To an extent this study has been hampered by the lack of published, excavated sites. This is not to say that there are not many sites which appear to have been excavated, but for which no records survive from the work that has clearly been undertaken.

The cover of Clark (1884a) is decorated with an engraving of the great tower at Scarborough. The print on this cover is reproduced within the volume and is included here as Figure 57. This figure can be compared with Figure 58, the cover of a guidebook to Scarborough probably dating to the 1960s. A comparison between these two figures shows the massive, unrecorded loss of deposit at this site. In Chapter Nine I drew attention to the loss of approximately 1.5m of deposit at Bowes between the publication of the Victoria County History and the 1960s. One can look through Clark (1884a) and examine the plans of buildings that do not include the plinths that are now visible through unrecorded excavations. Where deposits have been removed it appears only to have happened on sites that are under the guardianship of the state. It is very easy to criticise the earlier management practices of the predecessor bodies to English Heritage but one can only lament the data that may have been lost.

I feel that this study has revealed the lack of excavation work that has been undertaken on any castle sites in the north of England. One can only hope that the extensive excavations undertaken at Barnard Castle can help to fill this gap once the report is published. But a publication on Barnard Castle will only fill a partial gap in our knowledge. A number of small mottes with no trace of any bailey were identified in the landscape of the north. As part of the management of these earthworks it is necessary to define the extent of them as a monument. Our knowledge of what functions mottes are employed for is limited, but without the definition of an enclosing bank or ditch of the bailey we cannot be sure what happens off the visible earthwork. To investigate this issue some form of remote surveying would probably provide an indication of the presence of structures or features around the earthwork; excavation, however, would be the only way to provide dating evidence. Between the boundaries of a major baronial site such as Barnard Castle and a small, isolated motte, such as Blackwell in Country Durham there is a wide range of castle sites few of which have been excavated or surveyed to any degree. An objective of any archaeological work should be to identify the presence of datable deposits of material to provide evidence for the changing economic base of the castle site. The change to the direct management of estates may be visible in the faunal remains on site. As the excavations at Barnard Castle showed the use of castles as

processing centres for deer shows on a large scale how direct management could be visible in the archaeological record. On a lesser scale it is possible that more general faunal remains could show the evidence for the initial processing of animals on site for food, with the presence of non-food bones. The presence of animals of a more regular size could be indicative of purchasing from a market; a wider range of animal sizes, and ages on site could indicate production for a market and in some ways lesser animals being consumed. It is possible that the bones of hunted animals may also show seasonal occupation of sites. This may provide an understanding of how the elite move between sites and around estates. These points could only really be answered with high quality, well preserved deposits. It may prove possible, from an examination of documentary data from beyond the period studied here, to identify sites that were abandoned in the mid thirteenth century and may preserve deposits from this period.

One aspect of the elite building archaeology of the north of England I have not examined here is the members of the elite who chose not to build castles. Certain parts of the sample area, notably Millom in Cumberland, appear not to contain any castles dating from the period under study here. The Archbishops of York, while prolific builders of churches, appear not to have built any castles. From a study of baronies listed by Sanders (1960) it is apparent that there are a number of estates where there are no castles. One must therefore assume that there are a class of manorial buildings that have not left any traces of their earthworks and that many individuals have made a specific choice not to construct a castle.

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Pipe Roll 17 Henry II 1170-1171. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 16 (1893).

Pipe Roll 18 Henry II 1171-1172. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 18 (1894).

Pipe Roll 19 Henry II 1172-1173. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 19 (1895).

Pipe Roll 20 Henry II 1174-1175. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 20 (1896).

Pipe Roll 21 Henry II 1174-1175. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 21 (1897).

Pipe Roll 22 Henry II 1175-1176. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 25 (1904).

Pipe Roll 24 Henry II 1177-1178. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 27 (1906).

Pipe Roll 25 Henry II 1178-1179. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 28 (1907).

Pipe Roll 26 Henry II 1179-1180. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 29 (1908).

Pipe Roll 28 Henry II 1181-1182. *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* volume 31 (1910).

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MAPS REFERENCED IN THE TEXT

1st Edition 6 inch County Sheets

County Durham 1861

Cumberland 1868

Lancashire and the Furness Peninsula 1848

Northumberland 1864

Westmorland 1862-1863

York 1853

Yorkshire East Riding 1855

Yorkshire North Riding 1855

Yorkshire West Riding 1851-1854

Other Maps

Beaumont and Kirkandrews-on-Eden Tithe Plan 1831. Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle QRXII.

Appendix 1 A List of the Castles in the North of England dating to between 1066 and 1216.

Examined Castle Sites

COUNTY	CASTLE	National Grid	EARTHWORK TYPES	REFERENCE
Cumberland	Beaumont-on-Eden	ny348593	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 59)
	Bewcastle	NY566747	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 46-47)
	Brampton	NY533613	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 137)
	Burgh by Sands	NY314592	Stone Building Remains	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 64); Hogg (1954); Storey (1954)
	Carlisle	NY397563	Earthwork Enclosure	McCarthy, Summerson and Annis (1990)
	Carrock	NY544554	Placename	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 141)
	Cockermouth	NY122309	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 90-91)
	Dovenby Hall	NY095331	Stone Building Remains	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 12)
	Egremont	NY010105	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 102-103)
	Hayton nr Brampton	NY507578	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 155)
	Irthington	NY499615	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 159)
	Kirkoswald	NY559410	Earthwork Enclosure	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 124-125)
	Liddel	NY402742	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 233)

	Maryport	NY034363	Earthwork Enclosure	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 19)
	Newton nr Brampton	NY507624	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 159)
	Sowerby	NY360384	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 198)
Durham	Barnard Castle	NZ049165	Earthwork Enclosure	Austin (1988)
	Bishop Auckland	NZ215312	Stone Building Remains	Cathcart-King (1983, 134)
	Bishop Middleham	NZ328310	Stone Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 134)
	Bishopton, Durham	NZ368209	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 134)
	Blackwell	NZ274130	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 139)
	Brancepeth	NZ224378	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 135)
	Durham	NZ274423	Motte and Bailey	Leyland (1994)
	Eden	NZ427388	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 138)
	Egglescliffe	NZ426132	Placename	Cathcart-King (1983, 139)
	Gaittecastellum		Placename	Renn (1973, 354)
	Ireshopeburn	NY871385	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 139)
	Merrington	NZ263315	Historical Reference	Renn (1973, 242)
	Middleton St. George	NZ346123	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 136)
	Raby	NZ129218	Earthwork Enclosure	Renn (1973, 356)
	Ryton	NZ151649	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 139)
	Stockton	NZ448184	Historical Reference	Aberg and Smith (1988)
Northumberland	Alnwick	NU187137	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 325)
	Bamburgh	NU184350	Earthwork Enclosure	Bateson (1893, 17-70)
	Bamburgh siege-works		Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 345)
	Bellingham	NY841833	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 327)
	Bellister	NY701630	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 327)
	Bolam	NZ086823	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 328)

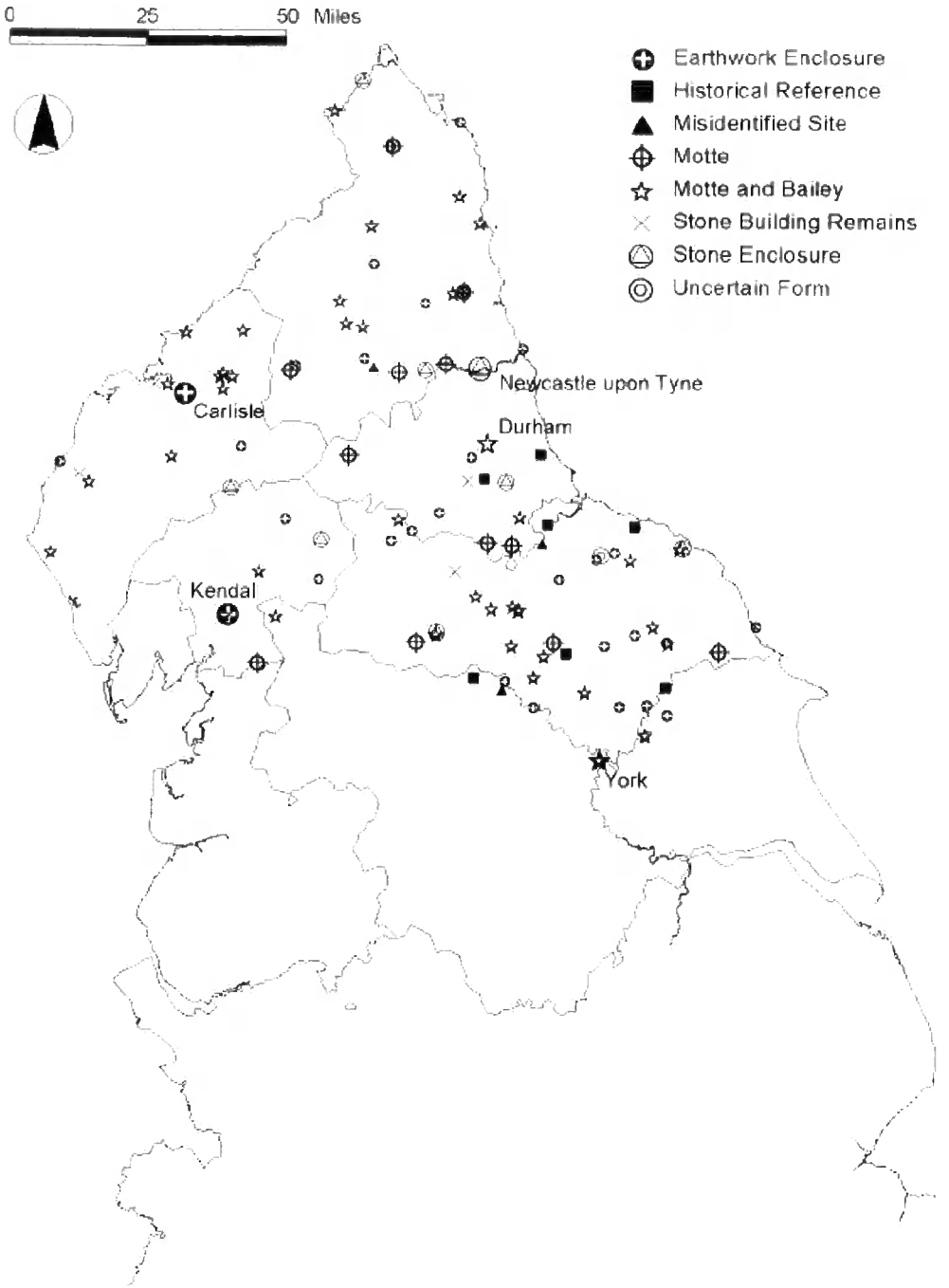
	Elsdon	NY938835	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 332)
	Gunnerton	NY908757	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 334)
	Haltwhistle	NY711642	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 334)
	Harbottle	NT933048	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 334)
	Hexham	NY939641	Misidentified Site	Cathcart-King (1983, 336)
	Humbleton	NT982279	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 336)
	Mitford	NZ170855	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 337)
	Morpeth	NZ198857	Earthwork Enclosure	Hodgson (1832)
	Morpeth Ha Hill	NZ201857	Motte	Hodgson (1832)
	Newcastle upon Tyne	NZ253639	Stone Enclosure	Harbottle (1977)
	Norham	NT906474	Stone Enclosure	Hunter-Blair and Honeyman (1966)
	Prudhoe	NZ092634	Stone Enclosure	Saunders (1993)
	Styford	NZ015625	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 341)
	Tynemouth	NZ373694	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 342)
	Warden	NY912665	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 342)
	Wark on Tweed	NT824387	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 343)
	Wark, Tynedale	NY861768	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 343)
	Warkworth	NU247058	Motte and Bailey	Hunter Blair and Honeyman (1954)
	Wooler	NT993281	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 344
Westmorland	Appleby	NY685199	Earthwork Enclosure	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 252-254)
	Brough	NY790140	Stone Enclosure	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 262-263)

	Brougham	NY532290	Stone Enclosure	Summerson, Trueman and Harrison (1998)
	Kendal	SD522924	Earthwork Enclosure	Mumby (1985)
	Kendal Castle Howe	SD514925	Motte and Bailey	Mumby (1985)
	Kirkby Lonsdale	SD611789	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 492)
	Pendragon	NY782026	Earthwork Enclosure	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 300-301)
	Tebay	NY613051	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1998, 268)
York	Old Baile	SE603513	Motte and Bailey	RCHME (1981)
	York	SE606515	Motte and Bailey	RCHME (1981)
Yorkshire North Riding	Bowes	NY991135	Earthwork Enclosure	Clark (1882); Renn (1973, 113-115)
	Brompton	SE945821	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 514
	Buttercrambe	SE734584	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 514)
	Carlton	SE067847	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 531)
	Castle Leavington	NZ641103	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 515)
	Catterick	SE240981	Motte and Bailey	Butler (1994, 73)
	Cotherstone	NZ015200	Motte and Bailey	Butler (1994, 73)
	Crayke	SE559707	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 516)
	Cropton	SE755893	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 516)
	Danby	NZ688082	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 515)
	Easby nr Stokesley	NZ589084	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 517)
	Felixkirk	SE467846	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 517
	Gilling West	NZ180050	Stone Building Remains	Whitaker (1823, 67)
	Helmsley	SE611837	Earthwork Enclosure	Peers(1966)
	Hood	SE504814	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 518)

Hutton Conyers	SE325735	Earthwork Enclosure	Butler (1994, 70)
Huttons Ambo	SE736668	Earthwork Enclosure	Thompson (1959)
Ingleby Barwick	NZ432129	Misidentified Site	Cathcart-King (1983, 519)
Kildale	NZ604096	Uncertain Form	Cathcart-King (1983, 533)
Kilton	NZ702177	Earthwork Enclosure	L'Anson (1913a)
Kirkby Fleetham	SE285943	Motte and Bailey	Butler (1994, 73)
Kirkby Moorside	SE700868	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 520)
Lythe	NZ832117	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 521)
Malton	SE792717	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 521)
Middleham	SE128877	Stone Enclosure	Weaver (1993)
Middleham (2)	SE125873	Motte and Bailey	Weaver (1993)
Mount Ferrant	SE795639	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 513)
Mulgrave stone site	NZ839117	Stone Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 522)
Northallerton	SE364841	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 522)
Northallerton (2)	SE365940	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 522)
Pickering	SE800845	Motte and Bailey	Butler (1993)
Pickering (2)	SE793845	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 523)
Pickhill	SE346838	Motte and Bailey	Butler (1994, 73)
Richmond	NZ173007	Stone Enclosure	Peers (1985)
Scarborough	TA048892	Earthwork Enclosure	Clark (1884b); Port (1989)
Sheriff Hutton	SE658663	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 525)
Skelton	NZ702177	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 525)
Thirsk	SE438810	Motte and Bailey	Howlett (1884, 182); Howlett (1886, 161); Stubbs (1867, 73);
Topcliffe	SE410750	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 527)
Whorlton	NZ481025	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 528)
Yafforth	SE347950	Motte and Bailey	Butler (1994, 73)

Yorkshire West Riding	Aldborough	SE407660	Earthwork Enclosure	Butler (1994, 73)
	Kirkby Malzeard	SE236745	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 520)
	Ripon	SE316711	Misidentified Site	Cathcart-King (1983, 524); Hall and Wyman (1996)
	Sedbergh	SD662923	Motte and Bailey	Perriam and Robinson (1988, 393)

A Map Showing the Locations of the Castle Sites Examined in the Field



Unexamined Sites

COUNTY	CASTLE	National Grid	EARTHWORK TYPES	REFERENCE
Lancashire	Aldingham	SD278698	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 244)
	Arkholme-with-Cawood	SD589718	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 244)
	Blackrod	SD619106	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 244)
	Buckton	SD989016	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 244)
	Clitheroe	SD742417	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 245)
	Halstead's	SD516726	Motte and Bailey	
	Halton	SD500648	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 245)
	Hornby	SD572675	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 246)
	Lancaster	SD470616	Stone Enclosure	Cox (1897)
	Manchester		Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 249)
	Melling-with-Wrayton	SD599712	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 246)
	Newton-le-Willows	SJ596962	Motte and Bailey	Young, Gaimster and Barry (1988, 261-2)
	Pennington	SD258777	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 246)
	Penwortham	SD525290	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 247)
	Rochdale	SD892128	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 247)
	Warrington	SJ609876	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 249)
	West Derby	SJ397934	Motte and Bailey	Droop and Larkin (1928, 47)
	Whittington, Lancashire	SD600763	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 248)
Northumberland	Berwick	NT994534	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 327)
	Rothbury	NU057016	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 352)
	Tweedmouth	NT990520	Historical Reference	PR 13 John p. 38-39
Yorkshire East Riding	Acklam	SE782613	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 531)
	Aughton	SE702387	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 513)

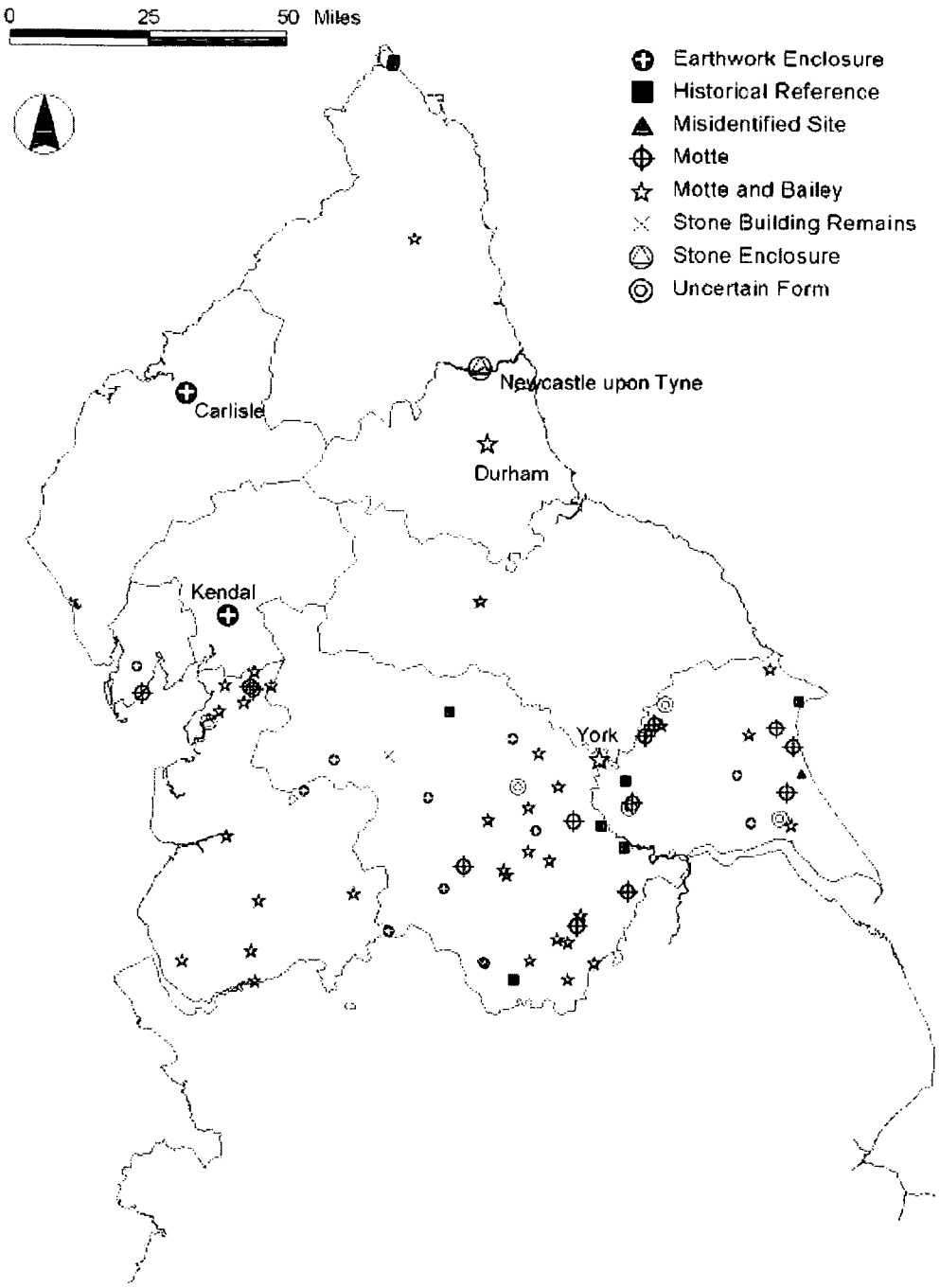
	Bilton	TA157326	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 513)
	Bridlington	TA176680	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 531)
	Cottingham	TA040330	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 516)
	Driffield	TA035585	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 517)
	Flamborough		Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 532)
	Hornsea	TA187473	Motte Site	Cathcart-King (1983, 531)
	Hunmanby	TA095775	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 519)
	Kelk	TA114604	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 532)
	Langton	SE795670	Uncertain Form	Cathcart-King (1983, 531)
	Leppington	SE764612	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 531)
	Lockington	SE998465	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 521)
	North Duffield	SE692373	Uncertain Form	Cathcart-King (1983, 531)
	Paullholme		Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 532)
	Rise	TA146417	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 531)
	Skipsea	TA162551	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 526)
	Skirpenbeck	SE737580	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 526)
	Swine	TA125343	Uncertain Form	Cathcart-King (1983, 527)
Yorkshire North Riding	Killerby[1]	SE254971	Motte and Bailey	Butler (1994, 73)
Yorkshire West Riding	Adwick-le-Street	SE551067	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 512)
	Almondbury	SE152140	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 512)
	Armley	SE281338	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 529)
	Bardsey	SE366433	Uncertain Form	Cathcart-King (1983, 513)
	Barwick in Elmet	SE398375	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 513)

[1] Killerby is within the military base at Catterick. I was unable to obtain permission to visit the site.

Bewerley	SE166647	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 529)
Bingley	SE102398	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 529)
Bradfield	SK266927	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 514)
Bradfield 2	SK271923	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 514)
Burton in Lonsdale	SD650722	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 514)
Conisbrough	SK517989	Motte and Bailey	Johnson (1984)
Craven		Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 520)
Drax	SE676260	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 530)
Gisburn	SD830508	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 517)
Hunsingore	SE428532	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 532)
Kimberworth		Motte and Bailey	Pevsner (1967, 285)
Kippax	SE417304	Earthwork Enclosure	Cathcart-King (1983, 519)
Knaresborough	SE349569	Earthwork Enclosure	Dixon (1988)
Langthwaite	NZ000002	Motte and Bailey	
Laughton-en-le-Morthen	SK516882	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 520)
Mexborough	SK484999	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 521)
Mirfield	SE211204	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 522)
Pontefract	SE460224	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 523)
Rotherham	SK405935	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 530)
Sandal	SE337182	Motte and Bailey	Mayes and Butler (1983)
Selby	SE610320	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 530)
Sheffield	SK358877	Historical Reference	Constable (2002)
Sherburn-in-Elmet	SE531333	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 532)
Skipton	SD991520	Stone Building Remains	Cathcart-King (1983, 526)
Sprotborough	SE542033	Motte	Cathcart-King (1983, 526)
Tadcaster	SE484436	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 527)
Thorne	SE689133	Motte	Cathcart-King

			(1983, 527)
Tickhill	SK593928	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 527)
Wakefield	SE327198	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 527)
Wheldrake	SE680450	Historical Reference	Cathcart-King (1983, 531)
Whitwood	SE399399	Motte and Bailey	Cathcart-King (1983, 528)

A Map Showing the Locations of the Castles in the Wider Sample Area



Appendix 2 A list of sites that have been judged to have an unconvincing claim to be a castle site in use dated to between 1066 and 1216.

Several sites included in the general lists have not been correctly identified as castles. This section is an examination of the evidence for not discussing these sites as castles.

The supposed motte at Ripon stands to the east of the minster and was subject to excavations reported in 1996 (Hall and Whyman 1996). These excavations revealed that the motte was in fact a burial site and contained no evidence for any use as a castle.

The motte at Ingleby Barwick in the North Riding of Yorkshire is not of a convincing form. I have discussed this site with Blaze Vyner who had also come to the conclusion that it was in fact a burial mound.

The castle at Hexham dates from the later medieval period. There are no convincing earthwork remains visible at this site, no historical evidence for its use in the twelfth century or masonry that could be dated to this period. This site in the later medieval period is under the control of the Archbishops of York for the period under study here I have been unable to attribute any castles to the Archbishops.

Appendix 3 Documentary sources examined for Chapter One not referred to in the text.

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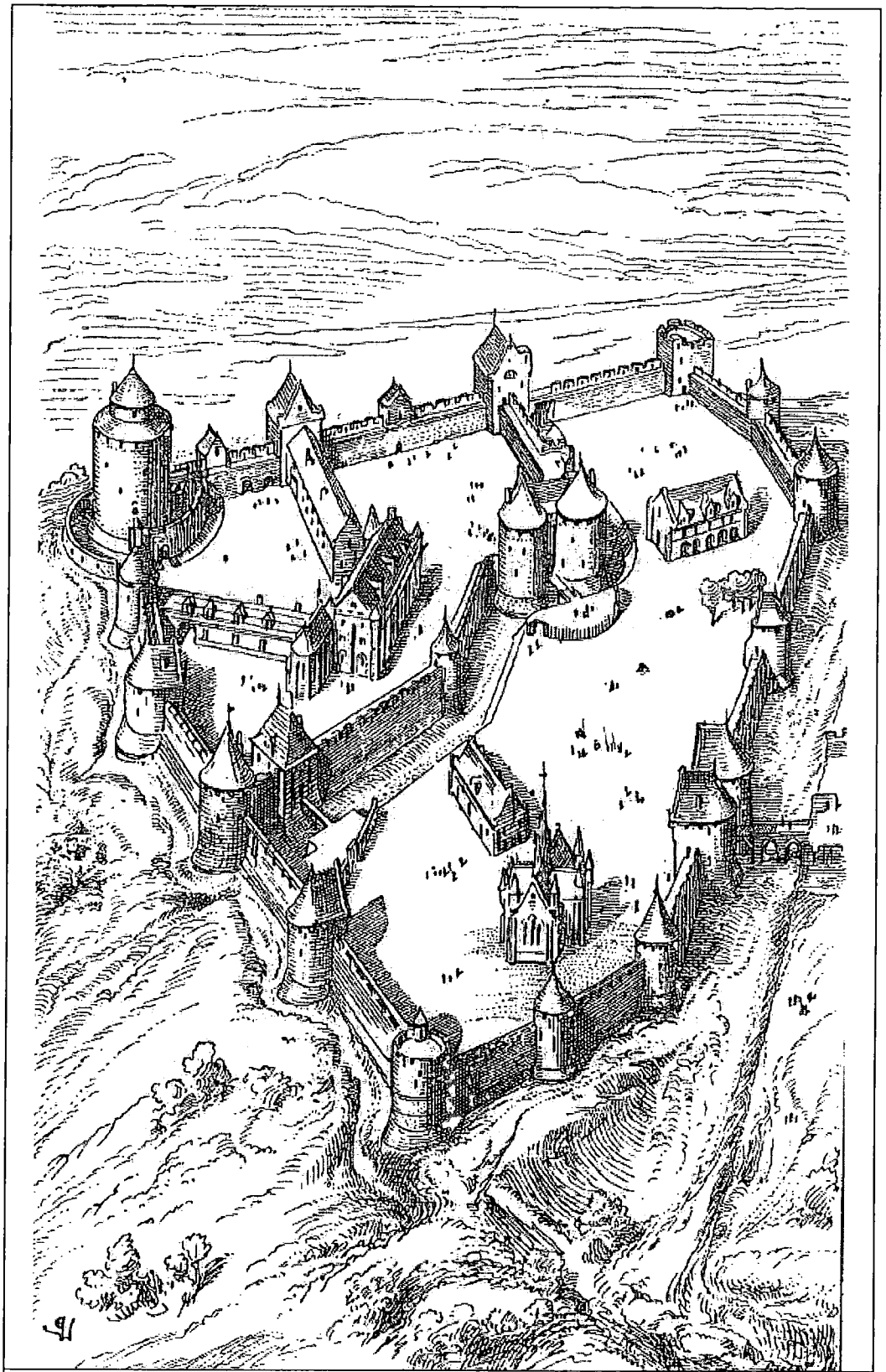


Figure 1 The Reconstruction of the Castle of Rocke-Pont (Viollet-le-Duc 200, fig.37, page 172)

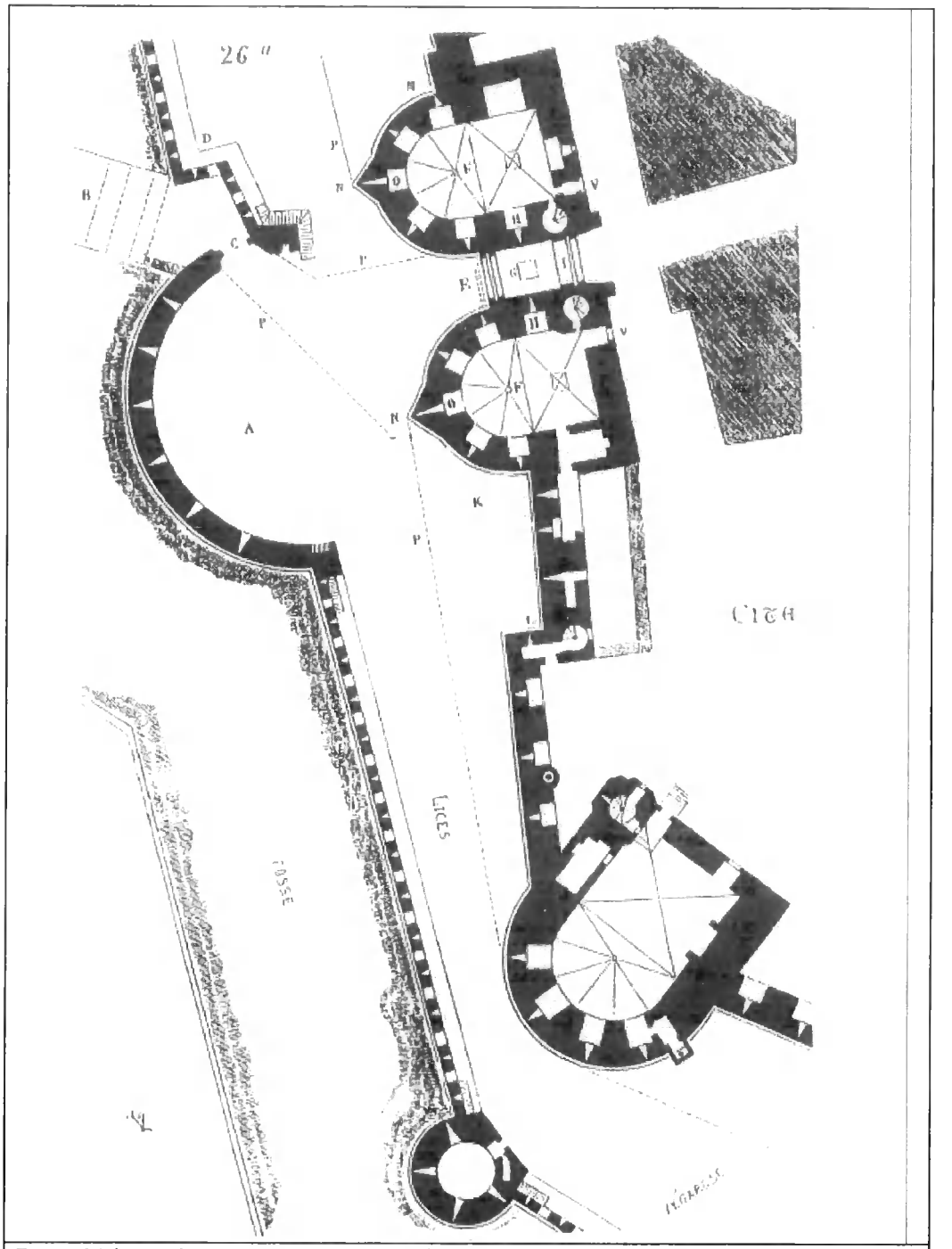


Figure 2 The Narbonne Gate at Carcasson (Viollet-le-Duc 2003, fig 56, page 126)

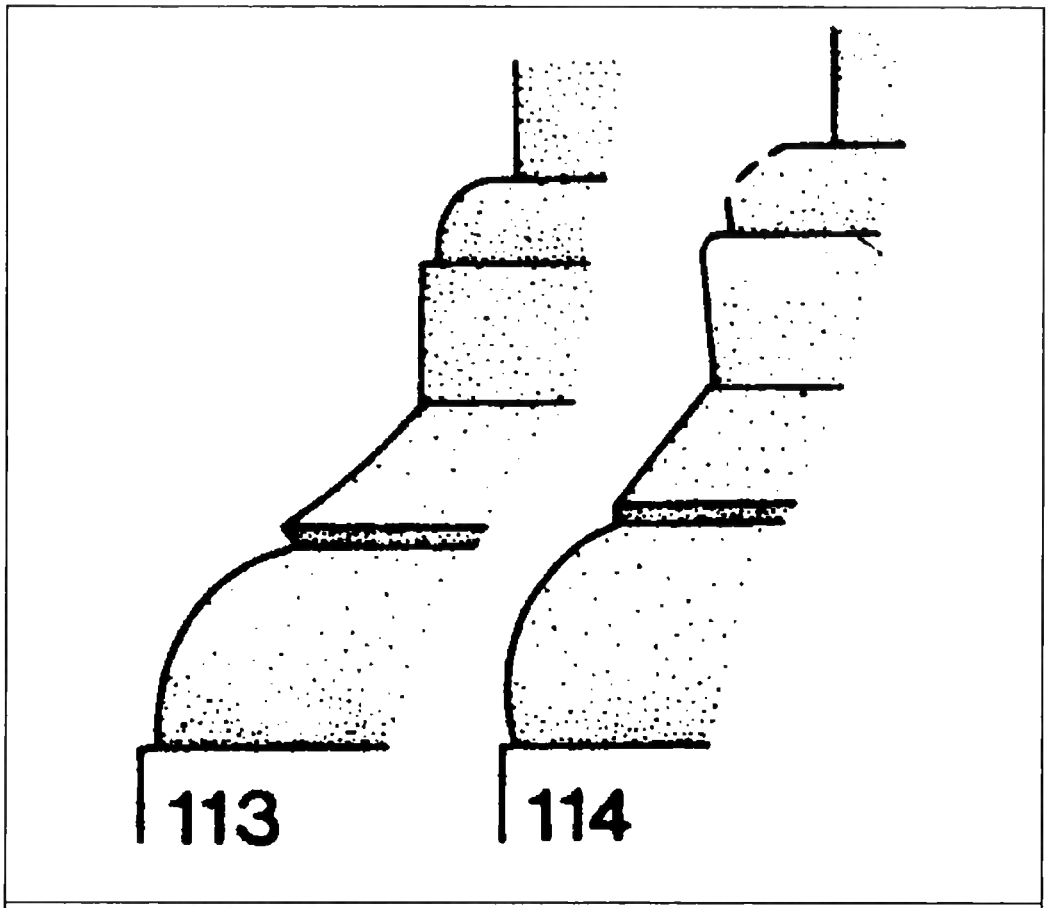


Figure 3 Two Parallels to the Plinth at Bamburgh

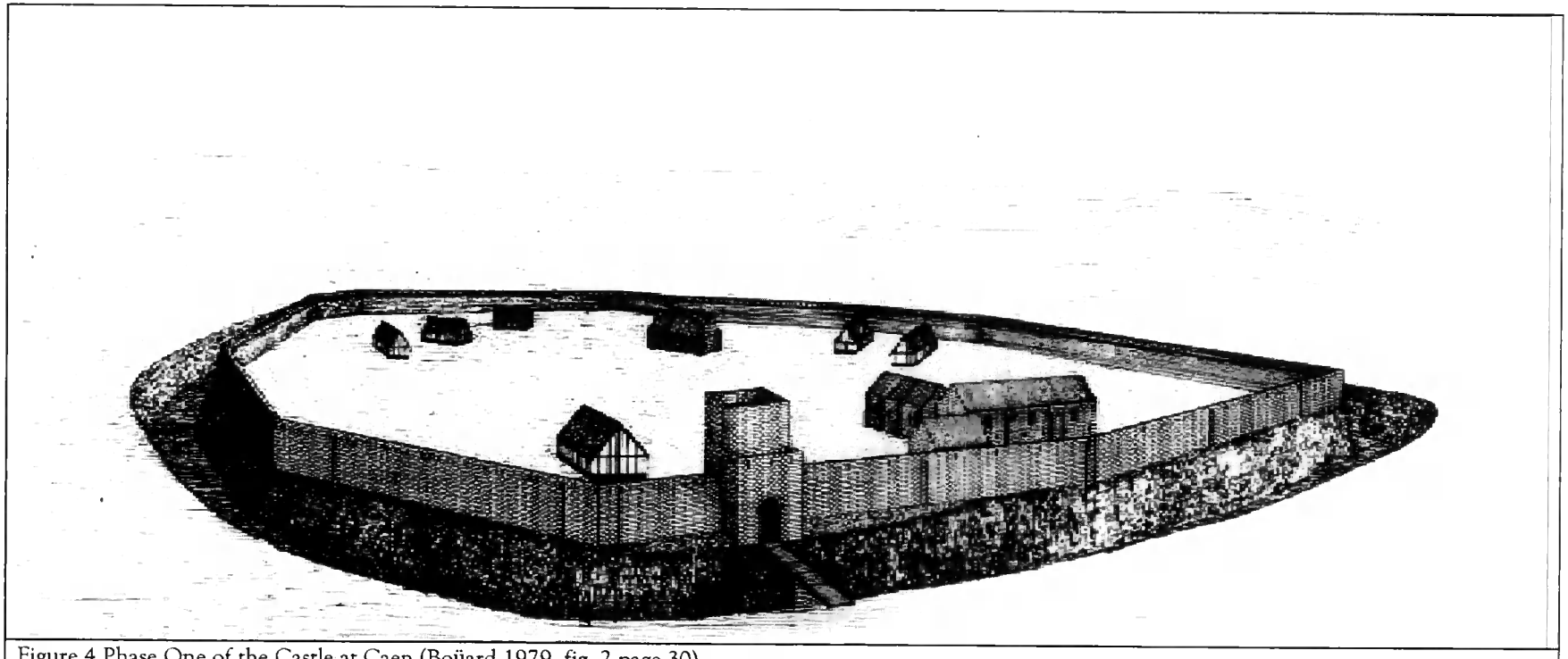


Figure 4 Phase One of the Castle at Caen (Boüard 1979, fig. 2 page 30)

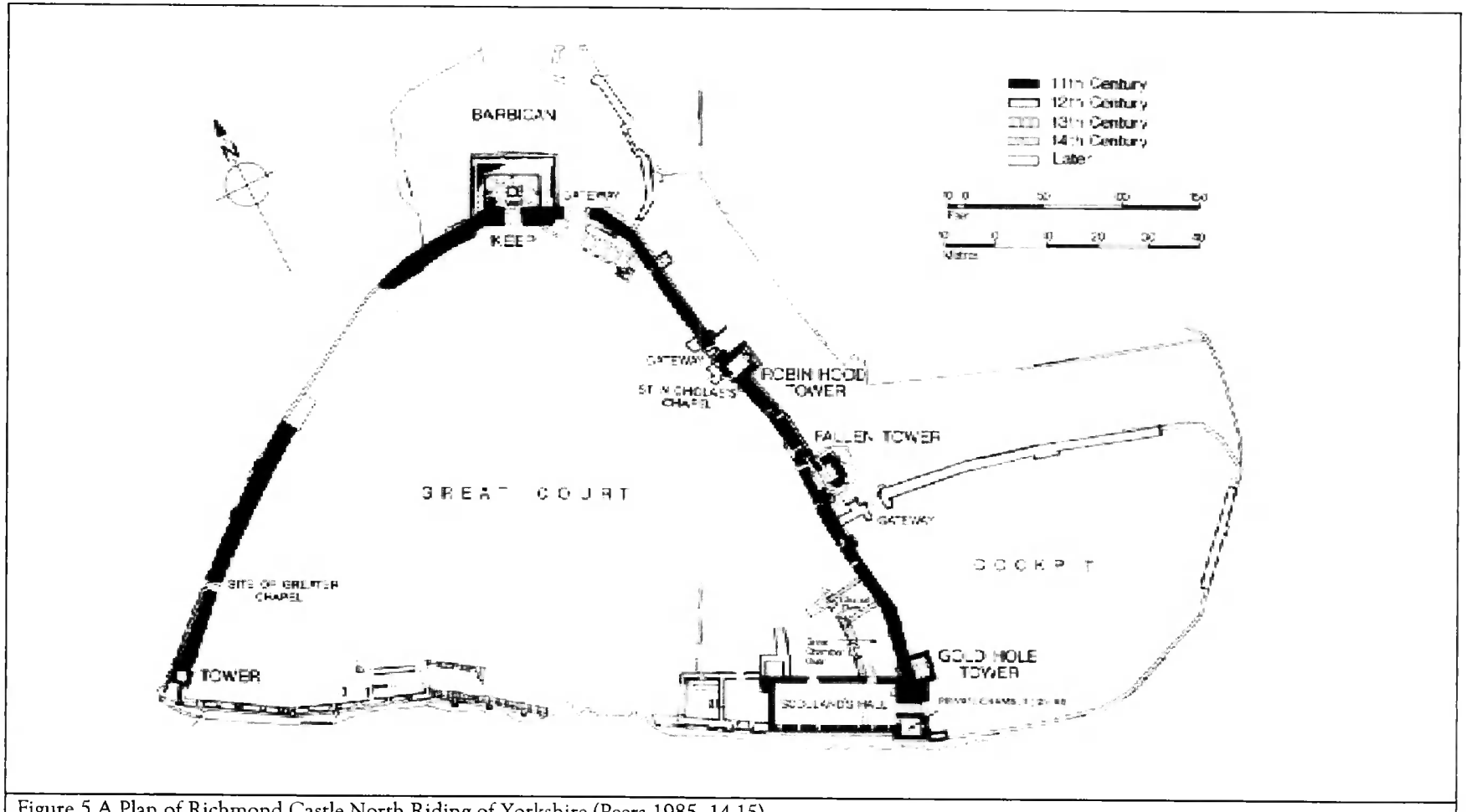


Figure 5 A Plan of Richmond Castle North Riding of Yorkshire (Peers 1985, 14-15)

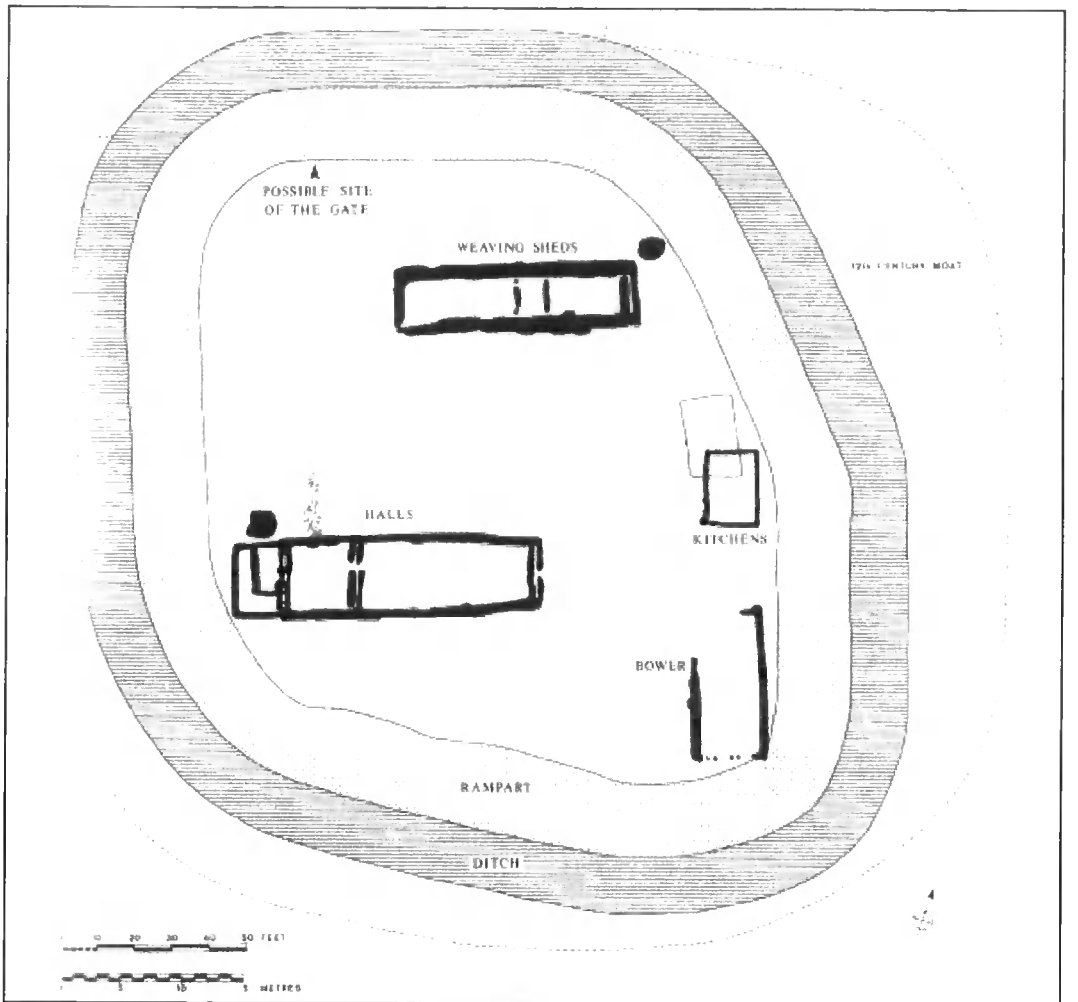


Figure 6 The Earliest Phase of the Fortified Anglo-Saxon Enclosure at Goltho, Lincolnshire (Beresford 1986, Fig. 31 page 35)

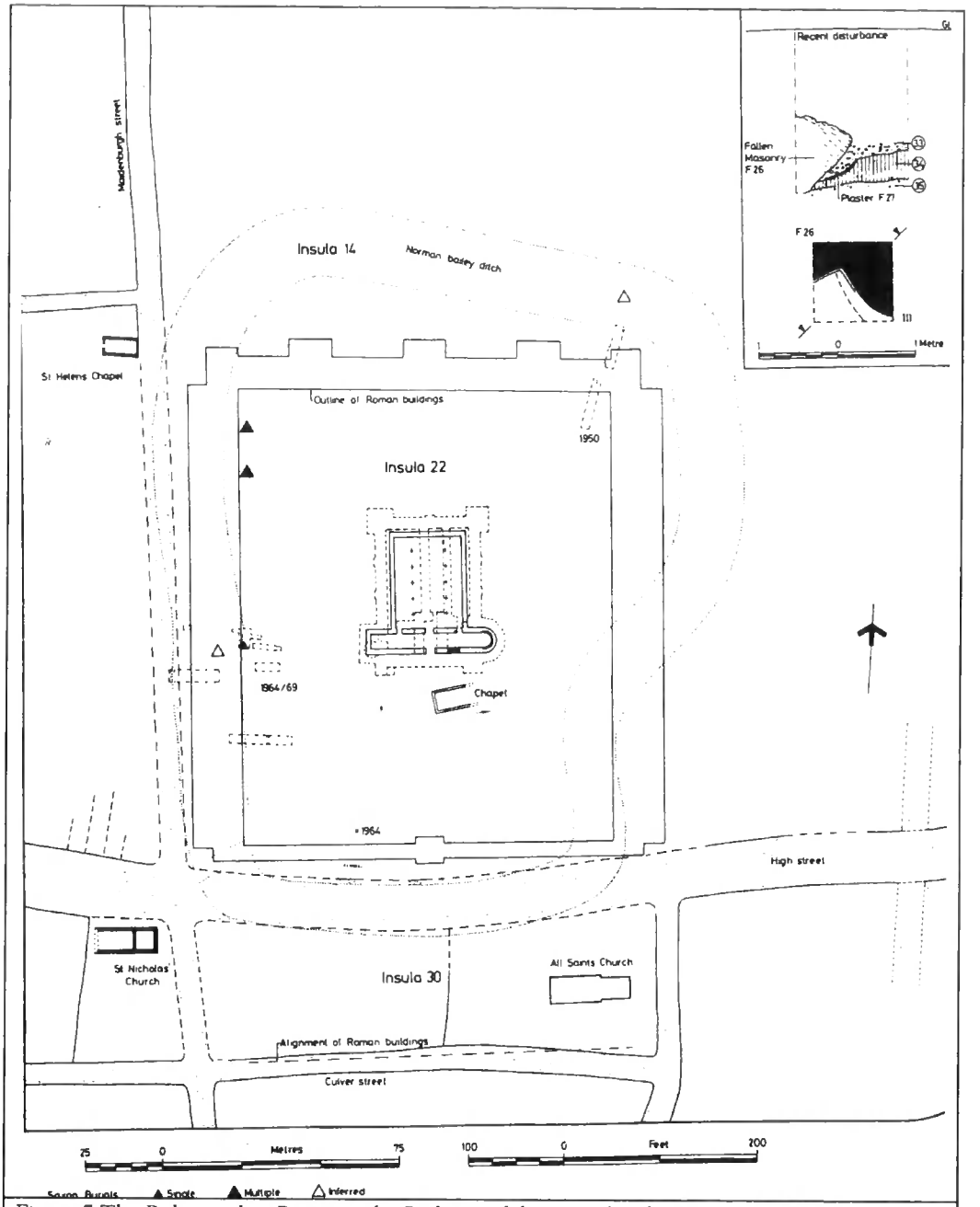


Figure 7 The Relationship Between the Podium of the Temple of Claudius, Colchester and the Norman Great Tower Constructed on this Site (Drury 184, Fig. 12 p 32)

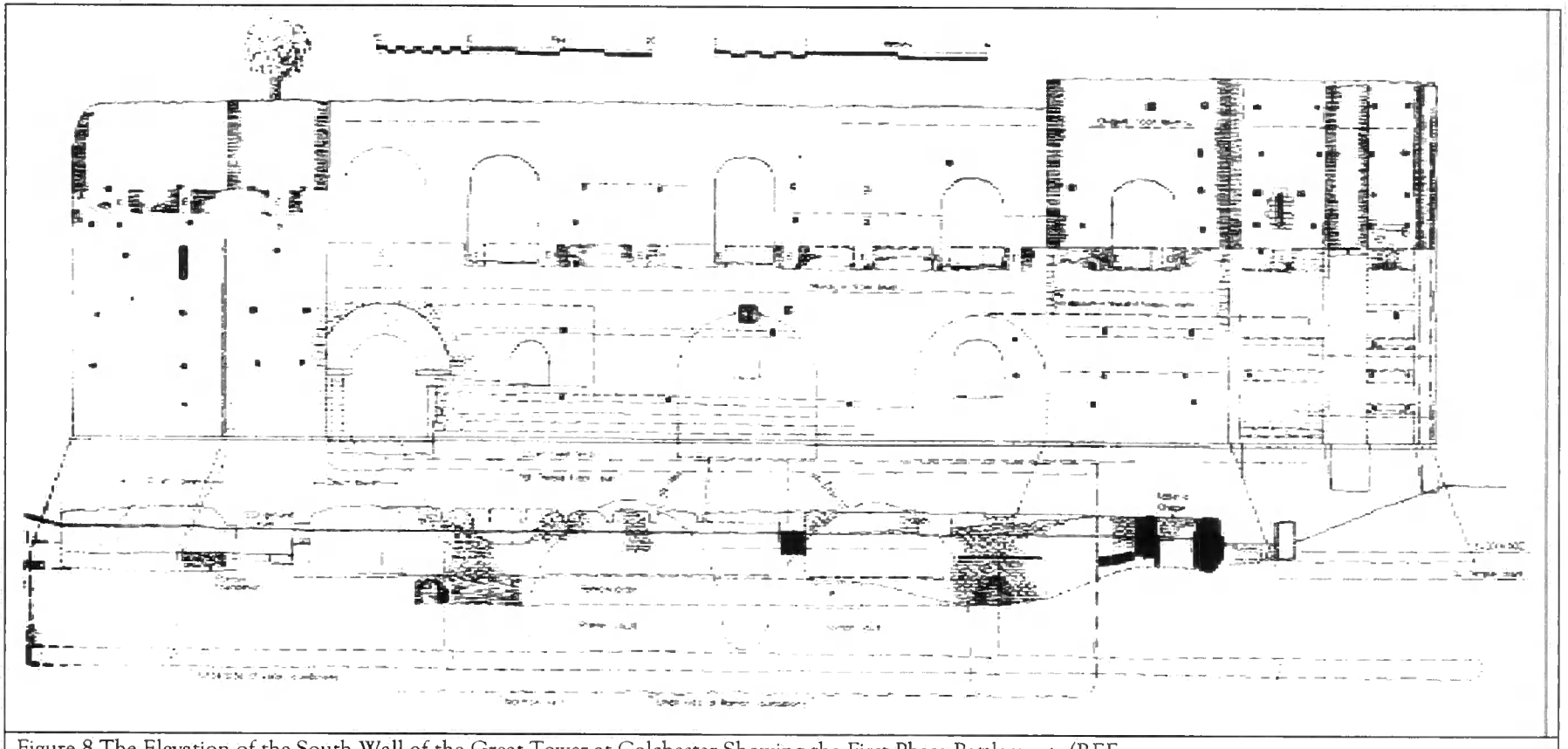


Figure 8 The Elevation of the South Wall of the Great Tower at Colchester Showing the First Phase Battlements (REF

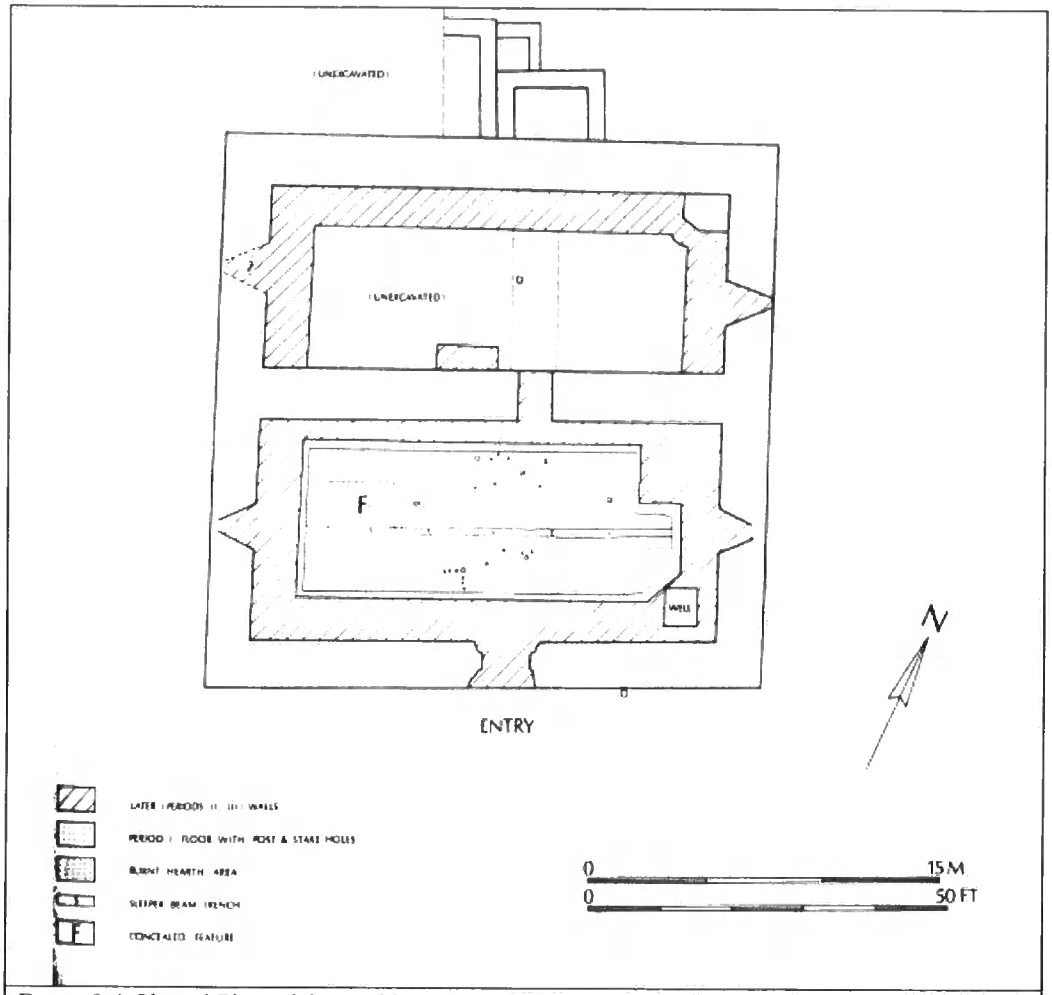


Figure 9 A Phased Plan of the Building Remains in the Upper Ward of Castle Acre (Coad and Streeton 1982, Fig. 4, p 148)

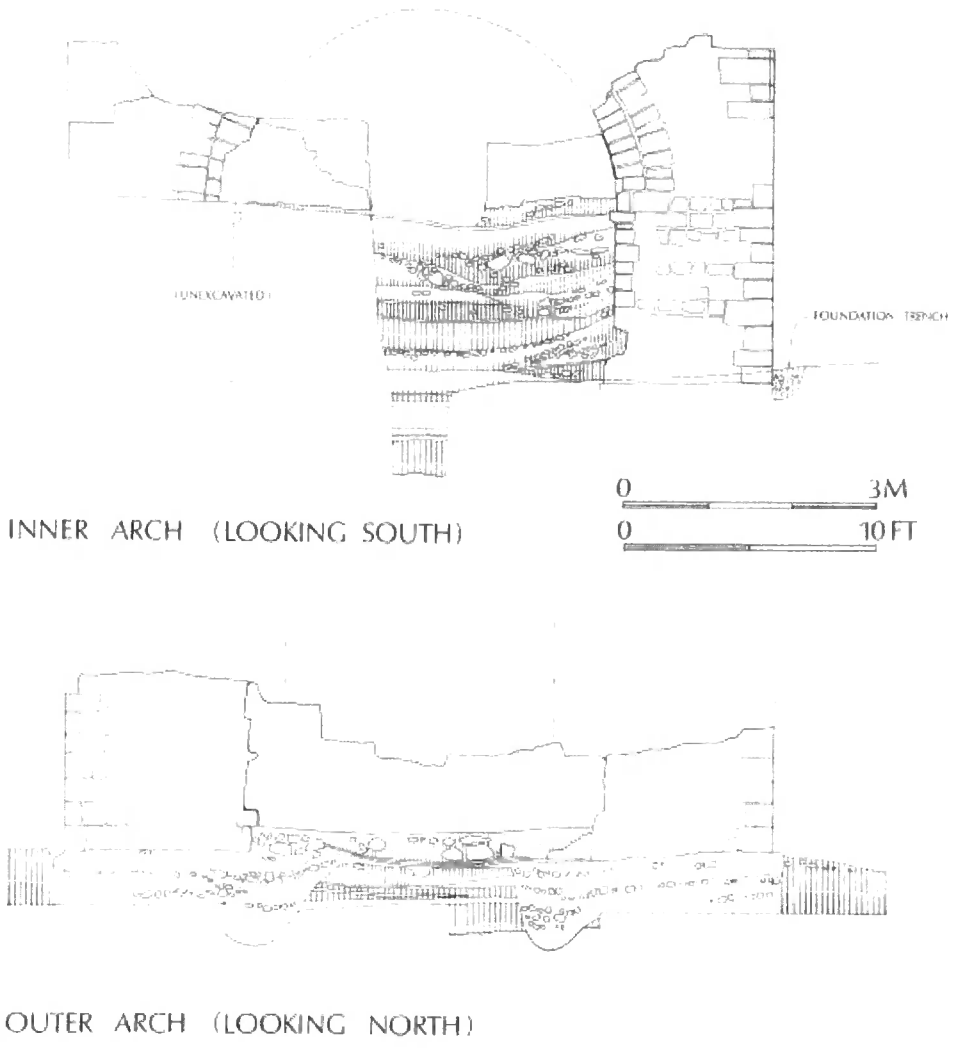


Figure 10 The Elevations of the Gatehouse to the Upper Ward of Castle Acre (Coad and Streeton 1982, Fig. 10 page 163)

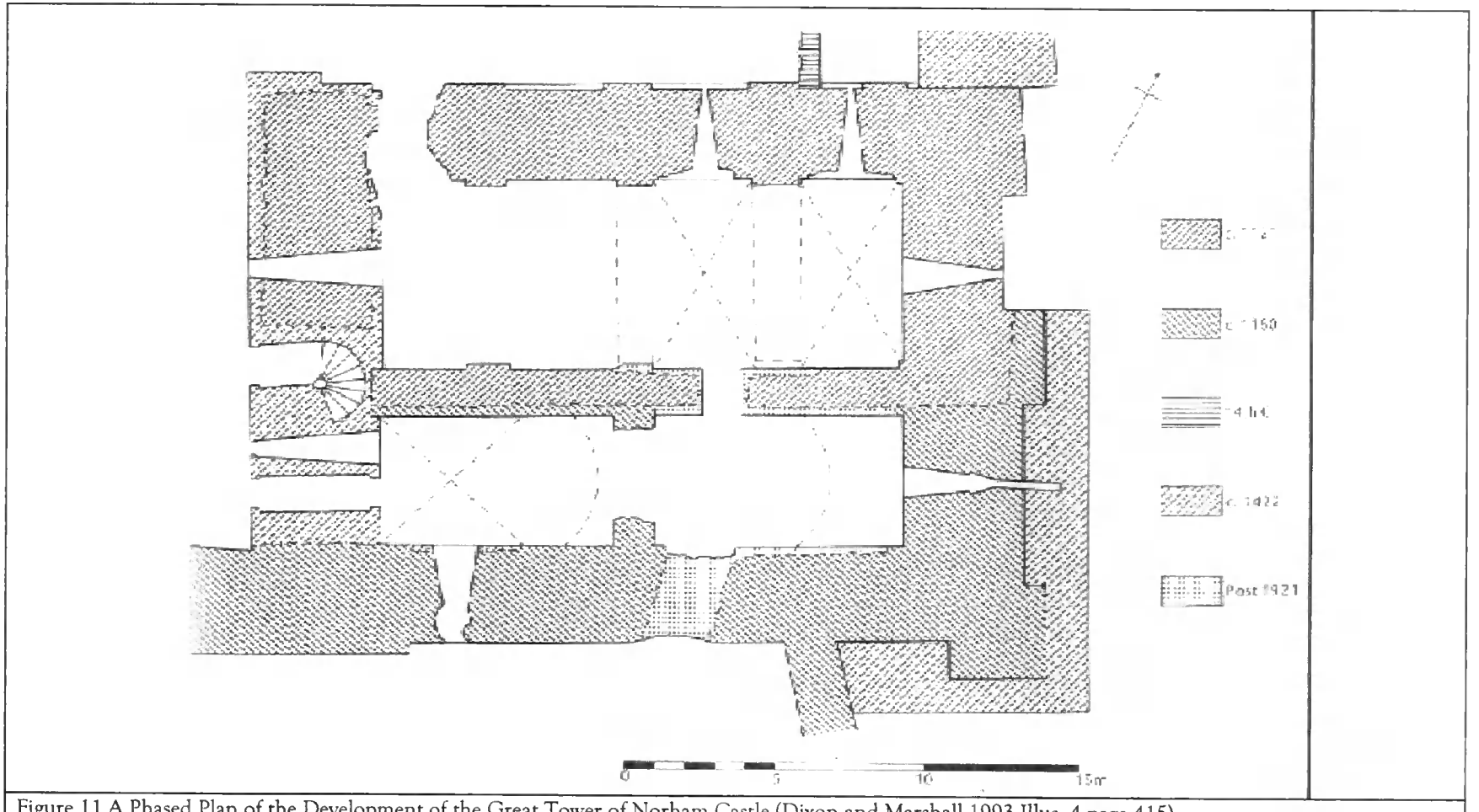


Figure 11 A Phased Plan of the Development of the Great Tower of Norham Castle (Dixon and Marshall 1993 Illus. 4 page 415)

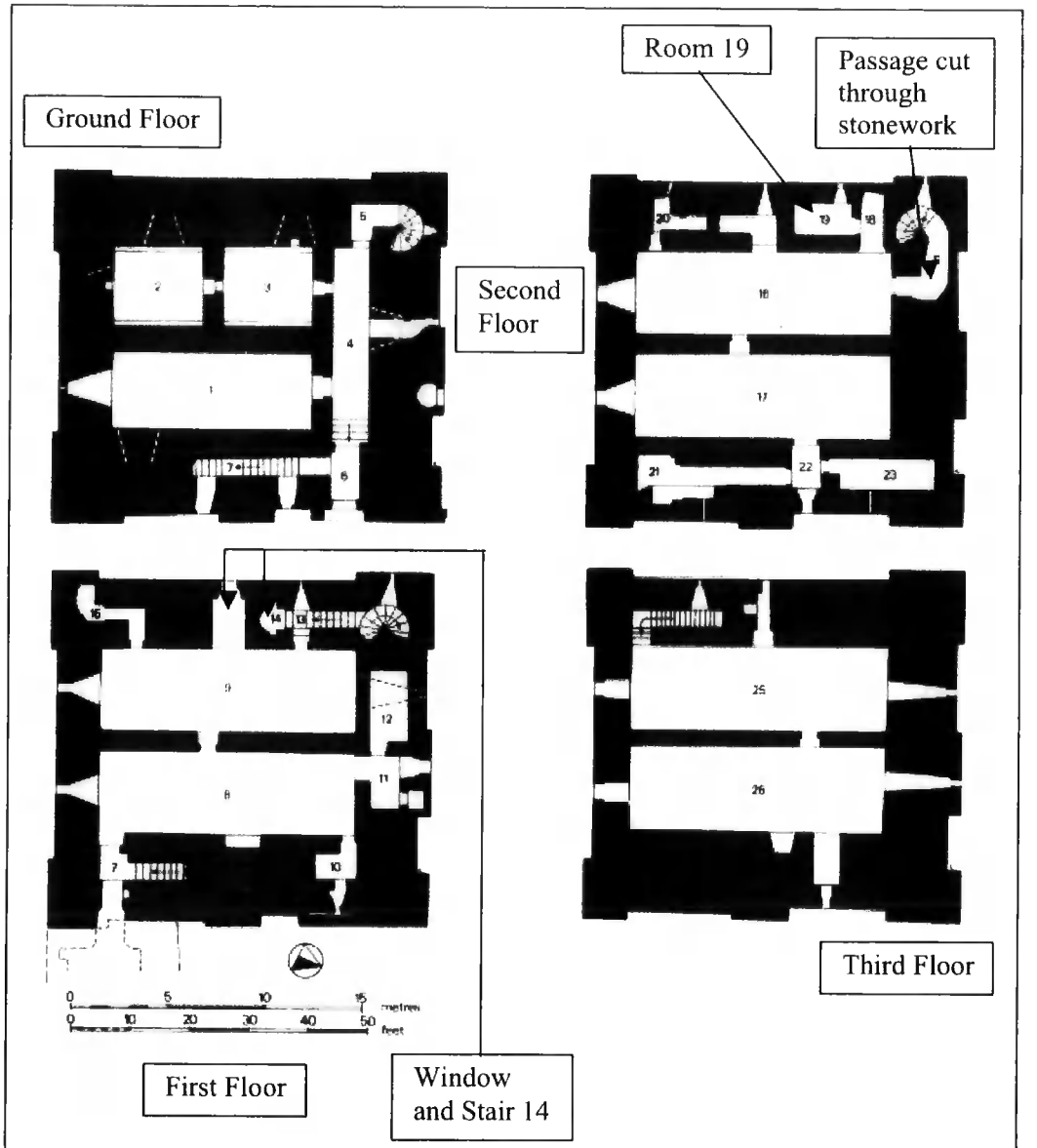


Figure 12 A plan of the great tower at Carlisle (adapted from McCarthy, Summerson and Annis 1990, 76 and 77, figures 73 and 74)

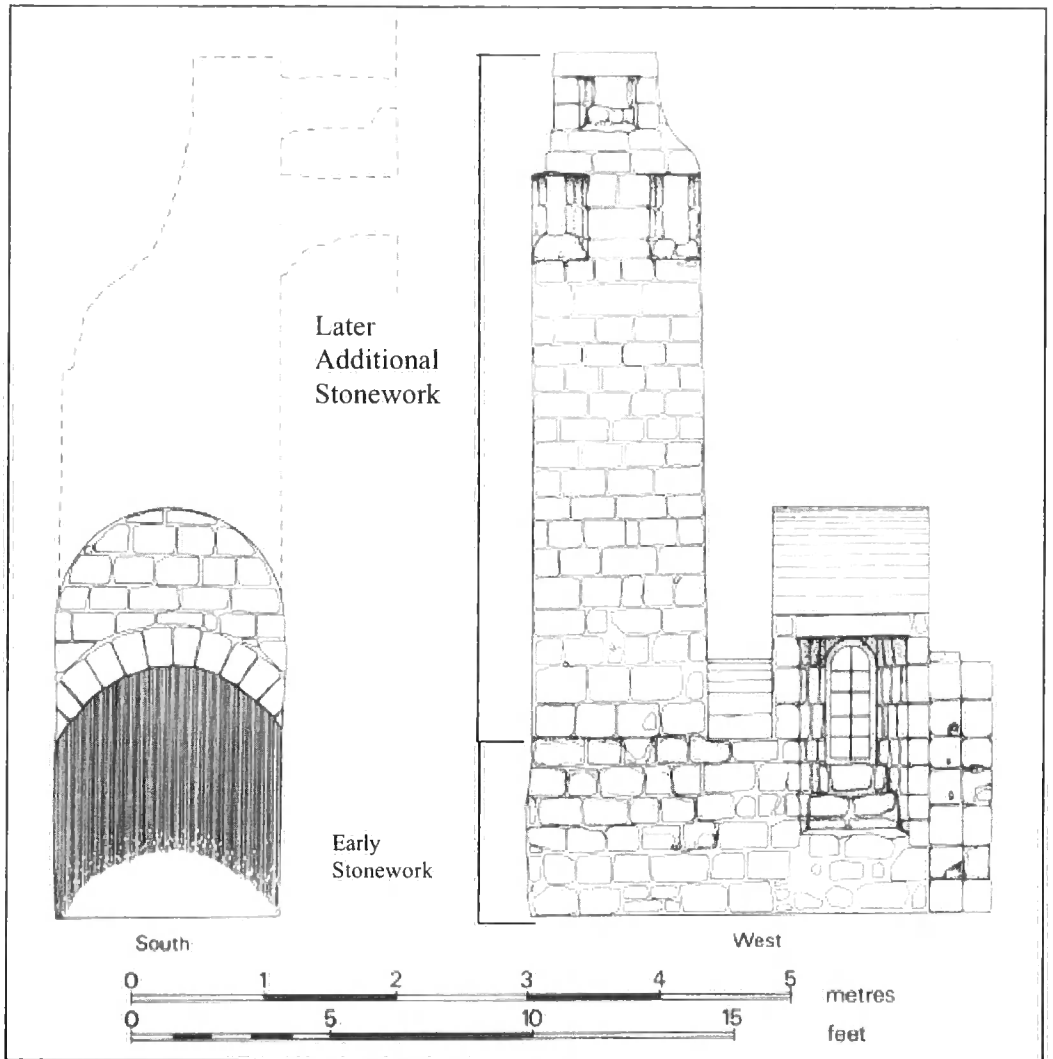


Figure 13 The elevation of room 19 (McCarthy, Summerson and Annis 1990, 85 figure 84)

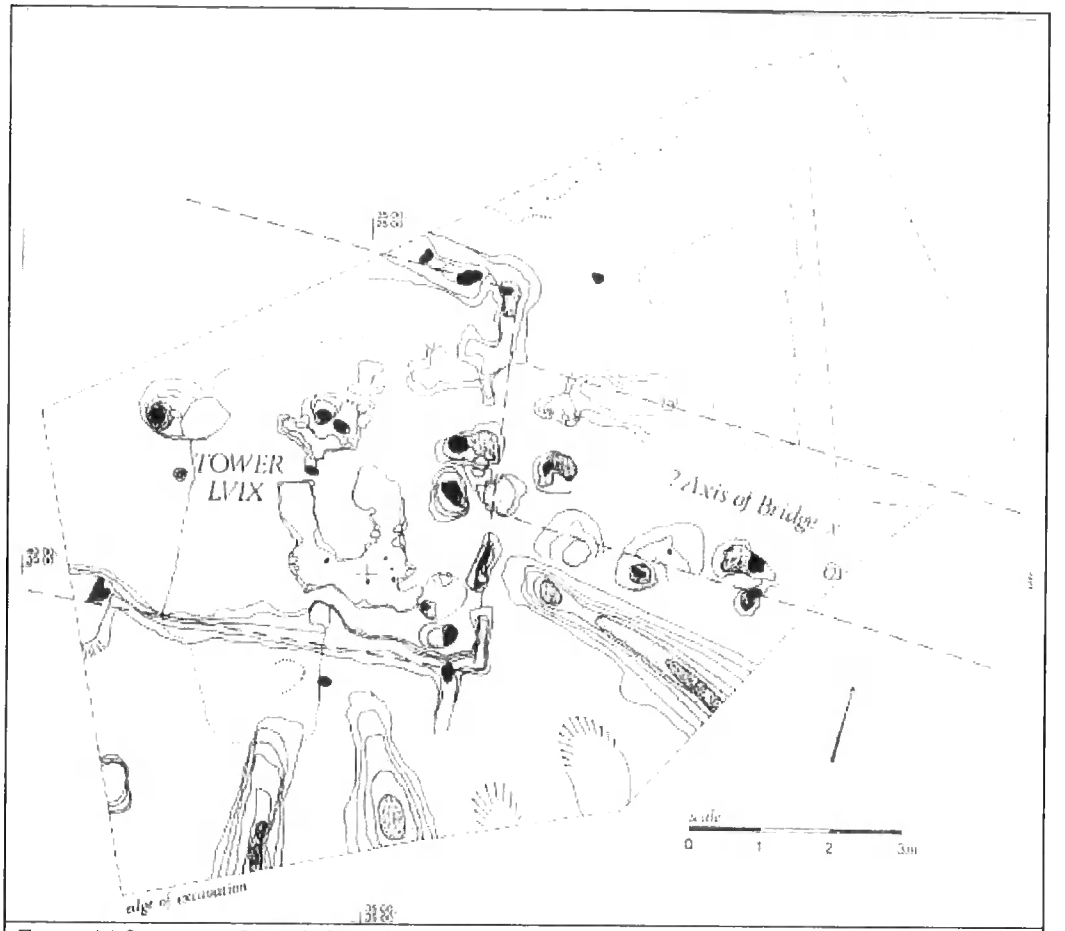


Figure 14 Structures Revealed on the Motte Top at Hen Domen (Hugham and Barker 1992, Fig 9.9)

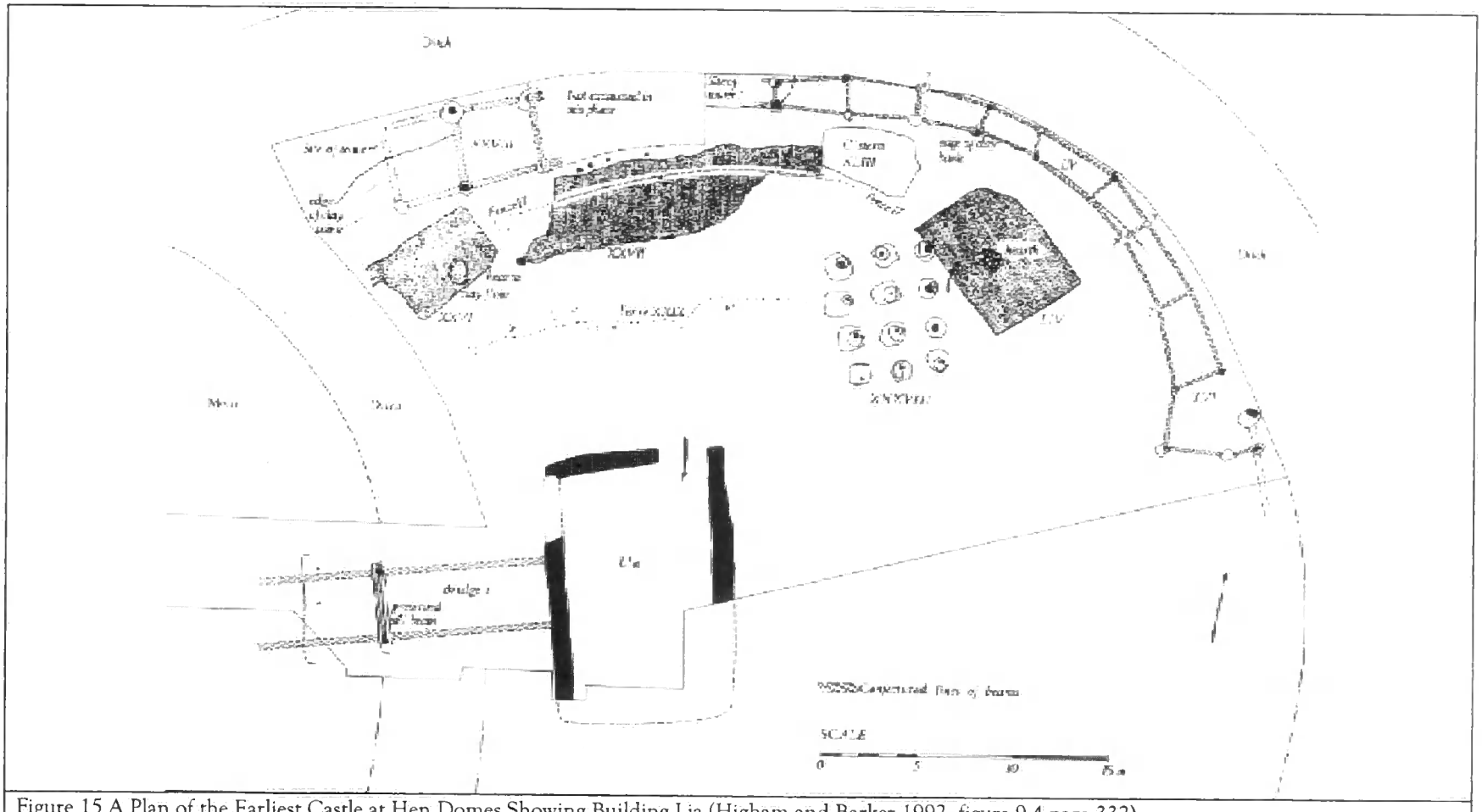


Figure 15 A Plan of the Earliest Castle at Hen Domes Showing Building Lia (Higham and Barker 1992, figure 9.4 page 332)

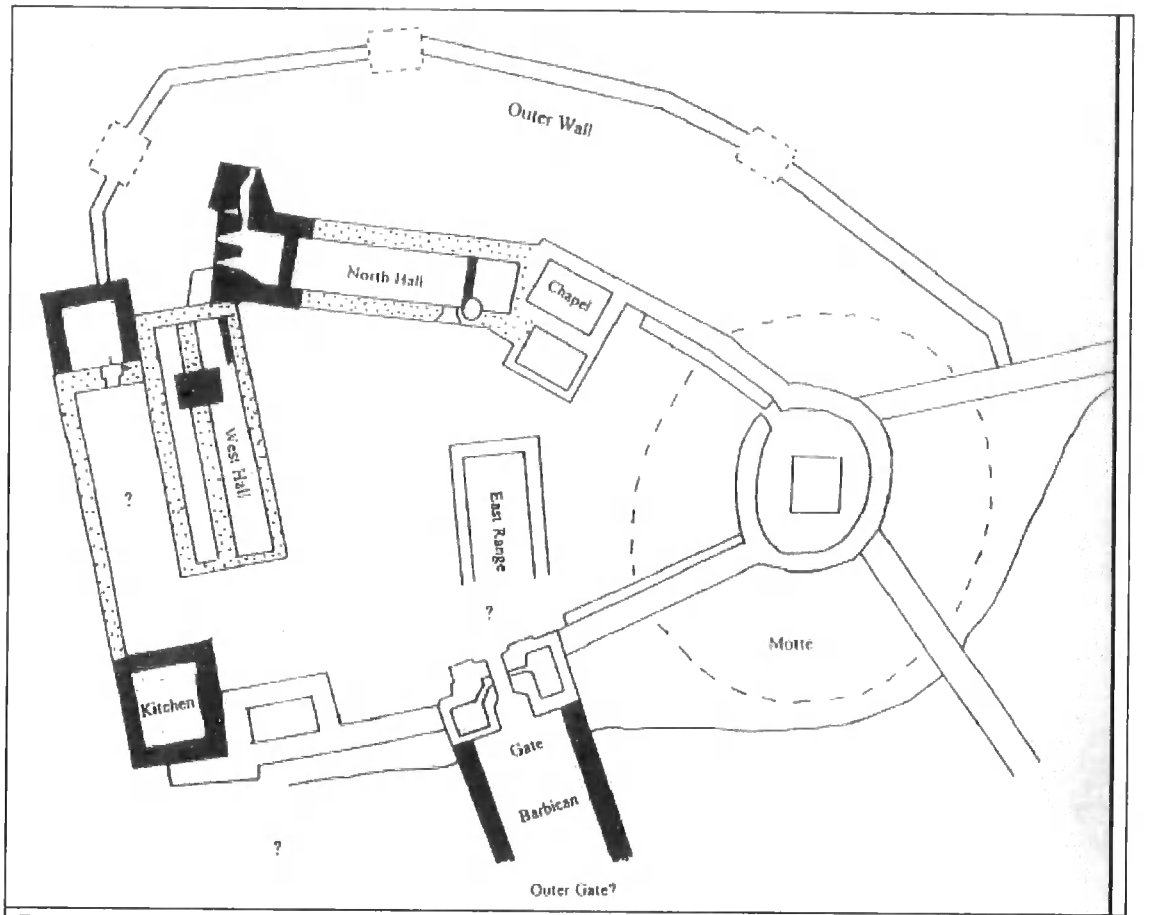


Figure 16 A Plan of Durham Castle in the Late Twelfth Century Showing the Works of Bishop Hugh dy Puiset (Leyland 1994a, Fig. 28 page 418)

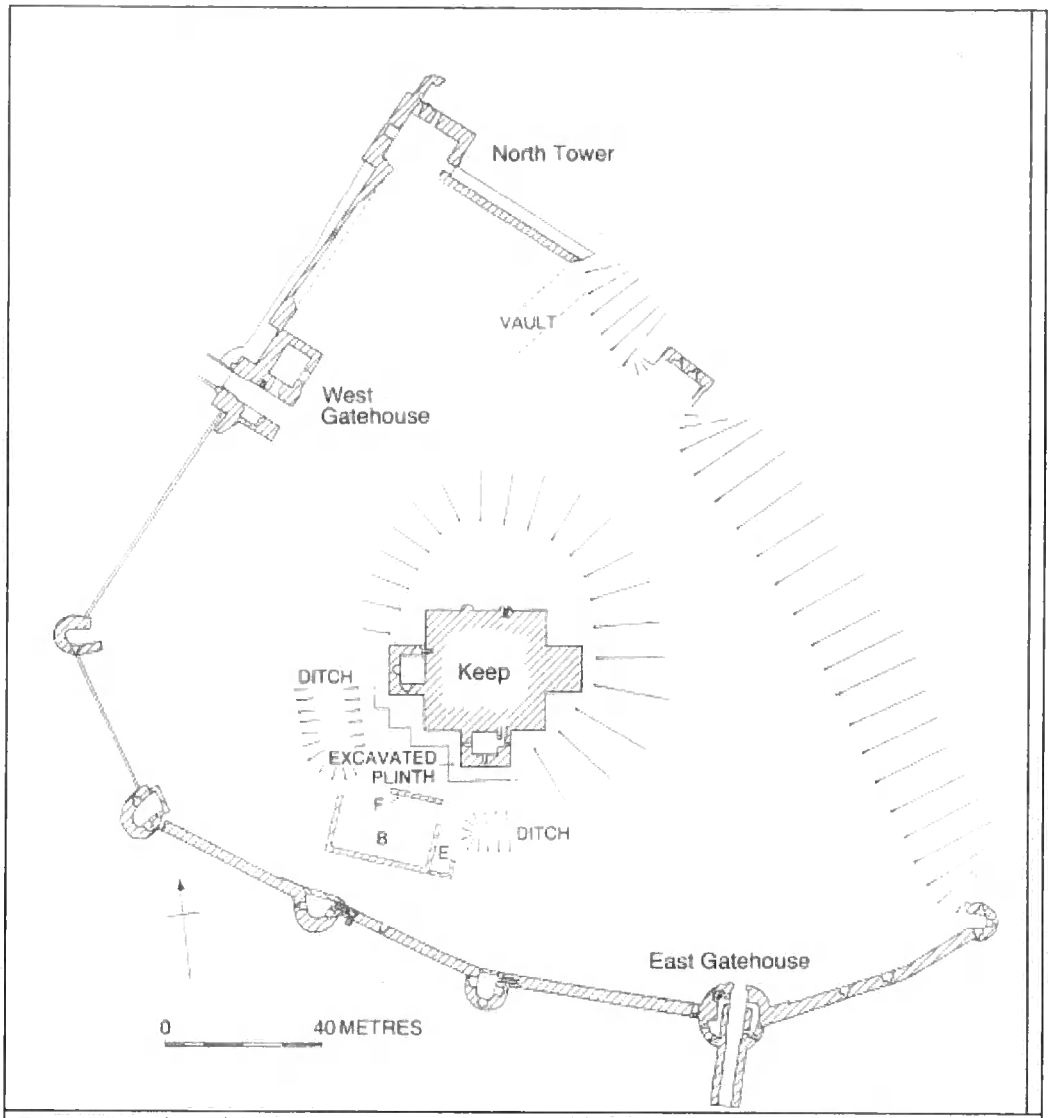


Figure 17 A Plan of the Remains at Trim Castle (McNeil 1990, fig2 page 313)

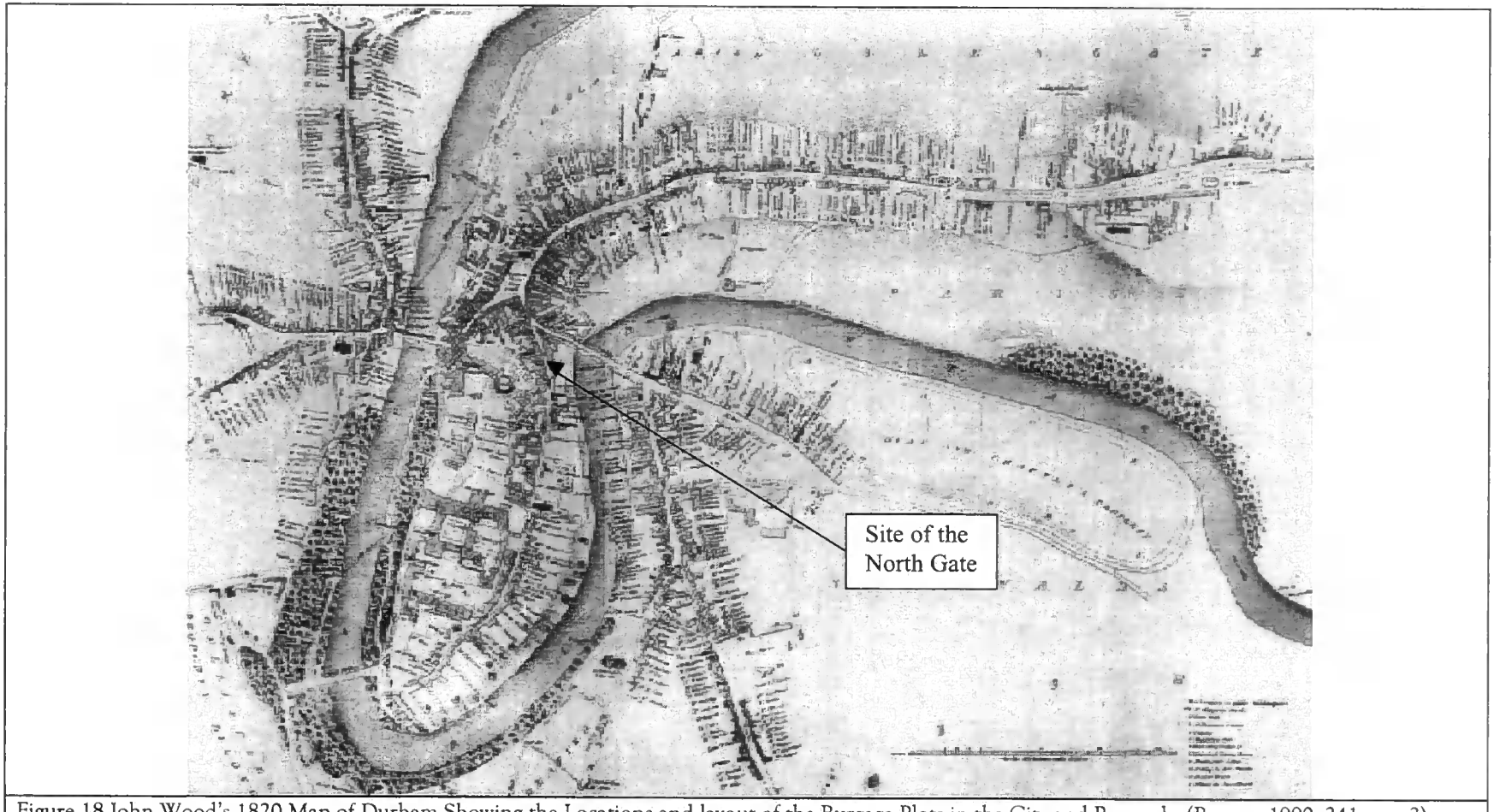


Figure 18 John Wood's 1820 Map of Durham Showing the Locations and layout of the Burgage Plots in the City and Boroughs (Bonney 1990, 241 map 2)

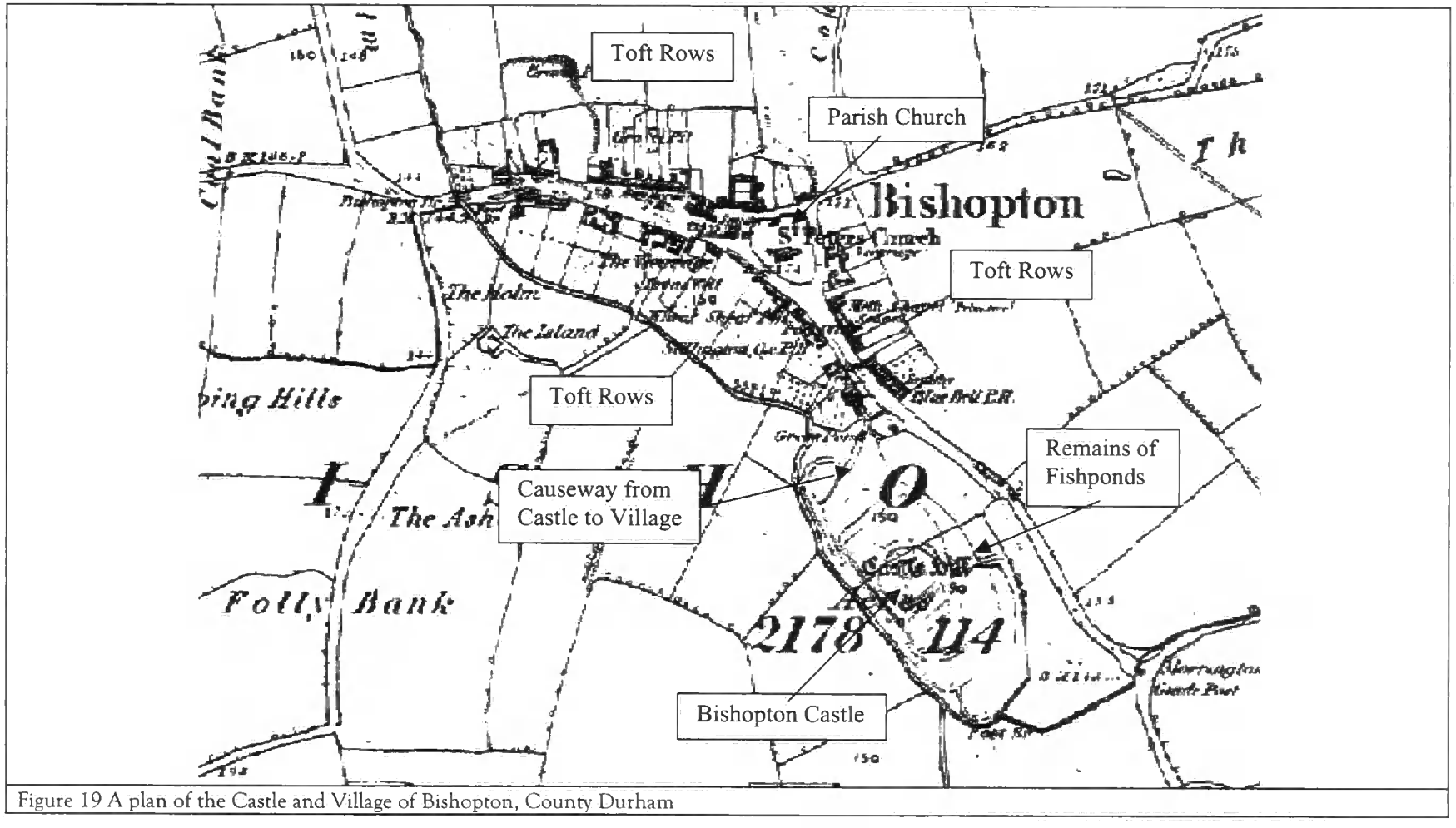


Figure 19 A plan of the Castle and Village of Bishopton, County Durham

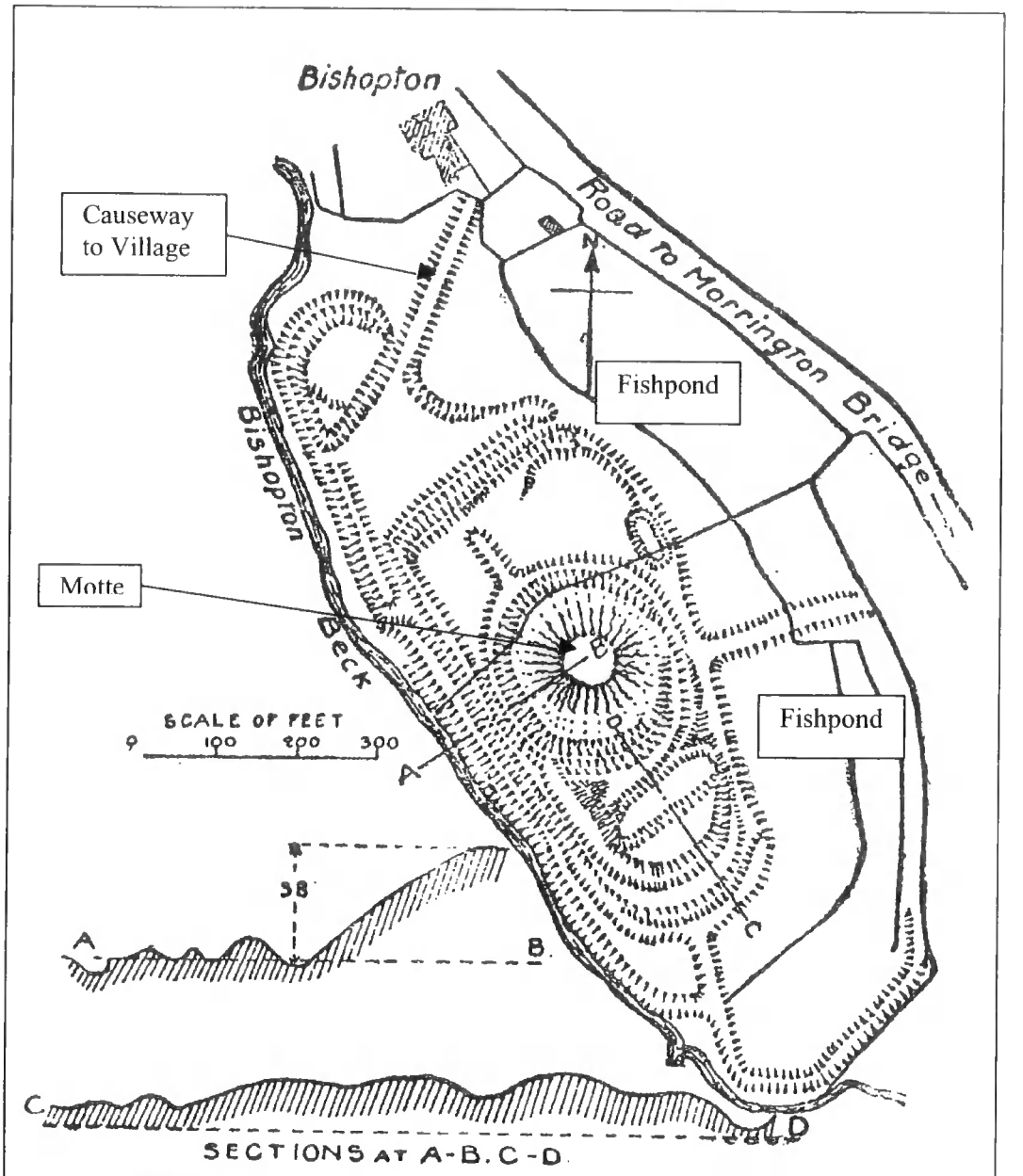


Figure 20 The Profile of the Castle and Fishpond Earthworks at Bishopton, County Durham (Page 1905, 45)

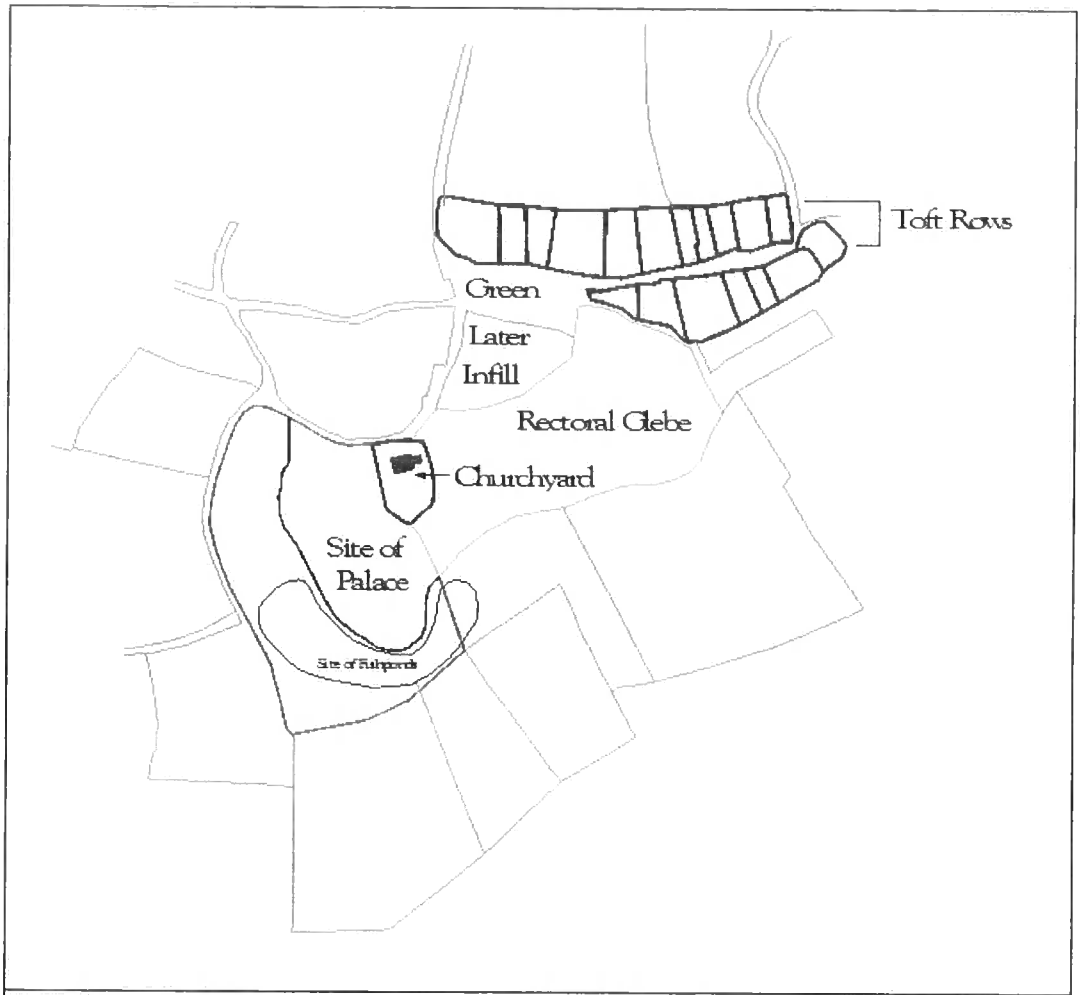


Figure 21 A Plan of the Village, Palace and Parish Church at Bishop Middleham

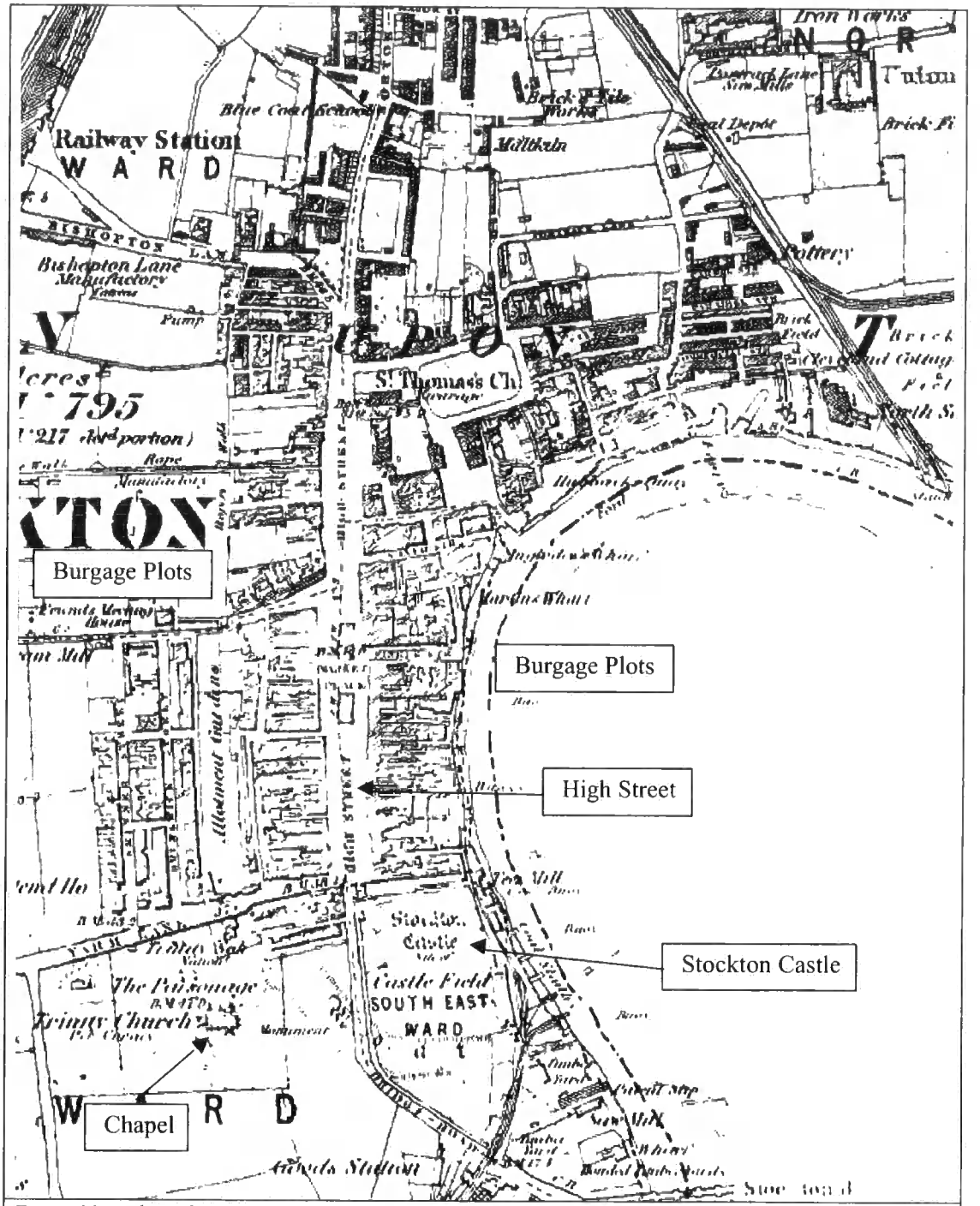


Figure 22 A Plan of Stockton, County Durham

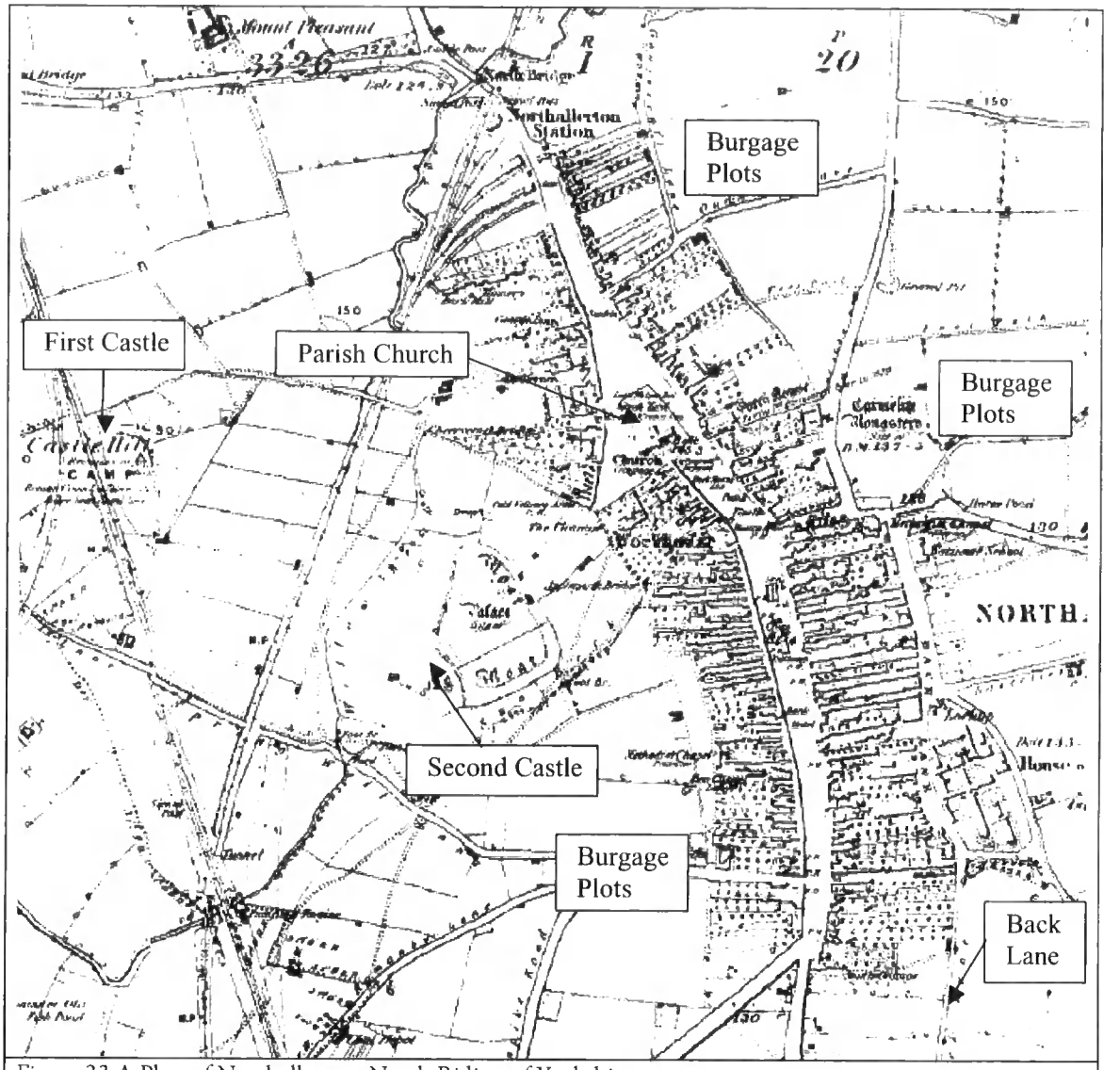


Figure 23 A Plan of Northallerton, North Riding of Yorkshire

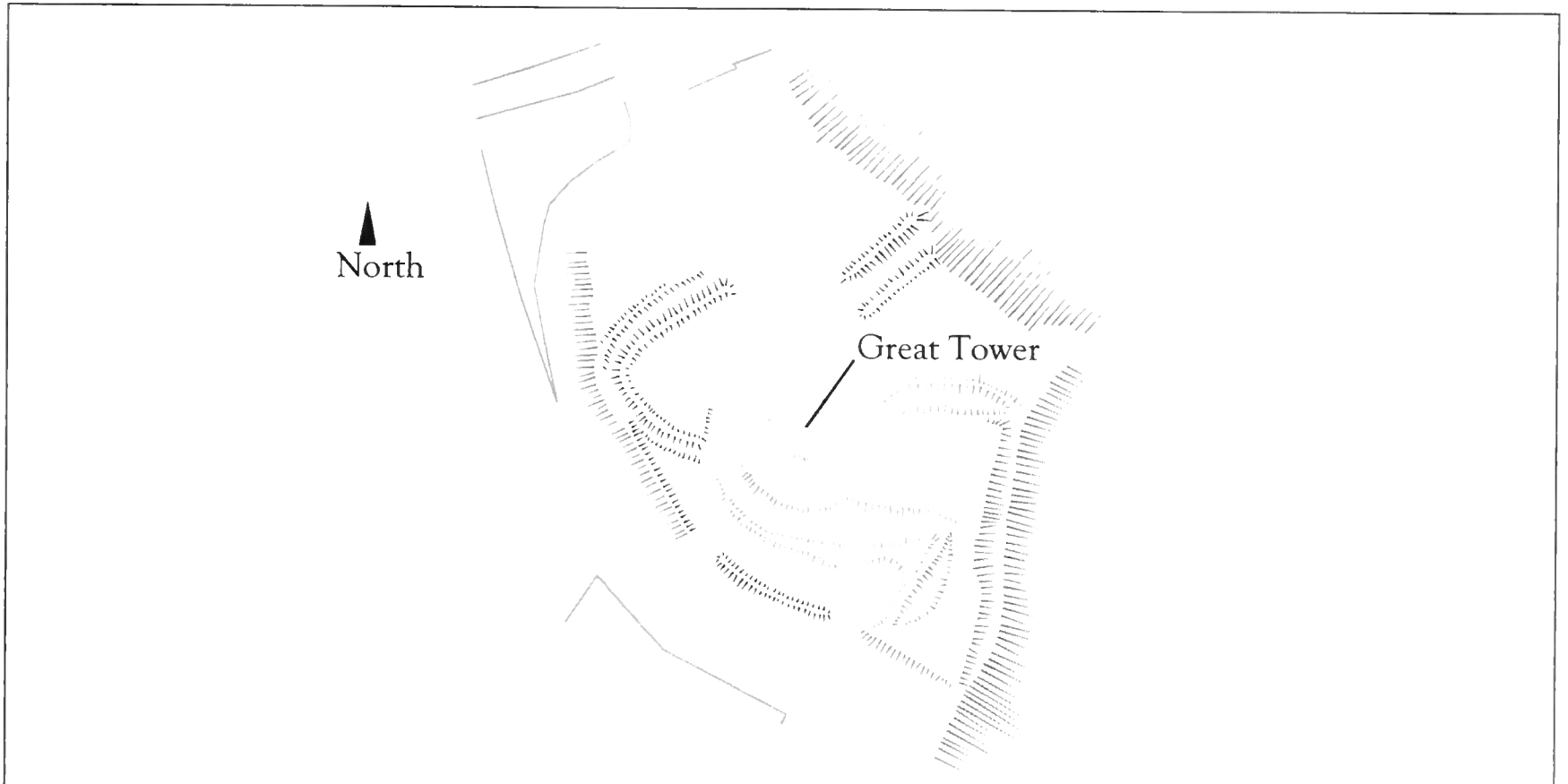


Figure 24 A Plan of the Inner Ward and Surrounding Earthworks of Appleby Castle

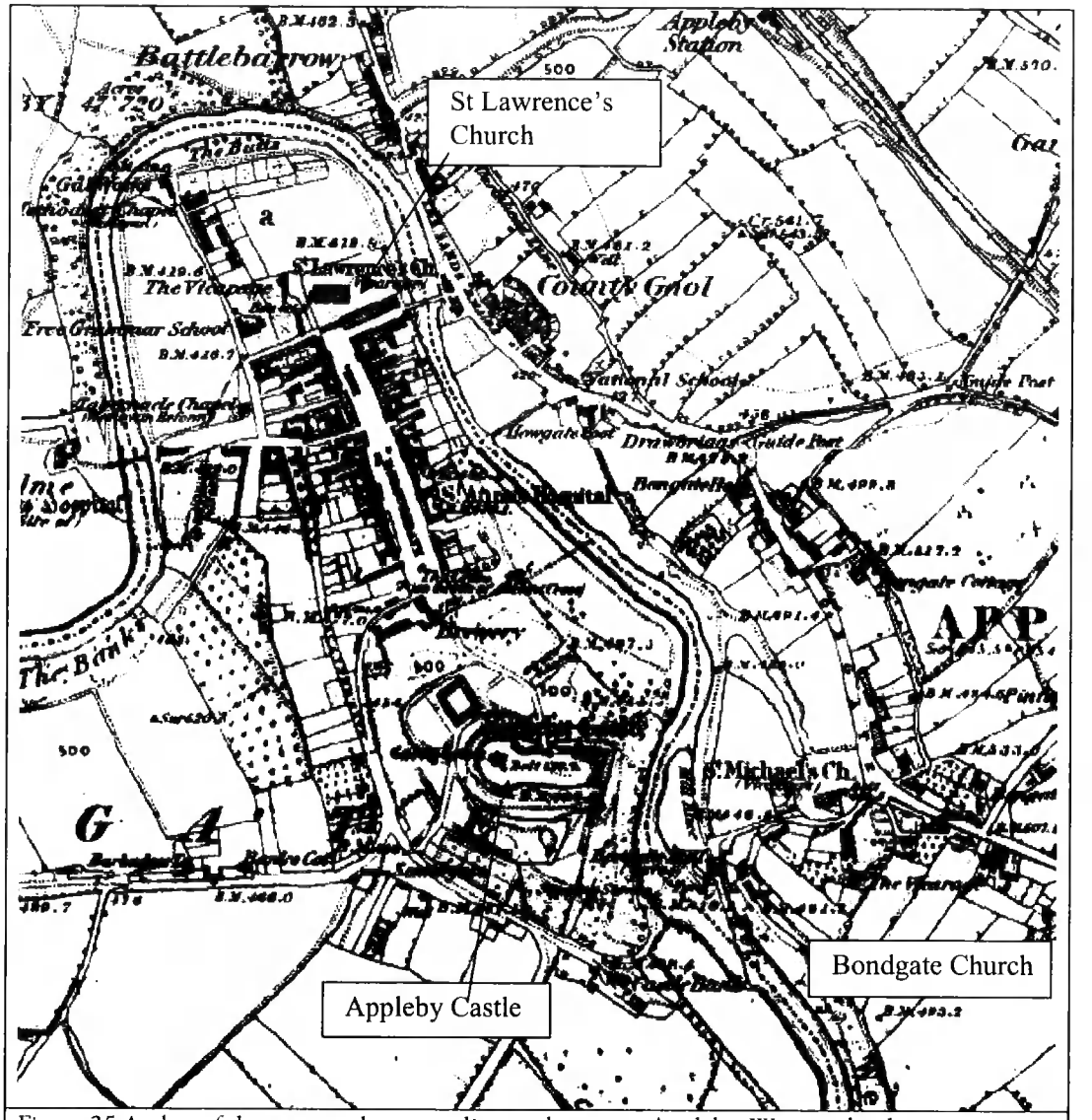


Figure 25 A plan of the town and surrounding settlement at Appleby, Westmorland

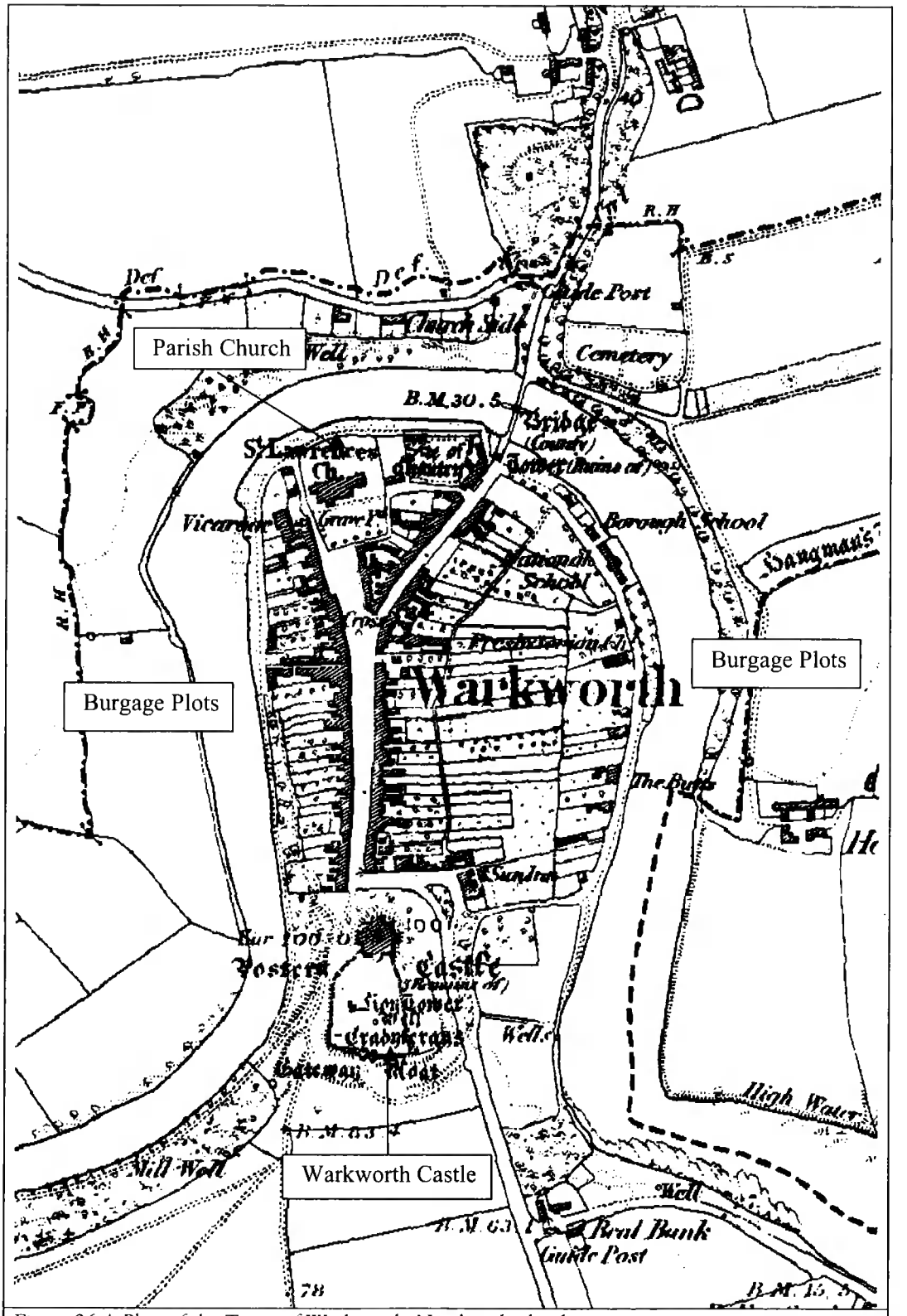


Figure 26 A Plan of the Town of Warkworth, Northumberland

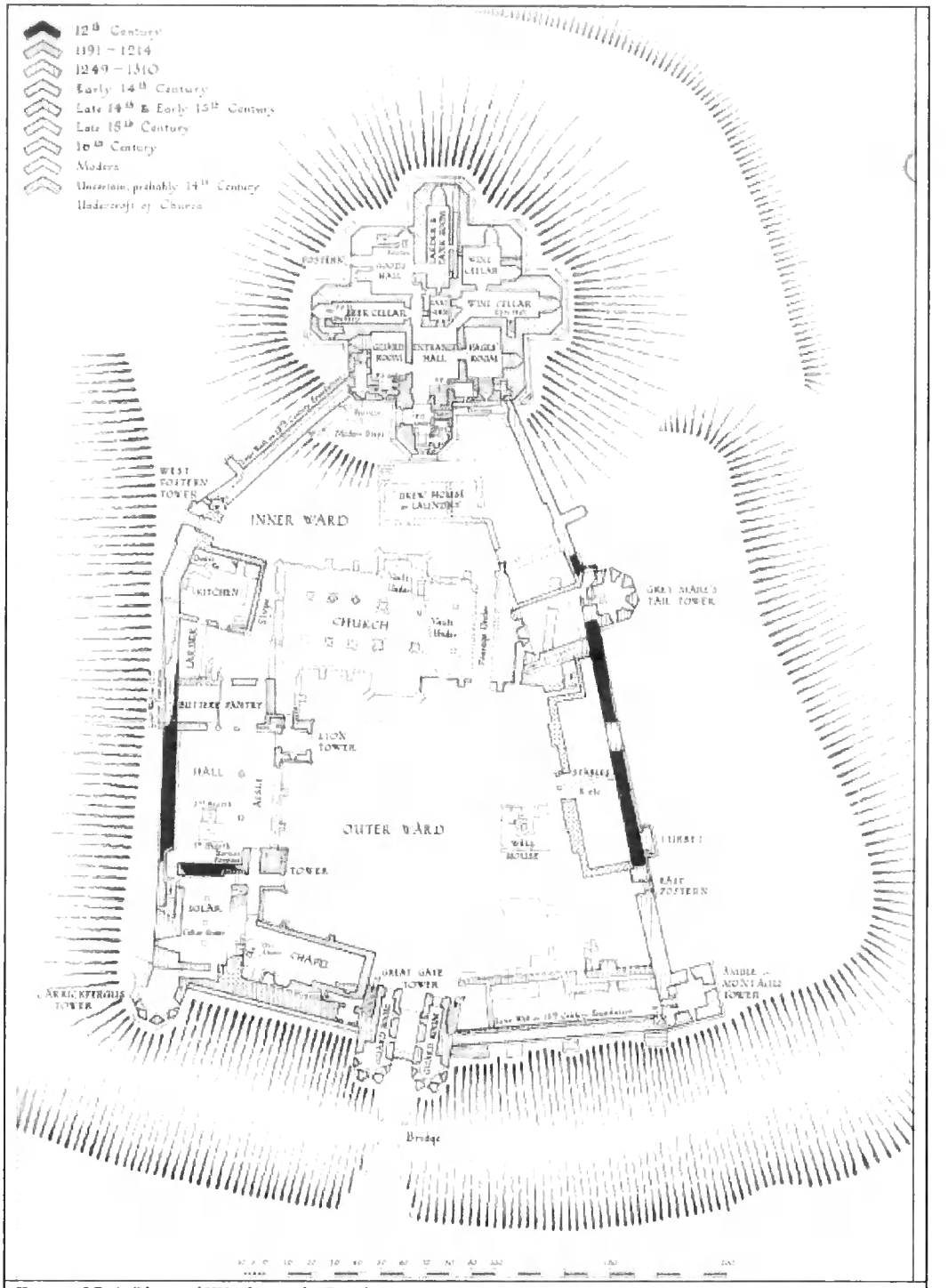


Figure 27 A Plan of Warkworth Castle

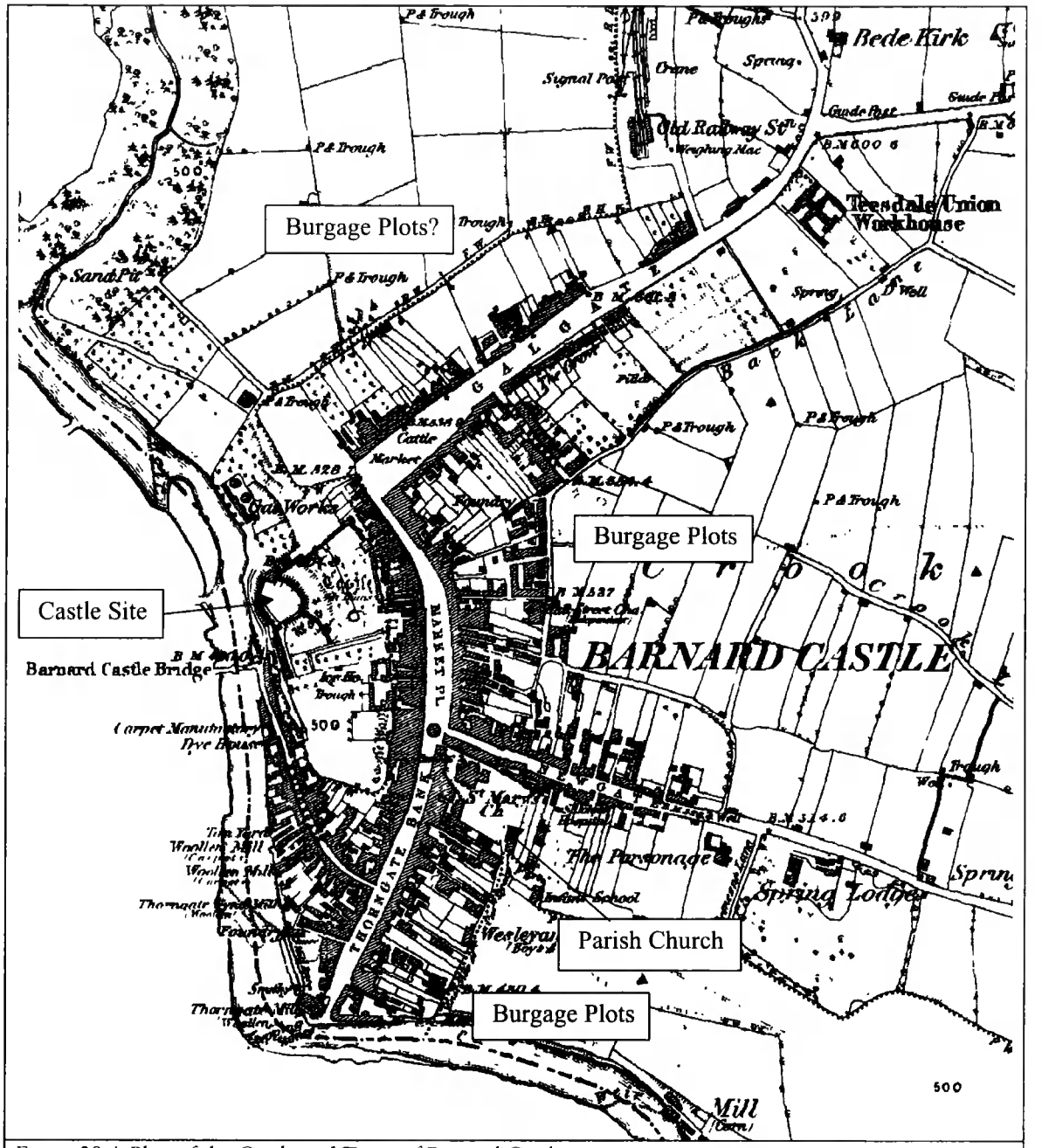


Figure 28 A Plan of the Castle and Town of Barnard Castle

Figure 29 A plan of the castle and town of Richmond

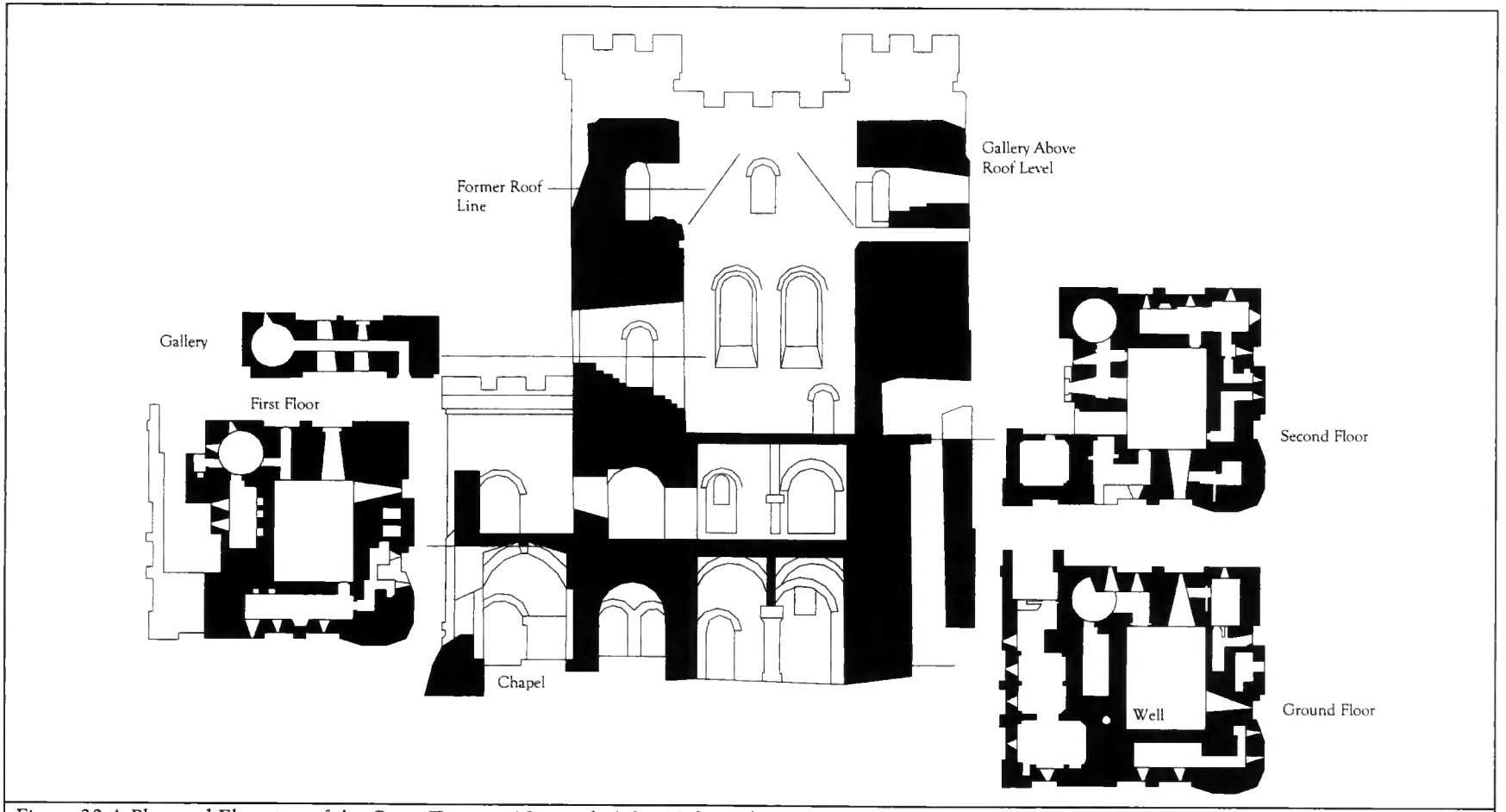


Figure 30 A Plan and Elevation of the Great Tower at Newcastle (after Nolan nd. 4, 7, 8 and 10)

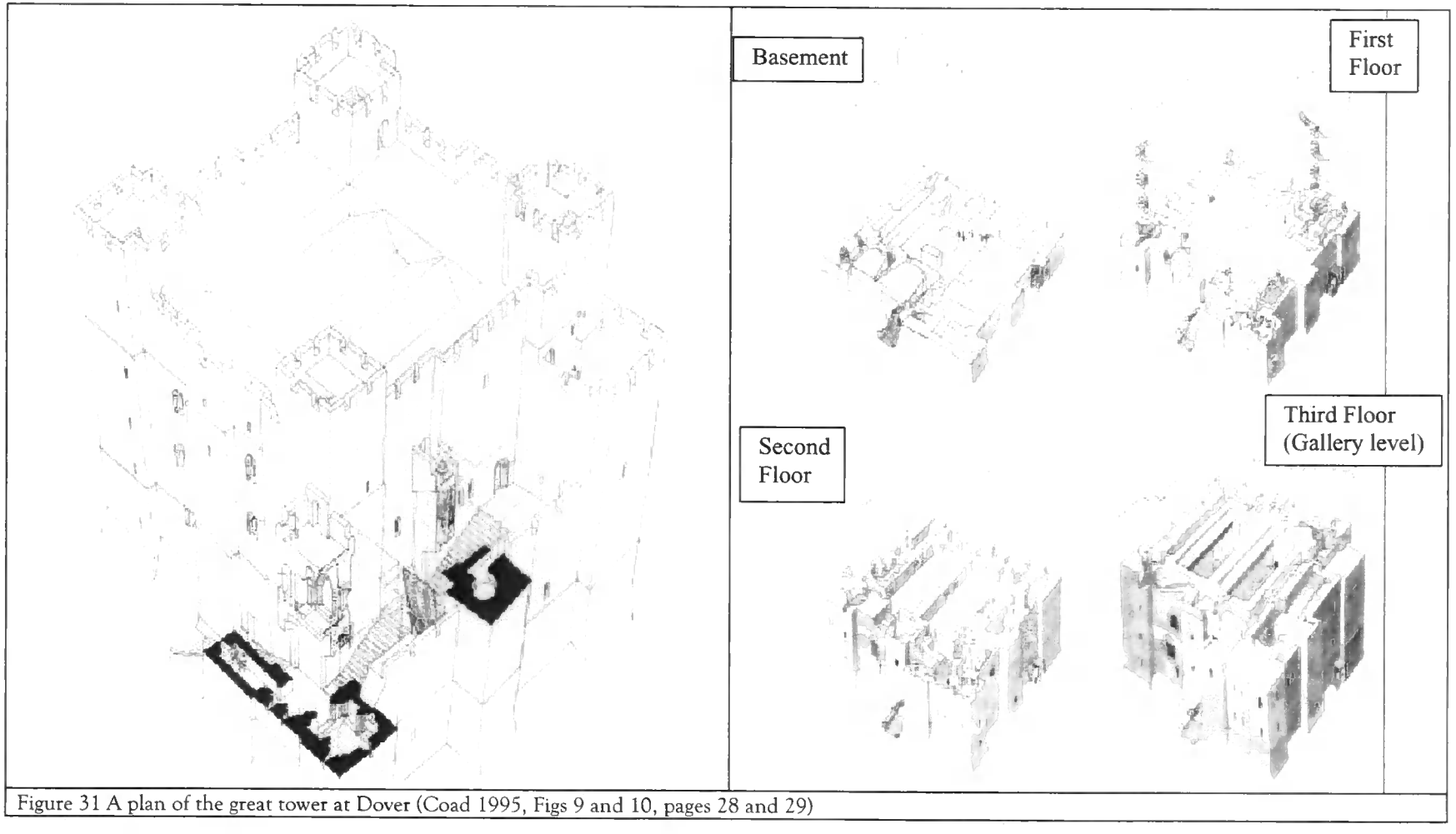
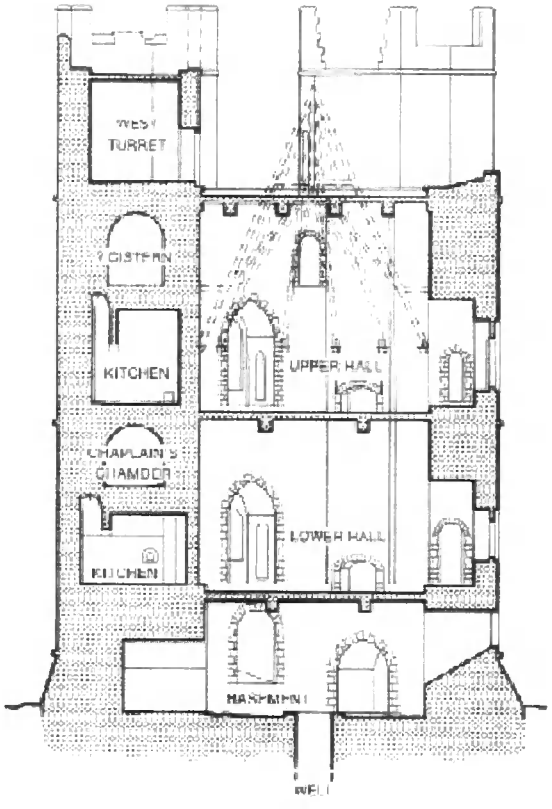


Figure 31 A plan of the great tower at Dover (Coad 1995, Figs 9 and 10, pages 28 and 29)



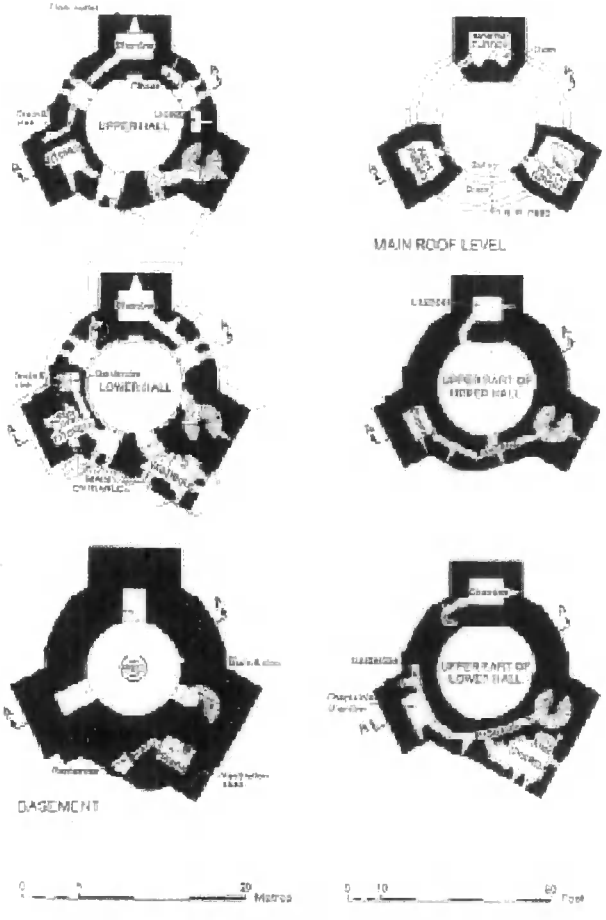


Figure 32 A Plan of the Great Tower at Orford, Suffolk (Brown 1964, 14-15)

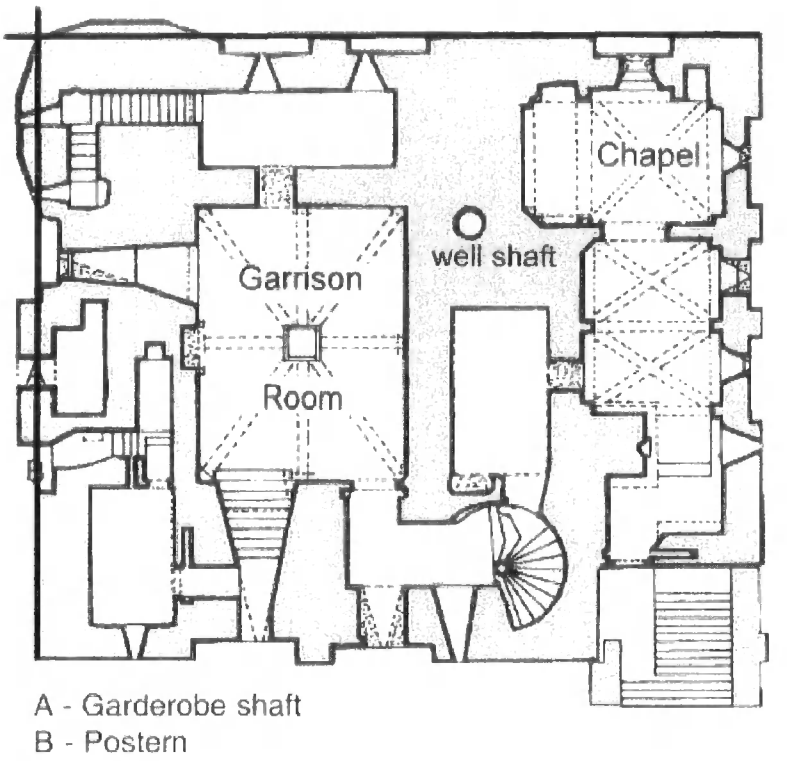


Figure 30 The Basement Floor of the Great Tower at Newcastle with a Square North-West Corner (Nolan. nd, 7)

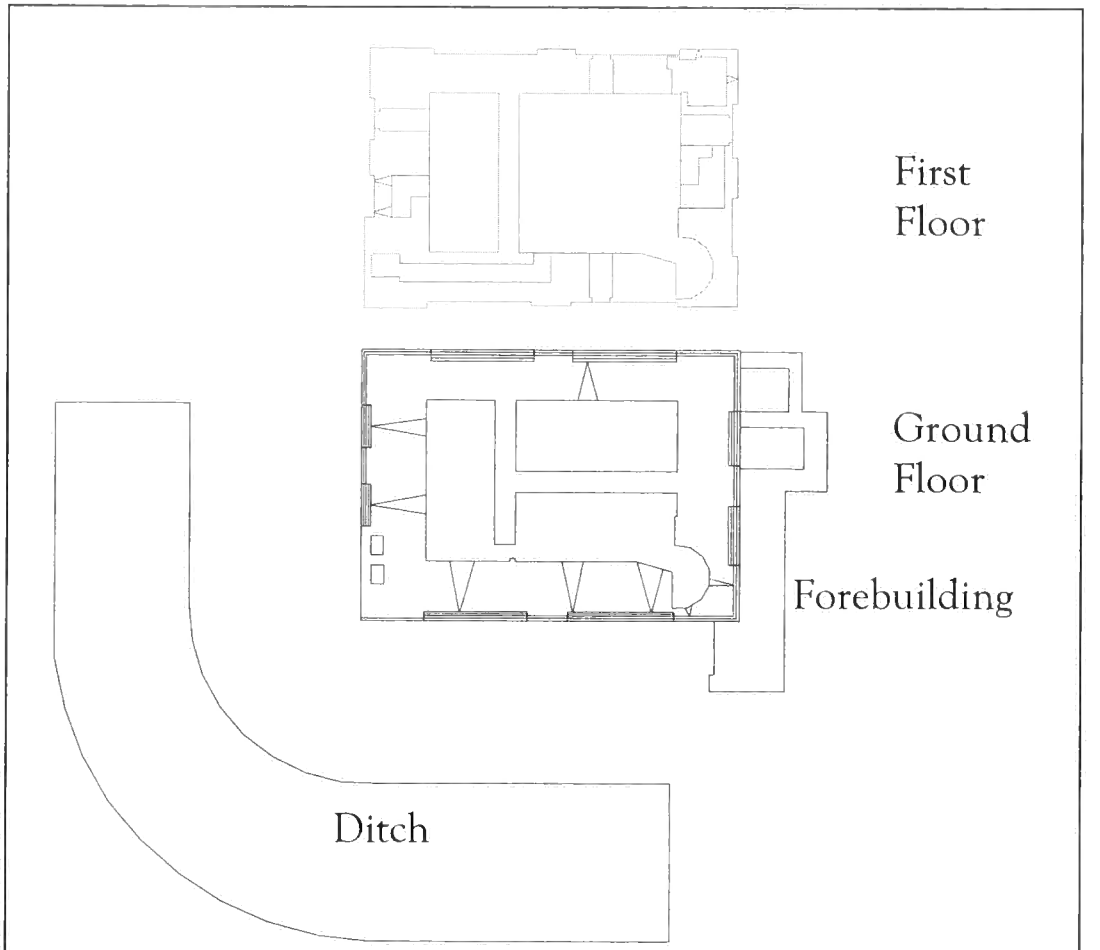


Figure 34 A Plan of the Great Tower at Bowes

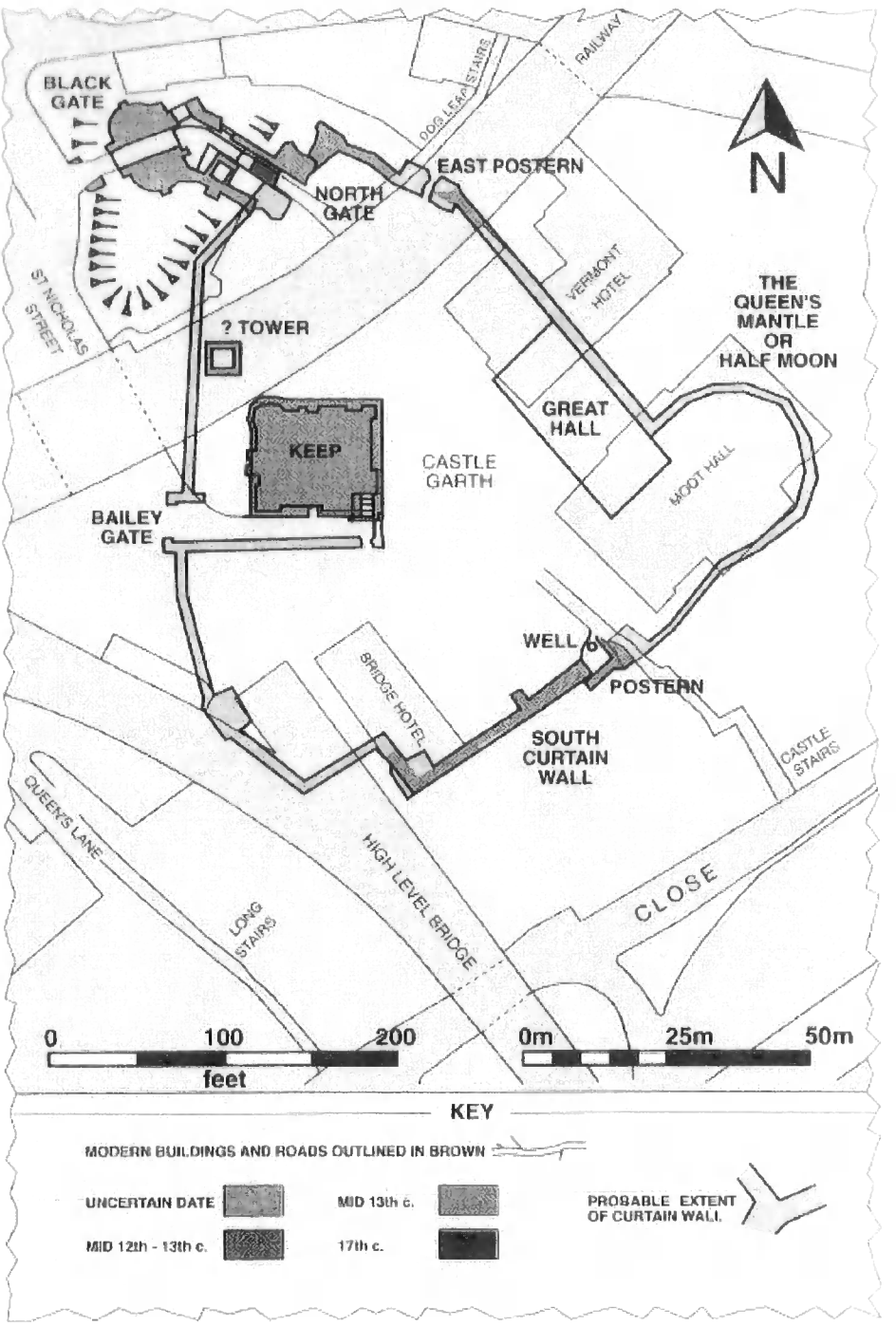


Figure 35 A Plan of the Enclosure at Newcastle (Nolan. nd)

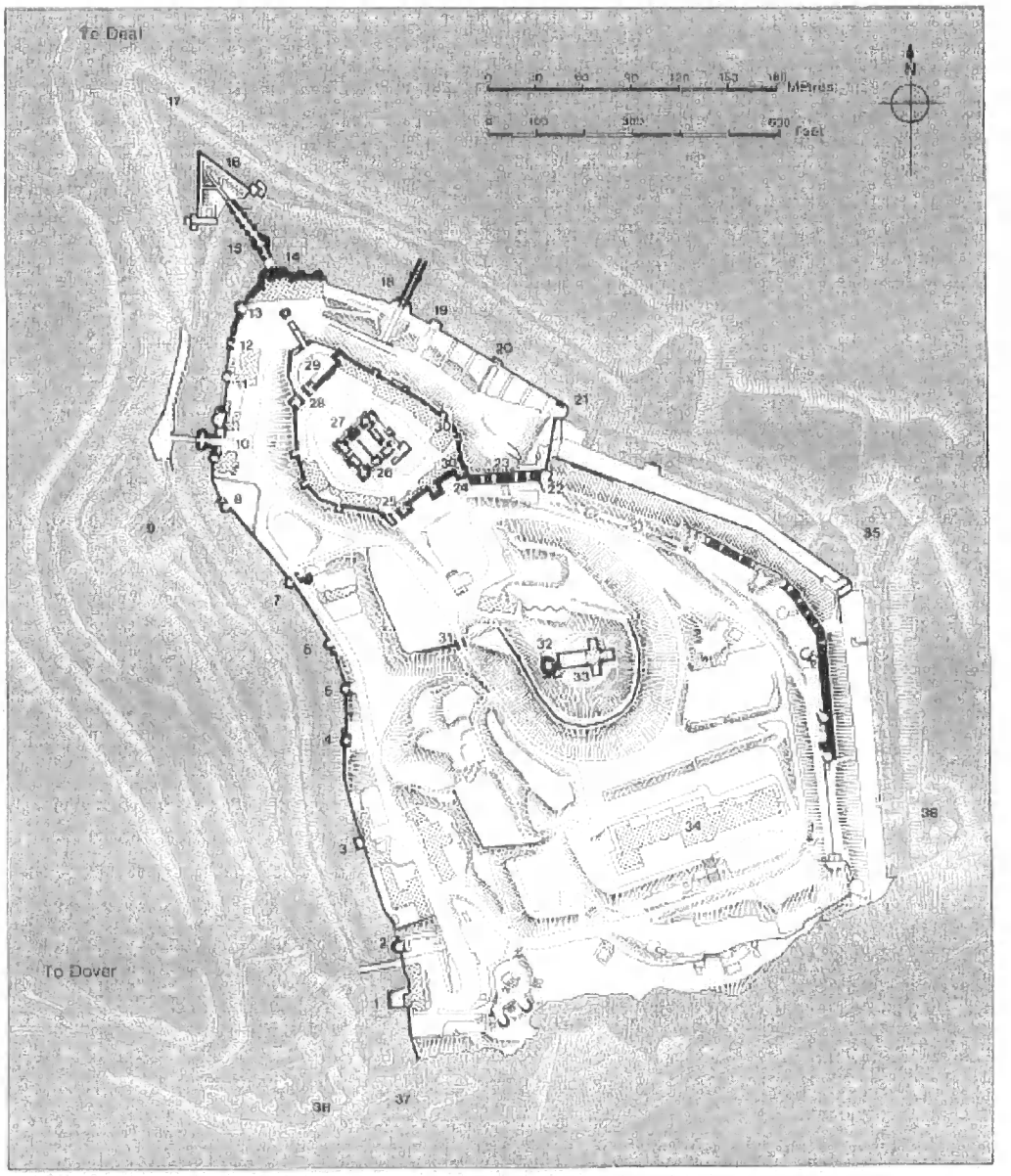


Figure 36 A Plan of the Enclosure at Dover (Brown 1974, 8)

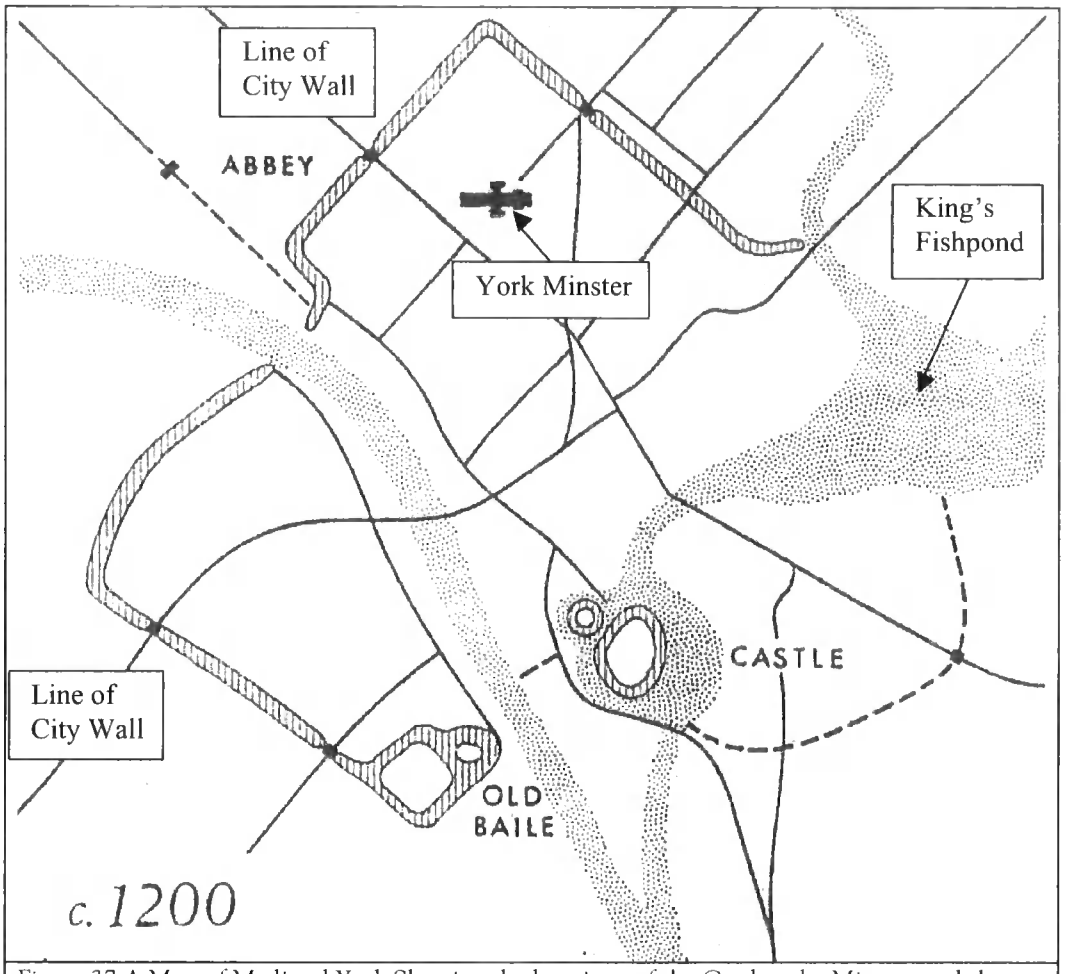


Figure 37 A Map of Medieval York Showing the locations of the Castles, the Minster and the Course of the Twelfth-Century City Wall (RCHME 1972, 58)

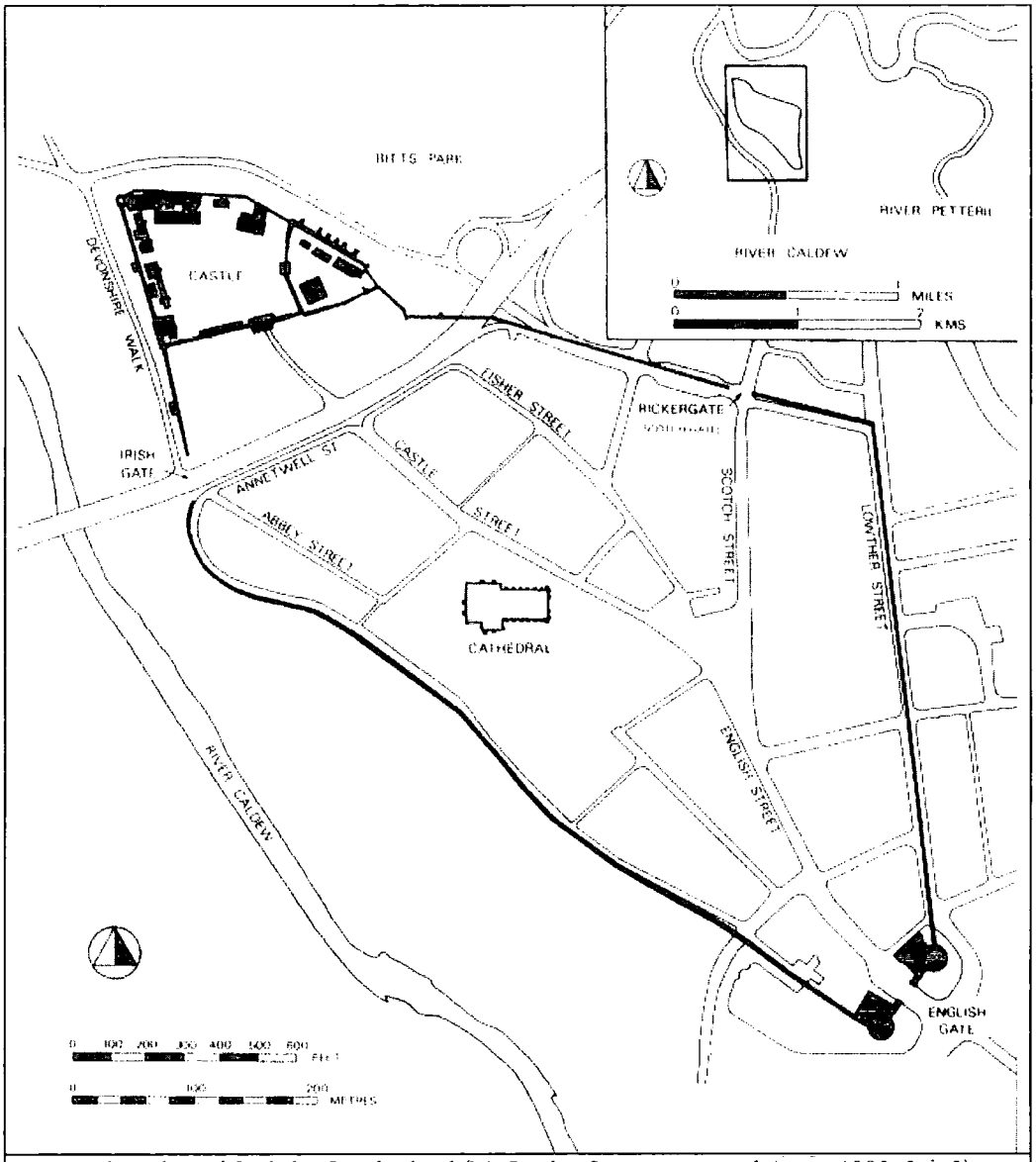


Figure 38 A Plan of Carlisle, Cumberland (McCarthy, Summerson and Annis 1990, 2 fig2)

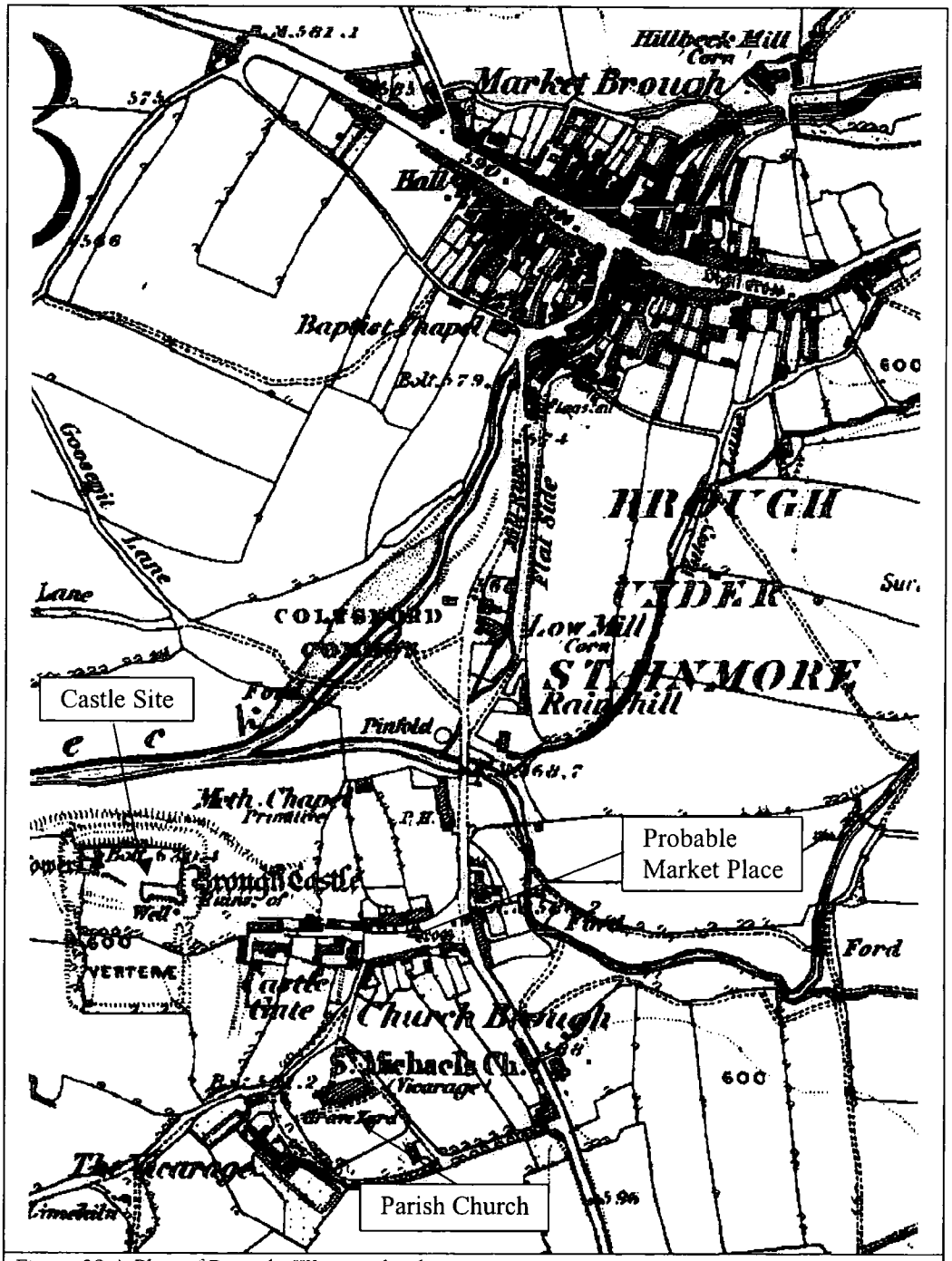


Figure 39 A Plan of Brough, Westmorland

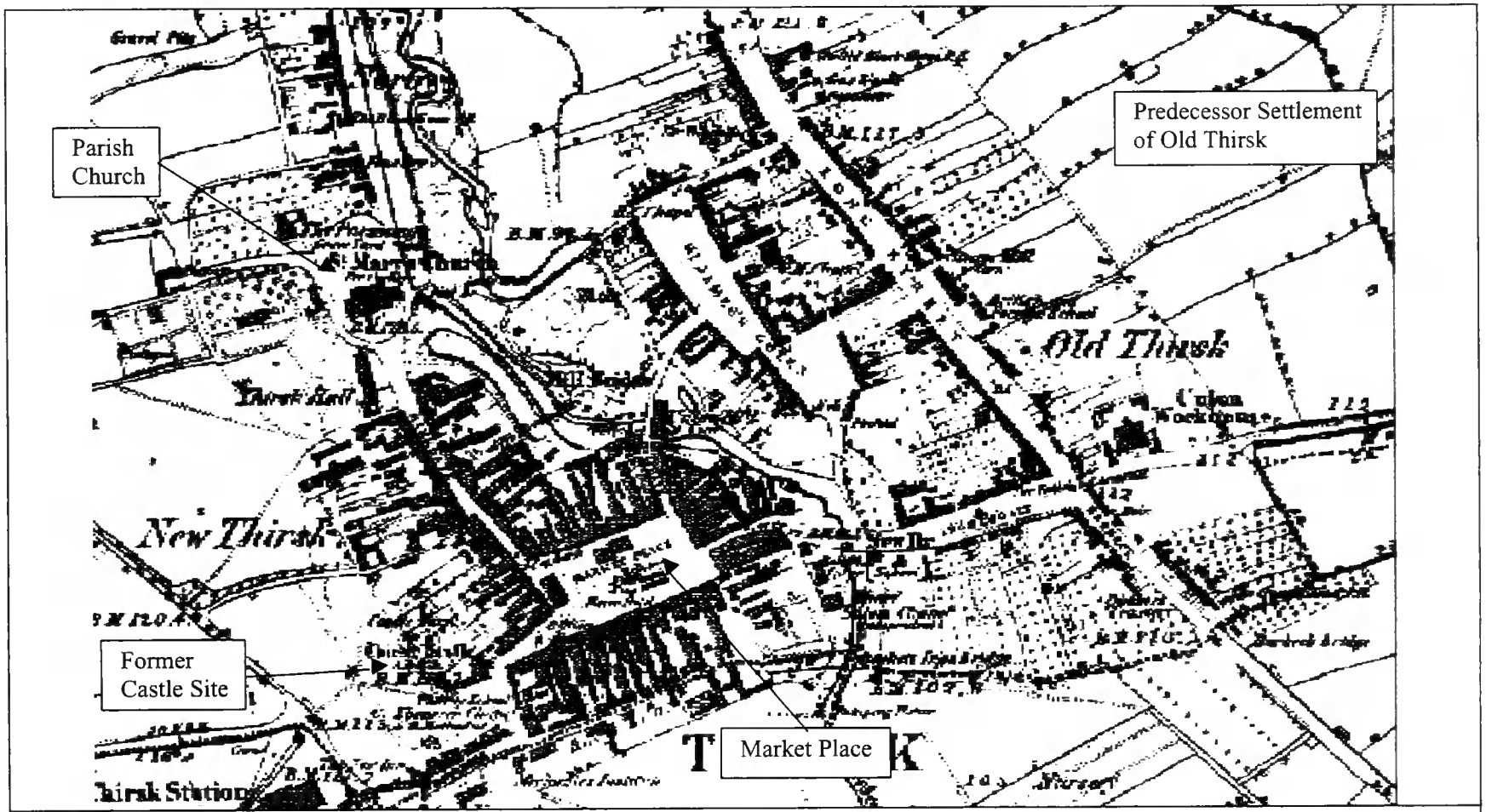


Figure 40 A Plan of Thirsk, North Riding of Yorkshire

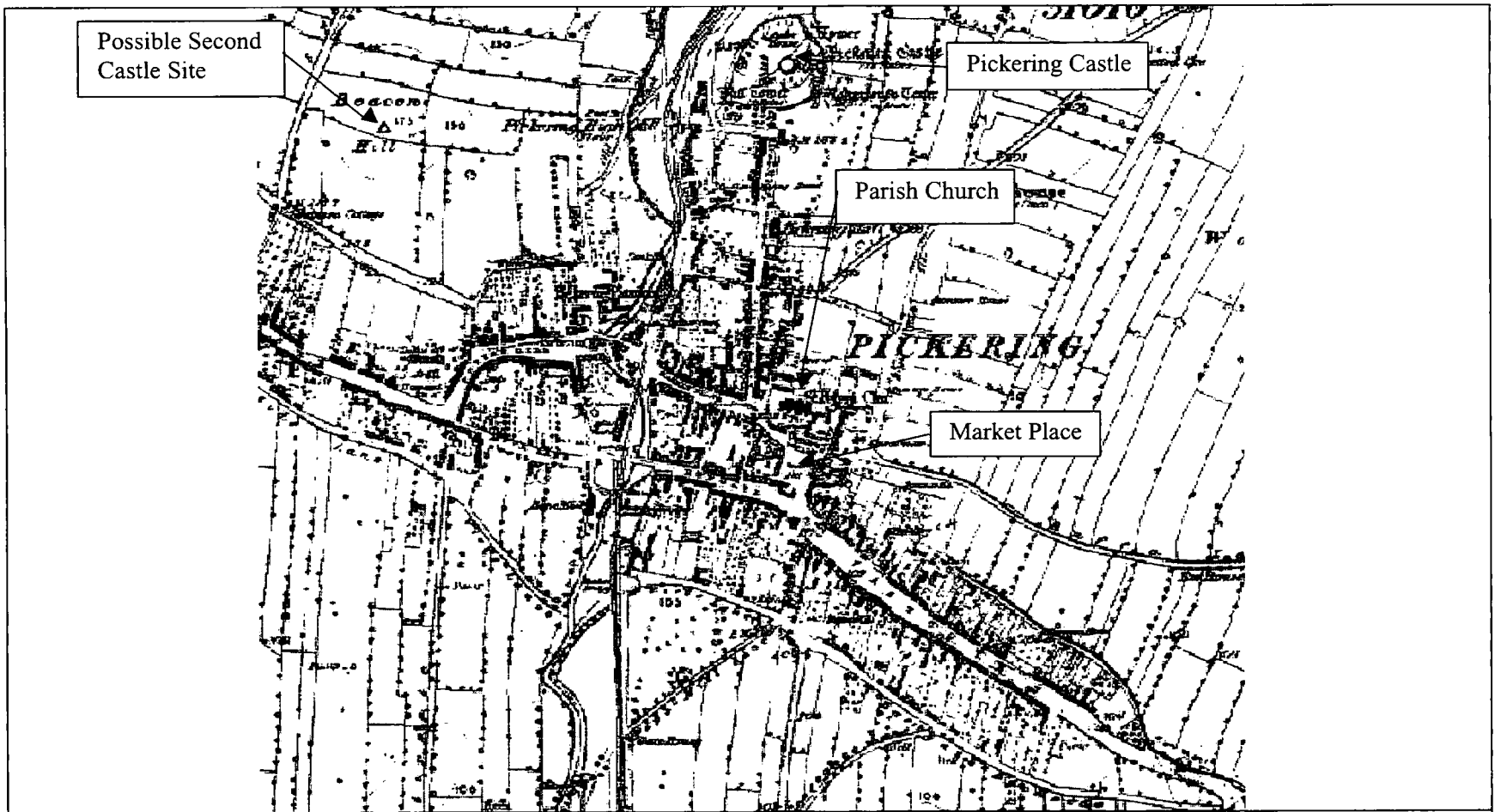


Figure 41 A Plan of Pickering, North Riding

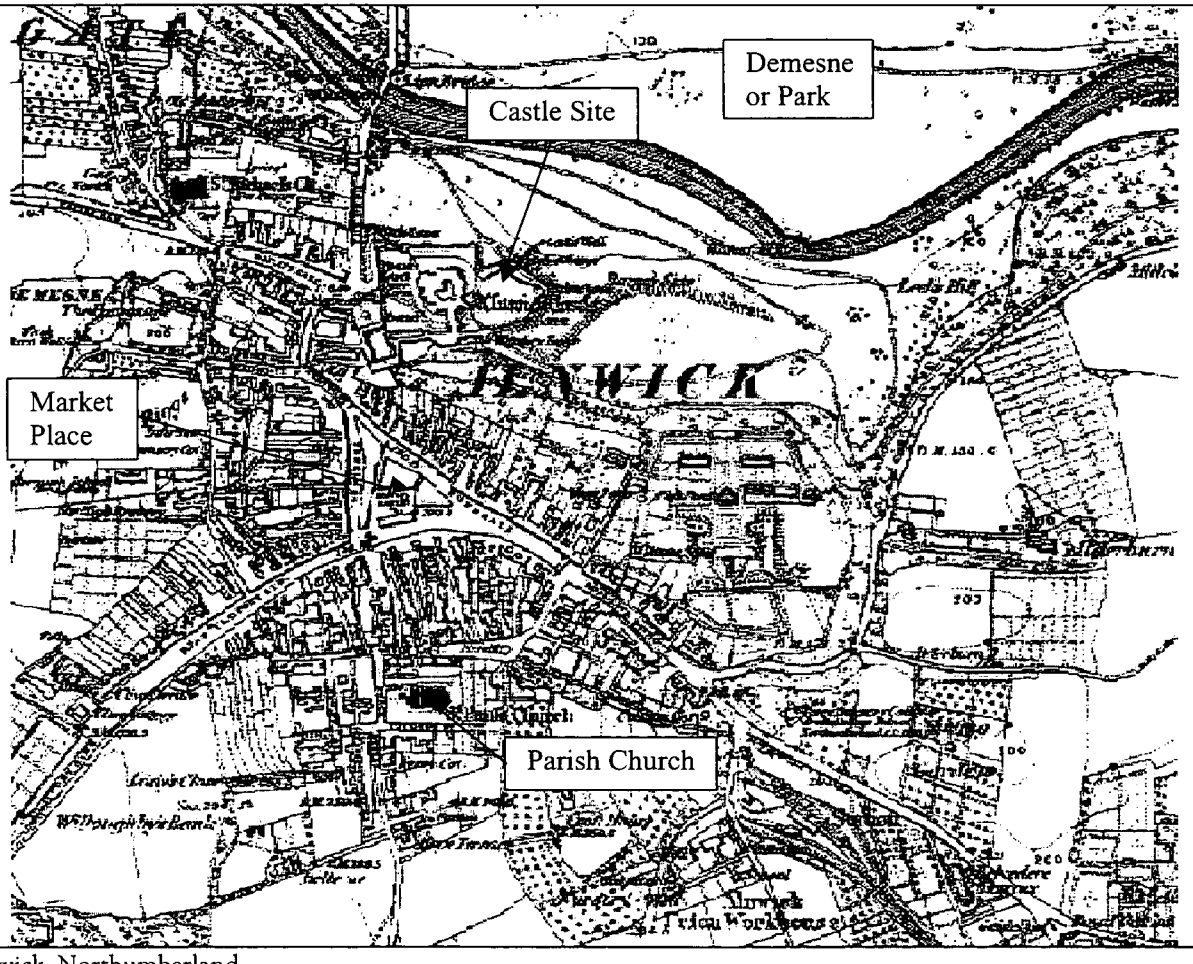


Figure 42 A plan of Alnwick, Northumberland

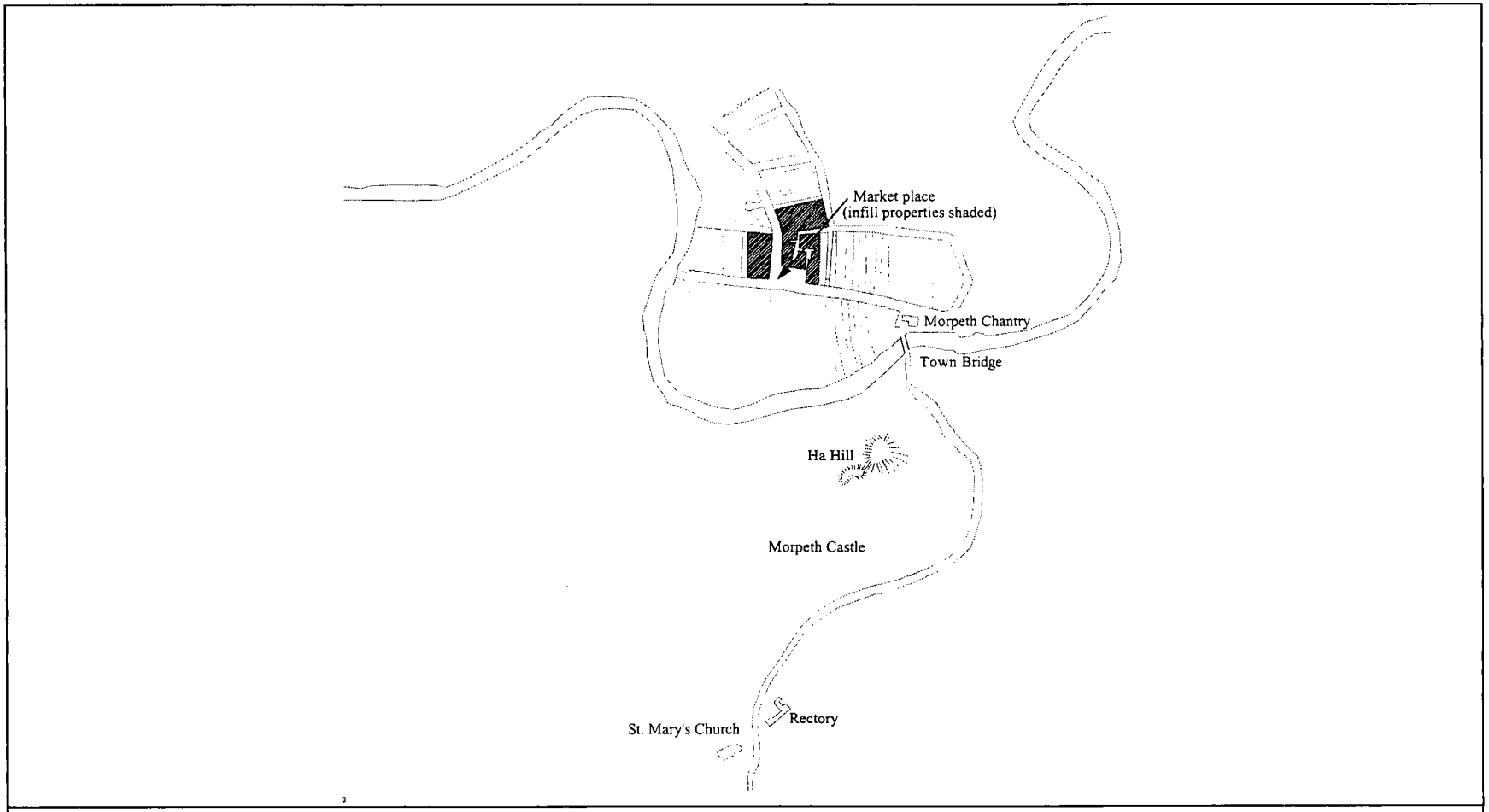


Figure 43 A Plan of Morpeth, Northumberland

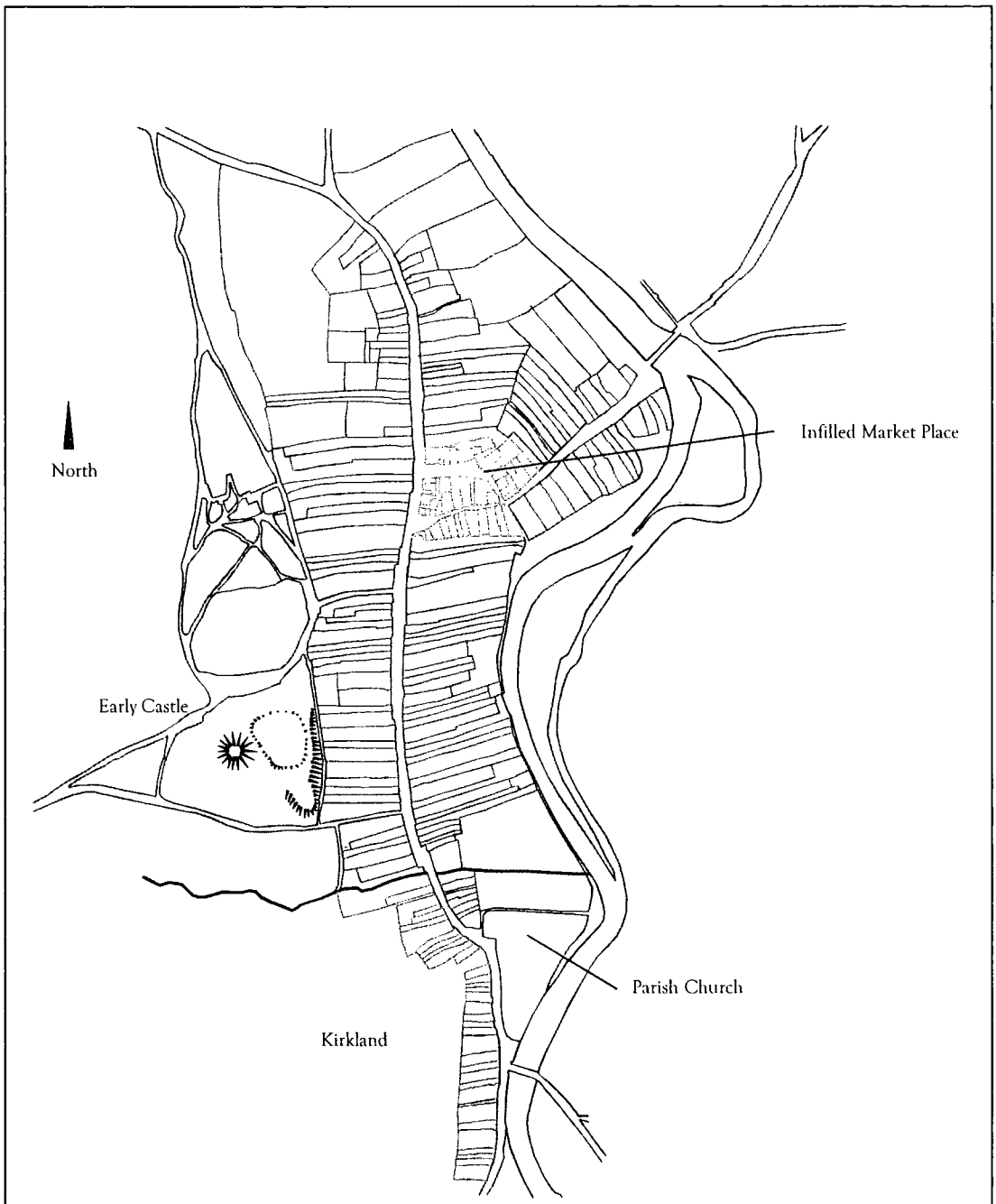


Figure 44 A Plan of Kendal, Westmorland

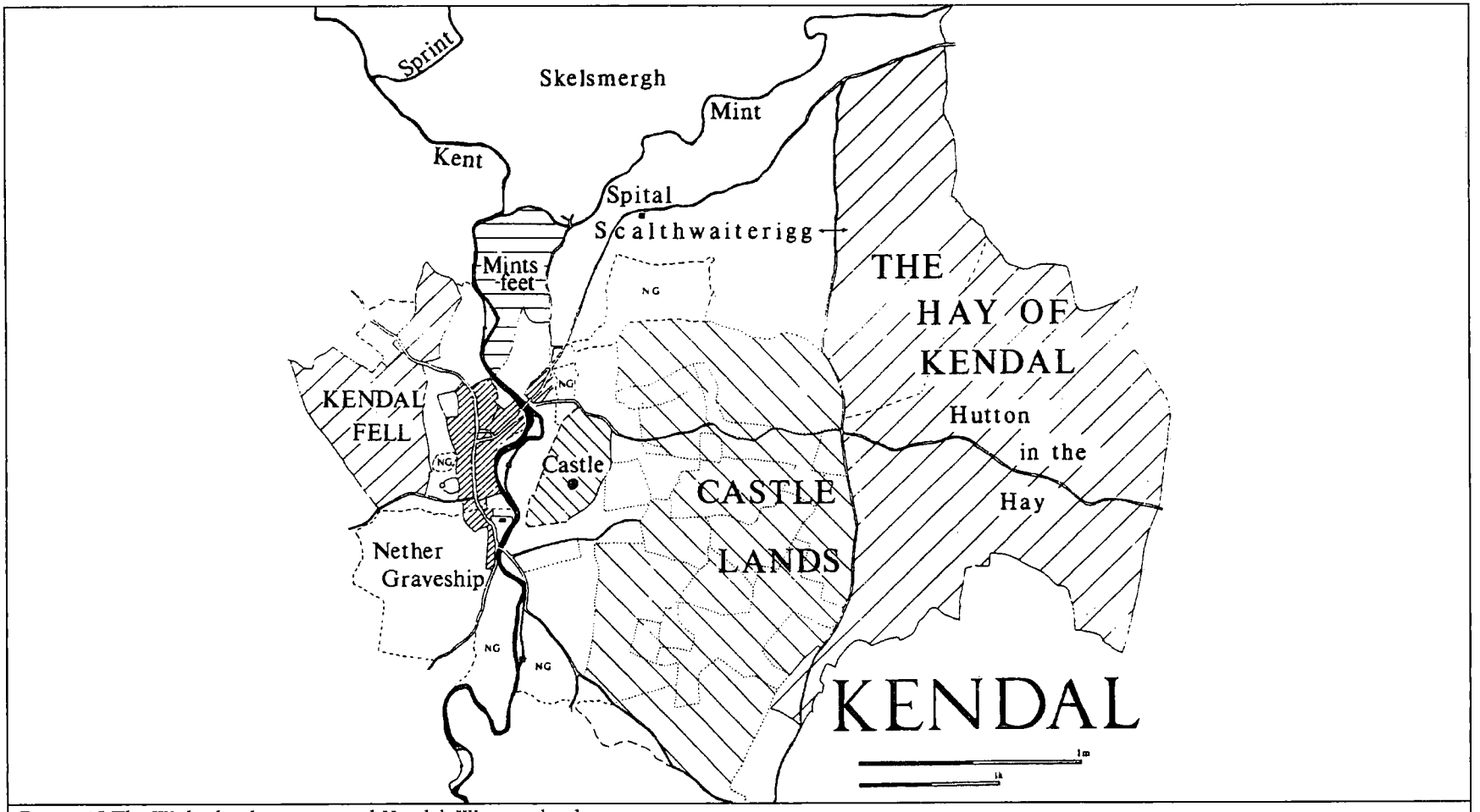


Figure 45 The Wider landscape around Kendal, Westmorland

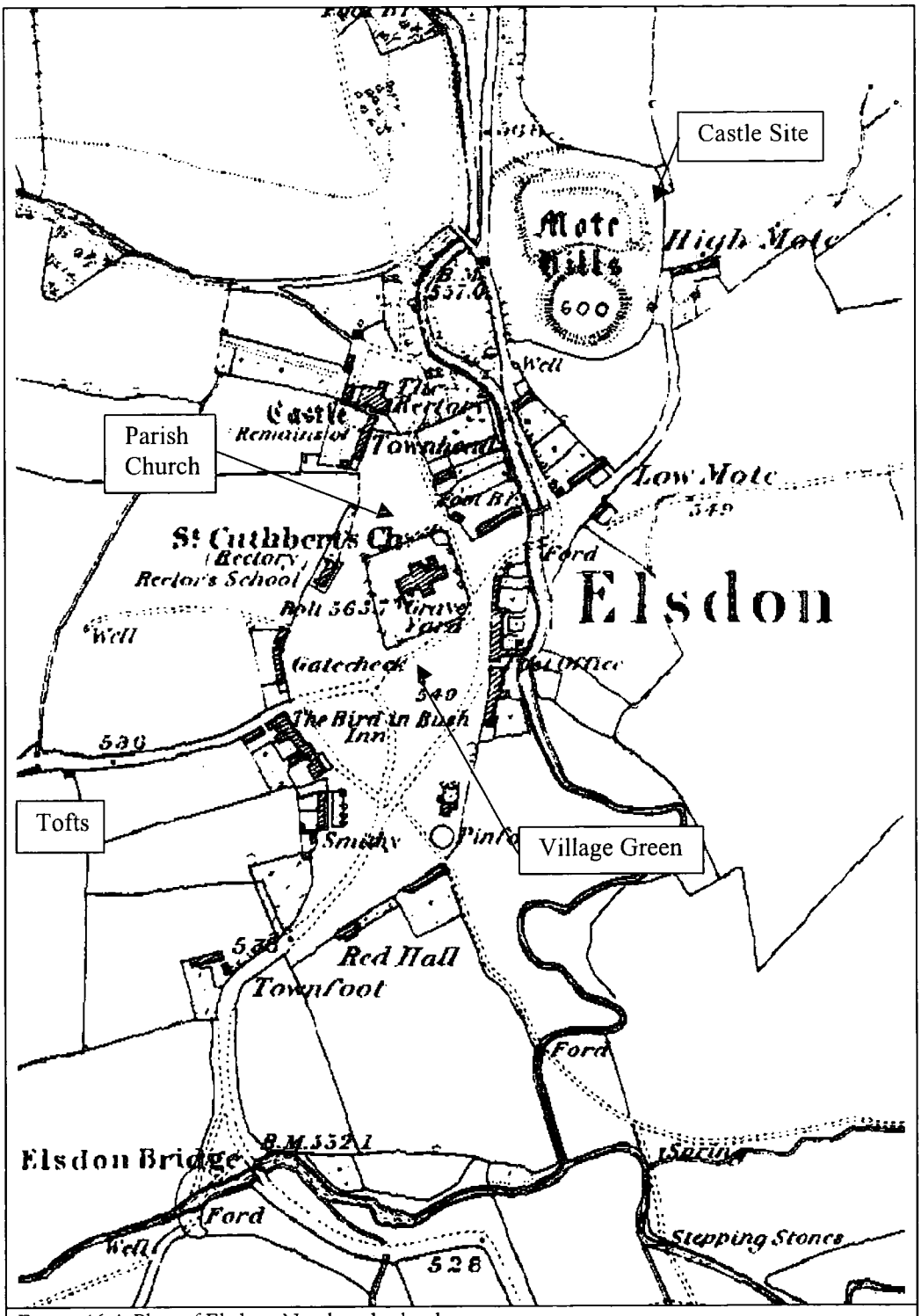


Figure 46 A Plan of Elsdon, Northumberland

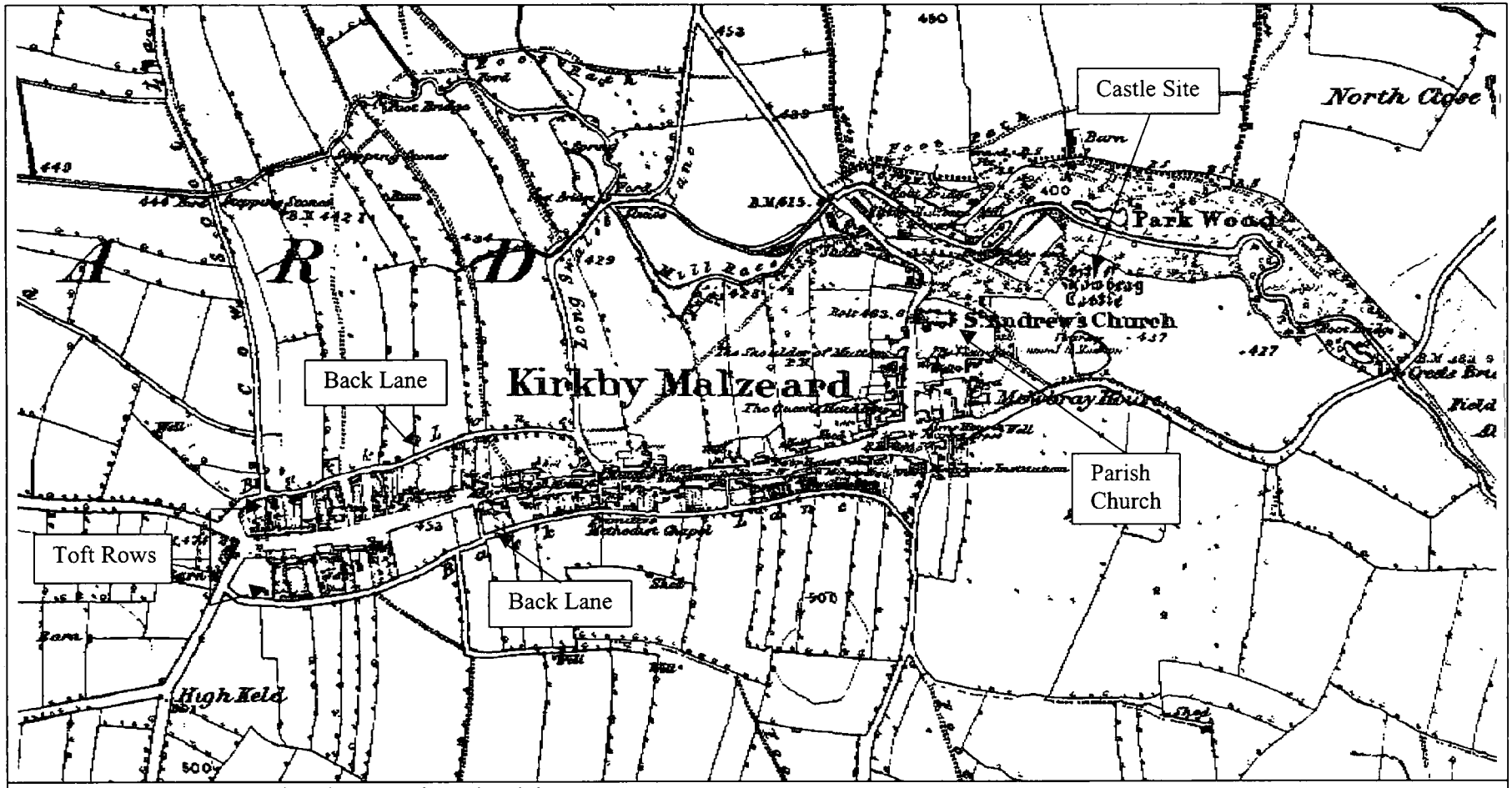


Figure 47 A Plan of Kirby Malzeard, West Riding of Yorkshire

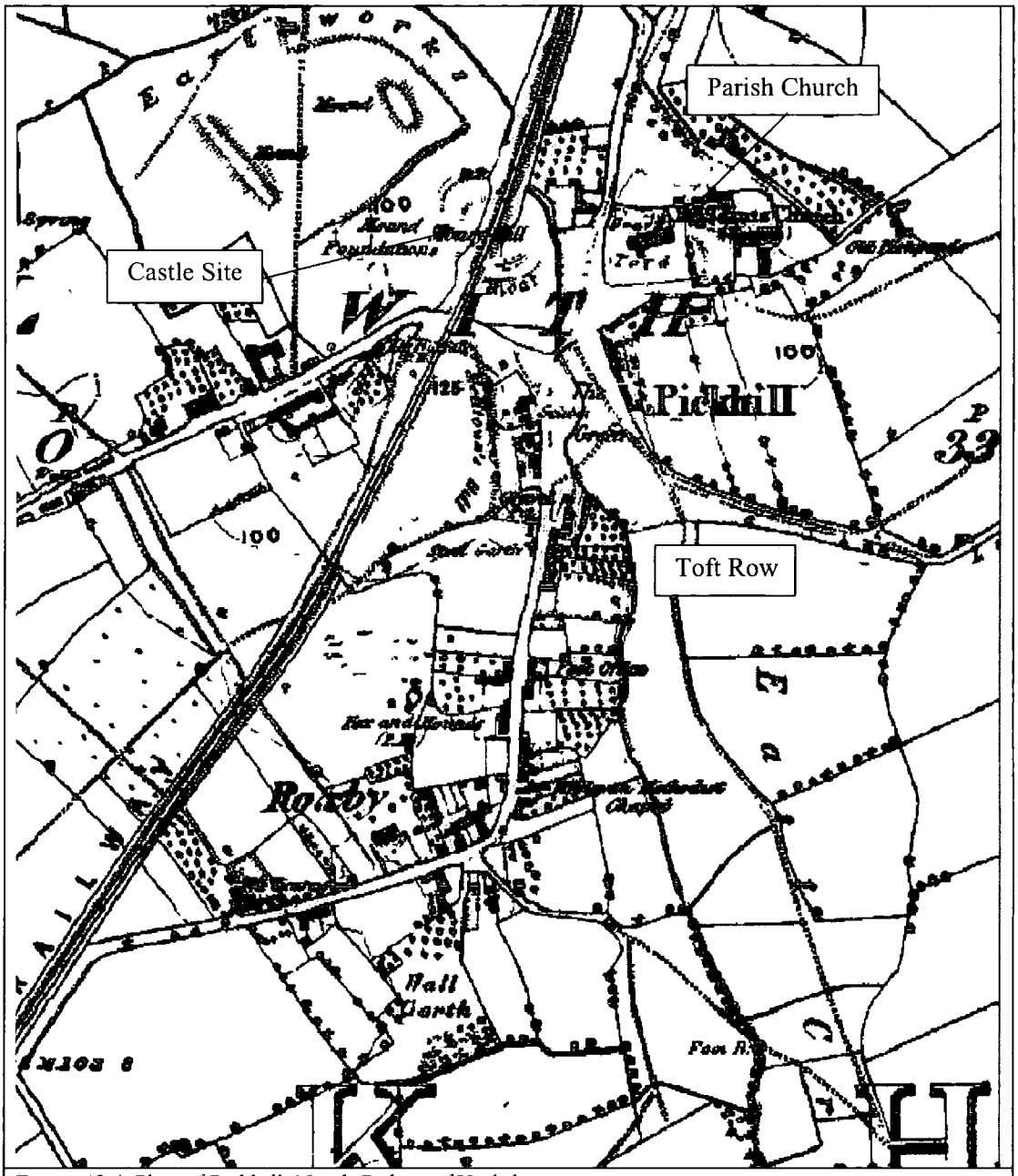


Figure 48 A Plan of Pickhill, North Riding of Yorkshire

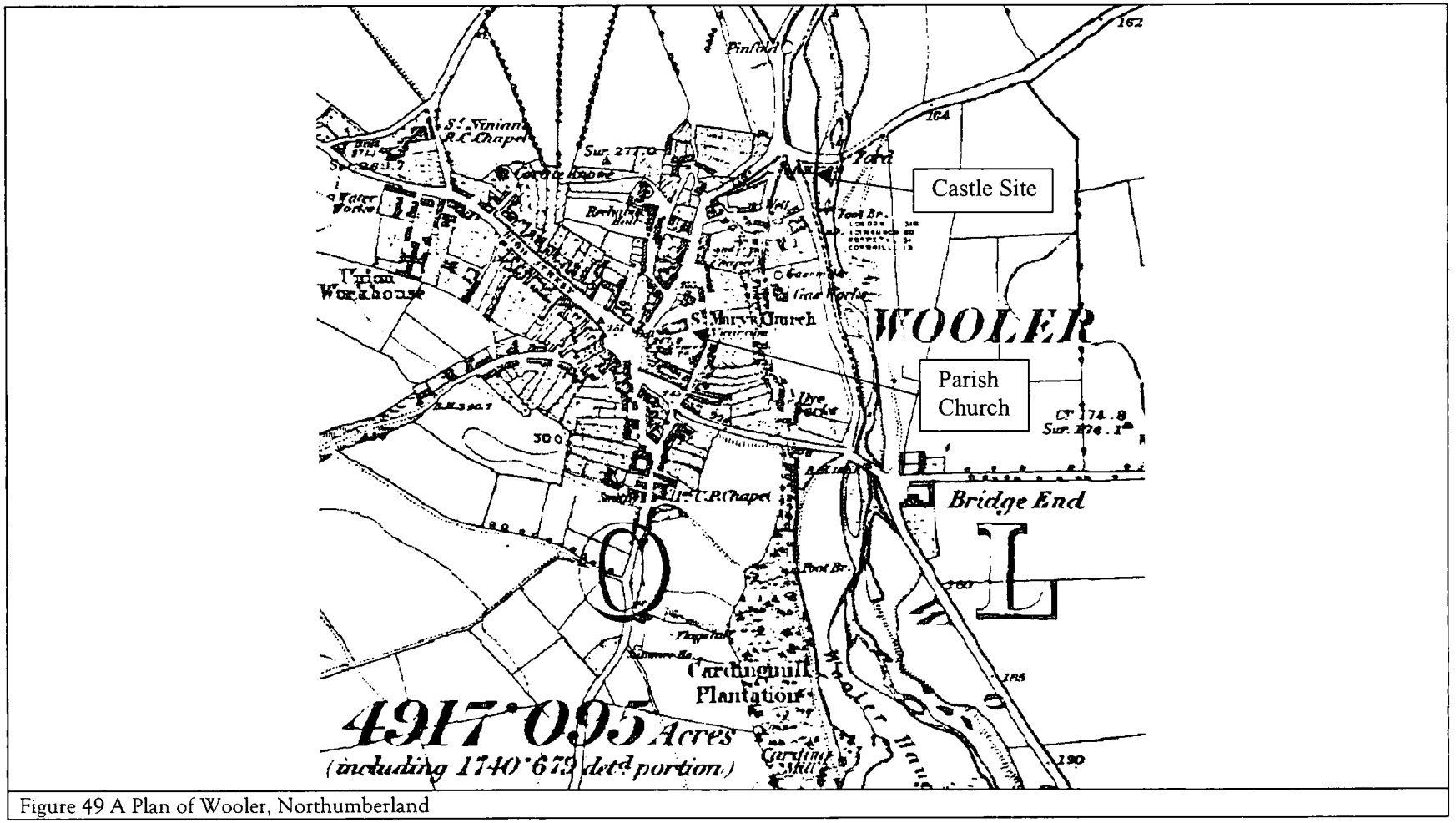


Figure 49 A Plan of Wooler, Northumberland

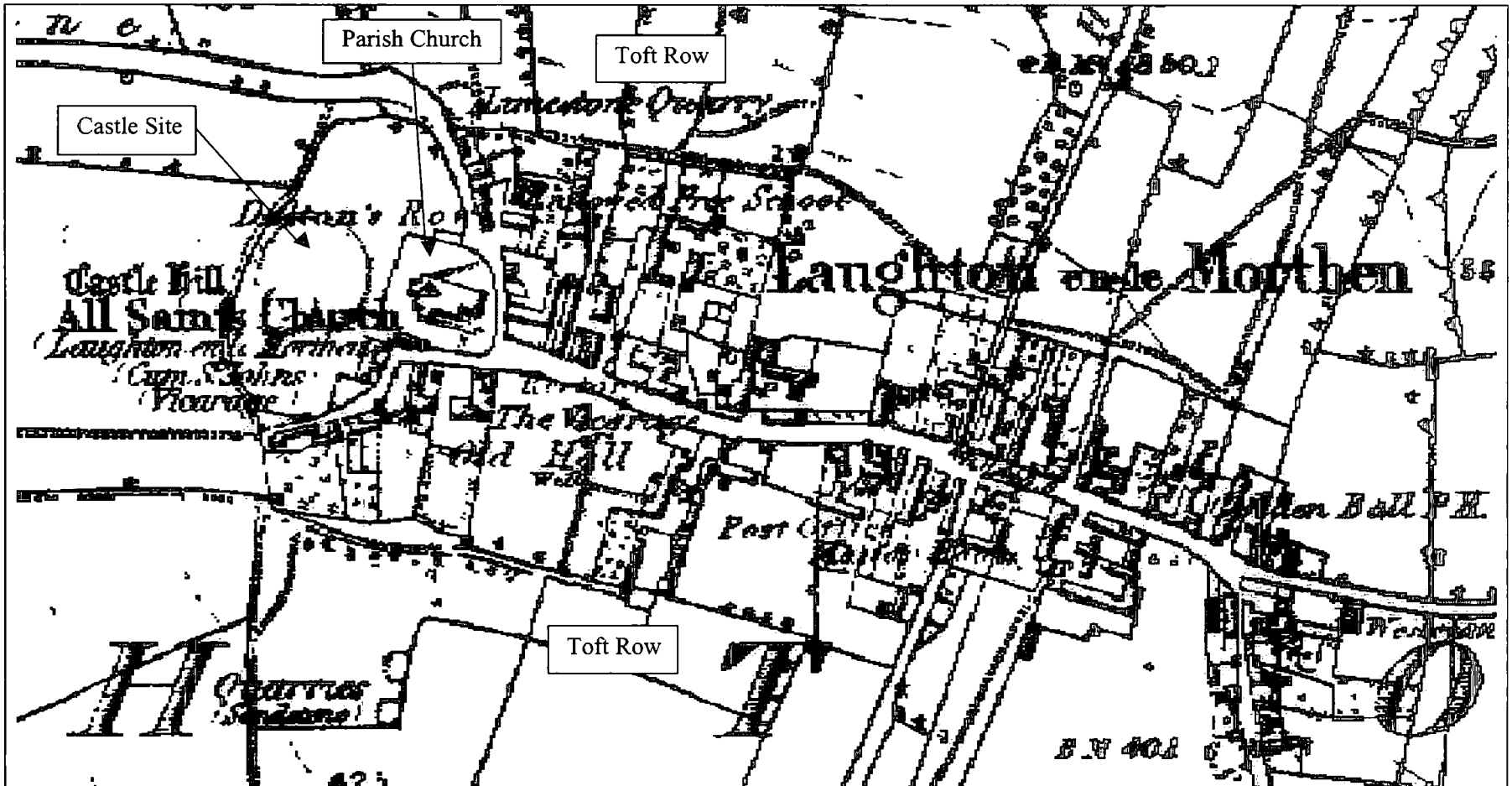


Figure 50 A Plan of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, West Riding of Yorkshire

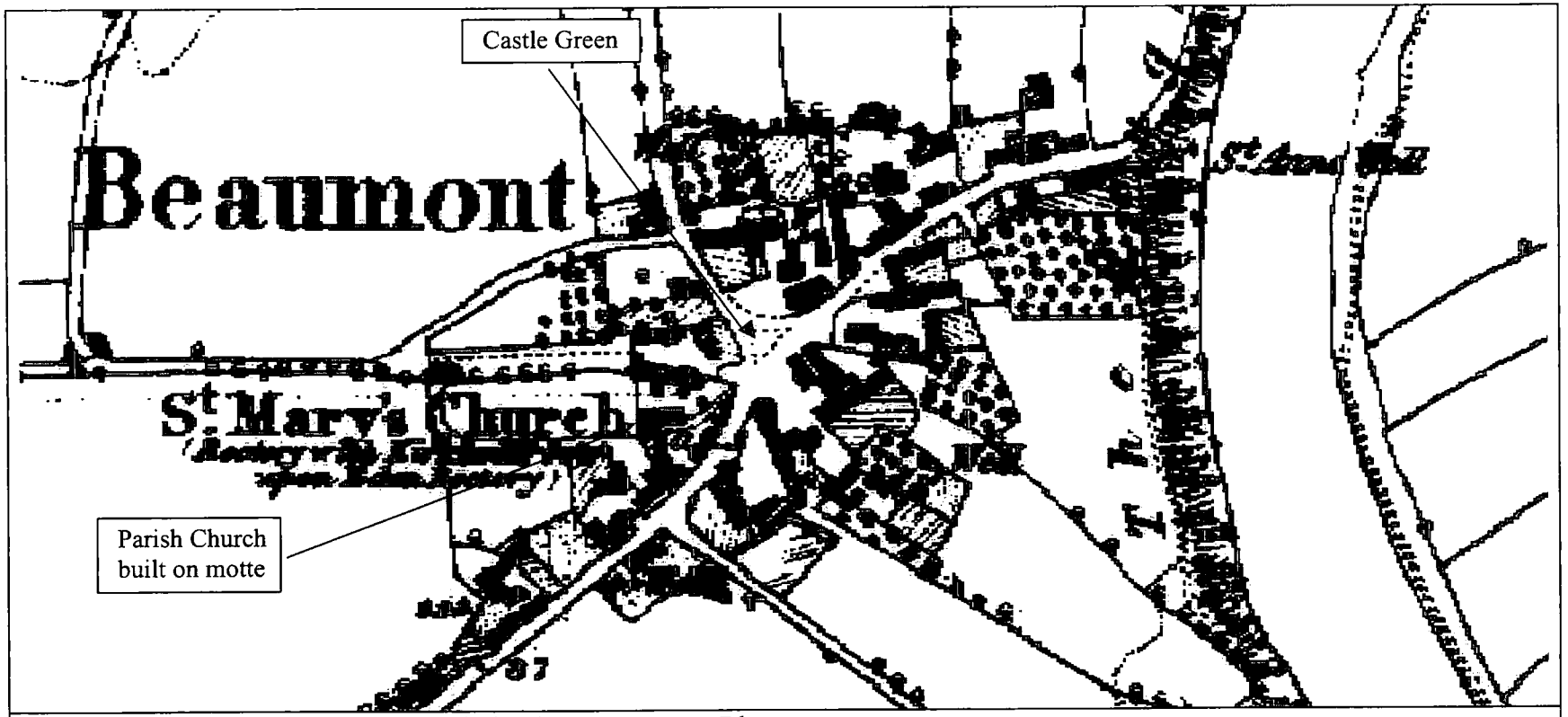


Figure 51 A Plan of the Settlement, Castle and Church at Bewumont-on-Eden

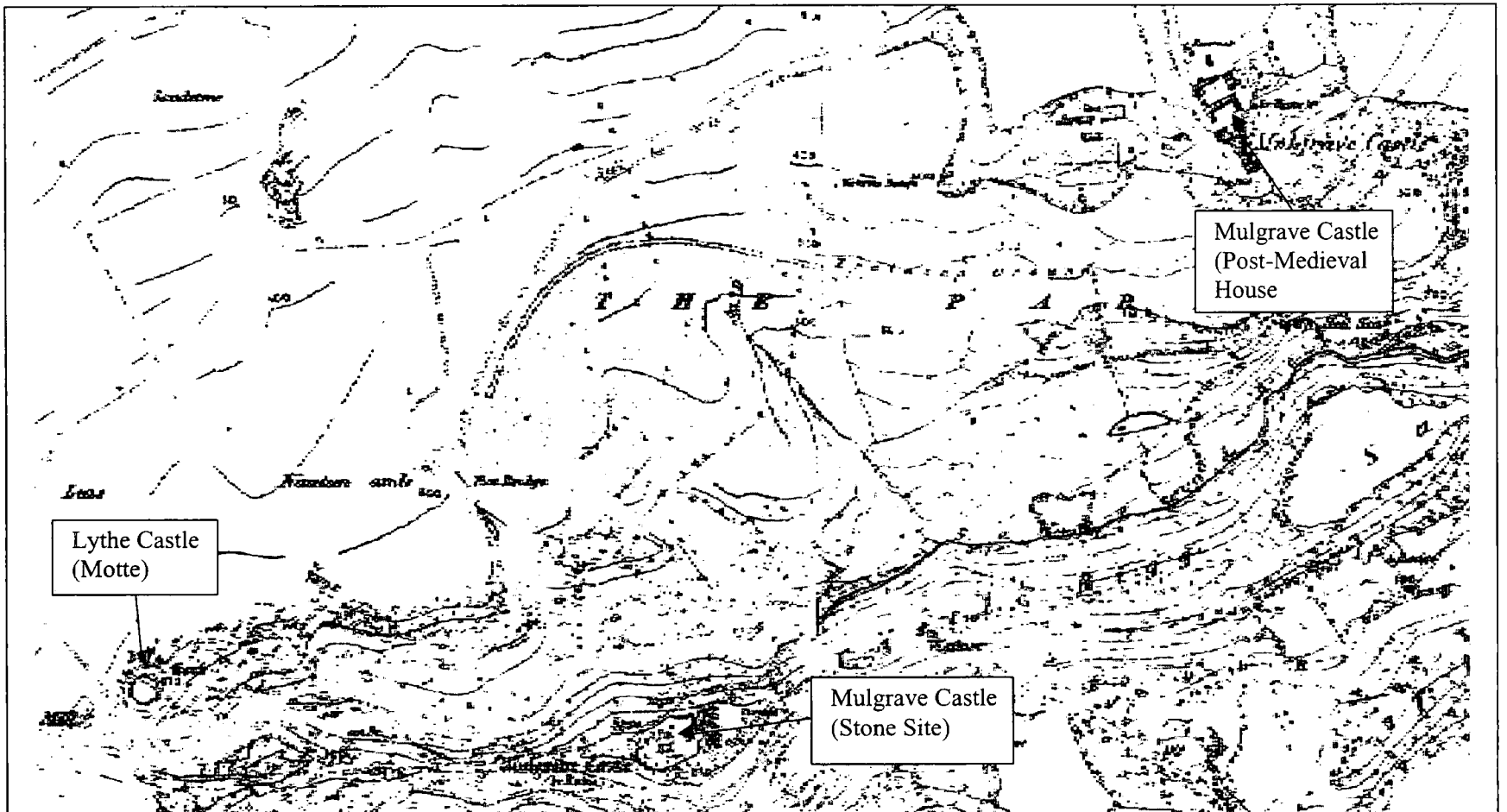


Figure 52 A Plan of the Castles at Lythe and Mulgrave, North Riding of Yorkshire

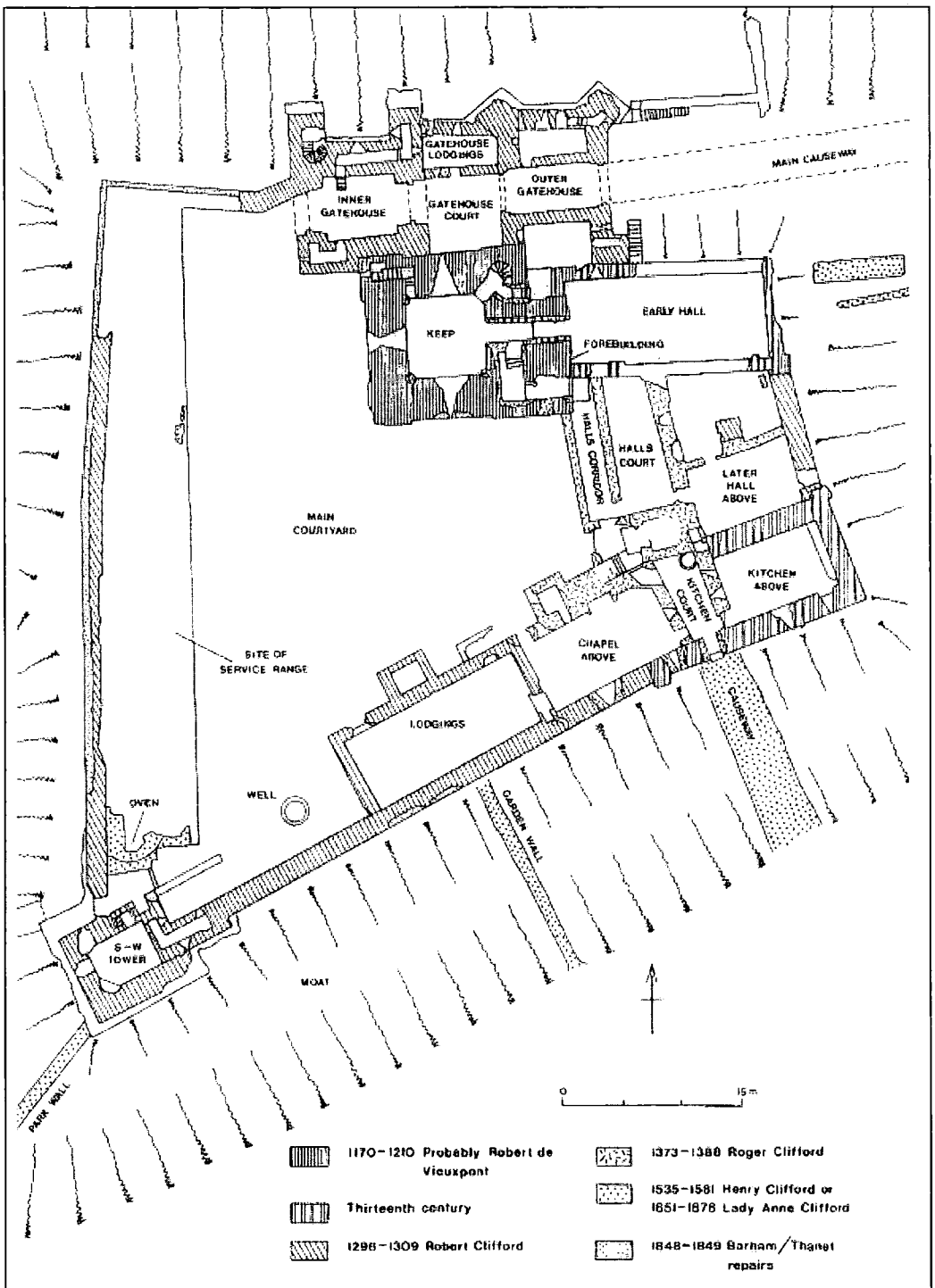


Figure 53 A Plan of the Castle at Brougham (Summerson Truman and Harrison 1998, Fig. 64 page 144)

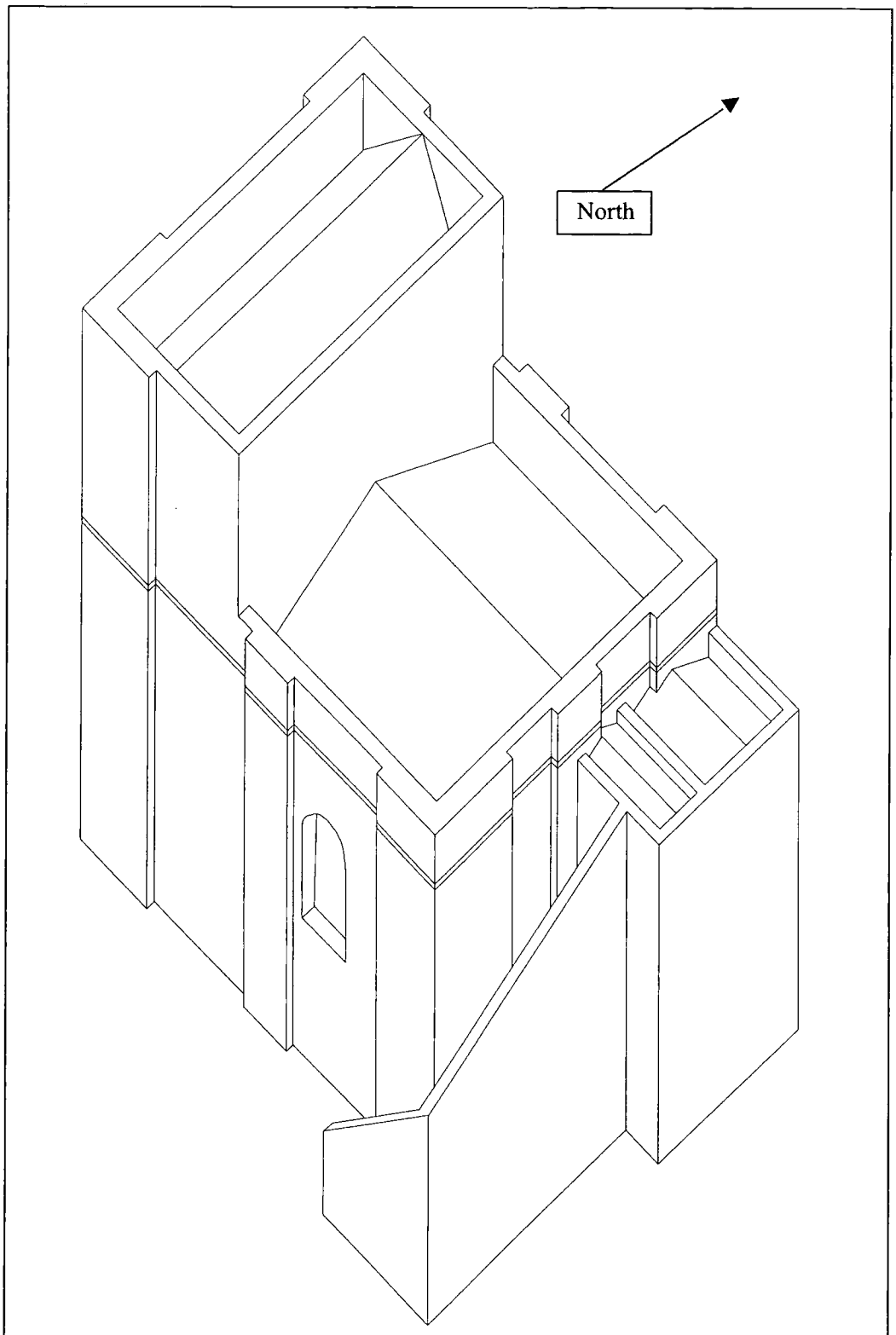


Figure 54 A Proposed Reconstruction for the Original Form of the Great Tower at Bowes

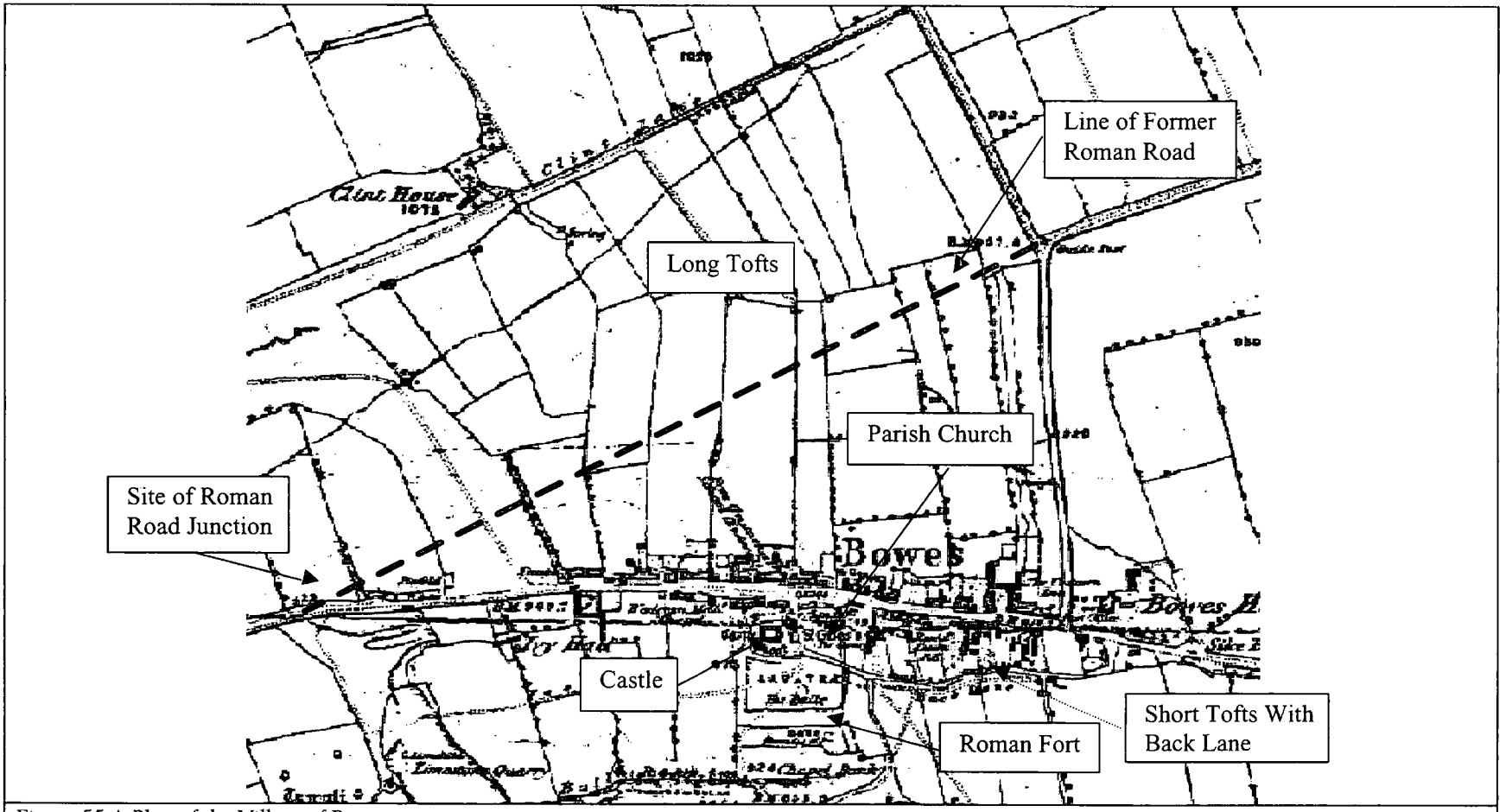


Figure 55 A Plan of the Village of Bowes

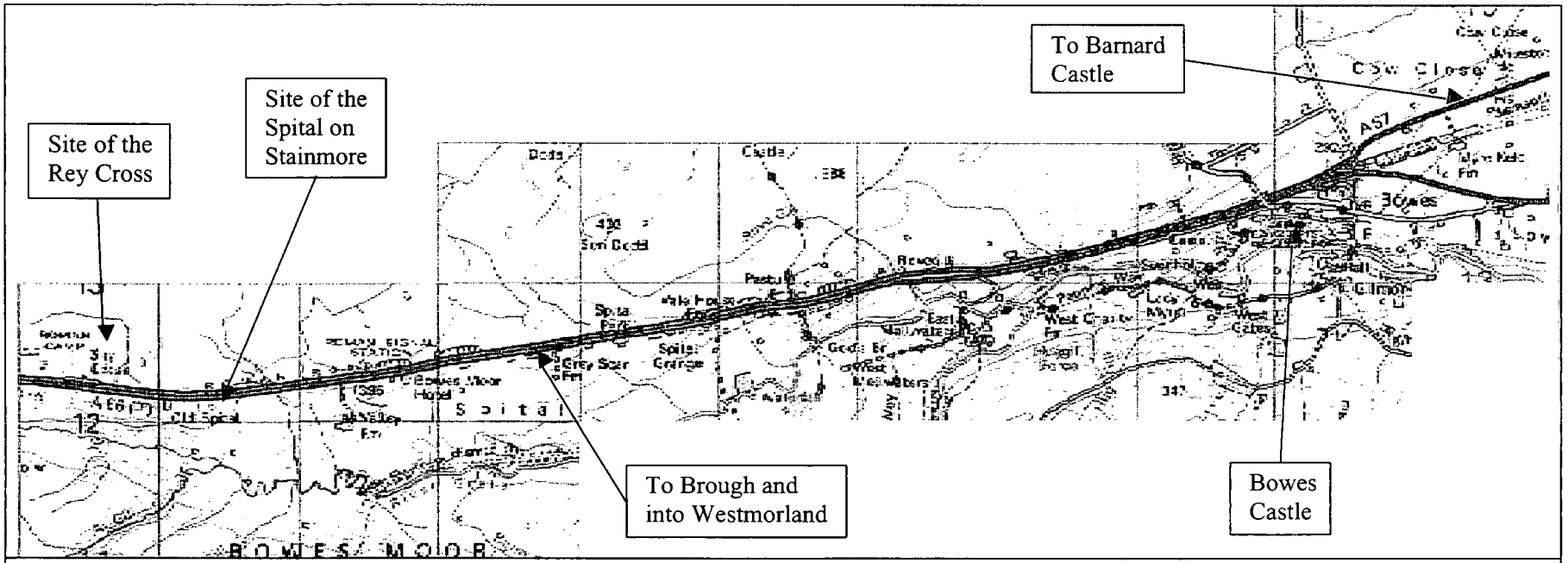


Figure 56 A plan of the wider landscape around Bowes Castle

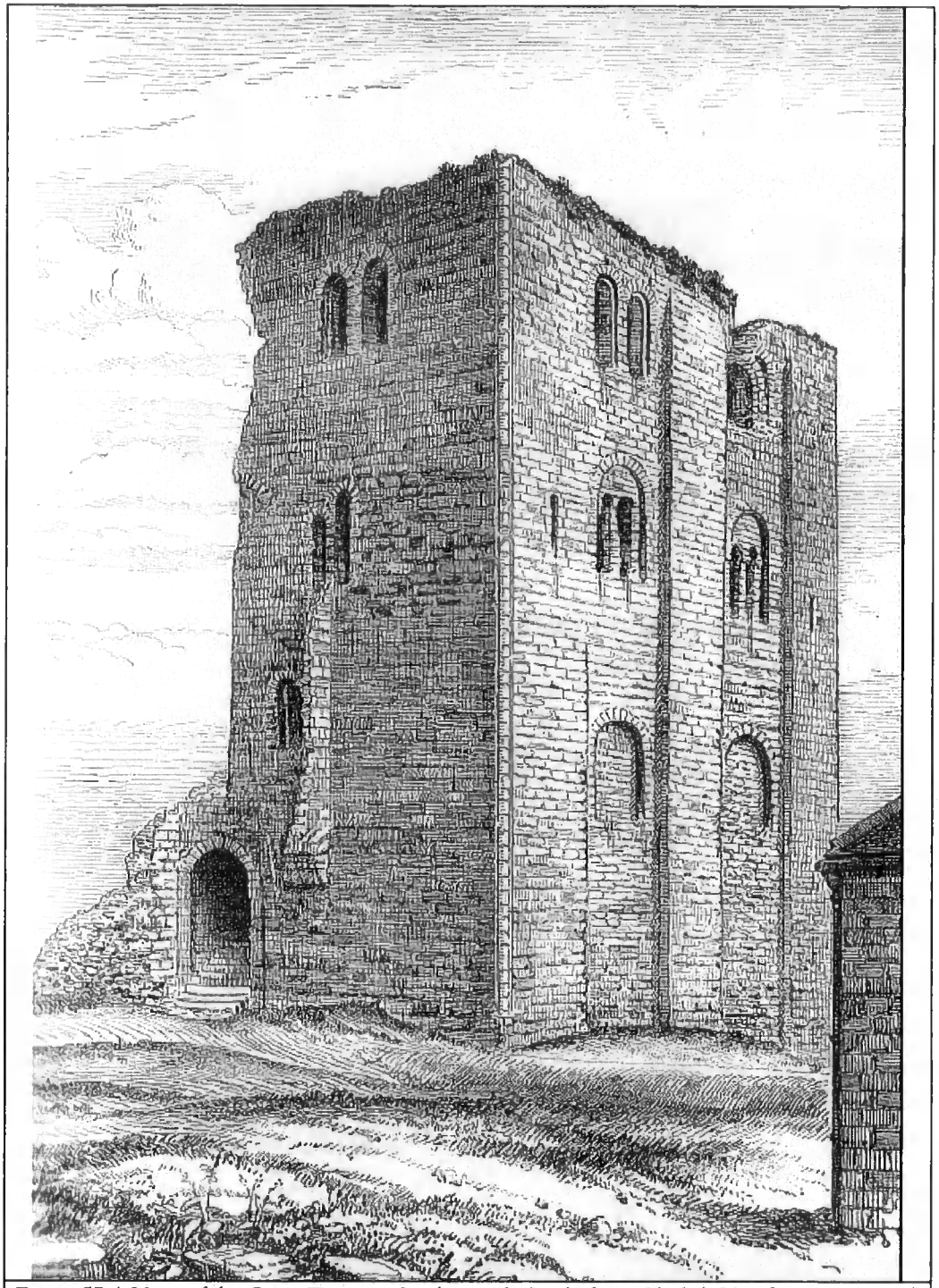


Figure 57 A View of the Great Tower at Scarborough Castle from Clark (1884, facing page 464)

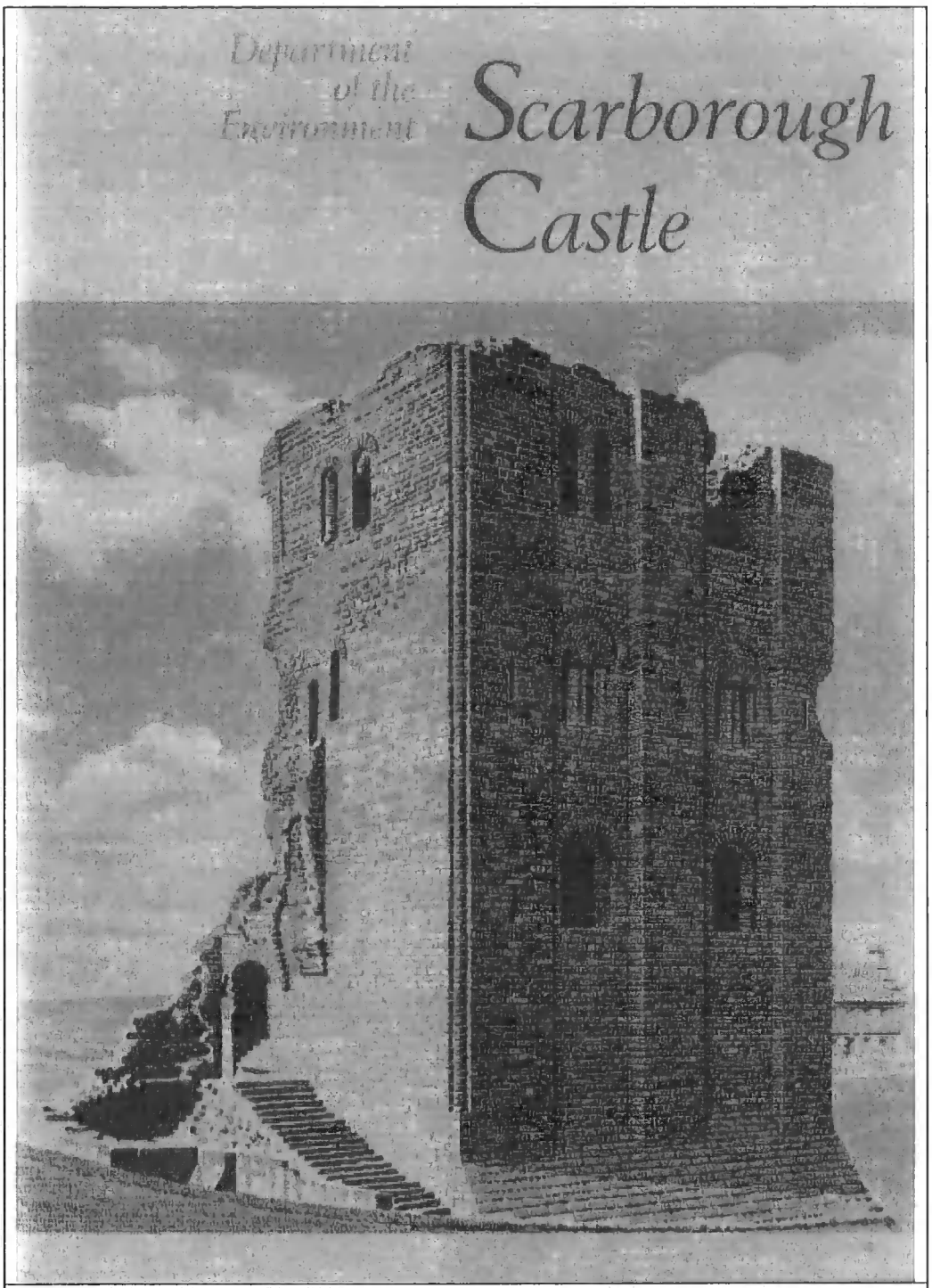


Figure 58 The Cover of a Guidebook to Scarborough Castle (c 1960s)

Plate 1 The Undercroft of the Great Hall at Durham Castle

Plate 2 The Norman Chapel at Durham Castle

Plate 3 A Mitred Cushion Capital from Lastingham Crypt

Plate 4 The Soffit of a Transverse Arch in the Crypt at Lastingham Church

Plate 5 A Volute Capital from the Crypt at Lastingham Church

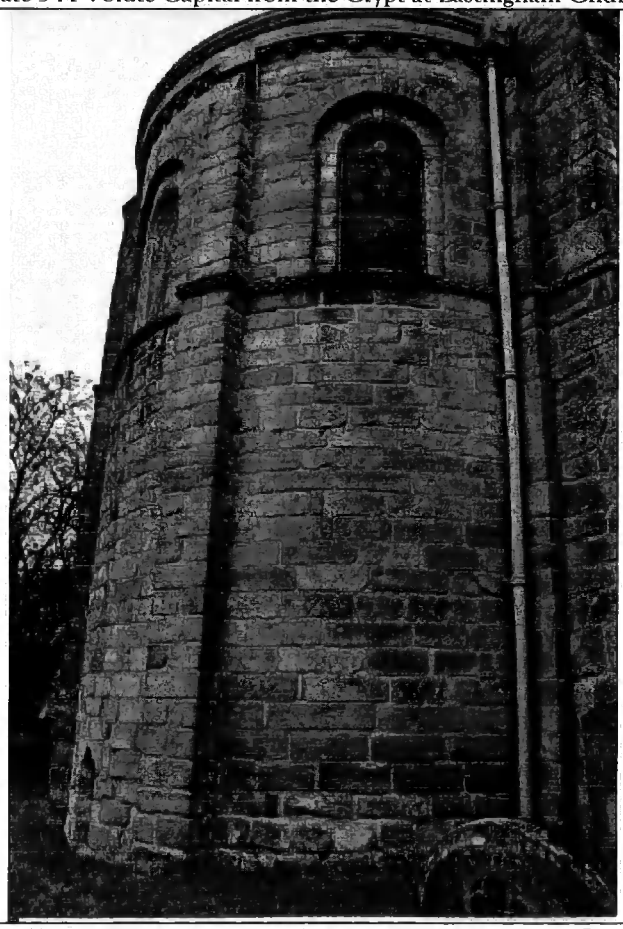


Plate 6 The Exterior of the Apse at Lastingham Church

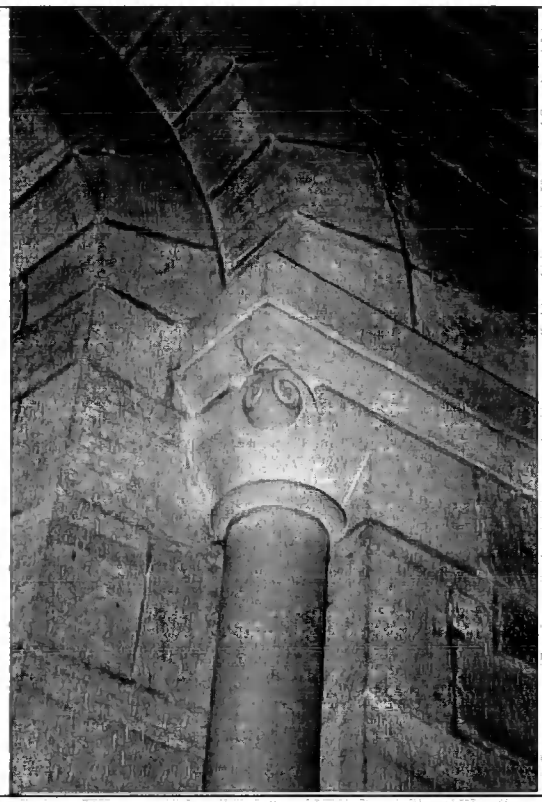


Plate 7 The Interior of a Window in the Apse at Lastingham Church

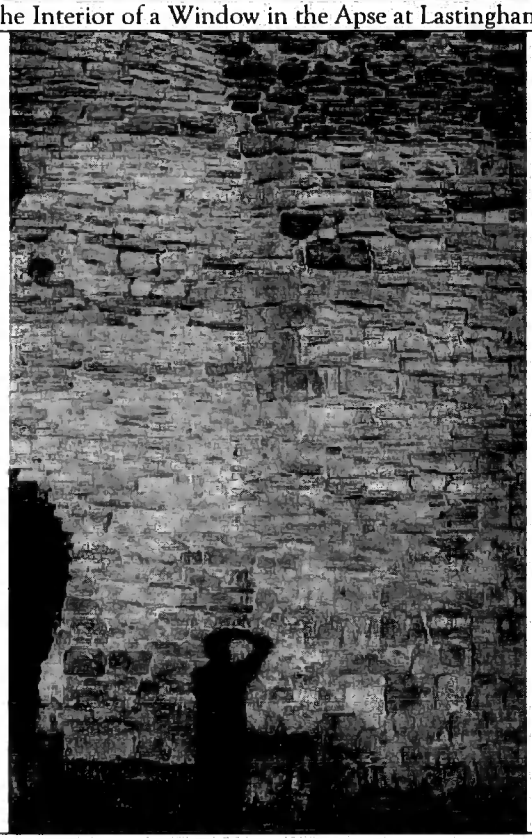


Plate 8 The Junction of Walling Between the Tower and the Curtain Wall at Richmond

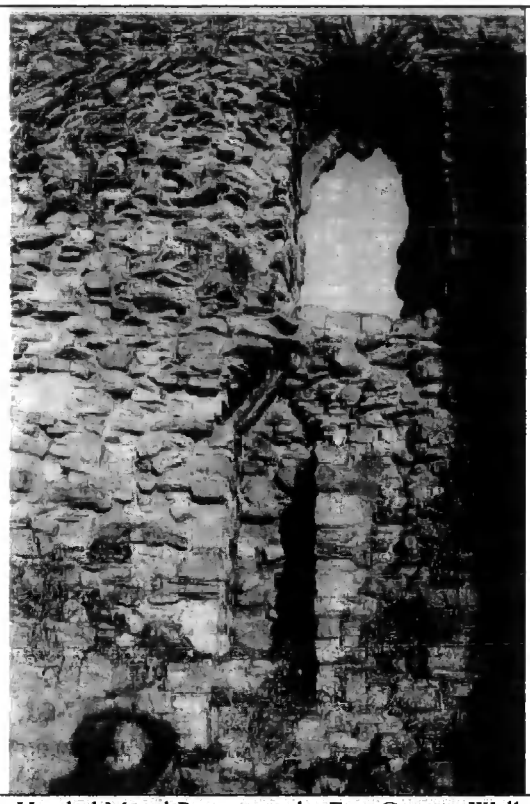


Plate 9 A Triangular Headed Mural Passage in the East Curtain Wall of Richmond Castle

Plate 10 Arcading in the Chapel at Richmond Castle

Plate 11 The Inner Face of the Gateway at Richmond Castle

Plate 12 A Corinthian Capital from the Gateway at Richmond Castle

Plate 13 Two Cushion Capitals from the Gateway at Richmond Castle

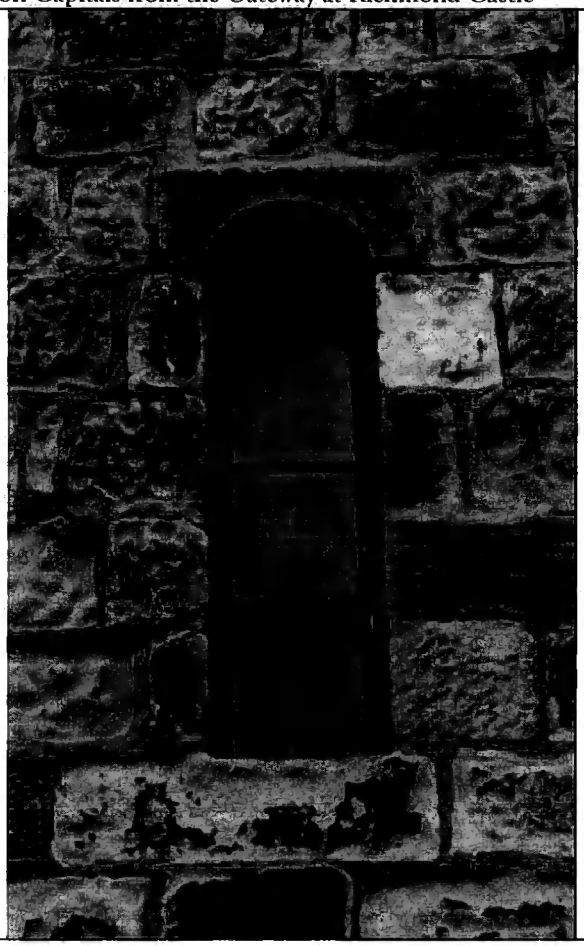


Plate 14 A Monolithic Window Head at Bamburgh Castle

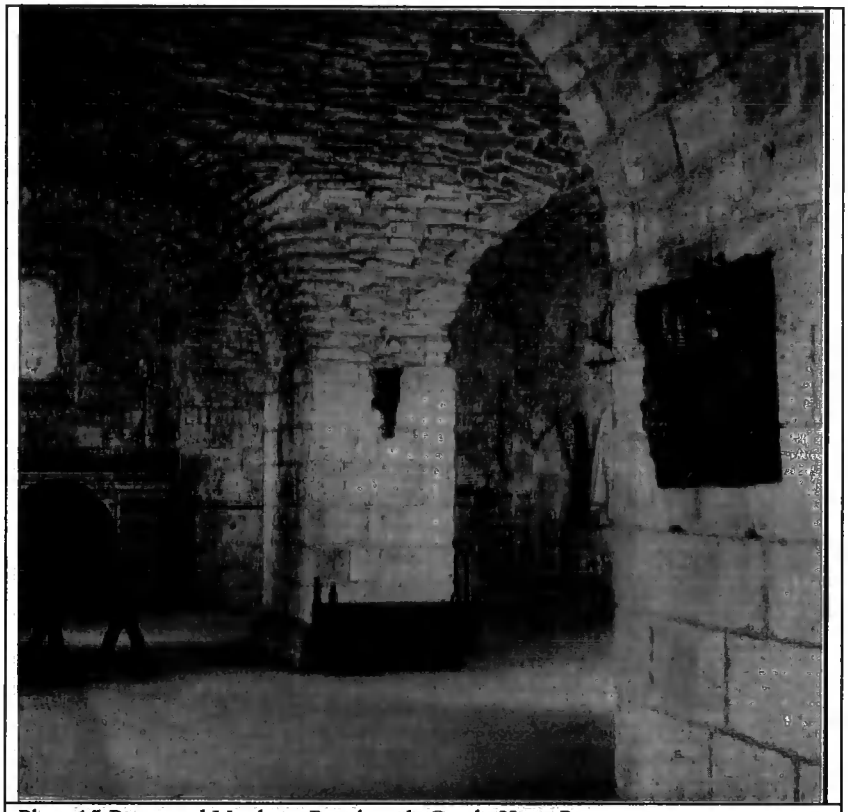


Plate 15 Piers and Vault in Bamburgh Castle Keep Basement

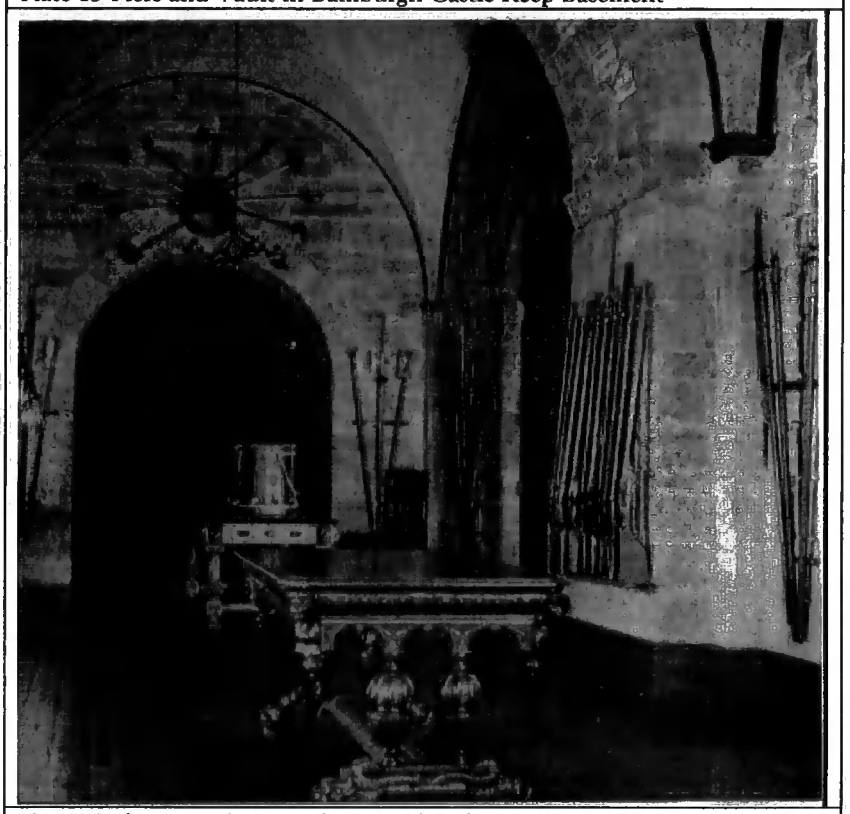


Plate 16 The First Floor Vault at Bamburgh Keep

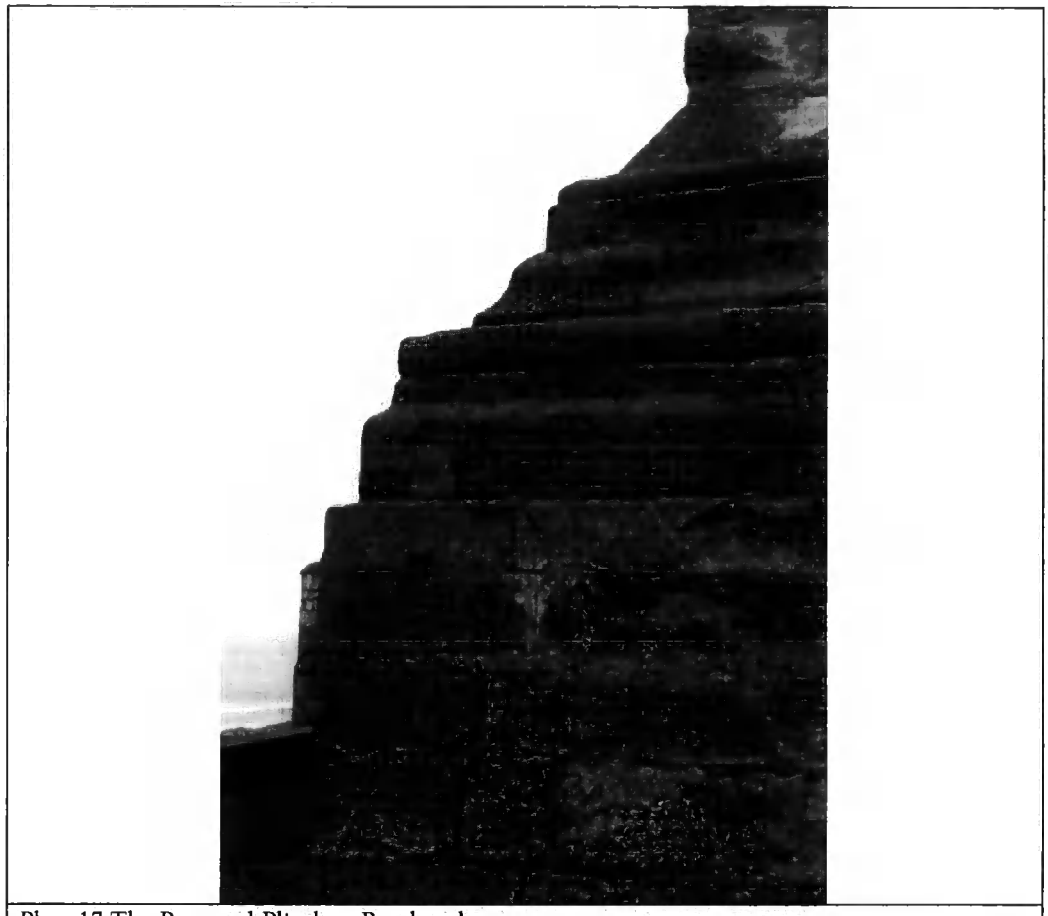


Plate 17 The Restored Plinth at Bamburgh

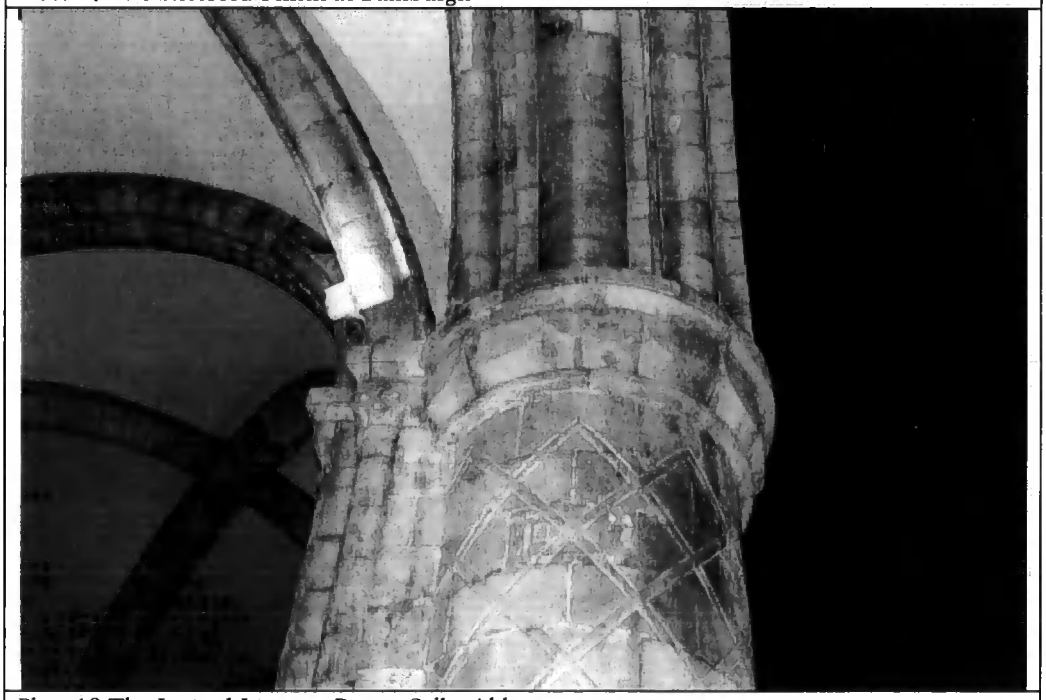


Plate 18 The Incised Lozenge Pier at Selby Abbey

Plate 19 The Cellar of the Phase I Keep at Norham Castle

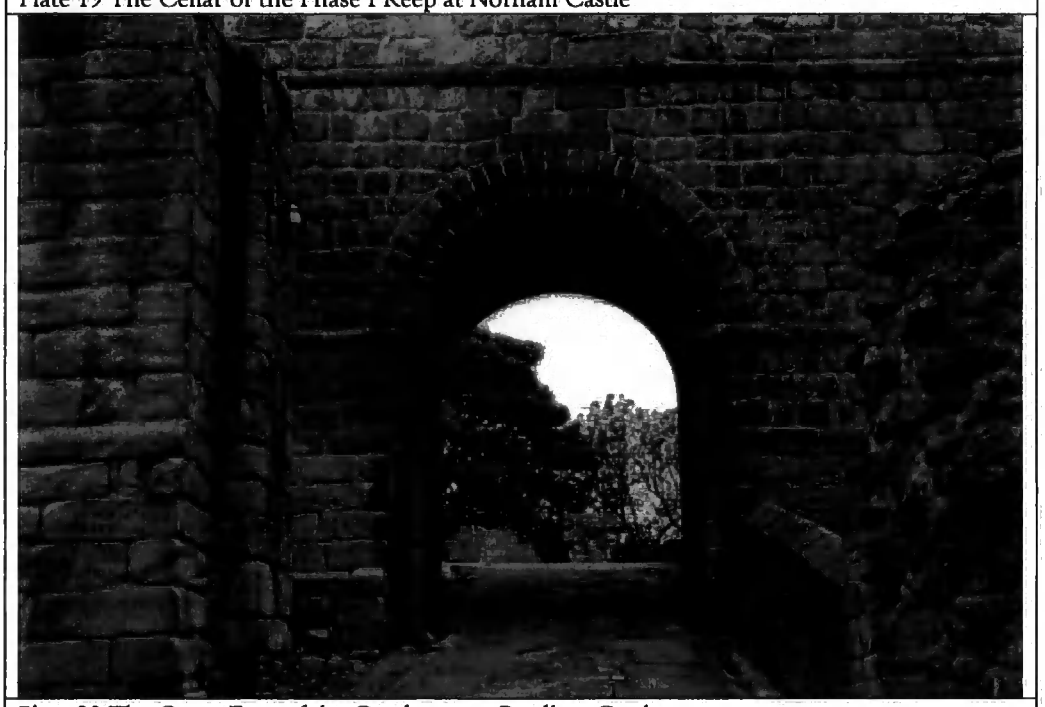


Plate 20 The Outer Face of the Gatehouse at Prudhoe Castle

Plate 21 A Detail of the Impost and Arch of the Outer Face of the Gatehouse at Prudhoe Castle

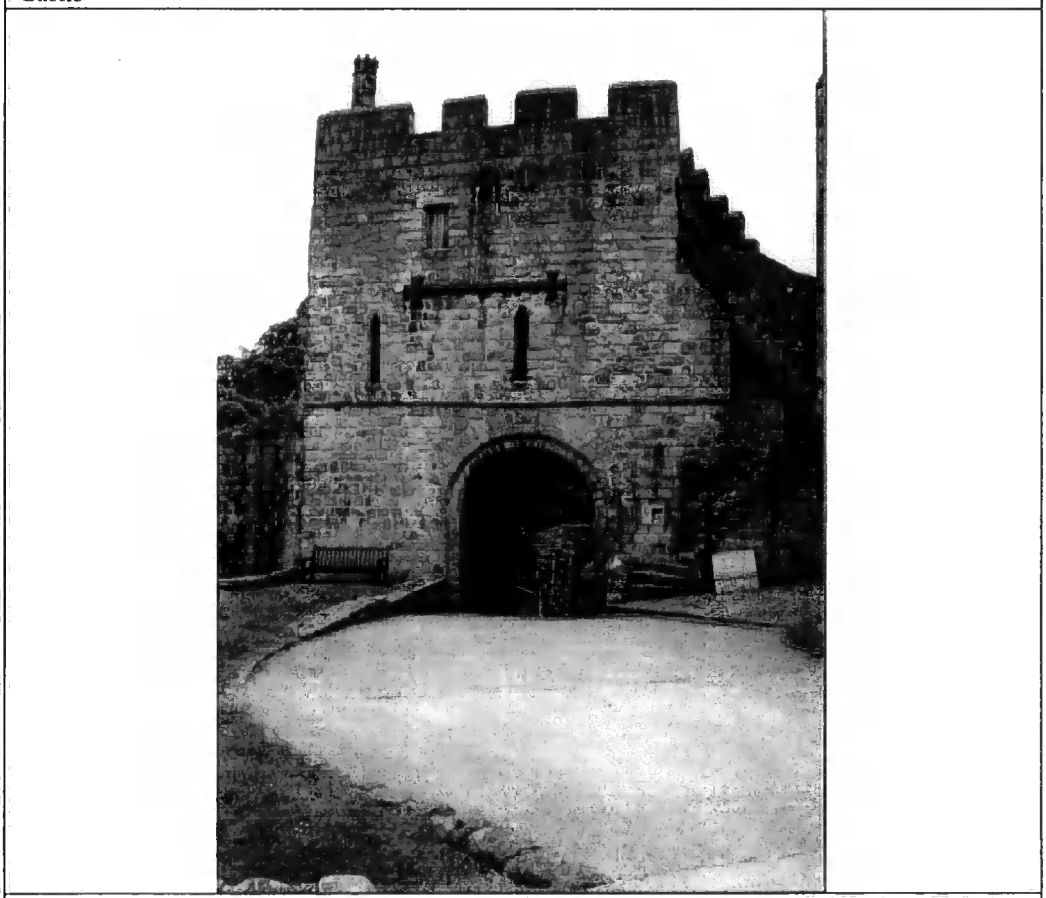


Plate 22 The Inner Face of the Gatehouse At Prudhoe Castle

Plate 23 The Inner Face of the Gateway at Gisors Castle

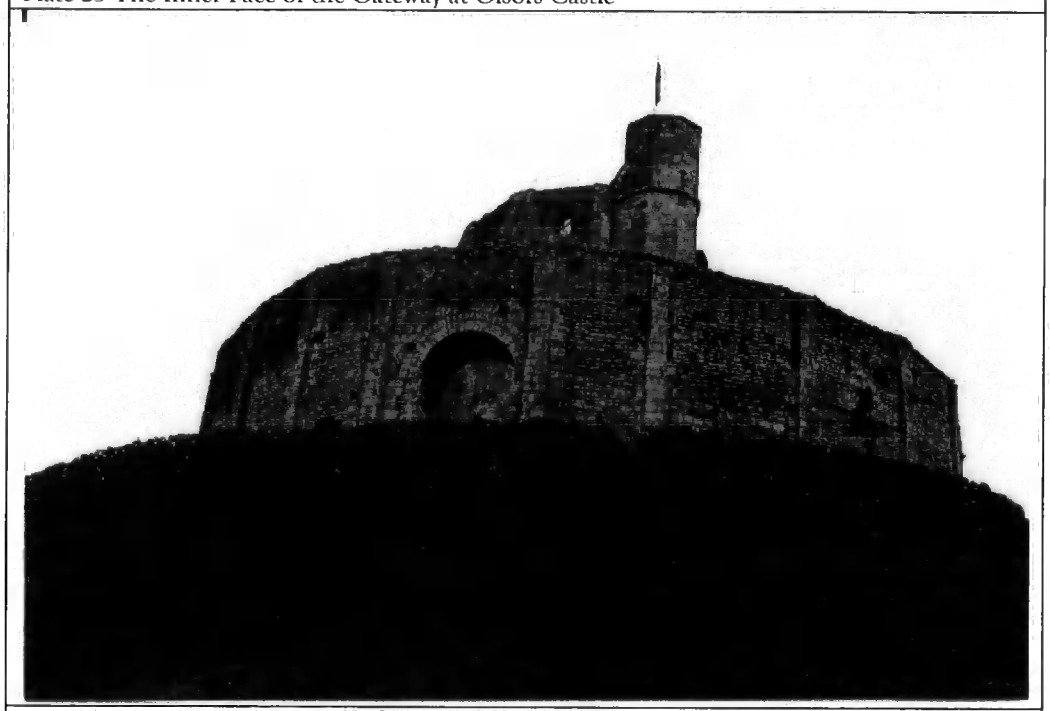


Plate 24 The Outer Face of the Gateway at Gisors Castle

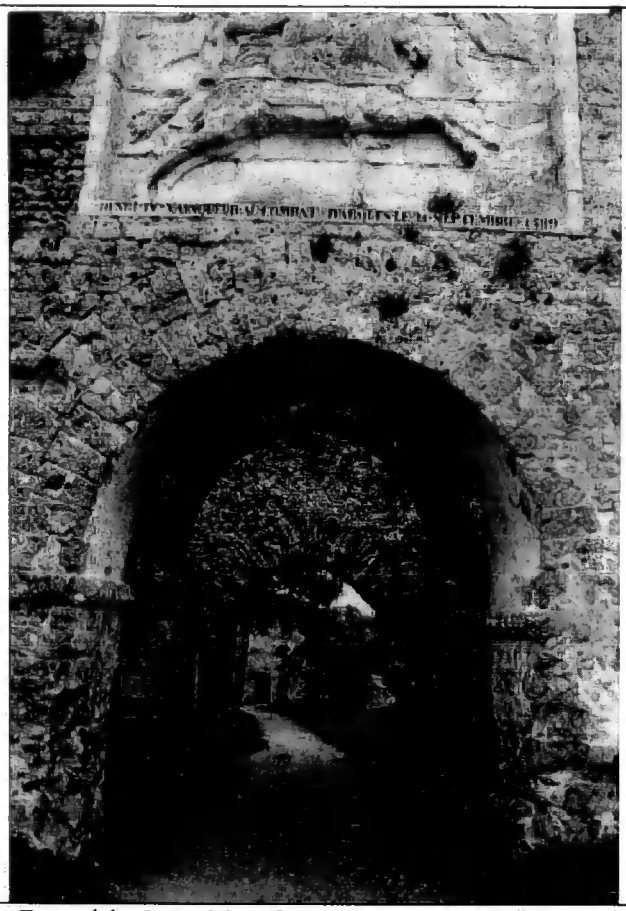


Plate 25 The Inner Face of the Inner Most Gateway at Arques Castle

Plate 26 A Corbel Supporting the Intermediate Arch Within the Gatehouse at Prudhoe Castle

Plate 27 The Surviving Jamb of the Door from the First Church at Kirkham Priory Leading into the Cloister

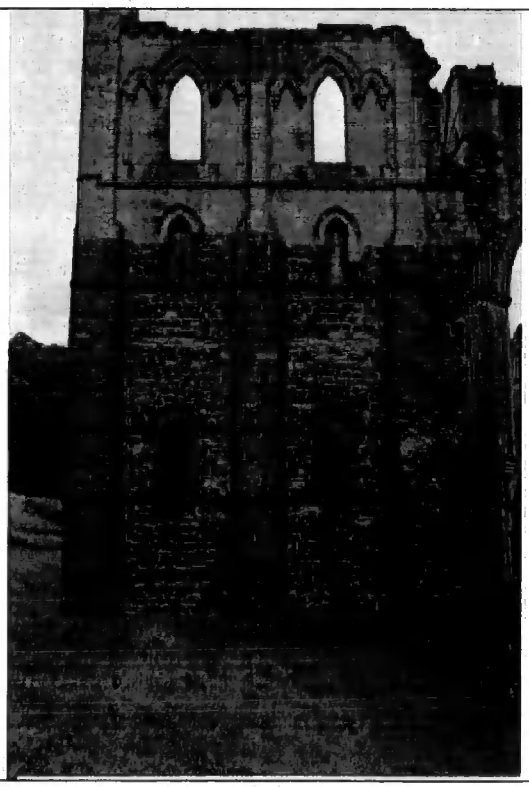


Plate 28 The Western Elevation of the North Transept at Rievaulx Abbey

Plate 29 The Coursing of the Stonework in the Gatehouse at Egremont Castle

Plate 30 Early Stonework at Helmsley Castle

Plate 31 The North Door of Bowes Parish Church

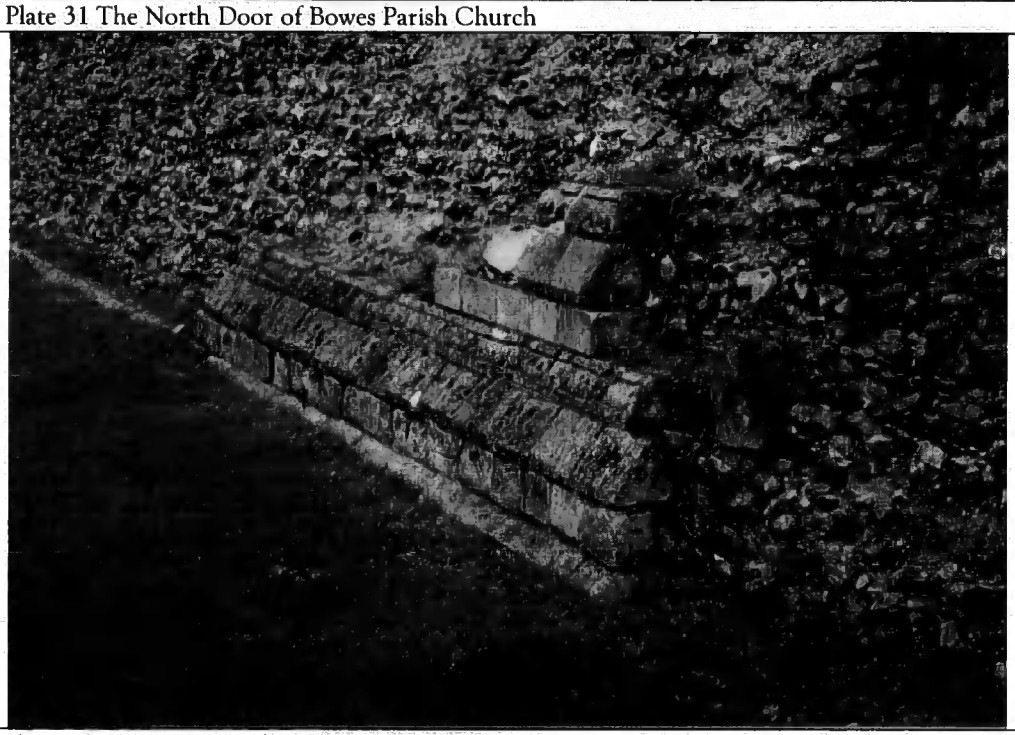


Plate 32 The Moulded Plinth at Canterbury Castle.

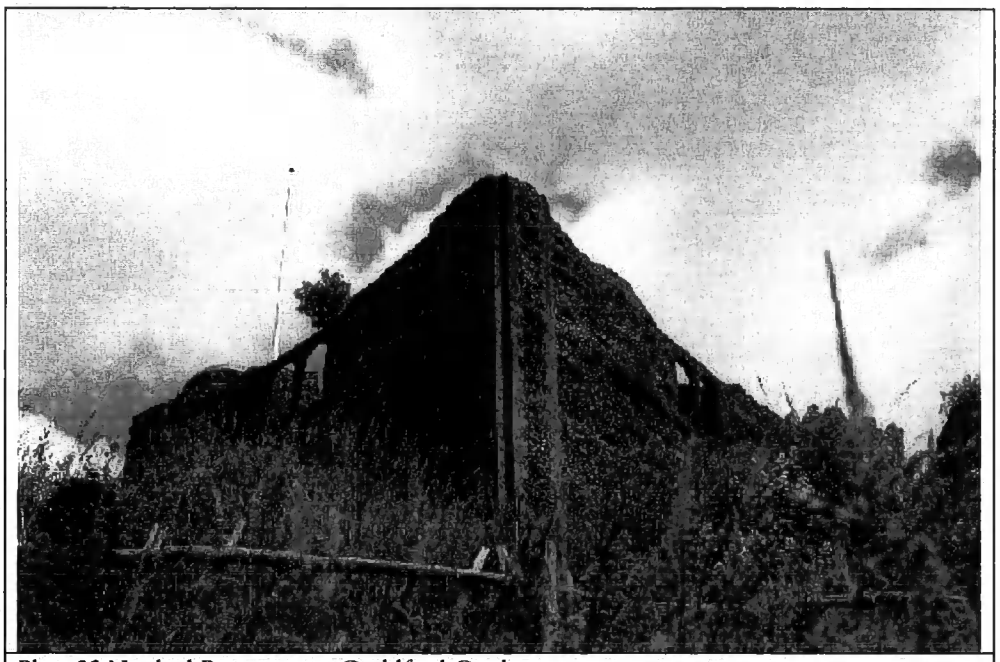


Plate 33 Nooked Buttresses at Guildford Castle

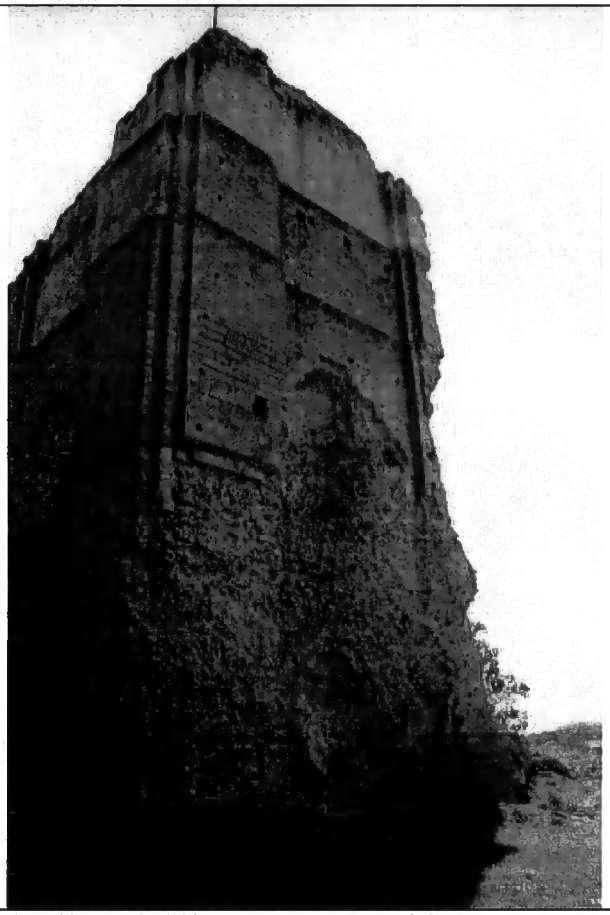


Plate 34 Nooked Buttresses at Brionne Castle, Normandy

Plate 35 Exctract from the Bayeaux Tapestry Showing the Assumed Representation of the Great Tower at Rouen

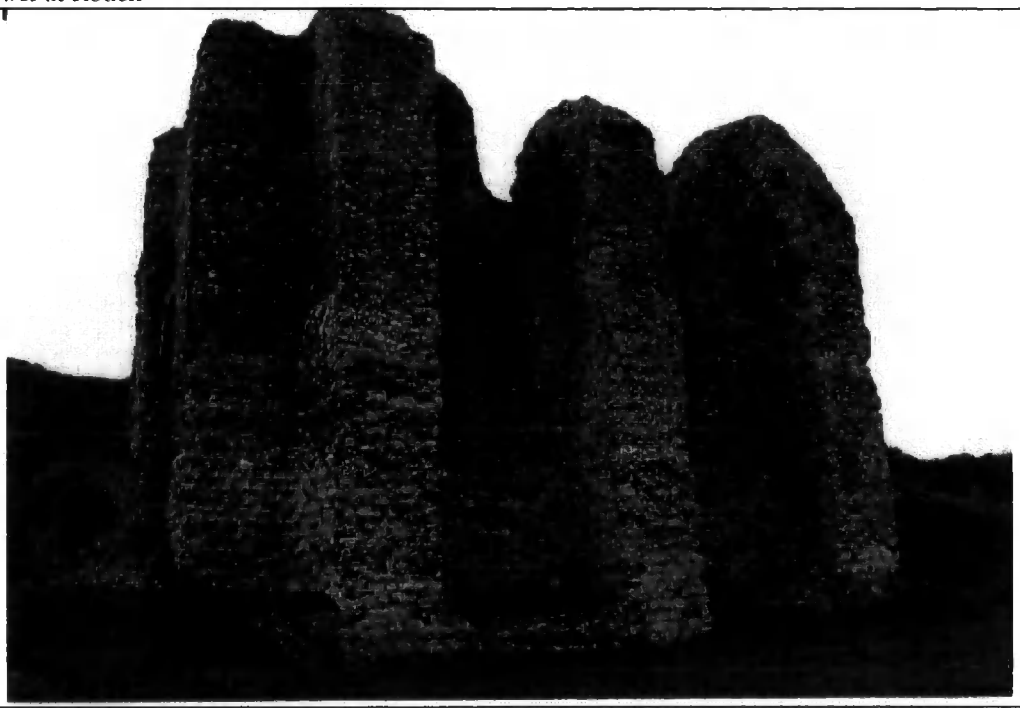


Plate 36 The Great Tower at Arquest Showing the Buttresses that Divide the Building into Two Cells

Plate 37 The Remains of the Great Tower at Caen

Plate 38 The Great Tower at Falaise Castle

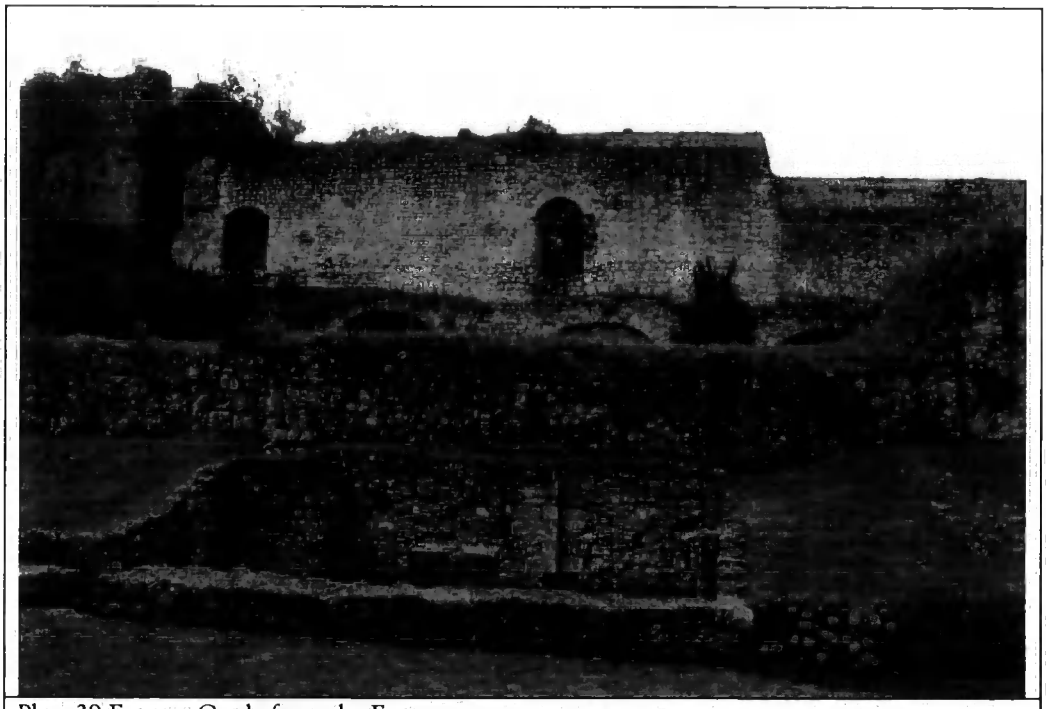


Plate 39 Fecamp Castle from the East

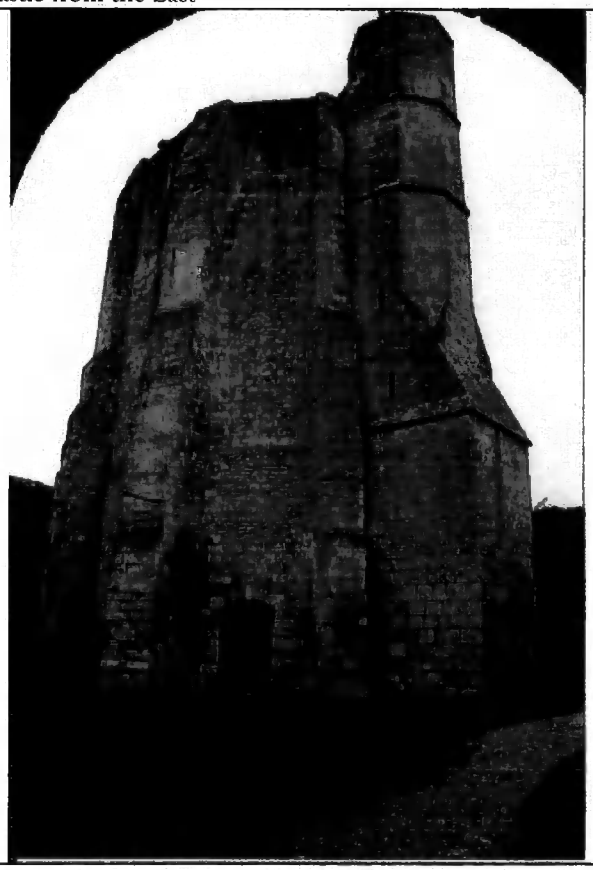


Plate 40 The Polygonal Tower at Gisors (the earliest phase of the tower is that of the coursed rubble masontry. The buttresses, stair tower and ground-floor opeining appear to be later)

Plate 41 The remains of the chapel in the shell keep at Gisors Castle.

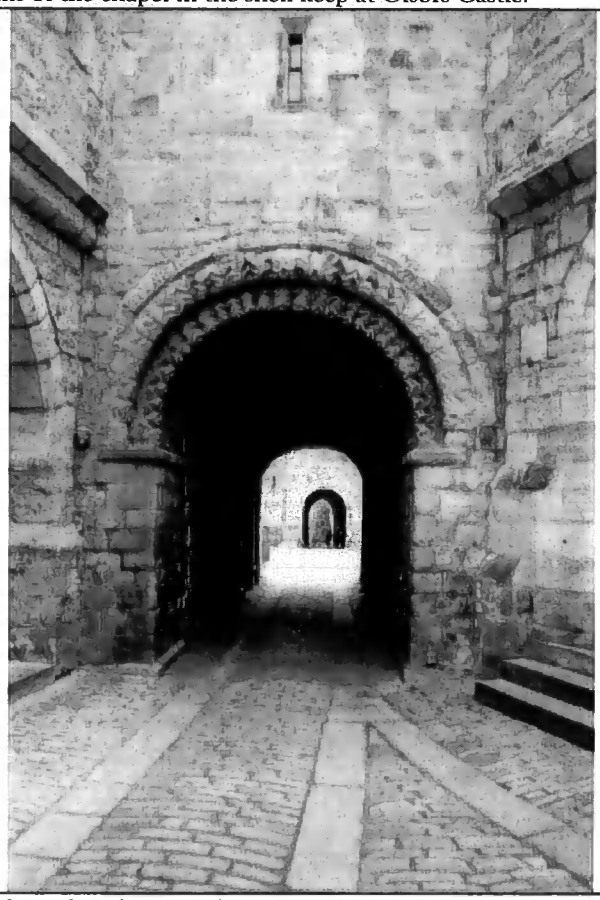


Plate 42 The inner face of the keep gatehouse at Alnwick

Plate 43 Durham Castle from Framwellgate Bridge Showing the Rising Ground Towards Palace Green

Plate 44 The Difference in Present Ground Level Between Palace Green and North Bailey

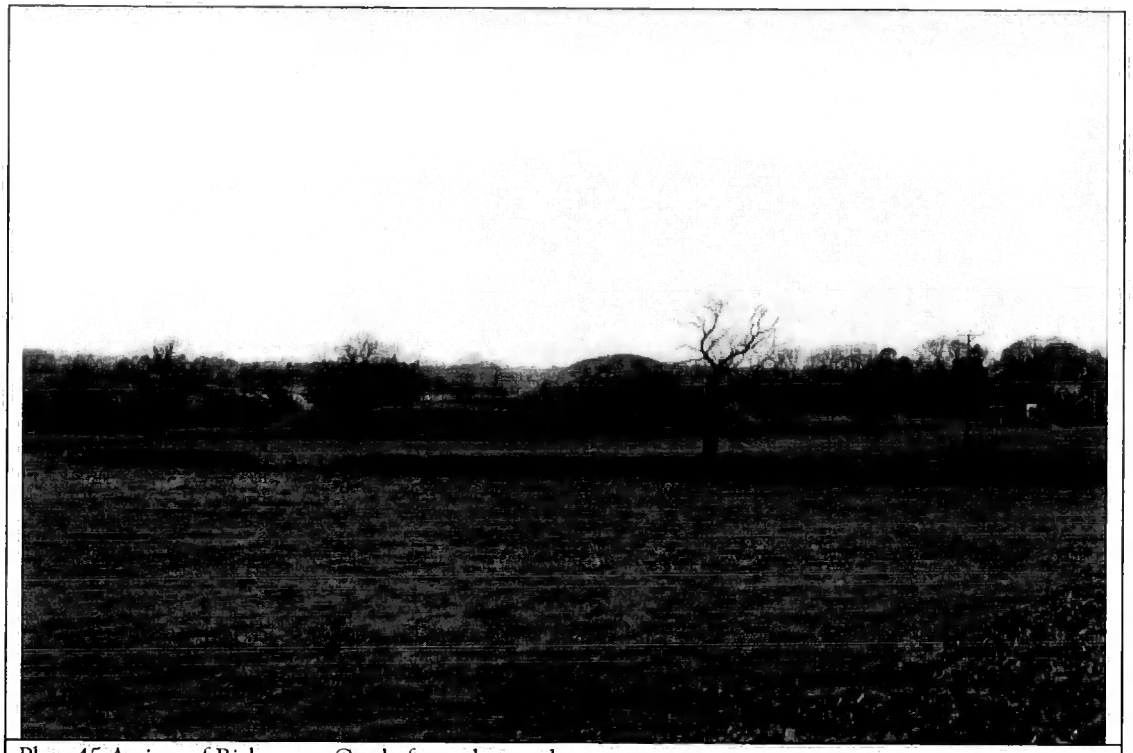


Plate 45 A view of Bishopton Castle from the south.

Plate 46 A view of the fishponds at Bishopton showing the bank dividing two ponds

Plate 47 The causeway from the castle to the village at Bishopton from the bailey.

Plate 48 A view of the remains on the peninsula at Bishop Middleham.

Plate 49 Bishop Middleham Church from the peninsula.

Plate 50 The fishponds to the south of the castle site at Bishop Middleham.

Plate 51 A general view of the south front of Warkworth Castle.

Plate 52 The motte at Warkworth Castle from the main street in town.

Plate 53 The exterior of the chancel of Warkworth Parish Church.

Plate 54 The north face of the chancel of Norham Parish Church.

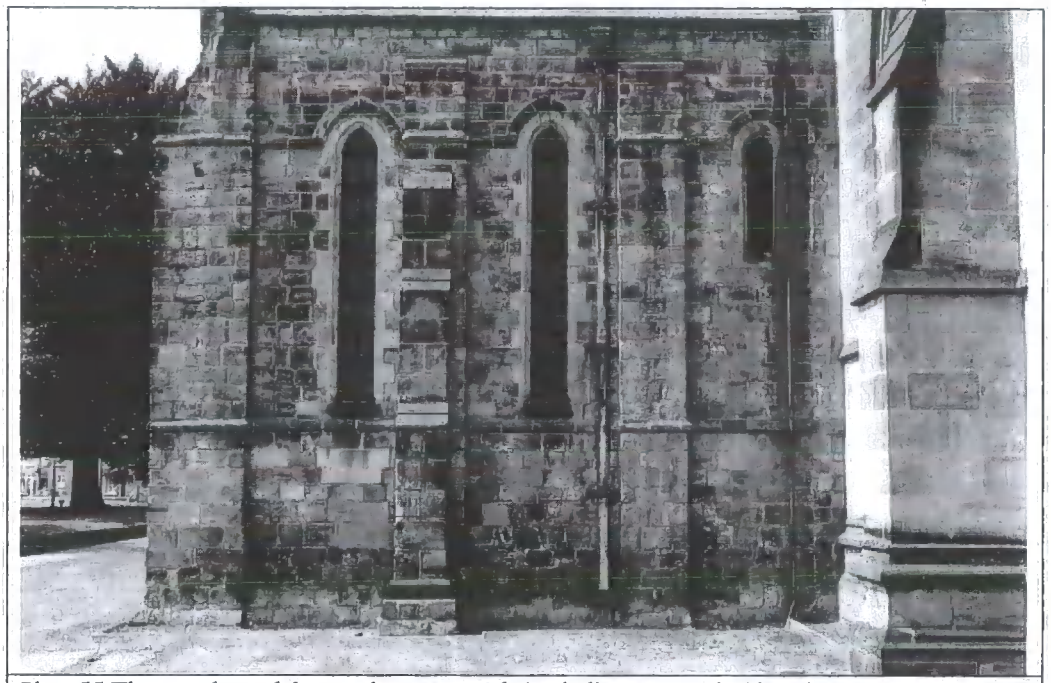


Plate 55 The east face of the south transept of Northallerton Parish Church.

Plate 56 The entrance front of the great tower at Dover.

Plate 57 The entrance front of the great tower at Newcastle.

Plate 58 The roofline at Newcastle showing the gallery at third floor level above it.

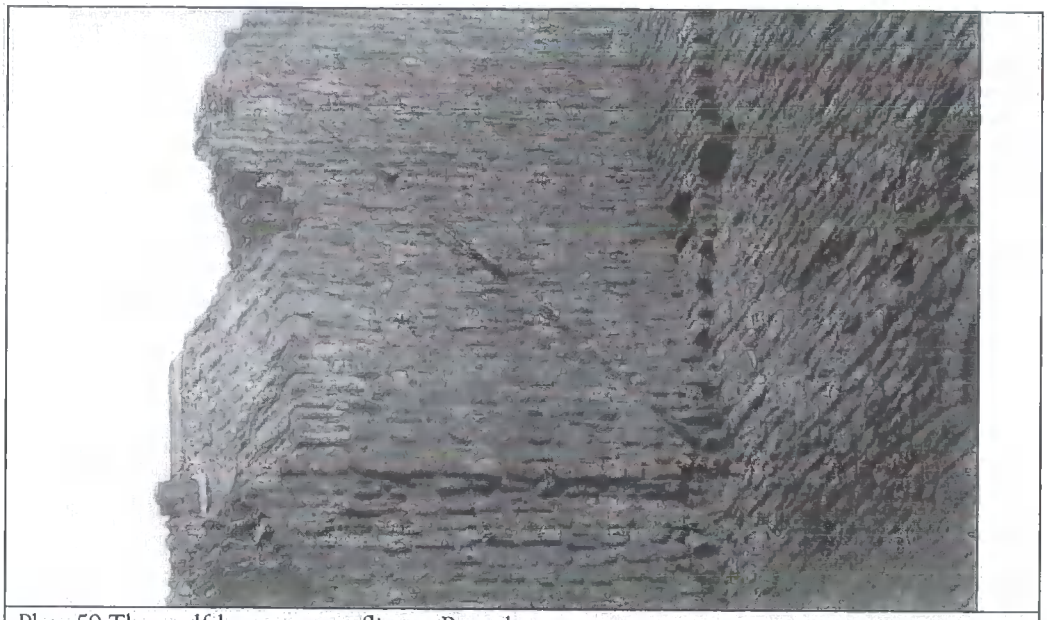


Plate 59 The twelfth-century roofline at Brough.

Plate 60 The twelfth-century roofline at Brougham.

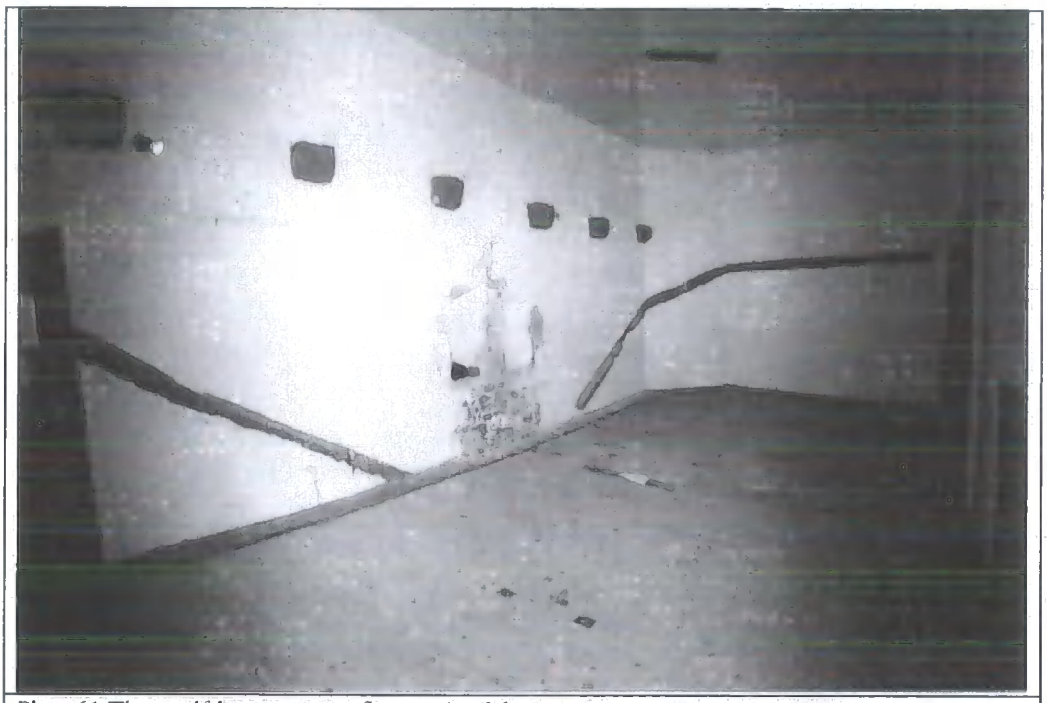


Plate 61 The twelfth-century roofline at Appleby.

Plate 62 The termination of the staircase at Newcastle.

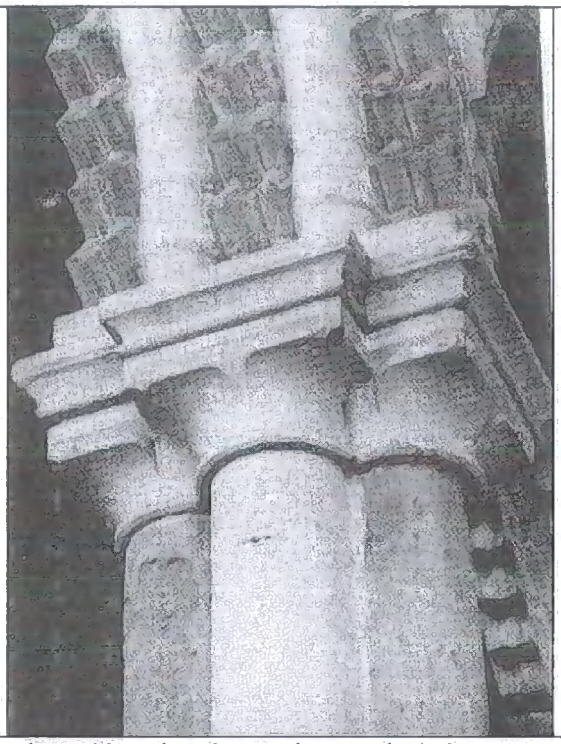


Plate 63 Capitals from the Galilee Chapel at Durham Cathedral

Plate 64 Capitals from the Chapel at Newcastle.

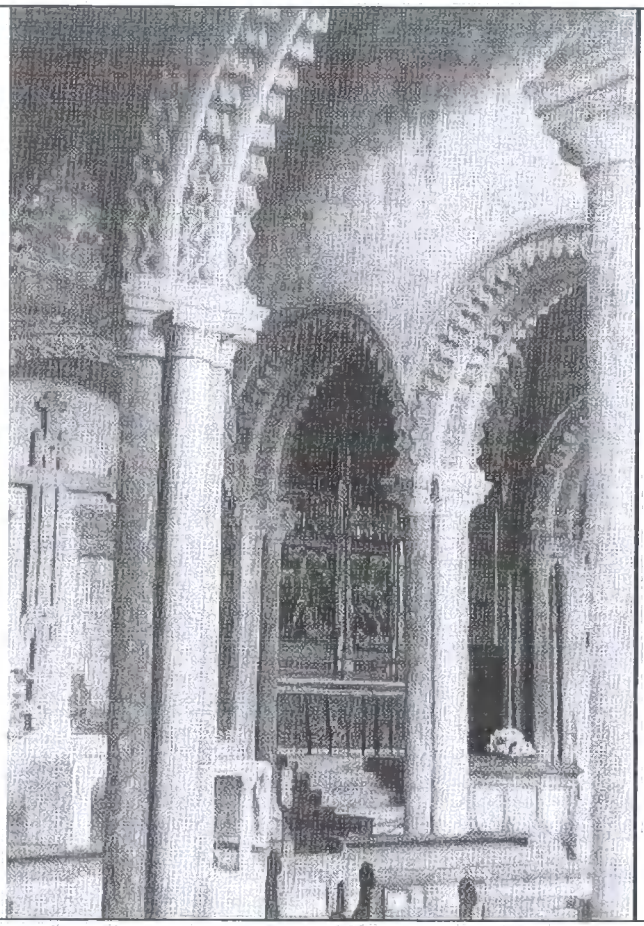


Plate 65 Chevron work on the arcades at the Galilee of Durham Cathedral.

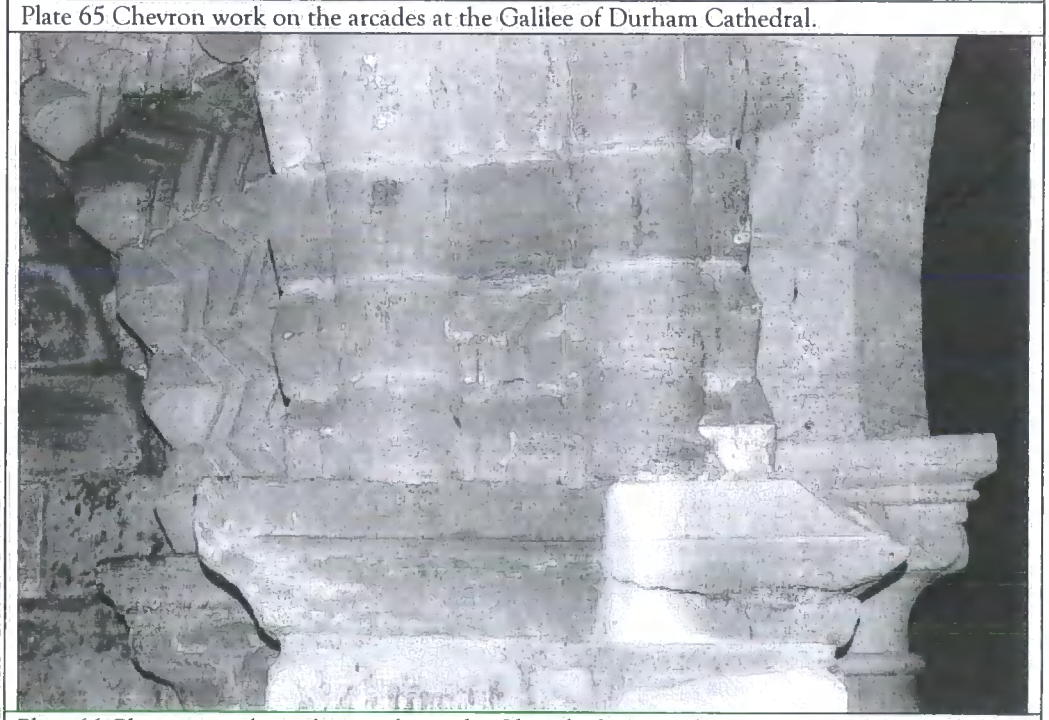


Plate 66 Chevron work on the arcades at the Chapel of Newcastle.

Plate 67 The north door of Laughton-en-le-Morthen Church.

Plate 68 St Mary's Beaumont-on-Eden from Castle Green.

Plate 69 The south doorway of St Mary's Beaumont-on-Eden.

Plate 70 The arcading in the north and east walls of St Mary's Beaumont-on-Eden.

Plate 71 The inner south-east corner of the great tower at Bowes showing the rise of the staircase.

Plate 72 The east face of the great tower at Bowes

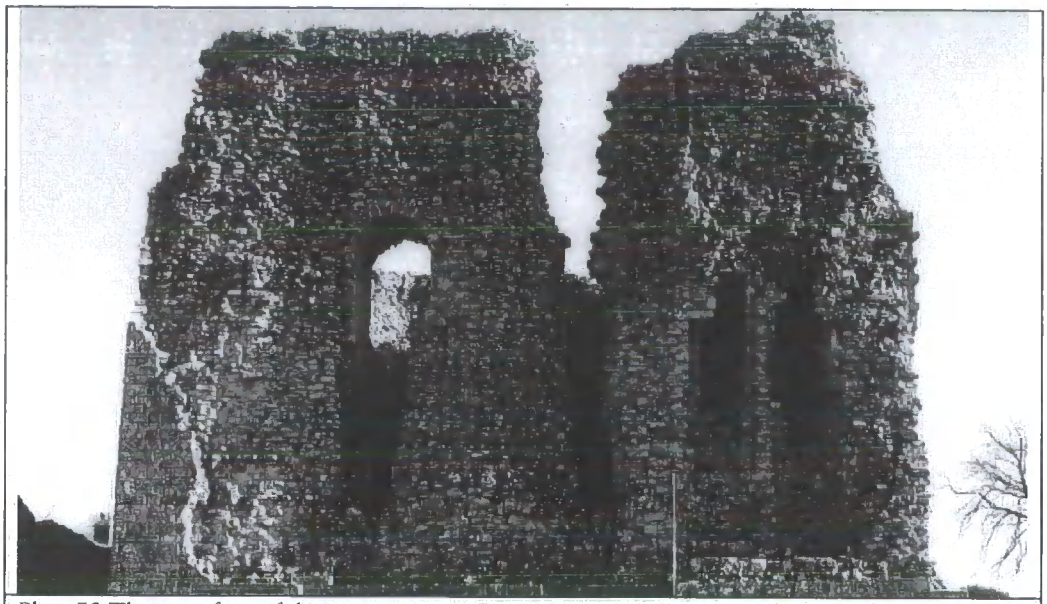


Plate 73 The west face of the great tower at Bowes.

Table 1 Pipe Roll References to Castle Construction in the North of England

This table lists the references to individual castles on the Pipe Rolls. The references begin with County, Castle, page number in relevant volume, calendar year and regnal year to identify the volume of Pipe Rolls.

CUMBERLAND

Carlisle 54 1164-1165 11 Henry II

And in work on the gate of Carlisle 10s and 6d.

Carlisle 108 1167-1168 14 Henry II

And for the removal of the castle gate of Carlisle 40s by the King's writ.

Carlisle 113 1172-1173 19 Henry II

And in the work on the aforesaid castle £8 and 3s by writ of the king and for the visitation of the aforesaid. And for

Carlisle 2 1172-1173 19 Henry II

And to Robert de Vals £20 for keeping knights in the castle of Carlisle by writ of Richard de Luci.

Carlisle 97 1186-1186 32 Henry II

In work at the castle of Carlisle 67s by the King's writ and by the view of Adam and Robert and Ralf the Clerk and Wulfric the engineer.

Carlisle 125 1177-1178 24 Henry II

And in pardon by the King's writ to Robert de Vallibus' receipt of £46 and 6s and 4d , the annual farm of the county which was spent on the royal castle.

Carlisle 97 1185-1186 32 Henry II

In work on the chamber of Carlisle £26 by writ of the King. And in work on the bridge of Carlisle castle 67s and 7d by the same writ.

Carlisle 94 1186-1187 33 Henry II

And in work on the royal chamber in the castle of Carlisle and one small tower in the aforesaid castle £41 and 9s and 7d by writ of the King and for the view of Wilbert son of Hacun and Richard son of Walter. And for cutting down material for repairing the timberwork of the keep 10s by the same writ.

Carlisle 190 1187-1188 34 Henry II

And in work on the royal chamber in the castle of Carlisle and for planking the tower in the same castle £13 6s 9d by King's writ and for the view of by Richard son of Walter and Wilbert son of Hacun and for the completion of the aforesaid chamber 77s and 6d by aforesaid writ and for the view of the above.

Carlisle 253 1201 3 John

And for the strengthening of the castle which are in the custody of the sheriff, ditches, palisades and from all repairs and beautifications (?) £27 and 14s by the King's writ under the sight of Walter the reeve of Carlisle and Alan the monier.

Carlisle 255 1202 4 John

And in work on the castle of Carlisle £47 by King's writ and for the view of Ranulf son of Arkil and Andre son of William.

Carlisle 253 1203 5 John

And in repair to the gate and royal housing in the castle of Carlisle £61 and 10s and 9d by King's writ.

Carlisle 141 1204 6 John

And in repair of the castle of Carlisle £116 and 4s and 1d by King's writ and for the view of Alan son of O and William of Ripon.

Sowerby 99 1185-1186 32 Henry II

Robert de Vallibus is owed £1 and 3s and 4d given to the castle of Sourebi over ten years.

Sowerby 95 1186-1187 33 Henry II

Robert de Vallibus renders £1 and 3S and 4d given to the castle of Sourebi over ten yearly parts. In total £8 and 6s and 8d and is owed £36 and 16s and 8d.

Sowerby 191 1187-1188 34 Henry II

The same Robert renders of £36 and 16s and 8d given to the castle of Souerbi over many years.

Sowerby 50 1190 2 Richard I

The same Robert renders £28 and 5s and 10d given to the castle of Sourebi over many years.

Sowerby 75 1193 5 Richard I

The same Robert renders £7 and 5s and 10d given to the castle of Sourebi over many years.

Sowerby 214 1195 7 Richard I

And of 3s clear for the church of the castle of Sourebi

COUNTY DURHAM

Barnard Castle 254 1196 8 Richard I

Peter the chaplain of the Castle of Barnard.

Durham 39 1211 13 John

And in repair on the castle and housing of Durham £13 and 3s and 3d and a half penny.

Durham 47 1212 14 John

And in work on the castle and the housing of the castle of Durham and one gate and one garret (?) £18 and 5s and 8d by the King's writ and for the view of William de Camera and Gilbert son of Gernasii.

LANCASHIRE

Lancaster 192 1197 9 Richard I

And in repair to the castle and gaol of Lancaster 10 marks by writ of Hugh, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lancaster 71 1199 1 John

And in repair to the castle of Lancaster 20 marks by King's writ.

Lancaster 65 1210 12 John

The same sheriff renders for account £100 and £31 and 26s and 4d of male help from the county for the works on the housing in the royal castle.

Bamburgh 1 1163-1164 10 Henry II

And in work of the tower of Bamburgh £4 by the King's writ.

Bamburgh 169 1167-1168 14 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Bamburgh £30 by the writ of Richard of Lucy and for the view of Robert of Stuteville.

Bamburgh 51-52 1169-1170 16 Henry II

William son of Waldenii owes 40s in respect of the work on the castle. Certain burgers of Bamburgh owe 8s because of certain pledges. William son of Waldeof owes 5 marks because of refusal to help on the works of Bamburgh Castle

Bamburgh 24 1195 7 Richard I

And in improvement of the royal housing in the castle of Bamburgh 60s by the same writ.

Bamburgh 9 1197 9 Richard I

And in improvement to the housing in the castle of Bamburgh 11s and 4d by the King's writ.

Bamburgh 143 1198 10 Richard I

And in improvement of the gateway in the castle of Bamburgh 10s by the King's writ.

Bamburgh 2 1200 2 John

And in repair of the housing of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne and of Bamburgh 100s by the King's writ.

Bamburgh 244 1201 3 John

And in work of the castle of Bamburgh £25 and 12s by the King's writ and for the view of William son of Edulfi and Ade of Bamburgh.

Bamburgh 52 1208 10 John

And in improvement of the royal housing in Bamburgh and Newcastle 25s and 4d by writ of the King.

Bamburgh 174 1209 11 John

And in repair to the royal housing near to Bamburgh 59s and 8d by writ of the King.

Bamburgh 107 1210 12 John

And in improvement to the housing of Bamburgh and Newcastle 25s and for the terrementis (Prison) 8s and 6d.

Bamburgh 47 1212 14 John

And in work of the castle of Bamburgh £117 and 8s and 4d by the King's writ and for the view of Luce Taillatorics and John son of Radulfi and Marin generi Tratrum.

Newcastle upon Tyne 75 1165-1166 12 Henry II

And in work of 1 gallows near to the Newcastle-upon-Tyne 100s.

Newcastle upon Tyne 169 1167-1168 14 Henry II

And in work on the Newcastle-upon-Tyne £20 and 20s by writ of the same under and for the view of Roger son of Richard.

Newcastle upon Tyne 66 1171-1172 18 Henry II

And in work on the tower of the New Castle upon Tyne £158 and 9s by writ of the King and for the view of Wid. Tisum and Robert de Denelestune and Goscet Ruffi and Robert son of Eue. In work of the same £8 by King's writ and for the view of the aforesaid. And in the aforesaid works £18 and 12s by writ of the King and for the view of the above.

Newcastle upon Tyne 110 1172-1173 19 Henry II

And in the holding of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne 100s by writ of Richard de Luci. And in work on the tower of the New Castle £167 13s and 5d by King's writ and for the view of Wid Tisum and Robert de Yueliston and Locet Ruffi et Robert son of Eue.

Newcastle upon Tyne 106 1173-1174 20 Henry II

In work of the tower of the New Castle-upon-Tyne £7 and 15s by writ of the king and for the view of Wid Tisum and Robert of Deneleston and Goscel Ruffi and Robert son of Eue.

Newcastle upon Tyne 106 1173-1174 20 Henry II

In work on the aforesaid tower 100s and 10d by writ of the King and for the view of the aforesaid.

Newcastle upon Tyne 183-1841174-1175 21 Henry II

And in work on the tower of Newcastle-upon-Tyne £50 by writ of the King and for the view of Robert of Dineliston and Randulf Baird. And for work on the tower of Newcastle £100 and £25 and 13s and 7d by writ of the King and for the view of the aforesaid.

Newcastle upon Tyne 137-1381175-1176 22 Henry II

In work on the aforesaid tower £17 and 22d by King's writ and for the view of the aforesaid. And in work on the tower of the New Castle £133 and 7s and 6d by the King's writ and for the view of Robert de Dineleston and Randulf Baiard.

Newcastle upon Tyne 60 1177-1178 24 Henry II

In work on the New Castle upon Tyne and the fourth gate of the same castle £20 and 17s and 1d numbered by writ of the King and for the view of Roger of Glanvill only for the orders of the King.

Newcastle upon Tyne 132 1194 6 Richard I

And in work on the royal housing in the Newcastle-upon-Tyne 28s and 2d by King's writ.

Newcastle upon Tyne 24 1195 7 Richard I

And in improvement to the royal housing of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne 60s by writ of the King. And in improvement to the gaol of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 4s and 5d by aforesaid writ.

Newcastle upon Tyne 9 1197 9 Richard I

And in improvement on the tower of Newcastle 37s.

Newcastle upon Tyne 143 1198 10 Richard I

And in repair to the Newcastle-upon-Tyne 40s by the King's writ.

Newcastle upon Tyne 119 1199 1 John

And in work on the Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the housing of the same castle £28 and 19s and 9d by writ of G. son of Petri.

Newcastle upon Tyne 2 1200 2 John

And in repair to the housing of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne and of Bamburgh 100s by King's writ. And in work on the gallows of the Newcastle £10 by King's writ and for the view of Elye son of Turold and Ernaldi of Hornebi.

Newcastle upon Tyne 1 1207 9 John

And in repair to the royal housing in the New Castle upon Tyne 75s and 9d by writ of the King.

Newcastle upon Tyne 52 1208 10 John

And in improvement to the royal housing in Bamburgh and Newcastle 25s and 4d by writ of the King.

Newcastle upon Tyne 107 1210 12 John

And in improvement to the housing of Bamburgh and Newcastle 25s and for the terrementis (prison) 8s and 6d.

Newcastle upon Tyne 47 1212 14 John

And in work to the New Castle Tower and ditches £133 and 18s and 11d by the King's writ and for the view of the aforesaid.

Norham 38-39 1211 13 John

And in work to the castle and Bishop's housing near to Norham and Tweedmouth £300 and £72 and 8s and 11d by writ of the King.

Norham 46-47 1212 14 John

And in work on the castle of Norham with repair to the housing and gravluum (paths?)of the said castle £273 and 3s and 2d and a half by aforesaid writ and for the view of Thomas of Turisele and Elye de Hayardeston and Partic de Gosewick.

Prudhoe 113 1172-1173 19 Henry II

And Odinel de Umfraville £20 for holding knights in the castle of Prudhoe for damage to itself from the Scot by writ of Richard de Lucy.

Tweedmouth 38-39 1211 13 John

And in work to the castle and Bishop's housing near to Norham and Tweedmouth £300 and £72 and 8s and 11d by writ of the King.

Wark on Tweed 177 1157-1158 4 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Wark £21 and 8s and 11d testified by William de M'lai

Wark on Tweed 13-14 1158-1159 5 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Wark £63 and 6s and 1d. And in work on the castle of Wark £26.

Wark on Tweed 56-57 1159-1160 6 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Wark 5 marks. And in work on the castle of Wark 10 marks.

Wark on Tweed 23-25 1160-1161 7 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Wark £3 and 10s and 5d.

Wark on Tweed 119 1199 1 John

And in work on the castle of Wark 2 marks by aforesaid King's writ. And in work on the aforesaid castle of Wark 10 marks by writ of Gulfridi son of Peter.

WESTMORLAND

Appleby143 1129-1130 31 Henry I

...renders payment of 40s for the gate of the castle of Appleby. In total 20s.

Appleby119 1175-1176 22 Henry II

Gospatic son of Orm renders payment of half a mark in amercement because he added the royal castle of Appleby to the realm of the Scottish King.

Appleby73 1193 5 Richard I

And in work of the Castle of Appleby 11s by the King's writ.

Appleby12 1197 9 Richard I

And in improvement of the bridge of the Castle of Appleby 40s by the King's writ.

Appleby140 1198 10 Richard I

And in improvement of the Castle of Appleby 40s by the King's writ.

Appleby212 1199 1 John

And in improvement of the Castle of Appleby 100s by the King's writ.

Appleby33 1200 2 John

And in repair of the aforesaid Castles of Appleby and of Bough 10 marks by the King's writ.

Appleby256 1201 3 John

And for the strengthening of the castles which are in the custody of the sheriff known as Appleby and Brough £19 and 16s and 5d by the King's writ, and for the view of Eilliam of Denton and Robert of Newby. And in repair of the castles of Appleby and of Bough £22 and 15s and 1d by the King's writ and for the view of Tom son of Gospatric and Yuonis of Johanaebi and Hugh son of Gernagan.

Brough 140 1198 10 Richard I

And in improvement to the castle of Brough 1 mark by aforesaid writ.

Brough 212 1199 1 John And in improvement to the castle of Brough £4 by the King's writ.

Brough 33 1200 2 John

And in repair to the aforesaid Castles of Appleby and of Bough 10 marks by the King's writ.

Brough 256 1201 3 John

And for the strengthening of the castles which are in the custody of the sheriff known as Appleby and Brough £19 and 16s and 5d by the King's writ and for the view of Eilliam of Denton and Robert of Newby.

Brough 155 1202 4 John

And in work on the castle of Brough 15s by King's writ.

CITY OF YORK

York 29 1182-1183 29 Henry II

And in work on the gallows of York £17 and 11s and 4d by the same writ and for the view of William son of Constanc and Jordan Sacheespee.

York 58-59, 75 1190 2 Richard I

And in work to the castle of York 11s by writ of the King and for the view of Stephen, Celric and Henry of Fishergate. And in work on the motte and castle of York £100 and £79 and 3s and 4d by writ of the King and for the view of Edrici de Vltm Visum and Serlouis Belle. And in work on the castle of York £10 and 13s by writ of the chancellor.

York 61 1191 3 Richard I

And in work on the castle of York £28 and 13s and 9d by writ of the chancellor and by writ of the King and for the view of Randulfus Darisel and Warinum of Knigstreta and Hugh of Beuerl and Hugh Densanz.

York 48 1202 4 John

And in improvement to the castle of York 2 marks by King's writ.

York 198 1203 5 John

And in improvement to the castle of York ...10d by aforesaid.

York 191 1206 8 John

And in repair to the gallows of York £4 and 8s by writ of the King. And in improvement to the castle of York 1 mark by aforesaid writ.

York 78 1207 9 John

And in improvement to the castle of York and the gaol 4 marks by writ of the King.

York 127 1209 11 John

And in improvement on the castle of York 17s and 6d by writ of the king. And in improvement to the Jail 18s by aforesaid writ and for two certain cells by York as far as court Royal 20s and 3d by aforesaid writ.

York 149 1210 12 John

And in repair to the housing and bridge in the castle of York and in strengthening of the prison of the Scots £4 and 5s by aforesaid writ.

York 27 1212 14 John

And in improvement to the housing of York and of Pickering £10 with one to ask for the aforesaid writ and for the view of John of Heil and Henry of Mont.

York 85 1214 16 John

And in improvement to the castle of York 22s.

NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Bowes 63 1170-1171 17 Henry II

And in work to the castle of Bowes £100 by writ of the King. And to Richard the Ingeniator 20s by aforesaid writ.

Bowes 55 1171-1172 18 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Bowes £200 and £24 by writ of the King and for the view of Torphini son of Robert and Wallefi of Bereford and Warin of Scargill.

Bowes 2 1172-1173 19 Henry II

And in works on the castle of Bowes £100 by writ of the King and for the visitation of Torphini son of Robert and Wallefi of Berefored and Warini of Scackergill.

Bowes 49 1173-1174 20 Henry II

And in work on one chamber in the castle of Bowes and for the repair on the gate and for the construction of the propugnaculis of the tower against the coming of the King of the Scots £44 and 16s and 6d by writ of the King and for the view of Waldeof and Warin of Scakgill.

Bowes 75 1179-1180 26 Henry II

In the work of Bowes £39 and 10s and 4d by writ of the King and for the view of Waldenii of Bereford and Osbert son of Fulkonis and David of Morton

Bowes 82 1186-1187 33 Henry II

And in work on the tower of Bowes £23 by writ of the King and for the view of Osbert son of Fulkonis and Stephen of Berningham.

Bowes 82 1187-1188 34 Henry II

And in completion of the work on the tower of Bowes £6 by writ of the King and for the view of Osbert son of Fulkonis and Stephen of Berningham.

Pickering 75 1179-1180 26 Henry II

And in work on the royal housing in the castle of Pickering £6 and 10s by writ of the King and for the view of Alan Mulecaske and William son of Gilbert.

Pickering 57 1182-1183 29 Henry II

And in repair to the castle and royal housing of Pickering £20 and 13s and 4d by aforesaid writ and for the view of William son of Gilbert and Alan of Torenton

Pickering 86 1185-1186 32 Henry II

And in work on the royal housing and the bridge of the castle of Pickering £23 and 10s by writ of the King and for the view of Reginald son of Bernulfi and Richard son of Thomas.

Pickering 116 1197 9 Richard I

And in improvement to the royal housing in the castle of Pickering 35s by King's writ.

Pickering 119 1199 1 John

And in improvement to the castle of Pickering 26s and 4d by King's writ.

Pickering 48 1202 4 John

And in improvement to the castle of Pickering 2 marks and a half by aforesaid writ.

Pickering 79 1207 9 John

And in work on the castles of Scarborough and Pickering £8 and 15s and 6d by writ of the King and for the view of Alan son of Robert and Walter Vpsac.

Pickering 127 1209 11 John

And in work to the castle and royal housing of Pickering £44 and18s and 3d and a half penny by writ of the King.

Pickering 149 1210 12 John

And in repair to the castle and housing and bridge of the castle of Pickering £4 and 11s and 2d by aforesaid writ.

Pickering 27 1212 14 John

And in improvement to the housing of York and of Pickering £10 with one to ask for the aforesaid writ and for the view of John of Heiland and Henry of Mont.

Richmond 5 1171-1172 18 Henry II

And in work on the housing of Richmond and the tower £51 and 11s and 3d by King's writ and for the view of Osbert and William son of Eddred and Aldulf son of Peter and Madiou and Peter son of Ailri.

Richmond 4 1174-1175 21 Henry II

And in work on the castle and housing of Richmond £30 and 6s by writ of the King.

Richmond 4 1174-1175 21 Henry II

And in work on the castle and housing of Richmond £30 and 6s by writ of the King.

Richmond 57 1182-1183 29 Henry II

And in repair of the castle of Richmond £31 and 12s and 4d by writ of the King and for the view of Osbert and Alan and Peter son of Aitrici and William Tinctoris.

Richmond 86 1185-1186 32 Henry II

And in work on the royal housing in the castle of Richmond £13 by King's writ and for the view of Raymond and Asketilli.

Richmond 82 1186-1187 33 Henry II

And in repair of the royal housing in the castle of Richmond £11 and 11s by aforesaid writ and for the view of Simon of Richmond and Odulfi son of Reineri.

Scarborough 146 1157-1158 4 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Scarborough £4 testified by Robert de Ross.

Scarborough 29-31 1158-1159 5 Henry II

And in work on the tower of Scarborough £23 and 9s and 4d. And in work on the castle of Scarborough £40. And in work on the castle of Scarborough £41.

Scarborough 14 1159-1160 6 Henry II

And in work on the tower of Scarborough four times £20 and £14 and 3s and 4d.

Scarborough 36 1160-1161 7 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Scarborough £7 and 6s and 8d and for the view of Robert de Russ and David Larden by writ of the King.

Scarborough 50 1161-1162 8 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Scarborough four times £20 and £10.

Scarborough 57-58 1162-1163 9 Henry II

And in the work of Scarborough £18 and 13s and 4d by writ of the King.

Scarborough 11-12 1163-1164 10 Henry II

And in the work of Scarborough £18 and 12s and 4d by the King's writ.

Scarborough 79 1167-1168 14 Henry II

And in work on the castle of Scarborough £57 and 15d by writ of the King and for the view of Ansketilli Malecnie.

Scarborough 31 1168-1169 15 Henry II

And in work on the tower of Scarborough £13 and 11s by writ of the King.

Scarborough 165 1174-1175 21 Henry II

And in work on one gate and one barbican in the castle of Scarborough 40s by writ of the King.

Scarborough 83 1187-1188 34 Henry II

And for Ernno de Neuill for repair of the castle of Scarborough £16 and 7s and 4d by writ of Randulf de Glanville.

Scarborough 116 1197 9 Richard I

And in improvement to the castle of Scarborough 45s by aforesaid writ.

Scarborough 119 1199 1 John

And in improvement to the castle of Scarborough 55s by aforesaid writ.

Scarborough 144 1201 3 John

And John himself £16 and 10s for the custody of the castle of Scarborough by writ of the king.

Scarborough 48 1202 4 John

And in repair to the same castle £14 by writ of the King.

Scarborough 53 1205 7 John

And in work on the castle of Scarborough £58 and 12s by writ of the King and for the view of Ade de Turri and Joscei.

Scarborough 140-141 1206 8 John

And in work on the castle of Scarborough £68 and 8s and 2d.

Scarborough 79 1207 9 John

And in work on the castles of Scarborough and Pickering £8 and 15s and 6d by writ of the King and for the view of Alan son of Robert and Walter Vpsac.

Scarborough 141 1208 10 JohnAnd in work on the castle of Scarborough £68 and 8s and 2d.

Scarborough 149 1210 12 John

And in work of the castle of Scarborough £620 and 1d by writ of the King and for the view of Walter Wpsat and Simon as Portam.

Scarborough 26 1212 14 John

And in work on the castle of Scarborough £155 and 6s and 8d for writ of the king and for the view of Simon de Porter and Alani Ingelr.

Topcliffe 165 1174-1175 21 Henry II

And in work and enforcement of the castle of Topcliffe in the time of Werre £7 and 10s and 2d by the same writ.

WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Knaresborough 39 1205 7 John

And in work on the castle of Knaresborough £238 and 3s by writ of the King and for the view of Richard of Brienton and Thomas of Walkingham.

Knaresborough 218 1206 8 John

And in work on the castle of Knaresborough four times £24 and 5s and 3d by writ of the King and for the view of Thomas of Walkingham and Richard of Brienton.

Knaresborough 126 1207 9 John

And in work on the castle and royal housing in the castle of Knaresborough four times £20 and £16 and 19s and 7d by aforesaid writ and for the view of William and Thomas of Wallingham and Richard of Brenton.

Knaresborough 50 1208 10 John

And in work on the ditch of the castle of Knaresborough £300 and £20 and 7s and 5d by King's writ and for the view of William and Thomas of Wallingham and Richard of Brenton.

Knaresborough 14 1209 11 John

And in work on the castle and the housing and the ditches of Knaresborough 200 and a four times £20 and £18 and 13s and 3d and a half by writ of the king.

Knaresborough 88 1211 13 John

And in work on the castle of Knaresborough and the ditches and housing of the same castle for two years £119 and 18s and 8d by writ of the King and for the view of Thomas of Wakingham and William of Lofthus and Ade Anglici.

Knaresborough 169 1212 14 John

And in work on the castle of Knaresborough £31 and 13s and 4d by writ of the King and for the view of Roger Jurenis and William de Lofthus.

Knaresborough 16 1214 16 John

And in work on the castle of Knaresborough £4 and 18s by writ of the King.

Tickhill 26 1178-1179 25 Henry II

And in work on the tower of Tickhill £59 and 3s by writ of the king and for the view of Randulf Parmentarii and Hamonis of Sunderland.

Tickhill 76 1179-1180 26 Henry II

In work on the tower of Tickhill and the stone bridge in the same castle £60 by writ of the King and for visitation of Randulf Clarelli and Gifferdi Serventis.

Tickhill 273-2741196 8 Richard I

And in work on the certain housing in the castle of Tickhill £26 and 19s and 8d by writ of the King and for the view of William Clarel and Gulfridi son of Edrici. And in the failure of the housing destroyed by our count John Morit 11s and 11d.

Tickhill 153 1197 9 Richard I

And from the failure of the housing destroyed by our count John Moriton 11s et 11d. And in repair on the royal housing in Tickhill £20 by writ of H. Archbishop of Canterbury and for the view of Burandi and Randulf of Muscham. And in repair on the same housing 10 marks by writ aforesaid and for the view of the already mentioned.

Tickhill 47 1204 6 John

And in repair on the castle of Tickhill £10 by writ of the King.

Tickhill 224-2251205 7 John

And in work on the castle of Tickhill 43s by writ of the King. And in works on the castle of Tickhill four times £20 and £6 pounds and 4d by writ of the King and for the view of Hugh of Ageliein and Richard of Hidhawes.

Tickhill 78-79 1206 8 John

And in work on one wardrobe in the castle of Tickhill and one granary and one stable four times £10 and 70s and 10d by King's writ and for the view of Geoffrey son of William and Robert Berlet. And for the sustenance of 5 knights and 10 servants and 2 builders and 6 carpenters in the castle of Tickhill for the maintenance after the death of King Richard and for one barbican built before £38 and 7s by writ of the King and for the view of Geoffrey brother of William and Robert Berlet.

Tickhill 117 1207 9 John

And in work on the castle £35 and 10s and 8d. And in work of the housing of Tickhill of which there is none £8 and 5s and 6d by writ of the King and for the view of Robert the Frenchman and Hugh of Baggel.

Table 2 References to Castles in the Sample area from the Chronicle of Jordan Fantosme (Michaeol 1840)

CASTLE	QUOTATION	PAGE
Alnwick	Let us go to Alnwick, if you will allow me	27
	The great host of Albany went to Alnwick	27
	Let us go to Alnwick, let us leave this one alone.	77
	We will go to Alnwick to besiege the castle	79
	And come to Alnwick, the did not delay longer; But the Scots burn and wasted the country. The church of Saint-Laurence was violated, Three priests in the church were by force castrated, And three hundred men murdered, without a word of falsehood;	79
	The king was at Alnwick with his great gathered host;	79
	That he was at Alnwick with a small suit.	79
	And go to Alnwick by night closely.	81
	Before Alnwick he stood unarmed.	81
	Before Alnwick, the castle of which I sing;	85
Appleby	But went to Appleby, there he directed his march. There were no people in it: therefore he took it speedily. The king had very soon the castle of Appleby; There were no people in it, but was quite unguarded. Gospatric the son of Horm, an old grey-headed Englishman, Was the constable; he soon cried mercy... When he had the castle and the tower of Appleby;	67
	For he has taken Appleby, for which I very much lament,... How my good fellow! said the king, is then Appleby taken?	73
Bamburgh	To the castle of Bamborough immediately despatched them.	55
Brough	They want to go to Brough, the resolution was soon taken. If it is not surrendered to the, not a single living being shall go out of it; But the castle was not so unprovided, That there were not within it more than six chevaliers. The castle was very soon attacked on all sides; And the Flemings and the Border-men make a violent assault upon them, And have the first day taken from them the portcullis, And soon they left it and placed themselves in the tower. Now are they in this tower, they will hold out a short time; For they set fire to it, they will burn them inside it. They do not know any plan nor what they can do; Already the fire is lighted: now they will be burnt here. by my faith! fair sire, if you please, they will not do so; But will behave as chevaliers: they will stick to the king, For they see very well they will have no succour. They cannot hold out longer, they have surrendered to the king. That is well done which they do now. They have surrendered to the king, they have great sorrow in their hearts. But a new knight had come to them that day. Now hear of his deeds and his great virtues: When his companions had all surrendered, He remained in the tower and seized two shields, He hung them on the battlements, he staid there long, And threw at the Scots three sharp javelins; With each of the javelins he has struck a man dead. When those failed him, he takes up sharp stakes And hurled them at the Scots, and confused some of the, And ever keeps shouting: you shall all be soon vanquished. Never by a single vassal was strife better maintained. When the fire deprived him of the defence of the shield, He is not to blame if he then surrendered. Now Brough overthrown and the best of the tower.	69
	And the castle of Brough, which is not much worse.	71
	And the castle of Brough, I must well acquaint you.	73
Carlisle	Of your rights Carlisle is the most difficult to secure; And since the young king is willing to five you all, Go and conquer the chief, we advise you thus; And if Robert de Vaus will not give you the chief, From the great high tower you must have him thrown. Lay siege to it,	29-31

	and then make your great assembled host To swear not to stir from it Till you have seen the city on fire, The master-wall pulled down with your steel-pick-axes,	
	We will give you Carlisle, that you may be stronger,	14
	To royal Carlisle in the morning they shall go,	61
	Towards Carlisle the fair, the strong garrisoned city.	63
	That they see Carlisle full of Beauty; The sun illuminated the walls and turrets... They go to Robert de Vaus where he was; He was dressed in a breast-plate leaning on a battlement,	63
	Restore him the castle which is his inheritance:... Surrender him the castle and all the fortress,... He will besiege the castle with his people, You will not go out of it any day without injury to you;... That I hold the castle and tower of Carlisle	65
	Has he surrendered Carlisle? say nothing but truth. But he keeps it nobly like a gentle baron. The king of Scotland can the other day by Carlisle prancing And harshly threatening lord Robert de Vaus, He asked him for the castle with this covenant That he would give him enough wherewith he should be rich; And if he did not do so thenceforth, He would make them all die of starvation, the little and the great.	73
	The king of Scotland came there in the very same day, And asked for Carlisle, city and tower; Or he will have it by force, there will be no retraction. And said Robert de Vaus: For God the creator! Appoint me a term, and name me a day: If succour does not come to me from the king my lord, I will surrender you the castle, and you shall be the commander.	75
Newcastle	Well sees the king of Scotland that he will never succeed In conquering Newcastle-on-Tyne without stratagem;	29
	To Newcastle-on-Tyne, when the night is advanced,	79
	At Newcastle-on-Tyne they take lodgings,	83
Prudhoe	Now goes king William straight to Odinel, He wanted to surprise him to get the castle; But the castle was well provided afresh: Now Odinel will be besieged within there,... Great was the host of Scotland, the noise and the cry. With Flemings and Border-men the castle was assaulted; And those within defended themselves with strength and valour, For so many wounded outside were knocked down,... Three days lasted the siege, to my knowledge: Odinel had many good men there within. Against the Flemings they defend themselves bravely, They did not lose within, I assure you I do not lie,.. But they lost their fields with all their corn, And their gardens were ravaged by those bad people; And he who could not do more injury, took it into his head To bark the apple-trees: it was a bad vengeance.	75-77
	If to the castle of Odinel I give any terms or respite! But I will put an end to his joy and his delight. Count Henry my father loved and reared him; But at length he will say 't was a misfortune to see me, For he in whom he trust will be of a very little use to him. He makes him a refusal of his assistance... As long as Prudhoe stands, we will never have peace.	28
Wark on Tweed	Let us take the castle of Wark in England... Then came king William to Wark in England,	23
	When the King of Scotland came to attack Wark, On Whatever side he wished to assault, Roger d'Estutevile had prepared himself there fore it.	53
	To Wark he wished to lay siege by his good counsellors, He wished to have the castle by Flemings and archers, By good stone-bows, by his engines very strong And by his slingers and his cross-bow men. Will your hear of Roger how be behaved himself? He was not the least dismayed when this host came to him: He had in his train chevaliers	55

	more than twenty, Certainly, the best sergeants that ever baron retained.	
	The portcullis assaulted, as you may soon hear. By wonderful daring they came to the ditches;	57
Warkworth	Let us got to Warkworth, that I will destroy, They come to Warkworth, do not deign to stop there; For weak was the castle, the wall and the trench.	27

Table 3 A Table Showing the Foundation Details of Reformed Male Monastic Houses in the North of England Taken From Knowles and Hadcock (1971)

SITE	COUNTY	MONASTIC HOUSE TYPE	RANK	FOUNDATION DATE	PAGE REFERENCE	FOUNDING FAMILY
Barnoldswich	Yorkshire West Riding	Cistercians	Abbey	1147	112 and 115	Lacy
Byland	Yorkshire North s	Cistercians	Abbey	1177	"112, 116-117"	Mowbray
Calder I	Cumberland	Savigny	Abbey	1135	112 and 117	Meschin
Calder II	Cumberland	Savigny	Cell	1142-1143	112 and 117	Meschin
Fors	Yorkshire North s	Savigny	Abbey	1145	113 and 119	Akarius fitz Bardolf
Fountains	Yorkshire West s	Cistercians	Abbey	1132	113 and 119	York
Furness	Lancashire	Savigny	Abbey	1124	113 and 119	Royal
Holm Cultram	Cumberland	Cistercians	Abbey	1150		
Hood Cistercians	Yorkshire North s	Cistercians	Abbey	1138		Mowbray
Jervaulx	Yorkshire North s	Cistercians	Abbey	1156	113 and 120	Richmond
Kirkstall	Yorkshire West s	Cistercians	Abbey	1152	113 and 121	Lacy
Meaux	Yorkshire East s	Cistercians	Abbey	1151	113 and 122	Blois
Newminster	Northumberland	Cistercians	Abbey	1138	113 and 123	Merlay
Old Byland	Yorkshire North s	Cistercians	Abbey	1143		Mowbray
Rievaulx	Yorkshire North s	Cistercians	Abbey	1132	114 and 127	Espec
Roche	Yorkshire West s	Cistercians	Abbey	1147	114 and 124	Turgis
Stocking	Yorkshire North s	Cistercians	Abbey	1147		Mowbray
Tulketh	Lancashire	Savigny	Abbey	1124	114 and 127	Royal
Whalley	Lancashire	Cistercians	Abbey	1172	115 and 128	Lacy

Table 4 A Table showing the Foundation Details of Houses of Augustinian Canons in the North of England Taken From Knowles and Hadcock (1971)

SITE NAME	COUNTY	RANK	FOUNDATION DATE	PAGE REFERENCE	FOUNDING FAMILY
Bamburgh	Northumberland	Priory	1121	137 and 145	Beauclerc
Baxterwood	Durham	Priory	1180	138 and146	Durham
Bolton I	Yorkshire West Riding	Priory	1120-1121	138 and 148	Meschin
Bolton II	Yorkshire West Riding	Priory	1151	138 and 148	Rumilly
Bridlington Augustinian Canons	Yorkshire East Riding	Priory	1113-1114	138 and 149	Gant
Brinkburn	Northumberland	Priory	1135	138 and 149	Bertram
Burscough	Lancashire	Priory	1190	139 and 151	Robert fitz Henry
Carham	Northumberland	Cell	1131	139 and 152	Espec
Carlisle Cathedral	Cumberland	Cathedral Priory	1122	139 and 152	Royal
Cartmel	Lancashire	Priory	1189	139 and 153	Marshal
Cockerham	Lancashire	Priory	1207	139 and 154	Lancaster
Conishead Augustinian Canons	Lancashire	Priory	1154	139 and 155	Lancaster
Drax	Yorkshire West Riding	Priory	1130-1139	141 and 156	Paynell
Guisborough	Yorkshire North Riding	Priory	1119	140 and 158	Brus
Healaugh	Yorkshire West Riding	Priory	1160-1184	140 and 159	Haget
Hexham	Northumberland	Priory	1113	140 and 160	York
Hood Augustinian Canons	Yorkshire North Riding	Priory	1142-1143	141 and 160	Gant
Kirkham	Yorkshire East Riding	Priory	1122	141 and 162	Espec
Lanercost	Cumberland	Priory	1166	141 and 162	Vaux
Marton Augustinian Canons	Yorkshire North Riding	Priory	t. Stephen	142 and 166	Bulmer
Newburgh	Yorkshire North Riding	Priory	1142-1143	142 and 167	Mowbray
North Ferriby	Yorkshire East Riding	Priory	1140	142 and 168	Eustace fitz John
Nostell	Yorkshire West Riding	Priory	1114	142 and 169	Adlave
Skewkirk	Yorkshire West Riding	Cell	t. Henry I	143 and 174	Pain
Warter	Yorkshire East Riding	Priory	1181-1192	144 and 178	Pagani
Woodkirk	Yorkshire West Riding	Priory Cell	1135	144 and 180	Warenne

Table 5 A list of Buildings in the North of England of Early Gothic Character (After Stocker 1999, 240-242 with further additions)

COUNTY	BUILDING	REFERENCE	EARLIEST	LATEST
Cumberland	Furness Abbey Church II	Fergusson (1984, 62)	1160	1175
	Holm Cultram Abbey Church	Fergusson (1984, 62)	1160	1180
Durham	Bishop Auckland Castle Chapel	Cunningham (1990,82)	1153	1195
	Bishop Auckland Chevron Fragments	Cunningham (1990)	1153	1195
	Darlington Parish Church	Cunningham (1980, 163)	1153	1195
	Durham Galilee Chapel	Snape (1980, 23)	1153	1189
	Stockton Castle	Aberg and Smith (1988, 186 Fig 12.5)	1153	1195
Northumberland	Newcastle Great Tower Chapel	Pipe Rolls	1165	1177
	Newcastle Great Tower Undercroft	Pipe Rolls	1165	1177
	Norham Parish Church	Stocker (1999, 241)	1153	1195
	Norham phase II	Dixon and Marshall (1993a, 413)	1153	1195
York	Holy Trinity Priory Micklegate Monastic Choir	Stocker (1995, 85)	1170	0
	York Minster Choir	Aymer and Cant (1977, 121)	1154	1175
	York Minster Choir Crypt	Aymer and Cant (1977, 121)	1154	1166
Yorkshire East Riding	Bridlington Priory Cloister Arcade	Thurlby (1989, 34) Franklin, JA (1989)	1147	1159
Yorkshire North Riding	Byland Abbey South Trancept Arcade	Fergusson (1975, 171)	1170	1184
	Byland Abbey South Trancept Clerestory	Fergusson (1975, 171)	1170	1184
	Kirkham Priory Church II	Coppack, Harrison and Hayfield (1995, 65-71)	1170	1180
	Middleham Castle Keep	Weaver 1993, 22)	1170	1180
	Old Malton Priory Church South Aisle	VCH nr I p 538	1180	1210
	Richmond Castle Great Tower	Pipe Rolls	1171	0
	Rievaulx II	Fergusson and Harrison (1999, 69)	1147	0
Yorkshire West Riding	Kirkstall Abbey Church	Thurlby (1995, 62)	1152	1177
	Rippon Minster	Hearn (1983, 63)	1160	0
	Roche Abbey Eastern Arm Presbytery	Fergusson (1971, 31)	1160	1186
	Roche Abbey Eastern Arm Vault	Fergusson (1971, 31)	1160	1186

Table 6 A table showing the dates of historical evidence for the foundation of Boroughs Taken From Beresford and Finberg (1973

COUNTY	CASTLE	EARLISEST REFERENCE	PAGE REFERENCE
Cumberland	Carlisle	685	83
	Carlisle	1130	83
		1133	83
	Cockermouth	1260	83
		1278	83
	Egremont	1202	83
		1267	83
		1278	83
Durham	Barnard Castle	1175	105
		1215	105
	Bishop Auckland	1242	105
		1308	105
	Durham	1130	106
		1153	106
	Stockton	1283	107
		1380	107
Lancashire	Clitheroe	1258	131
		1272	131
	Hornby	1285	132
		1319	132
	Lancaster	1193	132
		1199	132
		1246	132
	Manchester	1301	133
	Penwortham	1086	133
	West Derby	1346	134
Northumberland	Alnwick	1157	143
		1169	143
		1296	143
		1332	143
	Berwick	1119	143
		1302	143
	Harbottle	1245	143
		1308	143
	Mitford		144
		1326	144
	Morpeth	1188	144
		1239	144
	Newcastle upon Tyne	1100	145
		1296	145
		1400	145
	Norham	1160	145
		1183	145
	Warkworth	1249	146
Westmorland	Appleby	1179	176
		1200	176
	Brough	1196	176
	Kendal	1222	176
York	York	625	184
		1066	184
		1130	184
		1154	185
		1396	185

Yorkshire East Riding	Bridlington	1086	185
Yorkshire North Riding	Helmsley	1186	187
	Malton	1154	187
		1184	187
	Northallerton	1298	187
		1336	187
	Pickering	1100	187
		1205	187
	Richmond	1093	187
		1136	188
	Scarborough	1155	188
		1485	188
	Skelton	1240	188
		1274	188
		1335	188
	Thirsk	1145	189
Yorkshire West Riding	Almondbury	1357	189
	Knaresborough	1168	190
		1305	190
		1313	190
		1316	190
	Pontefract	1086	191
		1154	191
		1194	191
		1484	191
	Sheffield	1297	191
	Skipton	1266	192
		1323	192
		1324	192
	Tickhill	1086	192
		1340	192
	Wakefield	1180	192

Table 7 A table showing the boroughs with Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture indicating the presence of a pre-Conquest church

COUNTY	CASTLE	SITE LOCATION	VOLUME	CORPUS NUMBER	DATE
Cumberland	Carlisle	Cathedral	Bailey and Cramp (1988)	1	Eighth century
		Cathedral	Bailey and Cramp (1988)	2	Eighth century
		Cathedral	Bailey and Cramp (1988)	3 a-b	Late eighth to early ninth century
		Cathedral	Bailey and Cramp (1988)	4	Tenth to eleventh century
		Cathedral	Bailey and Cramp (1988)	5	Twelfth century
Durham	Bishop Auckland	Auckland St Andrew	Cramp (1984)	1 a-d	Last quarter of eighth to first quarter of ninth century
Durham		Auckland St Andrew	Cramp (1984)	2	Last quarter of eighth to first quarter of ninth century.
Durham		Auckland St Andrew	Cramp (1984)	3	Mid tenth to mid eleventh century
Durham		Auckland St Andrew	Cramp (1984)	4	Mid tenth to mid eleventh century
Durham	Durham	Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	10	Eleventh century
		Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	11	Very late tenth to late eleventh century
		Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	12	Early eleventh century
		Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	13	Uncertain
		Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	14	Early eleventh century
		Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	5	Second quarter of eleventh century
		Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	6	Second quarter of eleventh century

		Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	7	Second quarter of eleventh century
		Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	8	Eleventh century
		Durham Cathedral Chapter House	Cramp (1984)	9	Very late tenth to mid eleventh century
		Durham St Oswald[2]	Cramp (1984)	1	Late tenth to early eleventh century
		Durham St Oswald	Cramp (1984)	2	Early eleventh century
		Durham St Oswald	Cramp (1984)	3	Early eleventh century
		Durham St Oswald	Cramp (1984)	4	First half of eleventh century
Northumberland	Bamburgh	Bamburgh Castle	Cramp (1984)	1	Last quarter of eighth to first quarter of ninth century
	Norham	Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	1	Second quarter of ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	10	Second quarter of ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	11	Second quarter of ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	12	Second quarter of ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	13	Ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	14	Second quarter of ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	15	Uncertain
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	16	Possibly mid ninth to mid tenth century
		Norham St	Cramp (1984)	17	Uncertain

[2] Recently the sculptural material at the church of St Oswald in Durham has been re-examined and redated by Adcock (2002)

		Cuthbert			
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	18	Eleventh century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	19	Uncertain
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	2	Last quarter of ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	3	Last half of tenth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	4	Second quarter of ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	5	Mid ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	6	Probably ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	7a	No Date
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	7b	Tenth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	8a	Probably ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	8b	Uncertain
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	9a	Possibly ninth century
		Norham St Cuthbert	Cramp (1984)	9b	Uncertain
	Warkworth	Warkworth St Laurence	Cramp (1984)	1	First half of eleventh century
		Warkworth St Laurence	Cramp (1984)	2	Tenth to eleventh century
		Warkworth St Laurence	Cramp (1984)	3	Eleventh century
Westmorland	Appleby	St Michael	Bailey and Cramp (1988)	1	Tenth century
	Kendal	Holy Trinity	Bailey and Cramp (1988)	1	Late eighth to early ninth century
York	Old Baile York				
Yorkshire North Riding	Helmsley	All Saints	Lang (1991)	1	Tenth century
	Malton	St Mary	Lang (1991)	1	Late ninth to early tenth century
	Northallerton	Northallerton All Saints	Lang (2001, 180)	1	Eighth century
		Northallerton All Saints	Lang (2001, 181)	2	First half of ninth century
		Northallerton All Saints	Lang (2001, 181)	3	First half of tenth century
		Northallerton All Saints	Lang (2001, 182)	4	First half of tenth century
		Northallerton	Lang (2001,	5	Eighth

	All Saints	182)		century
	Northallerton All Saints	Lang (2001, 183)	6	First half of tenth century
	Northallerton All Saints	Lang (2001, 184)	7	First half of tenth century
	Northallerton All Saints	Lang (2001, 184)	8	Tenth century
	Northallerton All Saints	Lang (2001, 185)	9	Tenth century
Pickering	St Peter and St Paul	Lang (1991)	1	Tenth century
	St Peter and St Paul	Lang (1991)	2	Tenth century
	St Peter and St Paul	Lang (1991)	3	Tenth to eleventh century
	St Peter and St Paul	Lang (1991)	4	Tenth century
Skelton	Skelton All Saints old church	Lang (2001, 195)	1	Eleventh century