

**CASTLES AND LANDSCAPES:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF YORKSHIRE AND
THE EAST MIDLANDS**

VOLUME I

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester**

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis adopts an interdisciplinary methodology, synthesising archaeological, historical and topographical data; it aims to re-integrate English medieval castles into contemporary landscapes, both social and physical, in order to achieve a more holistic understanding of the castle as an instrument of manorial administration, as a key feature within the planning of medieval townscapes, and as an iconic manifestation of seigneurial power in rural landscapes. This is achieved using an explicitly regional framework, analysing the impact of castles upon a range of landscape types in Yorkshire and the East Midlands. Although the thesis focuses primarily upon 'early castles' (c. 1066-1216), the impact of castles on Anglo-Saxon landscapes is assessed, whilst later foundations are considered where appropriate. The study is founded upon analysis of existing published material, and a corpus of primary data assimilated from a variety of sources including SMRs (Sites and Monuments Record Offices), CROs (County Records Offices) and the NMR (National Monuments Record), augmented by the selective recording of sites in the field. These data form the basis of an extensive site-based gazetteer (Volume II: Appendix I), and the platform for a thematic discussion of castle-landscape relationships.

The thesis comprises four main sections. The first (Chapters 1-3) defines the theoretical and practical basis of viewing castles within a wider frame of reference than that afforded in traditional archaeological research designs. The second (Chapters 4-6) examines the interrelationships between castles and land-holding, the significance of pre-castle occupation and the complementary rôle of castles and churches as instruments of Anglo-Norman social control. The third (Chapters 7-8) examines the complexities of physical, chronological and social relationships between castles and urban settlement patterns, whilst the relationship between castle and rural settlement, both nucleated and non-nucleated, forms the focus for the fourth section (Chapters 9-10). The study concludes (Chapter 11) by emphasising the need for a broader context for an established focus of research, highlighting in particular the rôle of integrated analysis.

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GLOSSARY

Advowson: The right of appointing a nominated priest.

Assart: Zone of arable land cleared from waste or common.

Aula: Saxon hall.

Bailey: Dependent enclosure of a motte or ringwork.

Berwick: Outlying place attached to a manor.

Burgus: Unit of settlement annexed physically to a castle through the provision of an enclosing earthwork.

Caput: Head manor.

Ceorl: Class of Anglo-Saxon peasant defined by 'free' status.

Crossing: The area of a church where the chancel, nave and transepts meet.

Croft: Zone of enclosed arable land attached to a toft.

Danelaw: Area of England subject to Danish control and law in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Demesne: Land owned and administered directly by a lord rather than being leased.

Eigenkirche: Private ecclesiastical foundation neighbouring a manor or castle.

Fee: Land held by a lord.

Fief: See above: 'Fee'.

Five boroughs: Urban or quazi-urban fortified centres forming the basis of the ninth-century Danish confederacy known as the Danelaw.

Glebe-land: Land attached to the rectory of a church in order to supplement income.

Hundred: An administrative district within a shire, whose representatives met monthly, usually at a moot.

Incastellamento: The fortification or creation of a defended upland site, usually comprising a castle and associated village.

Messuage: A house with associated land.

Moot: The assembly point of a Hundred.

Motte: Artificial mound, usually of earthen construction, providing the basis for a fortified superstructure.

Multiple estate: A territorial unit defined by a central manor (*caput*), associated with a series of outlying dependencies.

Open field system: Large tracts of unenclosed arable land, divided into strips held individually

Parochia: An area dependent ecclesiastically upon a Minster church.

Porticus: Chapels contained within the sides of Anglo-Saxon church.

Prospect mound: An artificial mound forming a platform for the viewing of formal gardens.

Ridge and furrow: Curvilinear agricultural earthworks characteristic of the open field system.

Ringwork: Fortification comprising a bank and external ditch, and enclosing a series of internal structures or buildings.

Stamford ware: A type of Saxo-Norman pottery manufactured in Stamford c. 850-1250.

Tenant in chief: A feudal magnate holding land directly from the Crown.

Toft: A house plot.

Thegn: An Anglo-Saxon lord.

Vicus: Small Roman civilian settlement, usually appendent to a military establishment.

Wapentake: The equivalent of a Hundred within the Danelaw.

CHAPTER ONE

CASTLES AND LANDSCAPES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the research design of the thesis whilst detailing its objectives and academic rationale; namely, to re-invigorate study of an old and established focus of scholarly enquiry - the medieval castle - within the interdisciplinary framework of landscape studies.

CASTLE STUDIES: THE NEED FOR A FURTHER HORIZON

The study of castles in relation to their wider contemporary landscapes is a largely neglected area of research. Overwhelmingly, academic literature has tended to view castles in isolation - i.e. divorced from their rightful context within the development of medieval landscapes. This condition is emphasised further by the growing integration of medieval ecclesiastical institutions within mainstream landscape archaeology (Morris 1989; Aston 1993a). This trend within castle studies is clearly inappropriate as, in functional terms, all but the most temporary and martial of castles was suspended within a complex web of socio-economic relationships, whilst in social terms the castle was a means of conspicuous seigneurial consumption. Economically, the castle was an administrative centre for land management and a central place within a seigneur's estate; as such, considerations of manorial economic viability were of the utmost importance to a castle lord. Furthermore, as it was the lord's management of the landscape which underlay and perpetuated seigneurial maintenance of power, we may suggest that the castle's relationship with the landscape, as a physical and iconic manifestation of the

operation of lordship, will thus reflect, directly or indirectly, upon medieval society in a more general sense.

Three deeply-rooted historiographical traditions within academic discourse are identified here which have combined to ensure the severing of castles from their landscape contexts; they are stated separately, but clearly interrelated. These can be summarised as follows: (i) synthetic accounts of castle evolution, (ii) overtly militaristic views of castle function, and (iii) an exiguous treatment of medieval castles by landscape archaeologists. A further, compounding trend (the limitations of archaeological research designs), is discussed in Chapter 3.

First, a substantial body of modern academic and popularist literature has attempted to address the subject of 'castles' in its entirety. The net result is an enormous bulk of literature, yet often with rather repetitive subject matter. Predominantly, castle literature has tended to concentrate upon architectural aspects of castle design, and in particular upon a perceived, inexorable evolution of the castle's plan, defences and residences. This synthetic narrative was pioneered by Hamilton Thompson (1912), and whilst seminal for the time, his framework has remained substantially unaltered by subsequent authors (Thompson 1994, 442). Indeed, chapter titles such as 'The Primitive English Castle - Timber' (in King 1988), 'The Transition to Stone' (Platt 1995), and 'Apogee' (Brown 1976) capture something of this sterility, amounting to what Coulson (1996, 203) has termed a "prolonged adolescence" for the discipline. In such a scheme, the emphasis has remained firmly upon the significance of a given site within an evolutionary sequence, as opposed to how the site functioned *in toto*. Such an approach is largely attributable to the manner in which castles, along with cathedrals, are commonly viewed as the pinnacle of contemporary society's architectural achievement. Consequently, this mode of synthesis has forced mainstream castle studies into a standardised and linear Darwinian paradigm, presenting the subject through the analysis of certain, prominent masonry castles.

Of recent popularist works, only McNeill (1992) and Thompson (1991) have rejected this formulaic approach to synthesis: the former benefits from an innovative structure,

incorporating chapters addressing 'The Inner Household' and 'The Outer Core', and the latter features valuable sections analysing links between castles, towns and monasteries, although doing so through a series of more obvious case-studies. More tightly-focused and thematic approaches are urgently required, and advances have been made; most prominently Kenyon (1990) in a study of castle archaeology not subservient to history, and Barker and Higham (1992) in a definitive treatment of earth and timber fortification. Furthermore, Pounds (1990) in a remarkable (although primarily non-archaeological) study of the castle as a social and cultural artefact, has emphasised that castles are "integrated into the whole panoply of medieval lordship" (see Stocker 1992, 418); yet the further horizon, of integrating castles within the wider physical manifestations of lordship in associated landscapes, remains to be achieved.

The second key issue is epistemological. In particular, overtly militaristic studies of castle design have resulted in the physical dismemberment of the castle as a unified entity. This militaristic-technological view has its origins in the prehistory of castle studies, in particular Viollet-le-Duc's mid-nineteenth-century writings on functionalism within Gallic military architecture (Thompson 1994, 440), and the militarised jargon employed by Pitt-Rivers with regard to field monuments in British archaeology (Bradley 1983); the view was crystallised by Clark (1884-85). Such discourse has achieved a systematic fragmentation of castles into discrete, component parts; distorting views of castle function, whilst serving ultimately to retard any ambition towards a more holistic understanding of their wider physical and iconic rôles within contemporary physical and human landscapes. Yet these arguments are not only applicable to 'conventional' castle architecture. In particular, the study of the earthwork castles of the Norman Conquest has been mainly concerned with their military significance as instruments of conquest; this is epitomised by Beeler (1956; 1966), who drew heavily on a perceived analogy with Roman military works. Whilst the development, appearance and functions of earthwork castles in their variety of forms is still imperfectly understood by archaeologists, what *is* abundantly clear is that interpretations of the term 'castle' by historians have

overshadowed their more mundane, yet equally vital, functions as centres of manorial and civil administration.

Interestingly, of the first generation of British castellologists it is only a woman (Armitage 1912) who escapes the trappings of militaristic determinism to any extent, although the technological view still finds latter twentieth-century advocates (e.g. King 1988). Although King asserts that the origins of what he terms the 'fashion' within contemporary castle studies to look at the peaceful rôle of the castle are rooted in academic reaction to the overtly militaristic views of early scholars (*ibid.*, 5), reality is not so simple. Analysis of the landscape context of castles played a key role in some of the earlier writings on English castles. In particular, the structure of Armitage's seminal work of 1912 is relatively advanced in its consideration of castle-landscape relations in the dedication of a chapter to the 'Distribution and Characteristics of Motte-Castles' (Armitage 1912, 80-93). Indeed, spatial analysis of castles relative to their hinterlands was a keynote in Armitage's differentiation between Saxon *burhs* and Norman motte and baileys. Armitage proposes a general locational model for castle siting (primarily arable areas, usually near the parish church, within a town or village, and generally within reach of a navigable river or Roman road: 1912, 183-84), which still holds generally true, even considering the explosion of evidence since the time of writing. Furthermore, the author's early concerns with castle-landscape relations are evident in clear expositions of the relations between individual sites and patterns of land-holding, settlement and communication in her contributions to the *Victoria County History* earthworks chapters (e.g. VCH. Yorks. II 1912, 1-71).

Third, medieval castles, as high status settlements with key rôles in manorial economies, have conspicuously remained beyond the horizons of landscape studies. Prior to 1970, the research of landscape historians, whilst firmly interdisciplinary, was restricted diachronically to the analysis of 'medieval landscapes', as embodied by Hoskins (1955), and the foundation of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group (DMVRG) in 1952, yet has grown to progressively erode traditional period-based boundaries (Lewis *et al.* 1997, 22-24). Whereas the merger of the DMVRG and Moated Sites Research Group in

1986 to form the Medieval Settlement Research Group (MSRG) testified to the academic desire of medieval landscape historians to broaden academic horizons and incorporate high status sites as forms of settlement in their own right (Hurst 1986, 236), castles have largely lain beyond the remit of the amalgamated group (MSRG 1997). Similarly, it is only exceptionally that synthetic studies of landscape archaeology incorporate insights into castles and their topographical settings (Aston and Rowley 1974, 145-49). As Edwards (1997, 5) notes, even in Wales, where a relative lack of study regarding medieval settlement is matched by a comparative wealth of archaeological investigation into early castles, these studies have tended to neglect surrounding hinterlands. National and regional studies of moated manorial sites have traditionally emphasised their function as forms of settlement and context within broader landscapes (Roberts 1962, 35-36; Le Patourel and Roberts 1978, 49-51; Aberg 1983, 99), yet academic trends within castle studies have ensured a more inward-looking approach, although there is no fundamental reason why castles should be divorced from the workings of wider landscapes. Indeed, it is not until the advent of Henrician state-sponsored artillery fortification that 'military' sites were truly divorced from the land and manorial economies (Pounds 1990, 300). It is thus ironic that, as Stocker (1992, 419) has pointed out, the lexicon of contemporary castle studies owes more to the study of overtly militaristic post-medieval artillery fortification than a true understanding of the castle as a cultural artefact of the medieval period.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Structure of the Text

The framework of the thesis text is thematic as opposed to regional, although general arguments are underlain by analysis of regional trends throughout and supported by a corpus of illustrative case-studies drawn from the study area. Whilst a regional framework for discussion was a possibility, this was deemed inappropriate with respect to the pattern of medieval territoriality and land-holding across the study area. Although it is possible to discuss castle siting within the northern Honours of, for instance Pontefract or Richmond

from the eleventh to the fourteenth/fifteenth century, the more fluid pattern of land ownership in the East Midlands ensures that this approach is not applicable wholesale; for instance, Derbyshire or Nottinghamshire are not by themselves meaningful units of analysis in terms of medieval administrative geography. Hence, the study area instead provides a variety of landscape types in which the impact of the castle can be analysed thematically, whilst retaining a degree of regional insight. The thesis thus focuses firmly upon the re-integration of the castle, as an institution, within different medieval landscapes, rather than creating an archaeology of lordship within a given region through time.

Following an introduction to the subject matter, and to the study area and its academic rationale (Chapters 1 and 2), Chapter 3 analyses critically the problems and potential of archaeological research into castles and landscapes. Two key case-studies (*Goltho, Lincs.* and *Castle Sandal, W. Yorks.*) are reviewed in order to draw out contrasting ways in which archaeology can illuminate the complex interplay between castle and hinterland. Chapter 4 emphasises that many castles were elements within a palimpsest of longer-term occupation on a single site, and illustrates the significance of underlying prehistoric, Roman and early-medieval occupation - both domestic and military - in understanding the impact of castles. Chapter 5 focuses on the crucial yet understudied theme of castles and land-holding, and underscores their rôles as functioning manorial components within wider patterns of seigneurial estate management and territorial control. A narrower spatial focus is adopted in Chapter 6, which draws upon the various interrelationships and linkages - chronological, functional and morphological - between the two critical institutions of the medieval landscape, namely castle and church.

Chapters 7 and 8 address the impact of castles upon contemporary townscapes, using a morphogenetic approach supplemented by historical and archaeological data. The view of a crucial difference between an 'urban castle' (Chapter 7) and 'castle borough' (Chapter 8) is analysed critically, and the importance of understanding the foundation of castles within longer-term settlement histories is emphasised. Chapters 9 and 10 assess the often catalytic importance of castles within the evolution of rural landscapes and settlement

patterns. The impact of castles on rural settlement forms - both nucleated and non-nucleated - is addressed in two sections: scrutiny of the morphology of extant settlement (Chapter 9), and deserted or shrunken settlement, including deserted boroughs (Chapter 10).

Chapter 11 concludes the discussion by underlining the methodological necessity for fuller landscape understanding and explanation within contemporary British castle studies, and proposes a number of key recommendations for future archaeological study.

The study is supported by a comprehensive site-based gazetteer (Volume II: Appendix I), which summarises the principal archaeological, historical and morphological data relating to individual castle sites, and provides the basis for discussion within the main text. The gazetteer also incorporates extracts of early OS maps relating to castle sites, and forms an essential source of reference regarding the form of sites as well as their wider topographical settings. It should be noted that where a site is referred to in the main text in italics, the reader is referred to a full gazetteer entry.

Data Sources

The thesis is based upon analysis of a variety of archaeological, historical and topographical data sources, integrated and harmonised within an interdisciplinary framework. Beyond a variety of published material, including excavation reports, archaeological surveys, local and regional histories and topographical works, the key primary data sources can be summarised as follows:

(i) SMR Records

SMRs (Sites and Monuments Records) are held independently in each of the modern counties within the study area (with the exception of Rutland, where the SMR is contained within the Leicestershire archive). In essence, a three-phase strategy for exploiting SMRs was employed:

- (a) Initial compilation of computerised SMR records regarding relevant fortified sites, providing the basis for a site by site database (Appendix I). Figs. 1.1 and 1.2 summarise the number of early and later castle sites within the study area. It should be noted that the convention is employed of using 1216 as a watershed date marking the end of Angevin England and defining 'early' as opposed to 'later' castles (after Allen Brown 1959);
- (b) Secondary compilation of computerised SMR records regarding all sites from the early medieval and medieval periods (c. AD 400-1500), contained within all modern parishes containing a relevant fortified site;
- (c) A final stage of visits to the individual SMR offices to consult additional archival material (unpublished plans, surveys, etc.) regarding fortified sites and their environs.

COUNTY	EARLY CASTLES				POSSIBLE EARLY CASTLES			TOTAL
	Motte	Ringwork	Eccles.	Other	Motte	Ringwork	Other	
Derbys.	11	2	0	2	4	4	0	23
Humbs., Li.	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	5
Leics.	14	1	0	3	0	5	0	23
Lincs.	13	5	0	5	1	0	2	26
Notts.	10	3	1	1	3	0	3	21
Rutland	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	6
Durham	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Cleveland	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	4
Cumbria	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Humbs., Yo.	9	0	1	4	2	0	3	19
Lancs.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
N. Yorks.	26	8	0	13	12	0	2	61
S. Yorks.	13	1	0	1	4	1	0	20
W. Yorks.	11	2	0	1	3	0	4	21
E. Midlands	52	15	1	13	9	9	5	104
Yorkshire	62	12	1	22	21	1	10	129
TOTAL	114	27	2	35	30	10	15	233

Fig. 1.1: Table of early castle foundations in the study area (c. 1066-1216)

	LATER CASTLES			POSSIBLE LATER CASTLES		
COUNTY	Castle	Tower-House	Eccles.	Castle	Tower- House	TOTAL
Derbys.	3	1	0	0	0	4
Humbs., Li.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leics.	1	1	0	1	1	4
Lincs.	4	0	0	1	0	5
Notts.	1	1	0	0	0	2
Rutland	0	0	1	0	0	1
Durham	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cleveland	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cumbria	0	0	0	0	0	0
Humbs., Yo.	2	2	0	1	0	5
Lancs.	0	0	0	0	0	0
N. Yorks.	17	22	1	1	0	41
S. Yorks.	1	0	0	1	0	2
W. Yorks.	0	6	0	0	0	6
E. Midlands	9	3	1	3	1	17
Yorkshire	21	30	1	2	0	54
TOTAL	30	33	2	5	1	71

Fig. 1.2: Table of later castle foundations in the study area (post-c. 1216)

Within the text and gazetteer, data relating to a specific unpublished SMR data source (including field reports, stray finds, etc.) are listed by a unique SMR reference number (e.g. Derbys. SMR Site File: No 8111), and unpublished reports (including consultancy documents, excavation reports, etc.) are given conventional bibliographical references.

(ii) NMR

MONARCH is the Royal Commission for Historic Monument's (RCHM) computerised records system, which integrates all data held in the National Monuments Record, and contains information on recognised archaeological sites, in addition to providing links to further archive material held by the RCHM. MONARCH and individual SMR databases are not mutually exclusive, especially with MONARCH drawing heavily on SMRs, thus making the detailed analysis of both data sources superfluous. Nonetheless, to supplement the strategy of SMR data-collection outlined above, this data source was used in a number of ways. These comprised: consultation of centrally-held 1:10000 OS maps

annotated with the locations of sites listed within the NMR and transcribed evidence from aerial photography; usage of the RCHM archive plans and field reports; and consultation of the RCHM aerial photography collection.

(iii) MSRG Archive

The MSRG archive (often known and labelled as the DMVRG archive) is the product of over 35 years of research by M. W. Beresford, J. G. Hurst and various other members of the group. The archive is under the guardianship of the RCHM and, for the purpose of this study, essentially consists of three elements: a card index cataloguing individual deserted/shifted/shrunken settlements; a box file archive including detailed information, including excavation reports, watching briefs, field notes and photographs, earthwork surveys and extracts from documents; and a computerised database. Combined, these sources provide a unique corpus of data, which is invaluable for providing both details about settlements associated with castles, and a wider picture against which to view and compare these settlements.

(iv) OS Antiquity Models

OS (Ordnance Survey) Antiquity Models exist for all designated sites of antiquity (and some mistaken sites of antiquity!) displayed on OS maps. Virtually all have a brief description of the site, referenced to key sources, whilst the majority incorporate an annotated plan of the site and its immediate environs at 1:2500 scale. These records are available through the RCHM (Swindon), and provide supplementary data for the site-based gazetteer.

(v) Ancient Monument Schedules

DOE (Department of the Environment) schedules exist for all sites recognised as SAMs (Scheduled Ancient Monuments), and contain a brief site description. Limited supplementary coverage is provided by the new series of English Heritage Ancient

Monument Schedules, providing more in-depth data concerning the condition of field monuments as a policy of the MPP (Monument Protection Programme).

(vi) NMP

The NMP (National Mapping Project), initiated by the RCHM, is a transcription of aerial photographic evidence of archaeological features at a uniform scale of 1:10000. Whilst nationally based, four specific zones are either wholly or partially within the thesis study area (the Howardian Hills, the Yorkshire Dales, the Yorkshire Wolds and the National Forest), and work is ongoing in a further three (Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and The Lincolnshire Fens). These data, available through RCHM (York), comprise overlay maps supplemented by an extensive database. Where available, NMP data provide a mechanism for analysing superficial morphological relationships between castles and other features of the medieval landscape.

(vii) Historical Map Evidence

A programme of visits to CROs (County Record Offices) ensured that, where appropriate, historical map evidence (enclosure maps, tithe maps and private estate plans) was consulted in order to supplement the First Edition OS maps provided in Appendix I.

(viii) Field Visits

The desk-top based core of research was supplemented with a programme of visits to sites in the field. These were structured so as to ensure both representative geographical coverage and physical observation of a sufficient variety of site types.

CHAPTER TWO

CASTLES IN YORKSHIRE AND THE EAST MIDLANDS

THE STUDY AREA

In order to re-evaluate castles and their landscapes in a more integrated and holistic manner, the thesis takes a regional approach, by analysing castle-landscape relationships in Yorkshire and the East Midlands. The aim is not a comparative survey of two discrete regions; but rather the study area is used to provide a broad range of landscape types in which the contexts of medieval castles are analysed. The study area is aimed both at being topographically coherent, and at providing a series of contrasts not only in physical topography, but rural settlement types, patterns of land-holding, and also the perceived levels of military insecurity across time.

REGIONAL CASTLE STUDIES

County-based archaeological surveys of castles potentially represent a fruitful means of setting castles within a broader context. However, some such surveys have achieved little more than updating the foundations laid by the Victoria County History, in the individual listing of sites with summarised documentation (e.g. Cantor 1966). However, a corpus of other studies represent a more promising avenue for synthesis whereby the context of sites within regional medieval economies and landscapes is considered more fully: for example, Baker (1982a) and Higham (1982b) have afforded consideration to the relationship between groups of sites and land-holding/settlement patterns within county-based surveys of Bedfordshire and Devonshire respectively, whilst Hughes's 1989 paper concerning Hampshire forms a model for future county-based studies in a valuable

interdisciplinary survey of early castles within the context of communications patterns, antecedent occupation and rural/urban settlement.

Nonetheless, these surveys show a marked regional bias towards certain areas of Britain, in particular southern England (Baker 1982a; Higham 1982b; Hughes 1989) and Wales (King 1956; 1961; Renn 1971; Spurgeon 1987), whilst the Welsh Marches are well covered both in specific surveys of castles (Chitty 1949; King and Spurgeon 1965), and more general landscape histories (Rowley 1972; 1986). Comparative insights are, however, relatively lacking within Yorkshire and the East Midlands. Cantor's (1978) account of Leicestershire castles suffers from disproportionate emphasis on documentary sources, although Speight (1994; 1995) has addressed the castles of Nottinghamshire from a combined archaeological-historical perspective. The only integrated account of the castles of Yorkshire (Illingworth 1938) is outdated (yet still valuable), whilst the sole detailed survey of castles within a component part of the county (North Riding: L'Anson 1913) is in similar need of updating. A selection of more general regional archaeological surveys are of value in part (e.g. Loughlin and Miller 1979; Hart 1981; Hartley 1983; 1984; 1987; 1989), yet the castles of Yorkshire and the East Midlands remain to be understood within the context of their contemporary landscapes.

CASTLES IN YORKSHIRE AND THE EAST MIDLANDS

The geographical limits of the study area are illustrated in Fig. 2.1. In essence, the region provides a number of broad contrasts: between upland, lowland, and the coastal plain; between coherent blocks of land-holding and scattered estates; and between non-nucleated, and nucleated rural settlement. Any contemporary British archaeological survey based on the county or groups of counties must address the complex issue of boundary alterations, particularly since 1974. For the purpose of the present study a compromise was deemed essential in order to strike a balance between, on the one hand, ease of data collection/compilation and the relevance of the survey to contemporary archaeological resource management, whilst ensuring, on the other hand, that the results were meaningful in the sense of medieval territorial division, and logical in topographical

terms. As a general rule, post-1974 counties have been used with the following provisions:

(i) East Midlands

In this region, the historic county of Rutland is included in the analysis, along with Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and modern Lincolnshire. In addition, the post-1974 county of Humberside south of the Humber has been included, with sites referred to thus: *Owston Ferry, Humbs., Lincs.*

(ii) Yorkshire

In the Yorkshire region greater changes are needed to ensure topographical coherence. First, the portion of Humberside north of the Humber has been included, with sites therein referred to thus: *Fraisthorpe, Humbs., Yorks.*; the remainder of present Yorkshire is included in the counties of North, South and West Yorkshire. In addition, portions of four additional post-1974 counties are included where they coincide with the historic North and West Ridings; these comprise Cleveland, Durham, Cumbria and Lancashire, and sites within are referred to thus: *Skelton, Cleve./Durham/Cumbs./Lancs., Yorks.*

Castles in the Study Area

Fig. 2.2 illustrates the distribution of key categories of early castle site within the study area and provides a location map for sites mentioned within the text. Whilst this study is aimed primarily at understanding *early* castles within their landscape contexts, Fig. 2.3 illustrates the distribution of later castle foundations for comparative purposes. Far from representing any grand national strategy of castle building, the maps clearly subsume a broad range of castle building processes through time within a single distribution map. Regarding the classes of castle site represented in Fig. 2.2, whereas King and Alcock (1969) have approached the distribution of early castles in terms of two alternative forms of fortification - the motte and the ringwork - this study stresses the complexities and shortcomings of any classificatory approach to castle siting. In essence, any clear-cut

division between mottes and ringworks is ultimately misleading, as it neglects the sheer variety of early castle forms, their longer-term development and their reference to pre-existing landscape features, both natural and anthropogenic.

At the intra-site level a single motte or ringwork could be one stage within a sequence of development; such as a ringwork filled-in to form the basis for a motte or castle mound (e.g. *Goltho, Lincs.*; *Burton-in-Lonsdale* and *Whorlton, N. Yorks.*), or a primary ringwork adapted as a bailey through the addition of a motte (e.g. *Pilsbury, Derbys.*), whilst the extent to which physical topography influences the format of sites such as *Whitwick, Leics.* is sufficient to render classification as a motte and bailey specious. In this sense the division between motte and ringwork is a false dichotomy which overlooks the complex considerations of castle function, access to and availability of natural and human resources, and even fashion, that influenced the original form of an early castle site. At the inter-site level a morphological continuum - or cantena - exists between motte and ringwork, as exemplified by a corpus of lowland mottes in the Lincolnshire fen margins approximating moated manorial sites.

Consequently, this study proposes no overarching 'landscape explanation' for motte siting opposed to ringwork siting, and accepts tentatively that the 'human variable' may be the key determinant factor (King and Alcock 1969, 103), with three essential provisions. First, King and Alcock's empirical analysis of motte/ringwork ratio is clearly inappropriate in terms of the evident small-scale aggregation of these features evident in Fig. 2.2. Small concentrations of ringworks or mottes of parallel plan (e.g. *Great Casterton* and *Essendine, Rutland* or *Mexborough* and *Langthwaite, S. Yorks.*) point towards diffusion through seigneurial emulation or unity of patronage or at an essentially local level. Two ringworks built to fortify the de Brus estates in the north-east of the study area may exemplify the latter process; a major ringwork at *Castleton, N. Yorks.* forming a central quazi-baronial *caput* and a subsidiary fortification of similar form at *Castle Levington, Cleve., Yorks.*, sited as the administrative centre for the exposed western parts of the de Brus fee (Sherlock 1992, 41, 47). Second, the manner in which ringworks may have been economical in terms of time and labour points towards their

employment as rapid and expedient forms of fortification. This may be heightened in areas of certain drift geology where motte construction is problematical, as demonstrated by Spurgeon in Glamorgan (Spurgeon 1987), although the adaptation of a rocky outcrop to form a motte and bailey is not unknown (e.g. *Hickleton, S. Yorks.*). Both these conditions may coincide to explain the concentration of ringworks in the Derbyshire peaks as rapid forms of Norman fortification designed to suppress systematically a devastated region (Hodges 1980, 32-33). Finally, as a form of construction, the ringwork is more appropriate to the enclosure of extant structures or buildings, either as a Norman enclosure of domestic buildings in a time of crisis, or a deliberate domination of an extant manorial centre as an act of usurpation and conquest (see Chapter 4).

Castles and Regional Landscapes

Fig. 2.4. illustrates the relief and drainage of the study area, constituting the background of physical topography to which castle siting can be related. In addition, as forms of settlement - albeit of a specialised, high status type - castle sites can also be related to different regional landscapes of settlement, agriculture and land use. Fig. 2.5 provides a basic model of units of geographical sub-division, or *pays*, within the study area. Whilst ultimately subjective and arguable in detail, this scheme, developed from the model of regional Domesday geography proposed by Darby and Terrett (1952; 1954; 1962), provides a valuable basis for any discussion of castle siting relative to medieval cultural geography. The following sections serve both as a geographical introduction to the subsequent, thematically-focused chapters, whilst emphasising that castles must be understood as part and parcel of wider settlement patterns and landscapes.

(i) *The Vale of York*: The central York Vale and the subsidiary Vales of Mowbray and Cleveland form one of the densest concentration of castle sites in the study area. The glacial and fluvio-glacial gravels, sands and clays of the Vale rendered it a readily cultivable zone settled from an early date. Anomolously low population levels as recorded in Domesday are attributable both to the limitations of the text and socio-economic dislocation in the immediate post-Conquest period, as opposed to low natural fertility

(Palliser 1993, 22-23), and the thick scattering of early castles demonstrate the fortification of appropriated estates in order to secure a return to cultivation of the agricultural heartland of Yorkshire. At the south-eastern extremity of the Vale, a combination of lighter, less fertile soils on sands, and waterlogged soils on alluvial deposits, ensured that here castles and settlement were rather dispersed along the narrow corridor of the Derwent (e.g. *Aughton, Humbs., Yorks.* and *Thorganby, N. Yorks.*)

(ii) *Eastern Yorkshire*: This area is taken to represent the series of distinctive regional landscapes lying east of the Derwent and the Vale of York. The absence of castles from the crescentic chalk escarpment forming the Yorkshire Wolds has received comment (Hurst 1988, 112-13), although the western flanks feature a number of promontory-type sites (e.g. *Birdsall* and *Acklam, N. Yorks.*). The passage of the Derwent between the wolds to the south and Howardian Hills to the North is commanded by *Malton, N. Yorks.*, which re-emerged as a strategic centre through the imposition of a motte within the former Roman defences.

One of the most prosperous regions of Yorkshire in the medieval period, castles within Holderness are concentrated predominantly on the populous coastal strip, although the two sites at Swine are rare examples of marshland castles, occupying minor eminences within the extensive peat and alluvium surrounding the River Hull: *Swine I* was a deliberately concealed predatory site, whilst *Swine II* was located to command a hunting resource. The sand and gravels valleys draining from the eastern flanks of the Wolds into the Hull contain castles at *Driffield* and *Lockington, Humbs., Yorks.* Castles are entirely absent from the bleak upland plateau of the North Yorkshire Moors and its Jurassic geology, although a number cluster at their foot, where a series of narrow, deeply incised valleys mark the junction between the upland zone and the shallow and poorly-drained clay basin of the Vale of Pickering (e.g. *Pickering I and II, Helmsley*). Castles are otherwise absent from Pickering, although the narrow coastal strip contains a series of sites.

(iii) *The Humberhead Levels*: Castles are extremely rare in this poorly-drained, low-lying region; the exceptions appear specialist sites located as hunting seats in a landscape otherwise sparsely colonised by the late eleventh century (e.g. *Thorne, S. Yorks. and Wressle II, Humbs., Yorks.*), whilst the castle at *Drax, N. Yorks.* was an adulterine, temporary and probably predatory site. Access between the Isle of Axholme - forming a natural eminence of Keuper marl above the surrounding fenland - and Lindsey via a ferry crossing of the Trent was overlooked by *Owston Ferry, Lincs.*

(iv) *The Pennines*: The central Pennine ridge forms the primary watershed in England, and represents the western boundary of the study area. Although the limestone upland plateau of Craven falls west of the watershed it was contained within the North Riding of Yorkshire. With its poor thin soils and exposed topography, Craven contained little settlement by the late eleventh century and features few castles; *Skipton, Yorks.* is a notable exception and a genuinely strategic foundation, lying at the head of the Ribble and commanding the passage of a Roman road through the Aire gap. Within the Peak District, castles are concentrated entirely in the narrow cultivable strips within the fertile valley bottoms of the Dove and Derwent, with sites on rocky outcrops singularly rare but always significant (e.g. *Peeveril, Derbys.*), whilst the rough pasture and moorland beyond the valley bottoms was virtually absent of castles. This pattern is broadly matched in the northern Pennine zone, where the Carboniferous limestone and gritstone/shale upland supported limited settlement with poor soils, harsh climate and often precipitous physical topography. Across the region, isolated early castles were predominantly subsidiary fortifications or specialised hunting seats (e.g. *Carlton-in-Coverdale, N. Yorks.* and *Sowerby, W. Yorks.*), although in other cases considerable doubt exists over the identification of exposed upland enclosure earthworks as Norman ringworks or otherwise (e.g. *Harthill and Glossop II, Derbys.*). The main concentration of castle sites in the Pennine zone is in the foothills surrounding the middle stretches of the Calder, Aire, Nidd and Wharfe running east towards the plain. Here, below the extensive peat bogs and moors of North and West Yorkshire, the terrain gives way to a series of west-facing terraces more suited to settlement and agriculture (Barnes 1982, 15-20).

(v) *The Central Sand/Limestone Belt*: This zone marks an area of transitional terrain sloping down from the Pennine ridge to the Trent basin in the east. Bordering the eastern flanks of the Pennine zone lies the undulating terrain of the Coal Measures. Further east, a thin strip of limestone oriented north-south, through which the lower reaches of the Don, Aire and Calder flow, marks a significant concentration of castle sites reflecting a regional economy dominated by fertile soil, high population levels and numerous settlement. This is particularly evident in South Yorkshire, where the concentration of castles within the county in a central strip between *Laughton-en-le-Morthen* in the south, and *Hampole* in the north, coincides with the Magnesian Limestone belt (Birch 1980d, 374). South and east of this zone, a central plateau dominated by Bunter Sandstone with poor sandy soil represents a conspicuous gap within the distribution map. This area was clearly marginal in 1086 when dominated by broken, semi-wooded terrain featuring only isolated pockets of settlement, before the southern part of the region was bought under Forest Law through the creation of Sherwood Forest. Without exception the castle sites here - *South Normanton, Derbys.*, and *Annesley and Kirkby-in-Ashfield, Notts.* - were highly specialised, isolated centres of forest administration.

(vi) *Trent Vale*: This broad, low-lying and fertile zone occupies a central swathe of the study area running from the lowlands of south Derbyshire in the south-west to the Humber marshes in the north-east. The narrow central spine of the vale, either side of the river, is mantled by alluvium interspersed with minor eminences of sand and gravel; further from the river the landscape is characterised by fertile, loamy soils and Keuper Marl. The distribution of castle sites within the region is both a general reflection of population and arable resources in a wealthy prime agricultural zone, and the raising of other castle sites at key nodal points on the communications network, especially where north-south routes intersect with the Trent (e.g. *East Bridgford, Notts.* and *Thonock, Lincs.*). The southern lowlands of Derbyshire, forming an intermediate zone between the Pennine uplands and Trent plain, was the most agriculturally productive and populous part of the county, and exhibits the greatest concentration of castle sites.

(vii) *North Lincolnshire*: This zone of the study area is characterised by bands of fertile lowland running north-south along the Vale of Lindsey and the coastal plain, alternating with areas of less fertile, more elevated terrain comprising the clay wolds and heathland. The central Lincolnshire wolds are virtually bare of castle sites, the exceptions being *Bolingbroke I* and *II* which were associated with a minor market centre occupying a junction of resource types between the dissected upland chalk plateau of the wolds and the fen margins. Lincolnshire castles primarily occupy the lowland strip bracketed by the wolds to the west and North Sea to the east. Here, a number of sites occupied the coastal belt of silt and were associated with commercial centres (e.g. *Barton-upon-Humber, Humbs., Lincs.*), or an important ferry crossing over the Humber (*Barrow upon Humber, Humbs. Lincs.*), whilst other sites lay on the east flanks of the wolds in areas where the boulder clay was mantled by spreads of sand and gravel (e.g. *Castle Carlton* and *Tothill, Lincs.*). Between the Lincolnshire Wolds and the Trent valley system, the Vale of Lindsey comprised a low-lying depression characterised by Oxford and Kimmeridge clays and extensive spreads of boulder clay, where several castle sites are associated with deserted settlements (e.g. *Goltho and Kingerby, Lincs.*), whilst the Lindsey heaths occupied a limestone escarpment running north from Lincoln to define the western limit of the Trent floodplain, and were characterised by poor, thin soils and few castles.

(viii) *Lincolnshire Fens*: The fens, unsurprisingly, demonstrate an extremely scarce distribution of castle sites on the low-lying and poorly-drained peats, although those sites occupying settled pockets of this zone, predominantly on the narrow silt belt, can be profitably related to the characteristically dispersed settlement pattern in the area. (e.g. *Swineshead, Lincs.*: see Chapter 9). Whilst the Witham fens and northern fen edge, both largely unsettled until nineteenth-century agricultural improvements, demonstrate a total lack of castle sites, a series of historic settlements on the western fen margins emerged as locally-important market centres at the junction of the arable resources of Kesteven and the fenland, and contained castles (e.g. *Bourne, Folkingham* and *Sleaford, Lincs.*)

(ix) *Leicestershire and West Lincolnshire*: This region is effectively divided into eastern and western zones by the valley of the Soar and its major tributary, the Wreake, which

together form a southern extension of the Trent catchment area. Whilst the north of the Soar floodplain forms a broad and fertile vale cultivated from an early date, the southern extremities of the valley and the Wreake valley are more constricted, although both well settled by the mid eleventh century. To the west, Charnwood forms an island of granite and metamorphic rock characterised by a semi-moorland landscape in which castles are singularly rare, although *Mountsorrel* and *Whitwick, Leics.* lay on its fringes. Western Leicestershire covers an area of mixed Triassic Mudstone, marl and sandstone east of Watling Street. In the Leicestershire coalfields to the north this area is heavily industrialised, whilst the varied terrain to the west contained good arable land and supported a considerable number of castles, especially on the fringes of the area of boulder clay forming Leicester Forest in the medieval period. The Lutterworth uplands form an area of high ground marking the southern tip of the Soar catchment and characterised by thick deposits of boulder clay and are differentiated from the Leicestershire wolds by a capping of gravels and sands in places.

The boulder clay capped uplands of High Leicestershire and Rutland are unsurprisingly sparse in castle sites. Although the late eleventh century marked a period of continuing colonisation, the area was lacking in the important long-established settlements and hunting resources which attracted early castles in other parts of the county. (see Fox 1989, 93). Possible exceptions may be misidentified landscape features (e.g. *Launde, Leics.*), whilst others must be related to the adjacent deserted settlements in which the region is rich (e.g. *Ingarsby, Leics.*: see Chapter 10). The plateau of High Leicestershire effectively marked a watershed between the Soar/Wreake catchment to the north, and the Welland valley and the floodplain of the Eye Brook to the south. The North Leicestershire wolds form an east-west ridge extending into Lincolnshire, which formed the southern boundary of the Trent floodplain. Although the heaths and clays of Kesteven could be said to form a southern projection of the Lindsey uplands, here they are viewed as a north-eastern extension of the Leicestershire uplands. The Kesteven heaths occupy a limestone escarpment dominated by poor soils, whilst extensive spreads of Boulder and Oxford Clay to the east form the western boundary of the Lincolnshire fens.

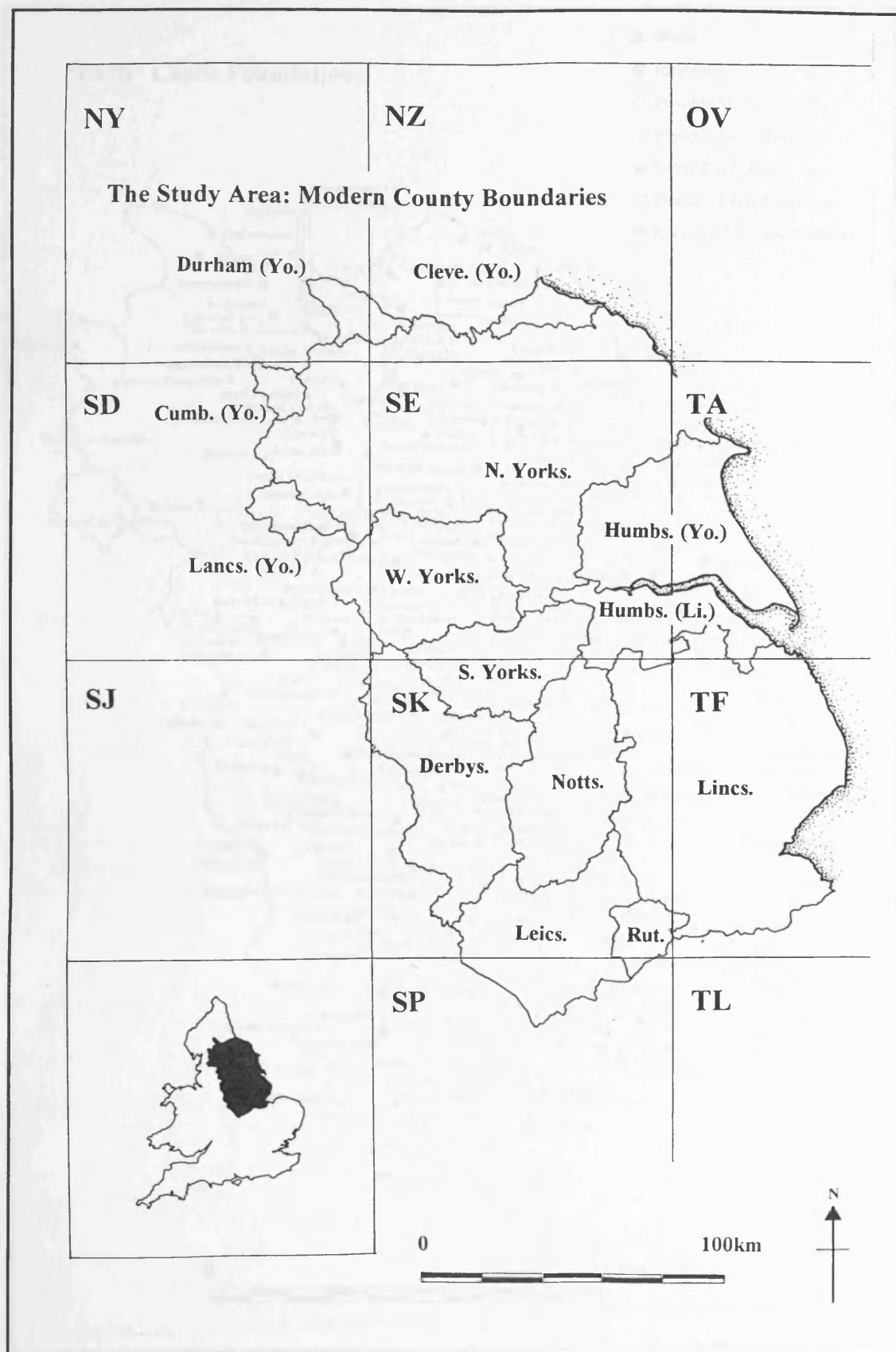


Fig. 2.1: The study area, showing OS 100km squares and modern county boundaries

‘Early’ Castle Foundations



Fig. 2.2: Distribution of early castle foundations (c. 1066-1216) in the study area

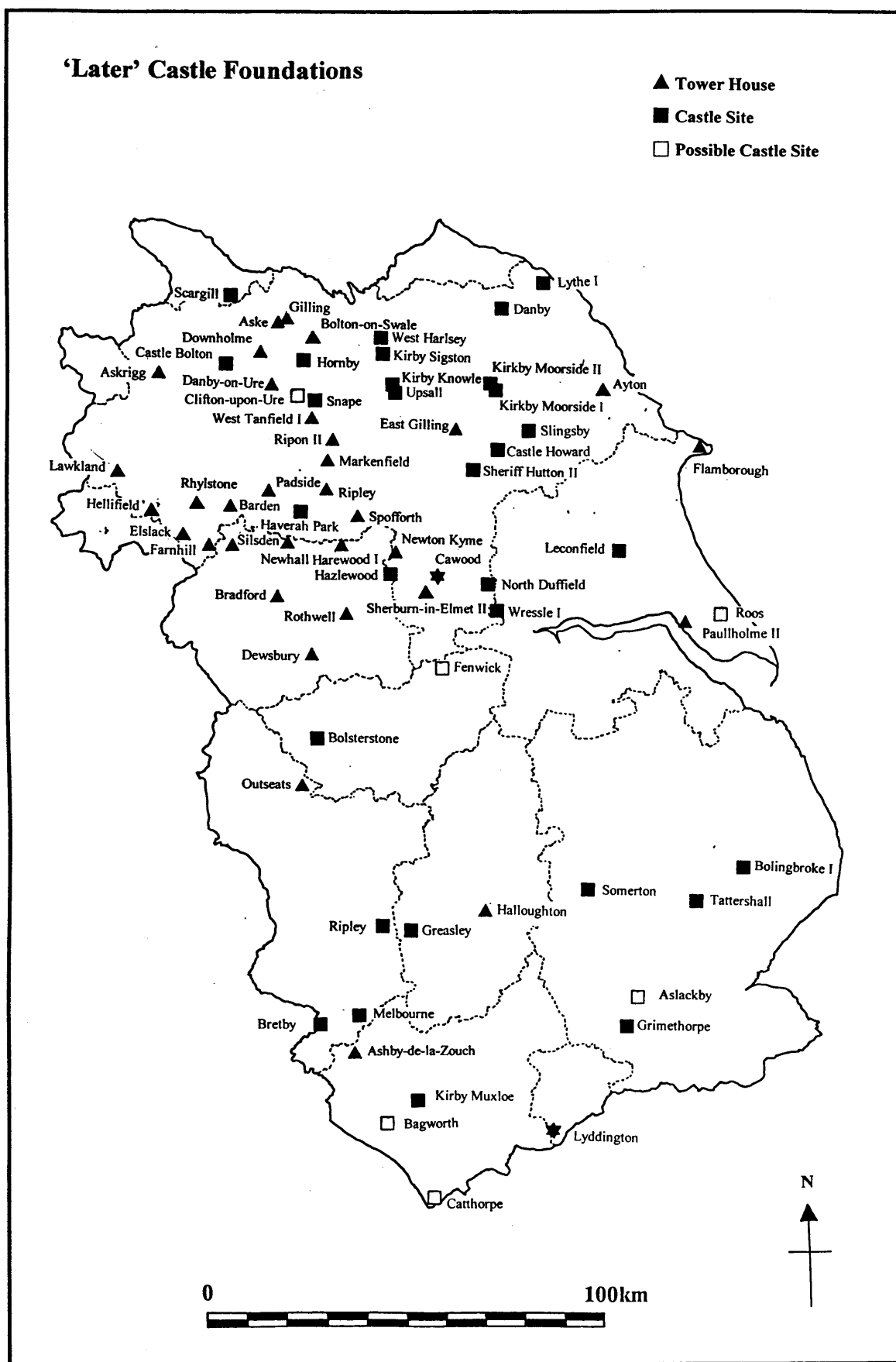


Fig. 2.3: Distribution of later castles foundations (c. 1217-1500) in the study area

The Study Area: Major Regional Sub-Divisions

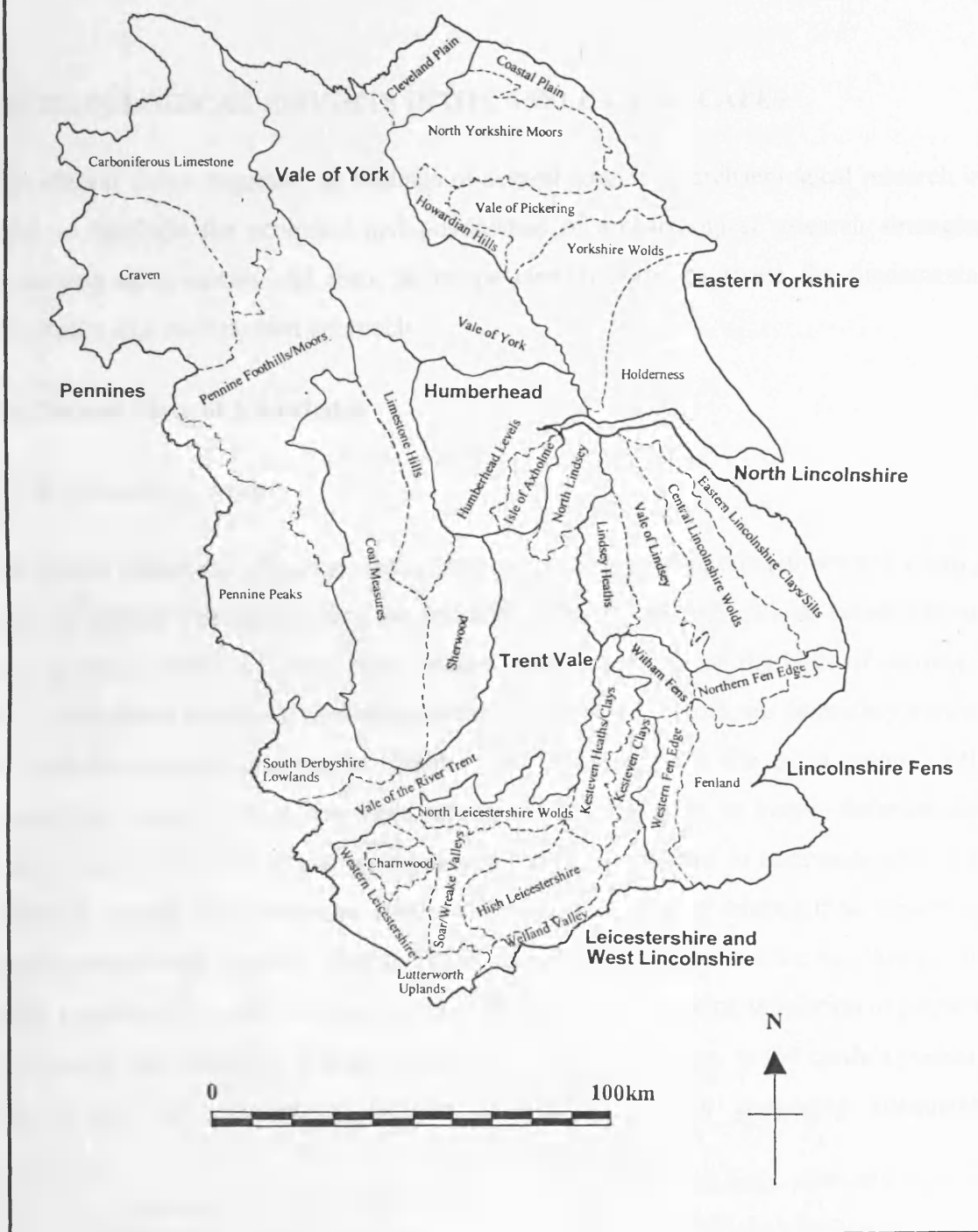


Fig. 2.5: The study area, showing major regional sub-divisions

CHAPTER THREE

THE RÔLE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSIGHTS INTO CASTLE LANDSCAPES

This chapter draws together the findings of several strands of archaeological research in order to highlight the problems and possibilities of archaeological research strategies concerning early castles and their landscape contexts, and to stress the fundamental importance of a multifaceted approach.

The Present State of Knowledge

(i) The Excavation Report

The spatial limitations of archaeological excavation further compound an inward-looking view of castles. The current data set remains lamentably biased towards constructional data (Harfield 1988, 137), with many related projects working on the basis of narrowly-focused research designs, contributing to the way in which castles are commonly viewed as isolated structural phenomena. Coad (1994, 218) applauds the trend within castle archaeology to move from the more 'attractive' features such as keeps, defences and halls, to more peripheral zones such as outer wards, as reflected in both excavation and fieldwork (Austin 1979; Redhead 1990). Yet the further goal, of relating these structures to their hinterlands, remains elusive. In countless reports there is little mention of the castle's landscape context, besides the briefest summary of its siting in relation to physical topography and presumed strategic significance. Rarely, it seems, is the castle's position with relation to contemporary human, as well as physical geography adequately considered.

There are, however, signs of a change in attitudes; Austin (1984) has laid an essential theoretical platform for viewing castles in their landscape contexts, based largely on an analysis of Barnard Castle, Co. Durham, whilst a small number of excavation reports carry this ideal towards reality. Munby (1985) sets the standard with a fully integrated analysis of the medieval activity at Portchester within its regional and local context and usefully relates the development of the castle to the adjacent settlement (*ibid.*, 283-95). Similarly, the work of Barker and Higham at Hen Domen, Montgomery and Rahtz and Rowley at Middleton Stoney, Oxon. exemplifies the immense potential for combining fieldwork in the environs of a site with excavation, in the context of evolving, long-term projects (Barker and Lawson 1971; Barker and Higham 1982; 1989, 326-347; Rahtz and Rowley 1984). Elsewhere, opportunities are missed, such as Rutledge's (1997) brief yet erudite analysis of the context of Castle Rising Castle within settlement planning, which remains relegated to an appendix.

This relative neglect of castle-landscape relations in Britain stands in stark contrast to the approach of continental, and particularly Italian archaeology, where castles are commonly viewed as catalytic components in rural landscapes, as exemplified by the phenomenon of *incastellamento*, in which castles acted as nucleation points for the re-orientation of rural settlement. Accordingly many studies in Italy examine castles and villages together as a single phenomenon, and despite the fact that castles may reveal richer material finds, equal weight is often given to the analysis of the structures of the associated villages.

The close juxtaposing of nucleated fortified village and castle, usually on a hilltop, provides an extreme demonstration of one of the closest forms that castle-settlement symbiosis can take. The re-orientation of settlement into a nucleated form associated with the castle demonstrates the extreme gravitational pull of the seigneurial cell, due both to advantages of military security and economic benefit, underlain by the coercive power of the seigneur. Examples such as Montarrenti, in the province of Siena (Francovich and Hodges 1989) exhibit the morphological hall-marks of a horseshoe-shaped village arranged around a fortified nucleus on concentric terraces. With both castle and fortified village set upon high ground, the village nestling beneath the castle and surrounded by an

enclosure, the church commonly having its own sector, the *incastellamento* phenomenon symbolically represents the power of the seigneur in the landscape.

(ii) Reconstructions of Early Castles

Space has always been used for the definition, maintenance and display of power relations in society, underlain by evolving social structures of dominance and dependency. Two innovative and influential articles by Coulson (1979; 1982) addressing the metaphysics of castle architecture have stressed that the question of symbolism was an ever-present factor underlying the purpose of the castle; and that whilst defensibility in varying degrees was a necessity, the social function of the castle tended to transcend the military imperative in the majority of cases (1979, 73-74). We may raise two areas of Coulson's argument which are of immense importance to the re-integration of castles within contemporary landscapes.

First, Coulson's view of castle architecture as a vehicle for social statement by the castle seignury tends to overlook the impact of such symbolic elaboration and display upon external parties; only briefly does Coulson (1979, 76) take into consideration that architectural iconography was to be viewed from the exterior, and not necessarily by parties of similar social ranking:

"The building, in its entirety and site detail, was an exercise in visual education for a people whose ordinary lives were spent among wattle and thatch."

Similarly, a valuable and growing body of literature addressing castle architecture as a vehicle for social expression has tended to focus upon the social significance of internal planning as opposed to external appearance (e.g. Dixon 1990; Fairclough 1992, 357-364; Dixon and Marshall 1993, 430). On one hand, a case could be made that the structural symbolism was a function of competition between rival seigneurs, and of little substance to the peasantry, yet conversely one can see this architecture as being aimed at demonstrating metaphysical dominance over dominated classes to the dominated classes themselves. Furthermore, Coulson's 'lesson' for the people would be more apparent to

resident and visiting seigneurs and retinues if castle and settlement were closely juxtaposed, the plan of the village focusing on the castle as a plan dominant and the architectural gulf between the two elements more apparent. Thus, a dichotomy exists in such a relationship, in that a close morphological relationship between castle and settlement may, ironically, emphasise the division between the two. As Brown (1989, 57) states with regard to the planned settlement appended to *Castle Bolton, N. Yorks.*: "...its attendant village trailing to the east like the train of some robe of state".

Nevertheless, it is also arguable that a geographically isolated castle could gain a similar sense of metaphysical 'separation' from the community just as a later medieval moated site might achieve through its water 'defences', and it is notable that a desire to escape the visual pollution and other constraints of an appending community is often cited as the reason behind the commonplace separation of lord from rural community in the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries (e.g. *Goltho, Lincs.*: see below).

Second, Coulson's arguments are constrained by the temporal availability of documentary evidence, most notably licences to crenellate (c. 1199 to the time of Henry VIII), and are restricted to what he terms the "castle age proper", namely the period from the twelfth to the later fifteenth century, when masonry structures were dominant (1979, 73). Coulson's overturning of the traditional orthodoxy that metaphysical aspects of castle design are a product of the fifteenth-century divorce of house and fortress is important (*ibid.*, 82), yet his exposition that symbolic concerns only became significant in the thirteenth century, with the widespread usage of masonry, is in urgent need of revision in the light of recent research. In particular, excavation at Hen Domen (Barker and Higham 1982) has demonstrated the potentially imposing nature of timber defences, and their findings have been usefully translated to Stafford Castle (*ibid.* 1992, 289-93). In short, Barker and Highams's thesis that timber defences should not oversimplistically be viewed as the poor relation to stone defences, has rendered Coulson's assertion that prestige did not at first accrue to the builders of earth and timber castles "...any more than it did to the occupant of some brigand lair or raiding base" (1979, 82) utterly out of date. The implications for many rural mottes and ringworks which never saw development beyond timber phases

(which form the majority of sites in the study area) are thus manifold. Instead of seeing defences of the classic type postulated by Hope Taylor (1960) at Abinger, Surrey (an idiosyncratic image of an atypical motte ingrained within numerous popularist texts), one can see even the more minor of earthwork sites as powerful imposing seigneurial institutions metaphysically dominating adjacent communities. Thus whilst Stocker (1992, 415-16) has usefully coined the phrase "nailing the valley" to describe the essentially symbolic function of the masonry castle tower, we may ask whether the imposition of rural mottes within the first few decades of the Conquest can be understood in the same iconic terms.

It is interesting to note, however, that the social differences implied from the archaeological evidence of powerful defences are not reflected in the material finds from early castle excavations. Barker (1987, 54) has indeed suggested that the castle seignury at Hen Domen in the late eleventh century would have had their wealth tied up in livestock rather than finery, as demonstrated in an almost total absence of rich, portable material culture.

Castles and Environmental Archaeology

The castle excavation report has been slow to incorporate specialist environmental contributions. This is largely a product of wider negative attitudes within medieval archaeology towards the rôle of the environmental sub-discipline generally, to the extent that environmental evidence has been viewed as of comparatively lesser value than in a prehistoric research situation (Grant 1984, 179; Bell 1989, 271). Yet this neglect has in many ways been particularly acute within castle studies, and is a further symptom of a widespread reluctance to consider fully the more mundane functions of castles as centres of demesne cultivation and estate administration.

These research priorities appear wholly inappropriate when approaching the functions of castles from a landscape perspective, as environmental data can potentially elucidate aspects of a castle's hinterland, including its resources and their management, not recoverable through other means (such as modes of cultivation, patterns of husbandry or

woodland management). In particular, evidence for temporal variation in these patterns may not be apparent in the documentary record, especially in the notoriously poorly documented two centuries following the Conquest. Further, it can be argued that the very nature of castles and castle occupation provides a plethora of suitable contexts facilitating and favouring the accumulation, preservation and recovery of relevant environmental data.

This trend of neglecting environmental archaeology can be seen to manifest itself at two levels within castle archaeology. First, we may note the inherent limitations of research designs geared towards the recovery of structural data relating to defensive aspects of castle design. That only a handful of British castle excavations contain environmental reports worthy of discussion is largely a product of the zones selected for excavation. Environmental evidence sealed within or beneath ramparts, mottes or other defensive features does have a certain value (see below), but the large scale open area excavation of bailey interiors truly necessary to integrate a site within a palaeoenvironmental and palaeoeconomic context has occurred so infrequently that Hen Domen, Montgomery, remains our constant point of reference (Barker and Higham 1982). Certainly a fundamental change in archaeological sampling strategy is essential if we are to clarify some of the vast range of cultural activities potentially centralised within baileys and outer wards, which remain almost totally obscure (Harfield 1988, 137-38; McNeill 1997, 69). These have hitherto received little attention, but the possibilities are manifold, and presumably vary spatially, temporally and due to the character of lordship (e.g. stabling of war-horses and the garrisoning/assembly of troops; enclosure of population and stock either permanently or during crisis; storage, processing and redistribution of agricultural produce; industrial activity). Second, we may note the manner in which environmental data are subsumed within the wider report. In general, findings are forced into interpretative frameworks based upon documentary data, and only rarely given value as a separate body of evidence. The data often remain isolated and unintegrated, and in the majority of cases no reference to the implications of environmental evidence is made in the final synthesis. Only rarely do we see the findings of environmental evidence synthesised

within a more general discussion (e.g. Hen Domen: Barker and Higham 1982, 38-9), and only exceptionally has the weight of material prompted revaluation of site function (e.g. Barnard Castle, Co. Durham: Austin 1987, 75). At Grimbosq, Normandy, however, extensive environmental sampling from internal contexts - illustrating forest clearance and an intensification of cultivation coincident with castle foundation - demonstrated the prominent defences of the site to be functionally subservient to the site's function as an economic centre (Décaens 1981). Here we see the overturning of conventional wisdom as to the function of a motte and bailey as based upon the documentary record.

Within the study area, only *Goltho, Lincs.*, *Castle Sandal, W. Yorks.* and *Baile Hill, N. Yorks.* have yielded published environmental data associated with early castle sites, although specific circumstances of site taphonomy and sampling strategies diminish the value of the evidence. The implications of these environmental data for landscape reconstruction are considered separately (see below).

Comparable insights from other sites are lacking for a variety of reasons. In one prominent case, *Pontefract, W. Yorks.*, despite the detailed sampling of environmental data during the excavations of 1982-86, post-excavation work continues and the material remains to be published. In other cases, period-specific biases on the behalf of excavators has ensured a lack of environmental sampling of medieval contexts in preference to earlier occupation on multi-period sites. Most notably, at *Almondbury, W. Yorks.*, a considerable medieval faunal assemblage recovered from the well shaft remains to be fully analysed or published, in contrast to comparable prehistoric material from the hillfort (WYAS 1994, 2). Preliminary analysis indicates that the assemblage is of value in demonstrating the coexistence of domestic species with a large number of red and roe deer at a period when the site was thought to be only periodically occupied as a hunting lodge (Varley, n.d.). Elsewhere, the necessarily limited scale of excavations prompted by development control has dictated that environmental sampling has not featured in excavation strategies (e.g. *Hathersage, Derbys.*; *Driffield, Humbs., Yorks.*).

In addition, a number of early excavations, whilst ultimately defective methodologically, provide tentative glimpses of the potential for the preservation of environmental data within early castle sites. For instance, early excavations at *Hallaton, Leics.*, recovered a large volume of organic material anaerobically preserved within a motte, including animal bone, layers of ashy refuse and, remarkably, a deposit of brushwood containing a number of identifiable species, apparently associated with the virgin land surface upon which the motte was raised (Dibbin 1876-78). Similarly rich deposits of burned refuse are noted in early excavations of mottes at *Kibworth Harcourt, Leics.* (Anon 1837, 641) and *Burton in Lonsdale, N. Yorks.* (Anon 1905, 284).

Despite this lack of stratified environmental data, the potential for the survival of environmental evidence is viewed as an important criterion in contemporary conservation strategies at several sites. Accordingly, English Heritage re-scheduling policy under the Monument Protection Programme highlights the value of features potentially preserving environmental data and includes these zones within the scheduled area. Examples include the waterlogged deposits contained within the bailey ditch at *Langthwaite, S. Yorks.* (Eng. Heritage Sched. 13211) and the artificial lake-bed surrounding *Ravensworth, N. Yorks.* (Eng. Heritage Sched. 26939). It is further encouraging to note that environmental sampling is seen as an essential component of research designs for the future. Notably, a design for a future research project at *Skipsea, Humbs., Yorks.* suggests environmental sampling of the surrounding waterlogged mere as the foremost aim, to the extent of designating the most appropriate locations for coring (Atkins 1988, 23-27). However, castles have remained beyond the horizons of regional studies of medieval environmental archaeology in Humberside, which have concentrated rather upon moated sites (Fenwick 1997, 429-38).

Given the nature of the database within the study area, we may explore the wider problems of, and possibilities for, the integration of environmental archaeology within castle studies at a national scale in two ways: (i) intra-site analysis; and (ii) inter-site analysis.

(i) Intra-Site Analysis

The implications of effective environmental sampling for illuminating relationships between a given site and its hinterland can be viewed at a variety of scales. At the most immediate level, the composition of a molluscan faunal assemblage at Middleton Stoney, Oxon. demonstrates microclimatic changes in response to castle construction rather than carrying any implications for changes in the management of the wider environs (Evans 1972, 129). Comparable evidence from molluscan assemblages at Okehampton and Castle Acre are similarly of little value in reconstructing castle-landscape relationships at a wider scale. In the case of the former, the range of species was overwhelmingly conditioned by synanthropic factors such as the shady microenvironment provided by the castle walls and refuse dumping in the castle ditch (Bell 1982, 146), whilst at the latter the construction of the castle created a range of microhabitats favouring certain species, such as the timber impressions associated with masonry bridge abutments (Murphy 1987, 303). Castle ditches are features favouring the preservation of archaeobotanical and archaeozoological materials, yet several aspects of ditch taphonomy ensure that such deposits must be interpreted with care. Most notably, ditches are likely to be periodically cleared (the motte ditch at Hen Domen was re-cut six times: Grieg *et al.* 1982, 71), while deposits within them may relate to a combination of dumping from within the castle and dumping from outlying settlement into the castle ditch, as was revealed to be the case in the ditch surrounding Newcastle castle (Harbottle and Ellison 1981).

The presence of animal fodder, perhaps for the provisioning of war horses has been demonstrated through palaeobotanical evidence at Rumney (D. Williams 1992, 156) and Hen Domen (Barker and Lawson 1972, 70), providing evidence of linkages between a castle and its hinterland, but also informing about the functions bailey enclosures. In this sense we may also note the distinction in faunal assemblages between intra-site units at Castle Acre. Whereas the upper ward was dominated by sheep/goat, deer and cattle, the lower ward demonstrated a greater preponderance of rabbit and chicken, indicating perhaps social differences, but also the penning of animals within the lower ward (Lawrance 1982, 289-91; 1987, 300).

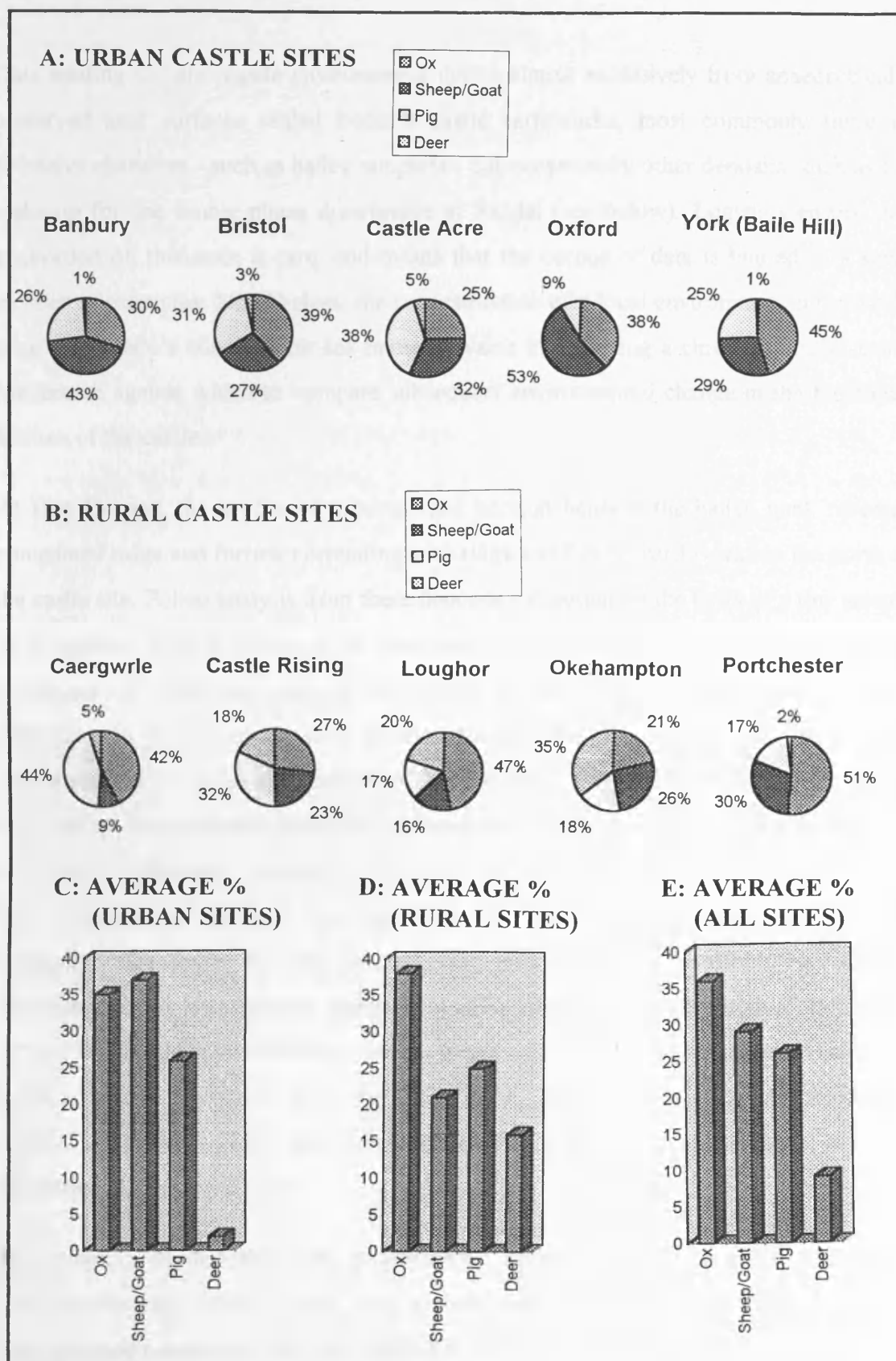


Fig. 3.1: Percentages of animal species from urban and rural castle excavations: figures are based on NIB and exclude post-medieval and pre-Conquest deposits. Sample sizes: Banbury, 159; Bristol, 3468; Caergwrlle, 488; Castle Acre, 4833; Castle Rising, 2194; Loughor, 3655; Okehampton, 5348; Oxford, 623; Portchester, 2444; York, 394. (Source: Noddle 1975; Marples 1976; Wilson 1976; Grant 1977; Rackman and Wheeler 1977; Lawrance 1982; Maltby 1982; Berg 1994; Jones 1997)

Data relating to 'pre'-castle environments derive almost exclusively from anaerobically preserved land surfaces sealed beneath castle earthworks, most commonly those of defensive character - such as bailey ramparts - but occasionally other deposits, such as the make-up for the timber-phase drawbridge at Sandal (see below). Logistics ensure that excavation on this scale is rare, and means that the corpus of data is limited to a small number of examples. Nonetheless, the reconstruction of a local environment immediately prior to a castle's construction has immense value in providing a chronologically secure benchmark against which to compare subsequent environmental change in the functional lifetime of the castle.

At Hen Domen, the profile of a buried soil horizon beneath the bailey bank revealed compacted ridge and furrow correlating with ridge and furrow earthworks to the north of the castle site. Pollen analysis from these deposits - although on the basis of a tiny sample of 61 grains - drew a picture of an open pre-castle environment with few trees and an abundance of weeds and bracken, interpreted as implying the abandonment of arable cultivation in favour of an environment characteristic of rough grazing at a stage immediately prior to castle imposition (Barker and Lawson 1971, 68-70). Here, the implications for associated pre-castle settlement are manifold, suggesting the existence of a pre-castle community practising open field cultivation (Barker and Higham 1982, 28-29). Comparable evidence comes from the pedological analysis of deposits stratigraphically sealed beneath the rath (and later motte) at Lismahon, Co. Down, demonstrating no recognisable arable cultivation prior to rath construction (Proudfoot 1959, 172). Similarly, at Middleton Stoney detailed pedological and molluscan analysis of buried deposits associated with the inner bailey ditch demonstrated the immediate environs of the castle not to have been cultivated for at least two centuries prior to castle foundation (Evans 1972, 129)

The sampling of deposits with environmental archaeological potential from internal features within the cores of castle sites, such as wells, drains, garderobes and pits, is the most advanced aspect of the environmental archaeology of castles. The potential for

evidence from these contexts has henceforth primarily been viewed in terms of providing data on the diet of castle inhabitants. Yet such evidence can in turn have manifold implications for the nature of the surrounding habitat, the integration of castles within local and regional economies, and ultimately - and only when the current data set expands sufficiently - differences in diet between castle inhabitants and the wider community.

Data from Barnard Castle, Co. Durham illustrate the value of such evidence at a variety of levels. The contents of a blocked drain from Barnard Castle affords an intimate insight into castle life at the highest level, in doing so setting a methodological precedent for the adequate sampling of similar contexts elsewhere (notably repeated sieving in order to eliminate bias against smaller remains: Donaldson *et al.* 1980, 86). The evidence comprises the remains of meals from the high table of the castle hall; conventional items including cuts of beef, pork, mutton veal and suckling pig, whilst game was represented by red, roe and fallow deer. Goose and chicken appear as regular items, and fish were clearly important - herring being the most important item, yet with haddock, pike and conger eel also represented. Shellfish include oysters, cockles and mussels, and finally, vegetable remains included oats, peas, sloe and elder. Besides the intricacies of lordly dietary preferences, the evidence testifies to wider regional links: the marine remains for instance illustrate links with the east coast (*ibid.*, 96). Yet the evidence remains remarkable in terms of its qualitative nature, and it falls to other categories of environmental data to illustrate the workings of the demesne economy. The presence of exotic taxa such as grapes, as at Okehampton (Colledge 1982, 146), or marine molluscs at sites such as Lismahon (Jope 1959, 174) similarly testify to the integration of castles within wider regional economies.

At Hen Domen, Pit F1/27 - interpreted by the excavators as an unfinished well - was filled with a small quantity of kitchen waste, including fish bones, egg shells, mammalian bones and a goose wing, whilst botanical evidence from the same deposit supplied evidence of thatch, wattle and straw bedding (Greig *et al.* 1982, 69-71). A number of other palaeobotanical reports demonstrate more mundane, yet still valuable evidence of the

presence of arable cultivation within the vicinity of the castle, as at Rumney (D. Williams 1992, 155) and Castle Acre (Green 1982, 275).

Unfortunately, the next step of providing an effective wider environmental context for each site by sampling beyond the confines of the defences remains to be achieved. For instance, at Okehampton, palaeobotanical sampling of pit 109 at the foot of the motte allowed a crude picture to be drawn of some of the plant species present (Colledge 1982, 146), although the sample size was insufficient for further interpretation, such as the extent to which this reflected the vegetational profile of the local environs. However, sampling of a pollen core from Okehampton Park, as a component of an entirely separate medieval landscape research project, allowed the detailed reconstruction of the ecology of the park throughout the medieval period, to the point of charting the relative significance of arable/pastoral exploitation (Austin *et al.* 1980, 47); the challenge is to integrate both modes of analysis within research designs.

(ii) Inter-Site Analysis

Non-standardised sampling strategies, differences in assemblage preservation and inconsistent modes of faunal analysis between sites ensures that inter-site analysis is most appropriately conducted at a very broad level. For instance, at Baile Hill (*York II*), the value of environmental evidence is compromised by the specifics of site taphonomy and deficiencies in sampling strategy. Differences in the profile of bone assemblages derived from 'occupational' levels on the motte top and deposits from the base of the motte are explicable in terms of taphonomic variables (namely the selective clearance of larger bones from occupied zones: Rackman and Wheeler 1977, 146-47), rather than describing any spatial or chronological variation in animal consumption or exploitation. Yet taken together, even at the crudest level, the assemblage does seem to mirror comparable urban castle sites. Consequently, Fig. 3.1 draws together data from a representative range of rural and urban castle sites and illustrates the relative percentages of animal bones for key species (ox, ovicaprid, pig, deer). Taken together, such a corpus of data can be taken as the amalgam of a broad range of factors including the operation of animal husbandry in a

site's hinterland and elite patterns of food consumption (Ervynck 1991, 154-55). We may identify two trends in particular.

First, collectively and individually, rural castle sites demonstrate markedly higher percentages of deer bones relative to urban sites. As well as indicating elite dietary preferences, in part this must be a reflection of the association of rural seats with managed hunting resources, whether managed parks and chases (e.g. Okehampton Park: Maltby 1982, 135), or Royal forests (e.g. Bere Forest near Portchester: Grant 1977, 231). A variation on this model is Loughor, where the exceptional size of deer bones has been taken as indicative of hunting within virgin forest (Noddle 1975, 253). In contrast to the large-scale processing of deer envisaged by Austin (1987, 75) within the castle complex at Barnard Castle, at other sites with reliable sample sizes the converse appears true, with the processing of large mammals in the case of Okehampton and Castle Acre clearly occurring outside rather than within the castle and prime joints, particularly haunches, imported (Lawrance 1982, 293; Maltby 1982, 135). The only potential parallel to the near industrial-scale processing within a castle complex is the possibility of animal bones having been rendered down for glue production at Castle Acre (Lawrance 1982, 291).

Second, we may note the general profile of species representation at urban and rural sites and note the broad correspondence between urban castle sites and other urban assemblages, and fortified rural seats with other domestic rural assemblages. As Grant (1988, 151-53) notes, sheep bones commonly outnumber cattle bones in urban excavations, whereas the converse is true of many rural sites. Notably, this pattern is mirrored within castle excavations (Fig. 3.1). What is clear is that faunal assemblages within urban castle sites are indicative of linkages with wider local economies. For instance, in the case of sheep/goat bones, butchery data from Banbury suggests that joints may have been transported direct from the market (Wilson 1976, 146), whilst the preponderance of juvenile specimens from Bristol castle and Baile Hill mirrors the slaughter patterns recognised within other medieval urban market economies (Noddle 1975, 257; Rackman and Wheeler 1977, 152; Grant 1988, 153). We may thus conclude by noting that, behind the superficial similarity of defensive structures, rural and castle

sites were enmeshed within fundamentally different economies and may show divergent patterns of consumption. Furthermore, as urban castles commonly preserve 'islands' of well-preserved and readily datable stratigraphy in constantly developing towns (Drage 1989, 130), and rural castles may do likewise, we may acknowledge the value of environmental derived from castle contexts in illuminating wider patterns of agricultural exploitation, animal husbandry and land management.

Yet the body of evidence remains lamentably limited, especially when bearing in mind the vast wealth of environmental evidence accrued from similar features on sites of earlier date. Certainly this lack of environmental data is a product of the relatively slow speed with which research designs in castle studies are becoming less focused on defensive structures, than attributable to an absence of suitable deposits to sample.

CASE-STUDIES: CASTLES, HINTERLANDS AND EXCAVATION

Within the study area, just two castle sites have been excavated intensively on a spatially extensive scale, and the results published fully: *Goltho, Lincs.* (Beresford 1987), and *Castle Sandal, W. Yorks.* (Mayes and Butler 1983). As such, the research designs and published findings of these excavations, as they relate to the integration of fortified sites within contemporary landscapes, merit especial attention. Together, the sites offer an illustrative contrast in the scale of associated hinterlands within which castles functioned not only as defended nuclei, but as aristocratic seats of manorial administration and consumption.

Castle Sandal, W. Yorks.: Castle Siting and de Warenne Lordship in Yorkshire (Fig. 3.2 and 3.3)

In the case of Castle Sandal, the published excavation report (Mayes and Butler 1983), based on ten seasons of research-led excavation from 1964, focuses almost exclusively on the structural evolution of the site's residential and defensive structures. This reflects clearly the stated priorities of revealing all masonry remains within the line of the curtain wall in order to give an effective presentation of the site to the public, supplemented by

minimal excavation of the bailey defences and earlier timber phases (*ibid.*, 25). Unfortunately, any appreciation of the site's changing rôle and significance within the contemporary landscape is subsumed entirely within a more general treatment of Sandal's ownership history (*ibid.*, 3). For the purpose of this study, the excavated data are supplemented with wider landscape analysis in order to emphasise the position of the castle within a range of medieval landscapes, both physical and human. The approach taken is to examine the context of Castle Sandal at a number of spatial scales, from the implications of particular excavated contexts to an appreciation of Sandal's importance in terms of nation-wide patterns of seigneurial land-holding, thus furthering a more holistic approach to a major castle site.

(i) Castle Sandal and the Manor of Wakefield

Castle Sandal was the key administrative centre within the extensive and complex territorial entity of the manor of Wakefield, focused on a major urban centre, yet simultaneously a subsidiary component within a far wider pattern of Anglo-Norman teneurial geography comprising the widely-flung estates of the de Warenne family in Yorkshire and south-east England. The relationship between the medieval urban centre of Wakefield and the siting of Castle Sandal in its immediate environs, as opposed to within the town, is exceptional within the study area. Elsewhere, such a spatial relationship is usually explicable in terms of the castle being a short-lived military foundation (e.g. *Chesterfield, Derbys.*: see Chapter 8); yet here the castle was a major centre of lordship and estate management, although separate from the urban centre.

Wakefield was the key settlement within a vast royal multiple estate recorded at Domesday (i, 299d), incorporating nine berwicks (including Sandal Magna) and an extensive jurisdiction of sokeland. Together, these holdings represented a distinct late Saxon territorial unit, as suggested by the correlation between the post-Conquest manor and distribution of vills dependant upon Dewsbury Minster pre-Conquest. The manor of Wakefield remained in royal hands until c. 1106-1121 when it was granted to William, first Earl Warenne by William Rufus (Clay 1949, 1-26). Although initial occupation at

Castle Sandal can be dated no more precisely than the twelfth century on the basis of pottery, and pre-c. 1160 on the basis of architectural data, there is no reason to deny the common assumption that the castle emerged early in the twelfth century as the regional administrative centre of the de Warenne estates (Mayes and Butler 1983, 27). Unlike large portions of the manor of Wakefield, Sandal Magna township was, unsurprisingly, retained in demesne upon its acquisition (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 491). By c. 1300, the administrative geography of the surrounding area had been radically re-cast by the appropriation, through coercion or forfeit, of the adjacent former sokelands of Crigglestone, Horbury, Ossett, Alverthorpe and Stanley, to create a substantially enlarged demesne estate held by unfree tenure, with Sandal as its gravitational centre (Stinson 1991, 92-94).

Wakefield's emergence as an urban centre is first dated by a charter of Earl Hamelin de Warenne c. 1190-95, granting tofts of one acre to a number of free burgesses - a document augmented by a further charter of the eighth Earl Warenne in 1307 (Goodchild 1991, 1, 11). However, the minimalist phrasing of the first document implies existing urban status, whilst the absence of any reference to urban institutions in Wakefield at Domesday does not deny their existence. Overall, the pre-eminent administrative position of Wakefield at the head of an extensive royal manor in 1066 points towards urban or proto-urban status in the pre-Conquest period - a case strengthened by the fact that neither the borough charter nor the subsequent royal grants of fairs in 1204, 1258 and 1331 mention a market, suggesting circumstantially that one was already in existence (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 548). The borough of Wakefield, focused physically on an important ecclesiastical centre, was thus administered without the presence of a castle; the manorial court (formerly the Moot Court within the borough) and focus for estate management (Castle Sandal) were discrete units (Moorhouse 1979, 52; Stinson 1991, 109). This contrasts sharply with other major early castle sites in the study area. For instance, whereas the otherwise comparable royal manor of *Tanshelf* was overawed and ultimately displaced by the fortified *caput baroniae* of Ilbert de Lacy in the late eleventh

century (*Pontefract, W. Yorks.*: see Chapter 6), Wakefield remained in the hands of the Crown and lacked a castle.

The reasons for this separation of *caput* and borough at Wakefield have, however, hitherto received little attention. The authors of the excavation report advance a standard, defensive explanation for the siting of Castle Sandal, emphasising the military imperative of choosing a topographical site physically superior to potential positions further north (Mayes and Butler 1983, 76), viewing these concerns as uppermost in the minds of the founders of the early-twelfth-century motte and bailey. It may, however, be significant that Sandal was enveloped entirely by a seigneurial deer park from an early date (Moorhouse 1979, 52-55); here a more isolated seat of lordship was deemed appropriate by the seigneurial decision maker(s). Furthermore, a combination of evidence points to Sandal Magna being itself a place of some significance in the pre-Conquest period. Significantly, of the eight outlying berwicks appurtenant to Wakefield at Domesday, Sandal was the only lowland constituent, lying within the fertile Coal Measures in the east of the manor, which, in contrast to the pastoral economy of the gritsone slopes forming the western portion, meant that it lay at the heartland of the manor in terms of arable and population resources. In addition, the large cruciform parish church of St. Helen may have pre-Conquest origins, as re-used masonry in the south transept may be late Saxon, whilst two churches and three priests are mentioned in the composite Domesday entry for Wakefield (Ryder 1993, 171). A conspicuous programme of remodelling under de Warenne patronage is indicated by the earliest *in situ* fabric, the bases of twelfth-century crossing piers (Pevsner 1959, 428-29), whilst linkages of lordship are reflected further in second Earl Warenne's transfer pre-1147 of Sandal church to the Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, founded in association with the fortified *caput* of his Sussex estates (Clay 1949, 87); as such, this sequence is indicative of a wider nexus of castle-church patronage discussed fully elsewhere (see Chapter 6). Whereas many castles in the region were sited deliberately so as to dominate important early churches (cf. *Kippax, W. Yorks.*: see Chapter 6), here the castle lay c. 500m to the west, presumably so as to incorporate the borough within its viewshed (and *vice versa*). Castle Sandal thus overlooked

Wakefield from a prominent spur projecting from the south side of the Calder valley, in addition to the manorial corn mill which lay in the bend of the Calder immediately below the site (Moorhouse 1979, 53). We should also note the proximity of the pre-Conquest Hundred meeting place at Asbrigg, c. 1.5km to the north-east (see Fig. 3.2). Together, these factors marked Sandal out as a suitable location for the de Warenne *caput*.

(ii) Excavated Data: Small Finds and Environmental Sampling

Although analysis of the material culture of Castle Sandal *per se* is beyond the scope of this thesis, Fig. 3.3 tabulates the small finds from the excavation relative to functional groupings. The importance of small finds analysis for illuminating everyday castle life has been emphasised by Kenyon (1990, 163), whilst a recent case-study of the Swedish coastal castle, Saxholmen, has pioneered methodologies of small-find analysis as a profitable and innovative means of linking the castle with its hinterland (Lind *et al.* 1997, 200, 207-08).

At Sandal, a number of interesting trends through time are evident. Although artefact numbers are sufficiently low in the early castle phases (7-4) to preclude serious analysis, the material culture of the castle in Phases 3-1, with a distinctly limited assemblage of military artefacts relative to a high proportion of household items (e.g. kitchenware and needlework apparatus), agricultural tools (e.g. spades, pitchforks and axes) and, most importantly, personal items (e.g. non-military brooches and rings), raises important questions of how we might interpret the functions of the site in the absence of documentary data, and whether more mundane functions are overlooked.

The research design at Castle Sandal is exceptional in the degree of environmental sampling employed; yet, critically, the published report fails to cross-fertilise between specialist environmental contributions, or to synthesise effectively the findings (see Mayes and Butler 1983, 341-58). The salient characteristic of the Castle Sandal bone assemblage (Fig. 3.3) is, on one hand the consistently increasing proportion of cattle and sheep bone through time, as opposed to the proportion of pig bone, which tends to decrease sharply, especially between Phases 7/8 and 5/6. The proportion of deer bone is of further interest,

in its sharp increase from phases 7/8 to 5/6, followed by a marked decline between Phase 4 through to late medieval Phase 1. Two hypotheses have been proposed to explain this phenomenon: either the marked increase and subsequent decline in deer is attributable to the circumstances of castle ownership, whereby the management and hunting of deer reached a peak under de Warenne lordship, before declining under more periodic royal absentee ownership; or the changes reflect a more general process of progressive land clearance within the surrounding demesne estate (Griffith *et al.* 1983, 347). On balance, additional evidence favours the latter; indeed, the decline in the proportion of deer bone cannot be detected until the transition to Phases 3/2 (c. 1450-1485), by which time the castle had been under royal ownership for c. 50 years (Mayes and Butler 1983, 4-5). A wider landscape explanation thus becomes more acceptable, especially when considering that metrical and age of slaughter data (Griffith *et al.* 1983, 343-46) argues that changes in the assemblage through time reflect real changes in the management of the surrounding demesne estate as opposed to changes in consumption patterns by the castle inhabitants. The extremely low proportion of deer bones in the early castle (Phases 7/8: c. 1106-1130) may be attributable to an initial period of primarily military activity before gradual transition to an aristocratic seat at the centre of considerable hunting resources; here, however, the sampling strategy may have a rôle to play, with a significantly more limited sample of faunal material in the early phases (see Fig. 3.3). Other aspects of the faunal assemblage support the thesis of progressive clearance of the demesne estate, conditioned by an intensification of cattle and sheep farming at the expense of exploiting woodland through pig farming. Thus, the changing profile of deer bones through time may reflect a combination of woodland clearance - influencing the predominance of those animals colonising a woodland habitat - and a decline in Sandal's usage as a hunting seat under royal ownership.

Other environmental data substantiate this sequence. The evidence of a peat core from the outer moat testifies to a transition from an oak dominated environs, through to a more open, cultivated habitat although the evidence is weakened by difficulties in correlating this sequence with the phasing of castle occupation (Rees and Bartley 1983a, 351). In

contrast, contexts from which charcoal deposits were taken were more chronologically secure, and mirror a pattern of castle construction in a landscape dominated by oak woodland, changing to a more mixed, open woodland environment in the course of castle occupation - a sequence complete by 1550 (Smith *et al.* 1983b, 357). Additional data come from pollen derived from soil samples, one of which - taken from ridge and furrow sealed beneath the castle earthworks - testifies to the presence of arable indicators, in addition to species indicating pasture in the vicinity (Rees and Bartley 1983b, 353). This certainly indicates that subsequent changes in vegetational composition occurred on the fringes of an already cultivated zone - further evidence of which is provided by pollen samples taken from garderobe deposits (Smith *et al.* 1983a, 355). Supplementary environmental data from molluscs in the barbican ditch (Norris 1983, 349), rather describe microclimatic conditions - namely the creation of a damp, food-rich environment through refuse dumping.

With the possible exception of the deer bones, this evidence need not imply that this sequence is in any way unique to the demesne estate of Sandal Magna; indeed, analysis of toponymic surnames and manorial documentation demonstrates a more general pattern of progressive clearance on the woodland fringes of the manor of Wakefield pre-1320 (cf. Northowram township: Moorhouse 1979, 47). Given the absorption of sokeland to enlarge the demesne estate at Sandal, and the conditions of tenure on this land, the sequence here may, however, have been more rapid and concentrated. The sampling of environmental evidence from castle excavation can thus provide data specifically relating to castle function (i.e. management of deer in the castle park, or patterns of high status consumption), yet also provides data relating to a wider manorial economy. The environmental richness of contexts within an excavation such as Sandal, and, vitally, the potential to integrate analysis within a secure historical framework is a luxury relative to other excavated rural sites and awaits fuller exploitation.

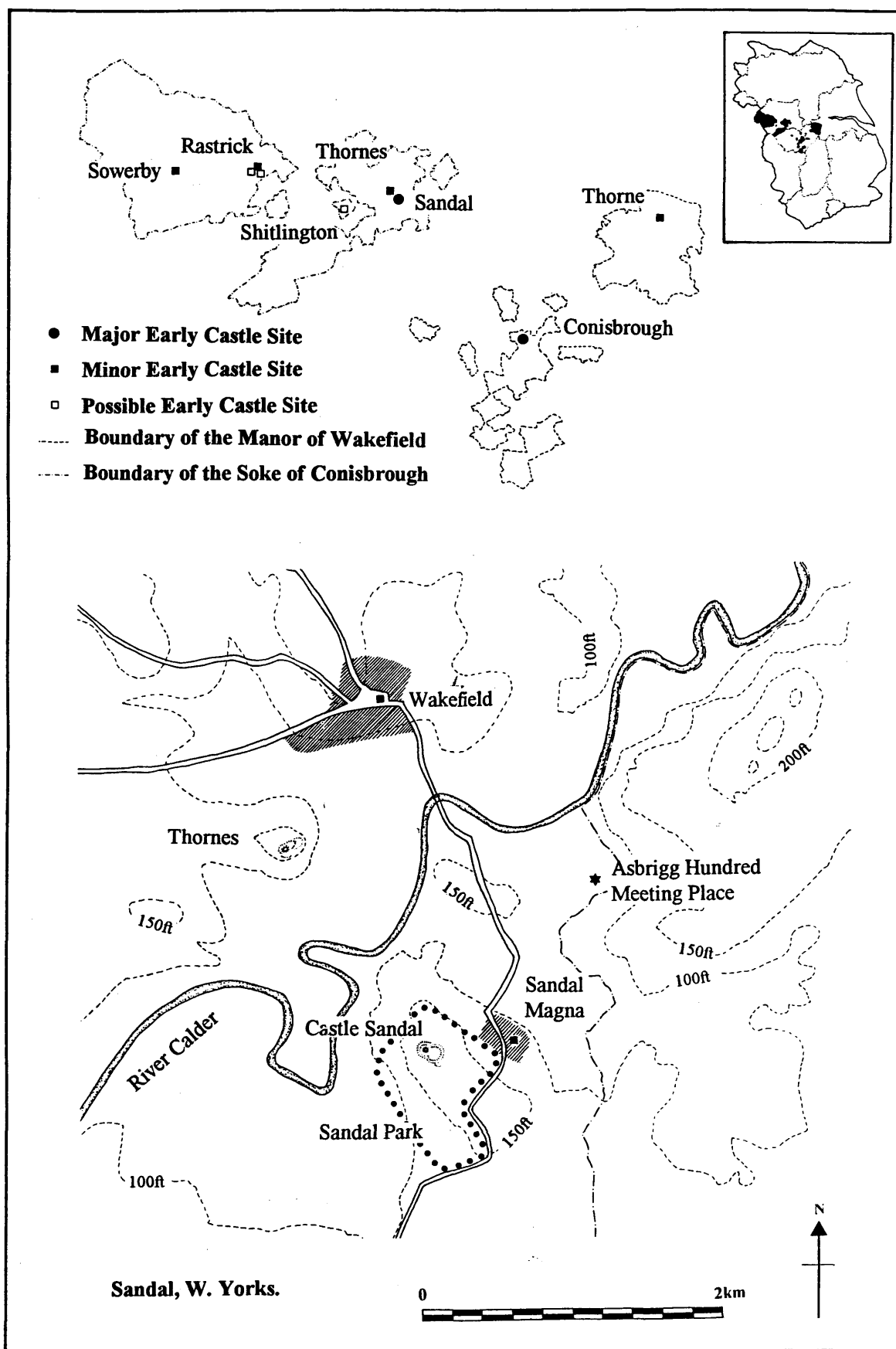
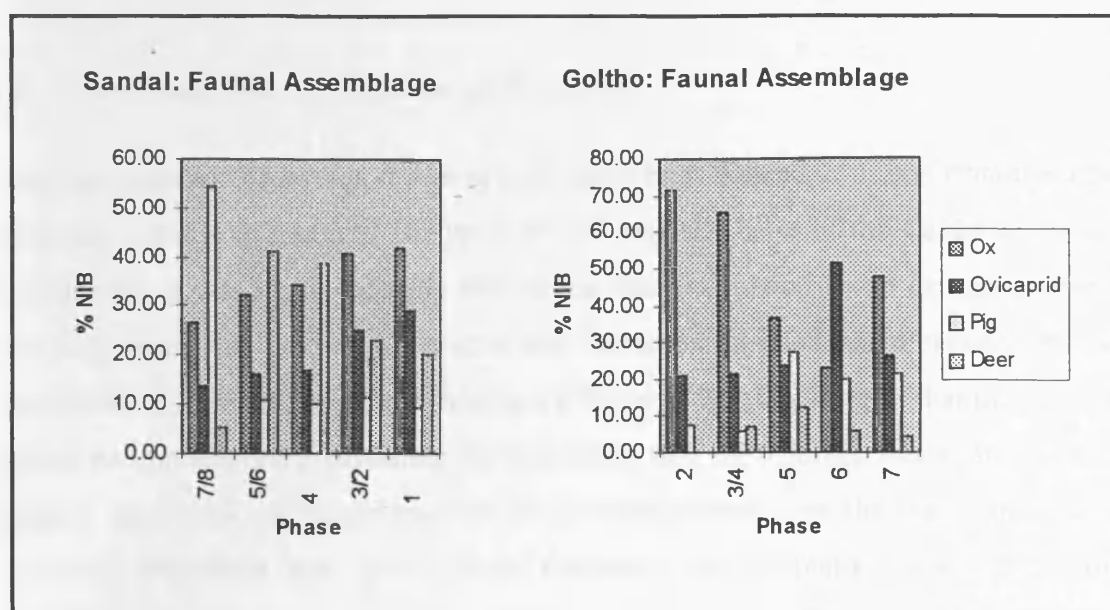


Fig. 3.2: Top: de Warenne land-holding and castle sites in Yorkshire, c. 1120. Bottom: Castle Sandal, Thornes and the borough of Wakefield



Sandal: Artefact Inventory

	Phase 7/8	Phase 5/6	Phase 4	Phase 3/2	Phase 1	TOTAL
Personal	1	7	3	31	34	76
Textiles	0	1	1	1	5	8
Household	1	1	0	7	20	29
Recreation	0	0	0	0	0	0
Transport	0	1	0	0	8	9
Tools	0	3	4	4	15	26
Fixtures	5	3	7	19	30	64
Locks	0	0	0	2	7	9
Military	0	0	1	5	7	13
TOTAL	7	16	16	69	126	234

Goltho: Artefact Inventory

	Phase 2	Phase 3/4	Phase 5	Phase 6	Phase 7	Total	Village
Personal	0	7	6	29	0	42	57
Textiles	0	30	2	2	0	34	2
Household	1	7	9	7	0	24	10
Recreation	0	1	5	0	0	6	0
Transport	0	1	5	5	0	11	8
Tools	0	26	16	15	0	57	59
Fixtures	0	5	23	65	0	93	24
Locks	0	5	5	8	0	18	17
Military	0	1	3	19	1	24	5
TOTAL	1	83	74	150	1	309	0

Fig. 3.3. Top: percentages of NIB for key animal species at Castle Sandal and Goltho. Sample Sizes: Sandal Phase 7/8, 116.5; 5/6, 307; 4, 251.5; 3/2, 1085.5; 1, 1415.5. Goltho Phase 2, 67; 3/4, 84; 5, 643; 6, 637; 7, 23. (Source: Griffith *et al.* 1983; Jones and Ruben 1987). Bottom: artefact inventories at Goltho (village and manor) and Castle Sandal (Source: Beresford 1975; 1987; Mayes and Butler 1983)

(iii) *Other Castle Sites in the Manor of Wakefield*

Another motte and bailey lies at *Thornes* lies south of Wakefield, c. 1.2km from the urban core and occupying a natural eminence on the opposite bank of the Calder to Sandal; significantly, it was separated from both in the medieval period by an extensive zone of low-lying marshland. The administrative and chronological relationship between the two castle sites is, however, debatable. Mayes and Butler (1983, 27) suggest that the two sites cannot be contemporary, favouring the hypothesis that the Thornes was a late-eleventh-century *caput honoris*, constructed to secure royal control over the manor prior to de Warenne acquisition (i.e. pre-c.1106). Certainly one alternative, that of Thornes originating as a short-term fortification erected in opposition to Sandal, can be rejected on the grounds of its evident size and degree of structural development (the site features two baileys: see Gazetteer).

Mayes and Butler, however, neglect the scenario of two sites coexisting under unified control as elements of combined strategy (cf. *Hartington and Pilsbury, Derbys.*: see Chapter 4). Outwardly, this scenario seems credible in view of their landscape context, with both sites overlooking the Calder valley and an important crossing of the (navigable) river. The motte and bailey at Thornes may well be a second, subsidiary site of de Warenne lordship, more closely associated with the borough of Wakefield and complementing Sandal militarily and perhaps administratively; it is thus no coincidence that it is Thornes rather than Sandal that is documented as 'Wakefield Castle' (see Gazetteer). The hypothesis is supported further by archaeological evidence at Thornes: although the excavations are in many ways imperfect, Hope-Taylor's dating of the site's construction to c. 1150 cannot be ignored (1953, 1), implying a foundation of William, third Earl Warenne (d. 1148), a known participant in the Civil War of 1138-49 (*ibid.*, 13). In addition, Sandal and Wakefield (Thornes) castles are documented in a royal edict of Edward II as late as 1324, when committed to the hands of Richard de Mosely (Walker 1939, 45); whatever the state of the defences, Thornes was evidently perceived as a strategically important site when in tandem with Sandal.

Whilst Sandal and perhaps Thornes thus lay at the administrative heart of the manor of Wakefield, the spatial extent and non-contiguous nature of the holding required the provision of subsidiary castle sites as outlying centres of localised lordship. Here we may mention three undocumented earthworks (Fig. 3.2: top). The small, bailey-less motte at Rastrick, (*Rastrick I, W. Yorks.*) was in all probability a secondary administrative centre in the semi-detached block of estates forming the western portion of the manor, Rastrick being a demesne grangeship and important manorial meeting centre (Moorhouse 1979, 47; Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 739). Here, marginal evidence of a possible additional early castle exists (*Rastrick II*), demonstrating the methodological difficulties of identifying what could be transient, impermanent earthworks, although the likelihood is that the site is a natural feature (see Gazetteer). The minor castle site at *Sowerby, W. Yorks.* was rather an outlying hunting seat, lying in the vicinity of Erringden Park and situated in one of only a handful of upland townships in Sowerbyshire to be retained in demesne by the earls Warenne (Watson 1869, 292; Kendall 1926, 97-99). A possible castle site at *Shitlington, W. Yorks.* must remain more obscure (see Gazetteer), but seems to have lain within the area of the sub-manor of Middle Shitlington, which was incorporated within the manor of Wakefield (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 502), and may equally have its origins as a local focus of seigneurial administration.

(iv) *Castles and de Warenne Lordship in Yorkshire and England*

Yet the manor of Wakefield was a subsidiary, even peripheral concern within the holdings of the de Warenne lords in early-twelfth-century England. Within Yorkshire, acquisition of the manor added to the extensive and valuable soke of *Conisbrough, S. Yorks.* (Fig. 3.2: top), which de Warenne held in lordship from Domesday (i, 321b). Here, excavation has shown the well known polygonal keep to have surmounted a less well known motte (Johnson 1980, 77), whilst a secondary seat of lordship was constructed at *Thorne, S. Yorks.*, close to the hunting grounds of Hatfield Chase, within a large, detached section of the composite manor (Hey 1979, 44). Along with the Manor of Wakefield castles, these early de Warenne castles are unlike others erected as key military/administrative centres within valuable and compact post-Conquest fiefs in Yorkshire in the sense that none

spawned a dependent borough in the manner of the otherwise comparable honorial *capita* of *Tickhill, S. Yorks.*, *Pontefract, W. Yorks.* and *Richmond, N. Yorks.*; the possible exception is Thorne, although this was a minor castle and the town a late foundation of only proto-urban status (see Chapter 8).

In explanation, we may point to the specifics of lordship, and vitally the wider distribution of de Warenne estates as the key variable; this is the scale at which decisions of seigneurial economic policy can be most appropriately understood. In addition to their Yorkshire holdings, as the earls of Surrey, the de Warenne lords held their principal *urban* seats elsewhere (Castle Acre, Norfolk., Lewes, Sussex, and Reigate, Surrey), in addition to substantial holdings around Varenne, near Dieppe in Normandy (Coad and Streeten 1982, 139-40). Combined, the evidence demonstrates that de Warenne undoubtedly favoured the siting of his northern administrative centres as more isolated seats of impermanent rural lordship and consumption. This is borne out by analysis of the pre/post-Conquest development of Conisbrough. Undoubtedly a key centre of military and ecclesiastical power in the late Saxon period, containing the eighth-century mother church of St. Peter's, and perhaps the focus of a valuable and extensive liberty or franchise (Ryder 1980b, 413; Dalton 1994, 33), the upward pre-Conquest economic trajectory of Conisbrough was seemingly arrested in the immediate post-Conquest years. First, the 28 townships within the jurisdiction of Conisbrough at Domesday represent the vestiges of a formerly more extensive lordship partially dismembered to form de Busli's Honour of Tickhill (Hey 1986, 34: see Chapter 5). Second, despite such initial status, and the presence of an important early castle, Conisbrough was never granted a market or urban privileges, and retained an irregular, organic plan, with the seigneurial parkland of Conisbrough Parks enveloping the southern flanks of the settlement, effectively blocking settlement expansion as a deliberate act of seigneurial policy (Magilton 1977, 28). Vitally, it was this condition, of extensive lordship across the Anglo-Norman realm, that ensured the *manor* of Wakefield was not known as the *Honour* of Wakefield (Stinson 1991, 52); unlike the feudal neighbours of the de Lacies, holding their principal seat of economic/administrative power and ecclesiastical patronage at Pontefract, the principal

concerns of the de Warenne lords lay elsewhere. Thus, just as the rationale for siting early castles within extant urban centres demands detailed scrutiny (see Chapter 7), it is vital to explain the absence of this phenomenon elsewhere, and to appreciate that the demands of lordship could condition alternative responses in terms of castle siting.

Goltho, Lincs.: The Rural Castle and Deserted Medieval Village (Figs. 3.3-3.5)

Outwardly, the excavation of both deserted medieval village and manor/castle site at *Goltho, Lincs.* represents a model for the integration of a castle site within its contemporary environs through archaeology. Open area excavation of the manorial focus has demonstrated the castle earthworks as one phase within a continuum of aristocratic occupation leading back to the middle Saxon period (Beresford 1977; 1982; 1987), whilst excavation of the appending DMV has clarified substantially the decline of a clay-land village (Beresford 1975). As such, the excavations make a methodological and conceptual leap forward from archaeological priorities at similar sites elsewhere; for instance, at Richard's Castle, Herefords., archaeological sampling was restricted to defensive structures despite the presence of a DMV within the bailey (Curnow and Thompson 1969).

However, Beresford's interpretation of the manorial complex has been challenged. The implications for understanding the excavation within a broader landscape context are two-fold:

(a) Hodges (1988) and Stocker (1989) have challenged Beresford's chronology. Debate has focused on the Phase 3 complex (*c.* 850-950), which re-analysis of the ceramic assemblage and a re-interpretation of the Scandinavian impact on this part of West Lindsey demonstrate to be dated *c.* 50 years too early (Hodges 1988, 112; Stocker 1989, 627-28). Although the later phases are not re-dated *per se*, the implication is a 'knock-on' effect, namely that the Phase 5 ringwork (*c.* 1000-1130) may be Norman or even span the Conquest, whilst the Phase 6 motte and bailey (*c.* 1080-1150) is a likely mid-twelfth-century foundation of the Anarchy, probably constructed under the orders of the Earl of Chester or Roumare, who held two of the three manors of Bullington through the 1140s,

and were engaged actively in the campaigns around Lincoln c. 1141-45. The revised dating sequence is summarised in Fig. 3.4.

(b) Everson (1988; 1990) has re-interpreted the administrative context of the manorial site, demonstrating the extreme likelihood that ‘Goltho’ is rather medieval Bullington, reasoning that it is inconceivable that a rural centre of Goltho’s size and status is not documented as such until the thirteenth century. Rather, the manorial entity known as ‘Goltho’ emerged c. 1206-35 in response to the relocation of the manorial site from the village to the isolated site of Goltho Hall, with the parish of Bullington fragmenting into two portions (Fig. 3.5: bottom): Bullington (named after the twelfth-century priory) and incorporating the western extremity of the parish, and Goltho, incorporating the decayed village and relocated manorial *curia*.

PHASE	DESCRIPTION	DATING A: after Beresford 1987	DATING B: after Hodges 1988 and Stocker 1989	NOTES/MANORIAL DESCENT
2	Saxon village	c. 800-850	c. 850-900	Two 9th-century farmsteads cleared to make way for Phase 3 enclosure
3	Ringwork	c. 850-950	c. 900-1000	Defended complex of hall, bower and weaving shed
4	Ringwork	c. 950-1000	c. 1000-1050?	Hall and ancillary internal buildings re-built within the same fortified enclosure
5	Enlarged ringwork	c. 1000-1080	c. 1050-1140?	Fortified enclosure rebuilt in larger form. The manor of Bullington, largely in the hands of the thegn Lambecarl at Domesday is sub-divided into three sub-infeuded holdings (i, 340c, 349c, 351a)
6	Motte and bailey	c. 1080-1150	c. 1140-1162?	Motte raised within enclosure of greatly reduced size. Two of the three manors of Bullington in the hands of Ranulf Gernons, Earl of Chester, and William de Roumare, Earl of Lincoln
7	Platform castle	c. 1150	c. 1162-1235	Manor of Bullington re-united under de Kyme ownership before 1162; manorial focus shifts to Goltho Hall early in the 13th century

Fig. 3.4: Revised Phasing of Goltho Manor/Castle Site

In view of such fundamental uncertainties, here a two-pronged approach is adopted in order to provide a broader context for the seignorial site: first, a ‘prehistoric analogy’ is

employed as a means of viewing the site and its relationship with the DMV beyond the constraints of a documentary framework; the second section applies these data in an attempt to re-integrate the manorial focus within its correct teneurial and physical landscape.

(i) Return to Goltho: A Prehistoric Analogy

The method of re-interpreting a castle site through 'prehistoric analogy' - attempting to strip away pre-conceptions based on documentary evidence - was pioneered by Barker (1987) with respect to Hen Domen. We may apply these concepts to Goltho and envisage how the site and its associated earthworks would have been interpreted differently without a documentary context.

For Goltho village, we may first suggest that the archaeological priorities, associated interpretation and published results of the excavations were fundamentally underlain by a series of preconceptions relating to the presumed historical context of the site. The very classification of the settlement earthworks at Goltho as a DMV - Deserted Medieval Village - demonstrates one essential pre-conception: the term stresses that the earthworks are recognised and classified on the basis of abandoned and ultimately *failed* status. The priorities of medieval rural archaeology in the 1970s were focused predominantly on the chronology and mechanisms of desertion, serving to deflect attention from questions such as the village economy or the nature of nucleation and growth, which now dominate the academic agenda (see Wrathmell 1994, 180-87). Rather than viewing dynamic settlement change as a constant, a reading of Beresford's report (1975) suggests settlement change as a factor only operating during Goltho's decline. Nucleated villages are part of landscapes within our own lifeworlds, and the otherness of the *deserted* village implicit; yet were the site in a prehistoric context, it is unlikely that the research angle would be so narrowly focused on settlement failure *per se*. Throughout, the economic/landscape setting of both DMV and manor is explored within a narrow and processual academic paradigm - the interrelationship between site and climatic change - and appears idiosyncratic and misplaced in the light of present research priorities, with the settlement

divorced from field systems and the extensive zone of medieval managed woodland covering up to one third of the parish (Stocker 1989, 629). As such, the published report ensures that "....'Goltho' emerges as exceptional, almost isolated from our wider understanding of medieval settlement in the area" (Everson 1988, 94).

Turning to the castle/manorial site; whilst aerial photographic analysis and survey demonstrate castle and village to be integrated elements within a unified earthwork complex (Fig. 3.5: top), a series of preconceptions dictated the separate excavation, interpretation and publication of two units, albeit under rescue conditions. Here we may pause to consider whether such a division would be clear-cut in a prehistoric context, were decision makers unaware, from a documentary background, of the perceived functional and social difference between the two. Excavation of the manorial/castle complex was underlain by documentary knowledge of the period either side of the Conquest; for instance, we may point towards the preconception that the earthwork represented the defended manorial *caput* of the Kyme family, although a castle as such is not documented directly; archaeological agendas were thus driven by notion that the institution was in some way 'high status' in nature. It is further regrettable that excavation did not extend to the northern quarter of the enlarged Phase 5 ringwork, which may indicate continued cultural activity through the Conquest. Aerial photography demonstrates that the enclosure may have been re-used as an outer bailey (Fig. 3.5: top), whilst linear earthworks both north and south of the castle site are indicative of a spatially extensive rectilinear precinct of unknown date or function, perhaps enclosing the chapel/church. Within contemporary castle studies, Goltho is viewed as a vital case-study primarily due to the fact that it dramatically demonstrates the existence of a proto-castle on the site prior to the Conquest (Harfield 1988, 42). Academic interest is thus focused on continuity from *pre-Conquest* defended manorial nucleus, through to *post-Conquest* motte and bailey and the later platform castle. This point is only relevant in the sense that documentary evidence puts 1066 forward as an absolute date for the Norman introduction of the castle (Davison 1969). The key point here is that, in our prehistoric analogy, the meaning of this historical watershed would be entirely lost; the

archaeological focus would surely be more on relating the respective phasing of castle and village more holistically.

(ii) Goltho: Structures, Artefacts and Environmental Data

Perhaps foremost of the hypothetical questions raised above is whether, without prior knowledge, we would interpret the manor as a high status, private and residential site, rather than a communal enterprise. One feature of note here in the Phase 3 complex is the extensive scatter of weaving equipment associated with the northernmost building (Beresford 1987, 55-58). Certainly more emphasis would have been put on this in our prehistoric analogy, as it suggests production on a greater than domestic scale. Is this fitting for an aristocratic site?

We may also address the material culture derived from both castle and village (Fig. 3.3). Perhaps surprisingly, there is little to differentiate the material finds representative of everyday life, of castle from community. Small finds from the manorial complex in its various phases included two claw hammers, two auger bits (one big enough to have been used in the course of the construction of the timber hall), and an adze, and evidence of the roof was provided by earthenware roof tiles. Decorated prick spurs, arrowheads, spear and javelin heads (including one example from a croft enclosure paralleled only by another from Montgomery castle), are common to both village and manor/castle in some numbers. Such finds within the village may have ultimately been derived from the castle, but the essential point remains that there is little in such material terms to separate one institution from the other. Despite almost total excavation of the manorial complex, there are no finds which could undoubtedly be called 'aristocratic' in nature.

However, the striking difference in construction between peasant dwellings and the timber halls in their various phases would certainly be apparent in a hypothetical prehistoric context. Seeing the configuration of the post-Conquest halls within the context of defences, the essential point is surely the gulf between external appearance and the squalid reality of internal domestic occupation. This dichotomy is particularly acute in Phase 6 (the motte and bailey), where the residential zone contracts from the spatially extensive

ringwork of Phase 5 to a cramped and poorly drained residential cell comprising a single hall. This phase was significantly also marked by the re-orientation of the principal point of access to the site *away* from the village to the east (*ibid.*, 90-94), the village hollow way having led up to the entrance in Phases 3-5. In addition, the impressive, pebble-revetted motte, raised so as to face the settlement, must have had a powerful, iconic value, giving the illusory appearance of a masonry structure to an observer (*ibid.*, 103; cf. the plastered timber breastworks at Hen Domen: Barker and Higham 1982). Overall, nothing other than the external impression of the defences themselves indicates that the manorial complex was occupied by a succession of wealthy and powerful families. We may also seek to relate the structures within the high status site to those in the village; here, three clear phases of house construction were noted, only in Phase 3 (twelfth/thirteenth century) using timber framing and padstones to give a 'life expectancy' in excess of over 50 years. Yet the specific constructional history and design of eachcroft was different and individual, outwardly seeming at odds to the largely formalised layout of the village (Fig. 3.5: bottom).

Turning to the environmental data, the eccentric sampling strategy lamentably "...nullifies any but the crudest interpretation of the faunal remains from Goltho" (Jones and Ruben 1987, 197). For instance, the apparent rise in the proportion of fallow deer relative to red and roe deer from Phases 3/4 to 5/6 is clearly specious given the highly variable levels of fragment recovery (*ibid.*, Tables 10-12); indeed this is exactly the converse to that which could be anticipated given the development of the surrounding estate as parkland in the post-Conquest period (see below). Given these limitations of the data set, broadly similar patterns of fragment recovery can be identified in seasons 1972-73 (*ibid.*, Table 7), enabling a degree of valid comparative analysis between the Phase 5 and 6 complexes (i.e. the late ringwork and motte and bailey). The key difference here is a remarkable rise in the proportion of sheep/goat and less marked fall in the proportion of deer during Phase 6. This seems to reflect a downgrading of the site as an aristocratic seat, as reflected in the more cramped, structural conditions; the variation being too substantial to be attributed to variations in sampling and taphonomic bias. It may also be significant that

the deer bones of Phases 5-6 were the only examples of on-site butchery (*ibid.*, 199). Indeed, the peak of deer bones within the Phase 5 assemblage leads circumstantial support the implication of Hodges's (1988) review, that the late ringwork is rather an early Norman fortification, marking an intensification of hunting resource exploitation, on the basis of comparison with sites elsewhere (see Noddle 1975, 252-53). The evidence further stresses the context of the aristocratic complex at the heart of a specialised medieval regional economy characterised by intensive woodland management and exploitation of deer as a hunting resource, differentiating the landscape from the arable heartland of the Vale of Lindsey to the north, the pastoral economy of the limestone to the west, and chalk uplands to the east (Everson 1988, 94).

(iii) The Administrative and Landscape Context of Goltho

The Norman castle at Goltho was, at least in its latter phases, the *caput* of a quazi-baronial Lincolnshire-based seignury, the Kyme family, managing limited and predominantly rural resources at an essentially local scale. As such, the castle was linked closely, indeed symbiotically, to the appending DMV, chapel/church, deer park and Gilbertine Priory of Bullington via aristocratic patronage and the machinery of the manorial economy. Beresford's report attempts to set the aristocratic complex at Goltho within a wider landscape context in two ways: via a summary of sites of archaeological significance in the parish (1987, 5-7), and by linking the excavated data with the manorial history (*ibid.*, 127-30). The latter is intensely problematic: essentially an attempt is made to correlate archaeological/fieldwork evidence of three likely manorial *sites* (Goltho manor/castle; Goltho Hall; and Cocklode earthwork, Bullington) with the descent of three separate Domesday *manors* of Bullington. Clearly this is inappropriate in the light of recent fieldwork within the region, demonstrating that a single nucleated settlement could be sub-divided between manors (Everson *et al.* 1991, 9-12). Crucially, in the medieval landscape of West Lindsey, teneurially discrete units of lordship need not be physically separate, observable units.

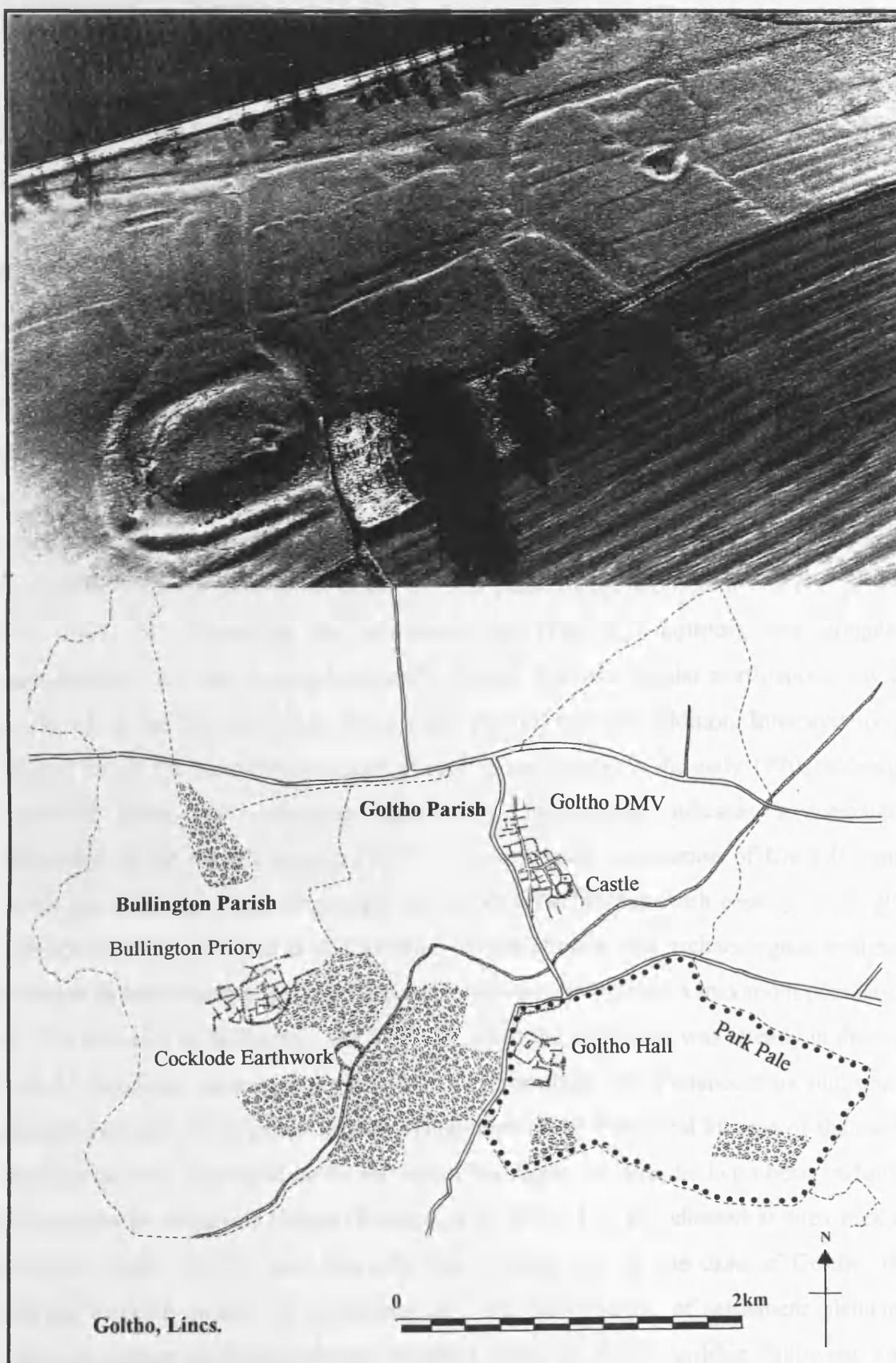


Fig. 3.5: Top: aerial view of Goltho castle/manor and associated DMV (Source: Cambridge University Collection). Bottom: the topography of Goltho and Bullington parishes, showing earthworks and historic woodland

Linkages between DMV and manor/castle are consistently undermined by the narrow focus of the excavator, with little attempt to understand its origins/evolution, yet alone the inter-relationship with the site of lordship (Beresford 1975, 53-54). The field system associated with the DMV, entirely ignored by Beresford, has been demonstrated through topographical analysis by Bassett (1985) to contain vestiges of a rectilinear system of Roman or earlier date, implying that the expansion of Goltho in the eighth century is rather re-expansion from an antecedent form as opposed to re-settlement of an abandoned site (*ibid.*, 38-39). The core of Goltho village in the ninth/tenth centuries seemingly lay in the south-east corner of the DMV, as supported by the excavations of crofts A and B, which are undoubtedly pre-Conquest in origin (Beresford 1975, 21), and excavation of two crofts of similar dimensions under the first phase of the aristocratic site (i.e. pre- c. 850: 1987, 24). Regarding the settlement plan (Fig. 3.5: bottom), this irregular, agglomerated core unit is morphologically distinct from the regular north-south row of crofts, which has the appearance of a regular, planned two-row addition. Interpretation is difficult due to the bulldozing of much of zone of earthworks in the early 1970s, although Beresford notes that (otherwise unpublished) fieldwalking indicates a substantial settlement by the twelfth century (1975, 7), whilst initial occupation of Croft C, lying within this row, was dated structurally to Period 3 (twelfth/thirteenth century: *ibid.*, 20). The documentary evidence is of less value, as the physical and archaeological evidence indicates an intervening population maximum between 1086, when a maximum population of 27 is recorded in Bullington, and 1327-28, when the settlement was already in decline, with 14 listed tax payers (Everson 1988, 96). Combined, the evidence thus suggests a planned extension to an extant organic village core in the functional lifetime of the castle site. Significantly, extensive fieldwork within the region favours the hypothesis of lordly intervention in settlement change (Everson *et al.* 1991, 16), as indicated at sites such as Linwood (*ibid.*, 127-29) and *Kingerby* (see Chapter 10). In the case of Goltho, the mid/late eleventh century is, circumstantially, the likely period of settlement planning, when the manor of Bullington was re-united under de Kyme lordship following sub-

division into three minor holdings from 1066, and when a considerable programme of seigneurial patronage and aggrandisement is evident in Simon de Kyme's foundation of a Gilbertine Priory in his seigneurial park at Bullington c. 1155 (Beresford 1987, 130).

The significance of the ecclesiastical site lying immediately adjacent to the castle/manor is clearly under-stated in the excavation report (*ibid.*, 5-6), in part as the present field monument is a redundant brick-built chapel, dedicated to St. George. The structure is dated by Beresford to the 1530s as the estate church of the Grantham family (*ibid.*), although tombstones built into the floor demonstrate occupation from at least the thirteenth century (1975, 48). Limited excavation has, however, indicated a substantial stone predecessor abandoned for some time before the present structure was erected (Youngs *et al.* 1987, 150); given Everson's re-assessment (1988; 1990), this must have been the parish church of Bullington, St. James's. Regarding the context of the chapel, adjacent to the manorial focus and perhaps contained within an associated precinct, this cannot be a coincidental juxtaposition, and the parallel with other pre-Conquest proto-castles is clear (see Chapters 4 and 6). An early *Eigenkirche*, or private ecclesiastical foundation, lying immediately outside the postulated entrance to the fortified aristocratic residence, may well be the physical embodiment of the *bell-house and a burh-geat* that were the pre-requisites of Saxon thegnly status, although a more symbolic, quazi-legal interpretation of the phrase cannot be ruled out (A. Williams 1992, 230).

Although excavation of the castle/manor has shown the castle to be one stage in continuous manorial development, it would be wrong to suggest that the abandonment of the platform castle by the end of the twelfth century represented the cessation of lordly presence within the parish. Rather, the seigneurial focus shifted c. 800m to the south, where a spatially more extensive moated manor was constructed, recent fieldwork demonstrating a medieval manorial site at the heart of a complex of associated garden earthworks (Everson *et al.* 1991, 98). While we must remain unsure as to the reasons for this physical separation of lord and community, we may recognise a more general trend towards seigneurial isolation during this period via the relocation of manorial *curia*, and the surrounding of manors/castles with formal garden precincts (e.g. *Bolingbroke I, Lincs.*:

see Gazetteer). At Goltho, it is surely significant that the new site was set within an extensive seigneurial park enclave that occupied the southern quarter of the parish (Fig. 3.5: bottom), whilst the former deer park of *Lindeleya*, associated with the castle/manor at Goltho was being eroded progressively by grants to the Priory of Bullington (Everson 1988, 95; 1990, 13).

CONCLUSIONS: ARCHAEOLOGY, CASTLES AND LANDSCAPES

The aim of this chapter has been to combine a broad synthesis of archaeological approaches to castles and their hinterlands with specific case-studies. It has served to emphasise the need for effective integration of diverse data sources within research designs and published reports, the limitations of militaristic approaches to castle siting, and that castle-landscape relationships can be conceptualised at a variety of scales. Undoubtedly, these concerns can be addressed most appropriately through the medium of truly interdisciplinary, long-term research projects with the capacity for re-evaluation and flexibility.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIELD ARCHAEOLOGY OF EARLY CASTLES: ANTECEDENTS AND POST-ABANDONMENT PROCESSES

CASTLES AND CASTLE SITING

In addition to expanding the *spatial* frame of reference within which castle siting and castle functions must be understood, it is essential to view the foundation of a castle on a given site within a wider *temporal* sequence of land-use and occupation. Specifically, antecedent activity may influence, even dictate, not only the choice of site, but its format, development and ultimately its rôle within the medieval landscape. As this chapter demonstrates, few early castles were founded *de novo* on virgin sites; it is rather the nature of the evidence which leads to the mistaken impression that they were, the last phase of a castle site often shrouding a palimpsest of longer-term occupation that only archaeological scrutiny or detailed topographical analysis may clarify.

The field archaeology of early castles has progressed little from the foundations established by three seminal papers (Renn 1959; King and Alcock 1969; King 1972). Although offering pioneering methodologies for the classification of earthworks, this body of work remains limited in the crude macro-scale approach to the location of castle sites (e.g. the nation-wide analysis of ringworks/mottes: King and Alcock 1969, 102-06). Whilst elements of these studies attempt to rationalise the siting of castles in terms of a military/strategic response to physical topography (e.g. Renn 1959, 109), nowhere is adequate consideration given to possible antecedent activity which may be pivotal in the choice of site.

The methods of landscape archaeology have two essential contributions to the identification of early castle earthworks: first, analysis of the earthworks themselves through non-destructive techniques, and second, study of their landscape context. Such analysis is of particular value in the identification of isolated and undocumented mottes and ringworks, the form of both features commonly being non-diagnostic and confused potentially with other landscape features of alternative origin and function (see Figs. 4.1 and 4.2); these include natural glacial features, barrows, windmill mounds, Civil War artillery emplacements and prospect mounds (mistaken as mottes), and iron age domestic enclosures, Roman amphitheatres and stock enclosures (ringworks). The key problem here is in differentiating between such features and castle earthworks, whilst acknowledging the twin possibilities of an antecedent feature being remodelled so as to form the basis of an early castle and the potential for an early castle earthwork itself being re-used and adapted; more rarely, these processes may be combined in a single earthwork.

CASTLES AND ANTECEDENT OCCUPATION

The imposition of a castle on a site of antecedent occupation may embody a range of complex and inter-related motives. At one extreme, the imposition of a castle upon an extant site may represent little more than spatial coincidence; quite simply, those making the decisions to site early castles may demonstrate preferences essentially similar to other modes of cultural activity. Essentially, churches, mottes or barrows may occupy similar positions in terms of crude physical geography. In other cases, adaptation may be more of a calculated process, the decision maker(s) either re-using features with defensive potential such as walls, ramparts or ditches, due to short-term constraints of time and labour resources, or re-occupying purposefully a site imbued with regal, high-status or religious connotations in contemporary minds. The latter process is key in understanding the impact of early castles on the late Saxon landscape, representing a delicate balance between a seigneurial desire to demonstrate high-status continuity, and the motive of usurping and dominating an extant high status site as a statement of conquest to a wider community.

Nevertheless, even where excavated evidence reveals antecedent occupation, this need not constitute imposition in the true sense, with the implication of the assertion of coercive power and possibly violence and displacement, after the manner of urban castles such as *York I* and *II* (see Chapter 7). Here, two methodological problems arise: first, in demonstrating that occupation continued directly up to the point of castle foundation; and second, that what may outwardly appear to be martial imposition could inwardly reflect manorial (and indigenous?) continuity. The challenge is whether these dual problems can be confronted on the basis of archaeological and landscape evidence. In particular, 'imposition' in the sense of manorial continuity need not represent the displacement of an owner by force, as it may equally reflect a transfer of ownership for a reason other than seizure and appropriation: perhaps manorial redevelopment under uninterrupted ownership, or the upgrading of a lower status rural site to one with manorial status or pretensions.

Acknowledged examples of castles imposed over extant occupation sites are certainly a highly skewed sample of the total, and presumably (though not demonstrably) non-representative of the wider phenomenon. Theoretically, earthwork vestiges of the underlying, displaced settlement could be recognised extending under the castle, yet in most instances, subsequent remodelling of the castle environs, combined with modern destructive processes means that this is rare. Recognition of this process comes only through extensive excavation, or through the extremely fortuitous survival of illustrative topographical evidence in the field - a distribution relating more to chance discovery than being a representative cross-section.

Antecedent Prehistoric Occupation

Given the methodological caveats discussed above, unsurprisingly, in the absence of detailed archaeological data it is rare that prehistoric domestic occupation is recognised underlying castle sites. A further problem is the often unreliable findings of early

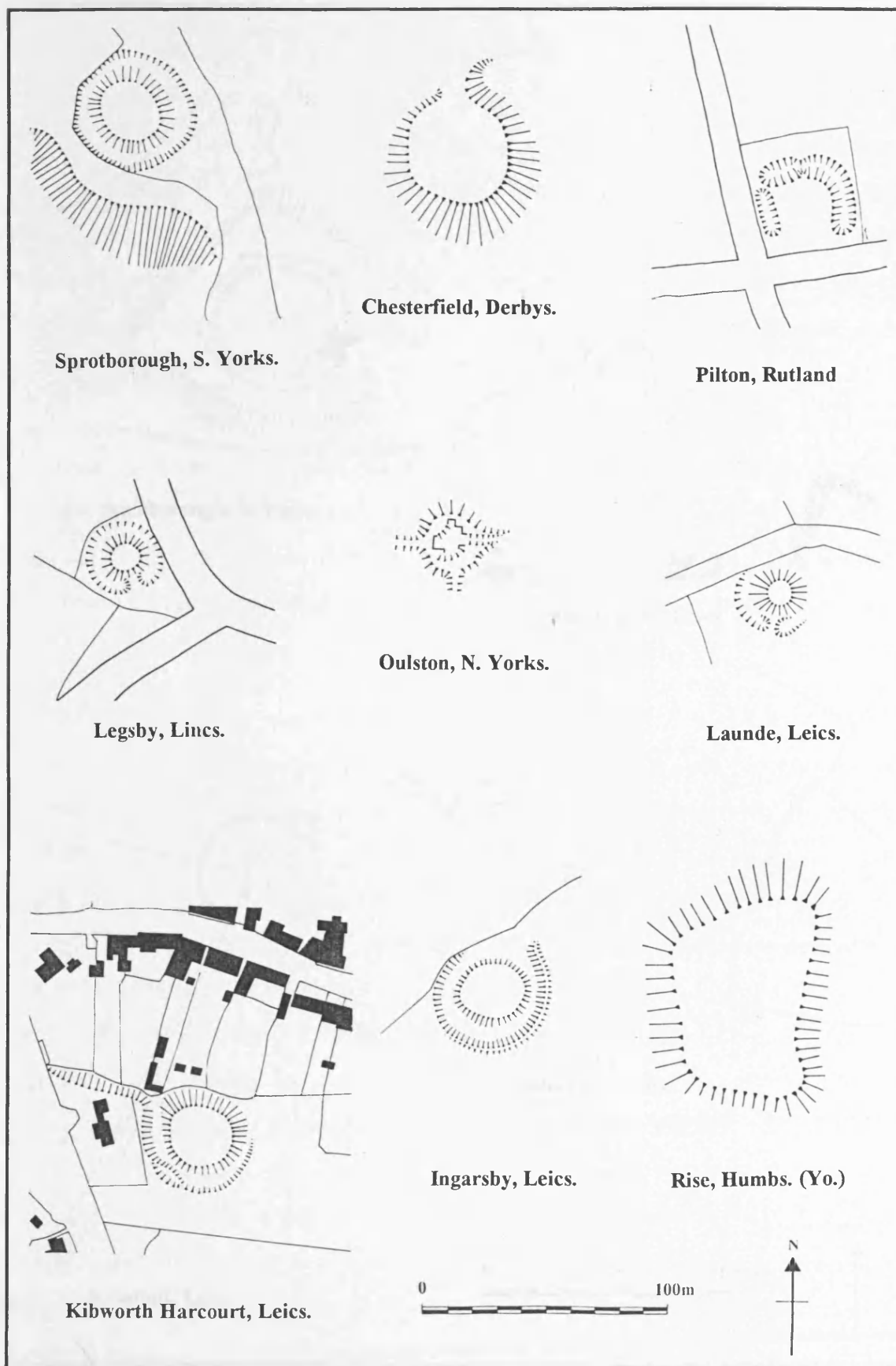


Fig 4.1: Mottes and possible mottes: problems in differentiating bailey-less mottes from other landscape features

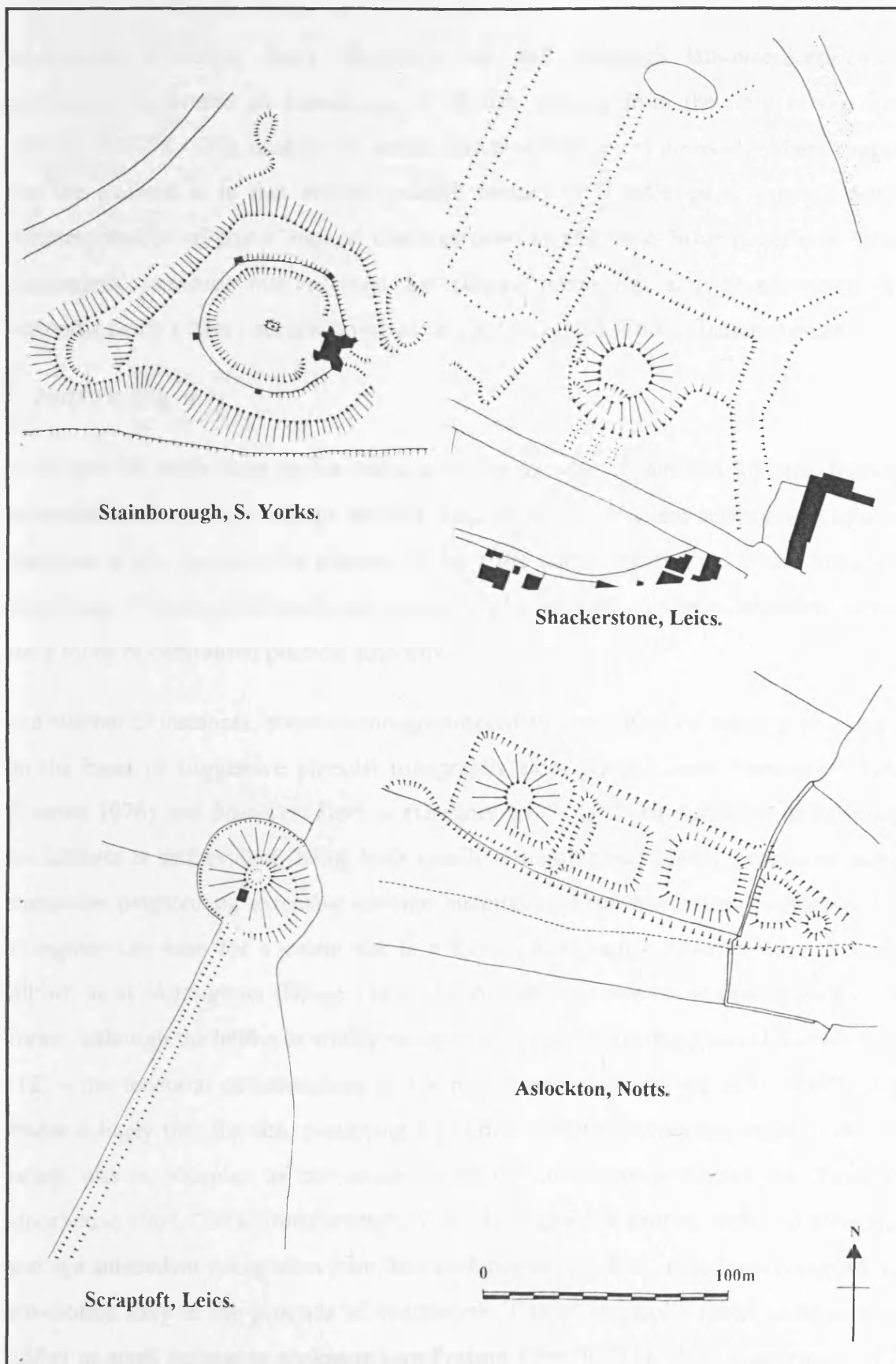


Fig. 4.2: Possible early castle earthworks: problems of differentiating motte and baileys and ringworks from other landscape features

excavations. *Hallaton, Leics.* illustrates this well: although late-nineteenth-century excavations recovered an assemblage of 'British' pottery from the core of the motte (Dibbin 1876-78, 320), analysis of similar ceramics from excavations elsewhere suggests that the material is in fact eleventh/twelfth century (P. Liddle: pers. comm.). Similar misinterpretation of post-Conquest castle earthworks and Saxo-Norman material culture (particularly ceramic) may account for alleged prehistoric activity elsewhere (e.g. *Ingarsby, Leics.*). More secure, however, are instances of hillfort or barrow re-use.

(i) *Hillforts* (Fig. 4.3)

A number of castle sites in the study area are founded within and adapted from the defensive earthworks of iron age hillforts. This mode of antecedent activity may influence decisions of site, but also the planning of intra-site units; conceivably, it also hints at an underlying, if interrupted functional continuity of a site not only as a defensible nucleus, but a focus of centralised political authority.

In a number of instances, possible iron age antecedent occupation on castle sites is argued on the basis of suggestive physical topography alone, as at *Castle Donington, Leics.* (Reaney 1976) and *Bolsover, Derbys.* (Gregory 1947, 4). Their suitability as candidates for hillforts is self evident, being both readily defensible and locally prominent natural eminences overlooking extensive lowland hinterlands. Elsewhere, stray prehistoric finds strengthen the case for a castle site in a similar topographic position being a former hillfort, as at *Nottingham* (Drage 1989, 15). Almost the converse is true of *Bingley, W. Yorks.*: although the hillfort is widely recognised - though now disappeared (Barnes 1982, 112) - the teneurial circumstances of the manor of Bingley in the early Middle Ages render it likely that the site, occupying a position of obvious strategic value in the Aire valley, was re-occupied as the estate centre of the extensive Paynell fee (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 737). *Stainborough, S. Yorks.* highlights another pitfall of identifying iron age antecedent occupation from field evidence alone. Here, a ringbank occupied by a neo-Gothic folly in the grounds of Wentworth 'Castle' is usually listed as an iron age hillfort or small defensible enclosure (see Preston 1944-50, 91); close examination by D.

Ashurst has, however, noted masonry elements antedating the eighteenth century folly, and recovered sherds of medieval pottery, indicating that the site may be medieval in origin (Birch 1980e, 448-49; S. Yorks. SMR Site File No. 587). Yet without detailed archaeological investigation, these potential instances of re-adoption of iron age citadels remain unconfirmed.

Elsewhere, we can be more certain as to the Norman response to extant iron age fortifications. The case of *Almondbury, W. Yorks.* is discussed in detail elsewhere (see Chapter 10); but the key factor here is that a spatially extensive defended site was utilised by isolating one extremity of the site with a transverse bank and ditch to define a seigneurial core from an outer zone used for other functions - in this case a small dependent borough (Fig. 4.3: bottom). A similar response is apparent at *Barwick-in-Elmet, W. Yorks.*, where the motte is imposed within a univallate hillfort, occupying the elevated position of Hall Tower Hill, forming a small yet dominant cell to the south of a large subsidiary enclosure of unknown function - again perhaps an undocumented *burgus* enclosing settlement (Fig. 4.3: top; see also Chapter 10).

Both castles, however, re-occupied natural sites of wider strategic significance: Almondbury overlooks the east-west route through the Pennines and the Aire gap, and Barwick lies at the junction of the same route and the north-south axis of communication on the western edge of the Ouse-Trent basin. In both cases, archaeology demonstrates the iron age defences to have been mantled with medieval ramparts - of sandstone at Barwick and shale at Almondbury (WYAS 1991; Varley, n.d.). Significantly, Barwick was not a castle of the immediate post-Conquest period, rather (re)emerging as a defended centre within a renewed programme of mid-twelfth-century fortification of the Honour of Pontefract under de Lacy lordship, raised due to short-term motives in the uncertain political geography of the Anarchy, when Almondbury also seems to have been re-fortified. It is not coincidental that both have linked ownership histories and emerge at a time of intense political threat to the de Lacy position (Wightman 1966, 244). In terms of a 'landscape explanation', these circumstances account for not only the re-occupation of prominent hillforts, but also for the ultimate failure of Almondbury borough, and probable

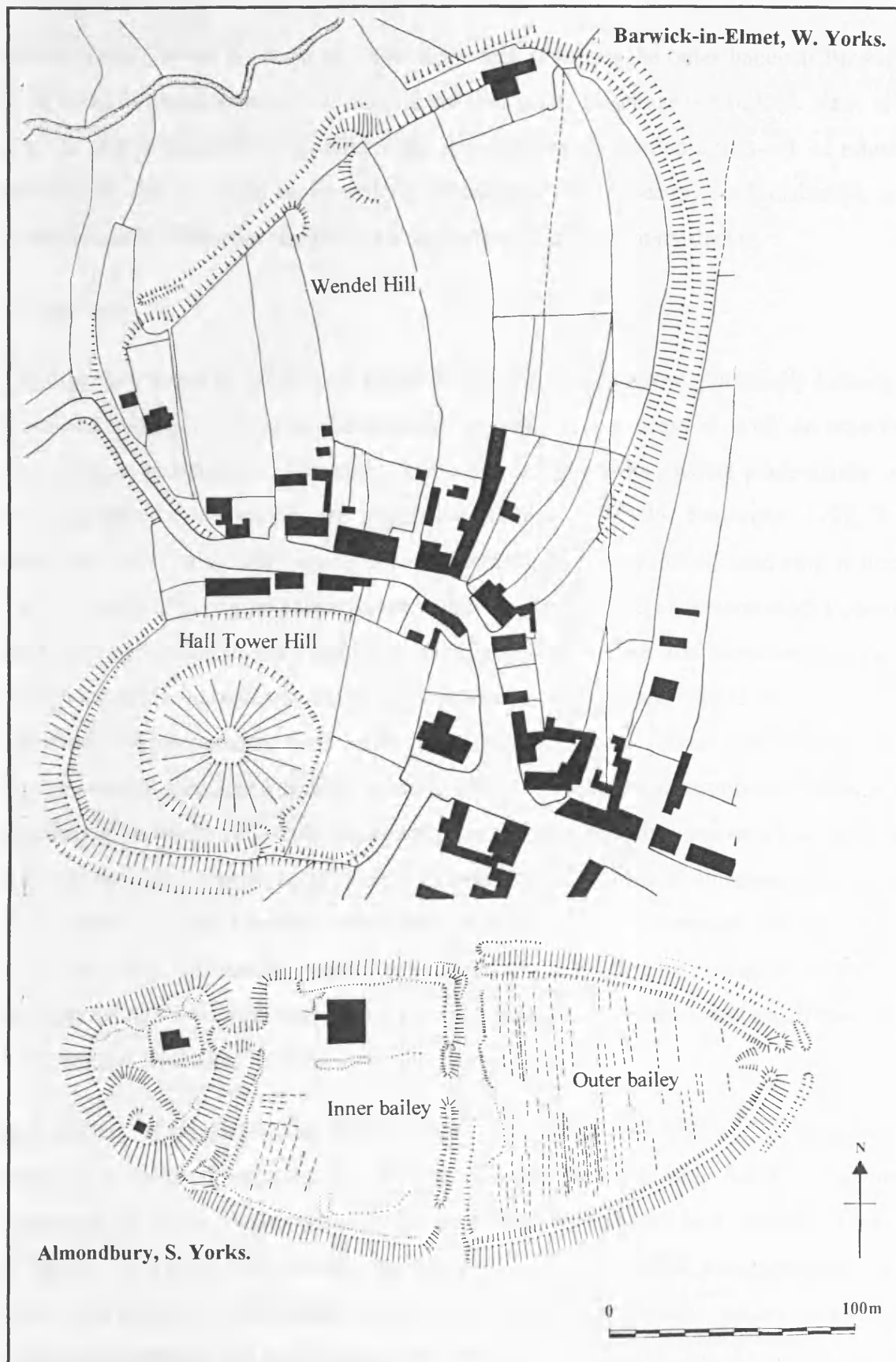


Fig. 4.3: Examples of iron age hillforts adapted as early castle sites

stillborn nature of the borough or settlement which occupied the outer bailey at Barwick. In all cases of re-occupation, two factors are thus clear: first, that re-use took place only where a hillfort could function effectively as a central place within a network of estates, and second, that it would be hazardous strategically not to occupy such defensible and prominent sites within the Honour, as a deliberate policy of military denial.

(ii) Barrows

The other key focus of prehistoric re-use is the earthwork barrow, potentially forming a pre-raised motte, or at least the nucleus for one. The process is well documented elsewhere, as at Brinklow, Warwicks. and Marlborough, Wilts., where place-names and the magnitude of the mottes are suggestive (Gelling 1974, 76; Stevenson 1992, 70). Rarely, however, are such origins demonstrated through excavation, rendering it likely that the distribution of this phenomenon within the landscape is underestimated. Potential confusion also exists in the respective identification of mottes and barrows as isolated field monuments, particularly barrows of Roman or Saxon date, whose size relative to prehistoric barrows makes them more 'motte-like' in format. Where the situation of a barrow was not sufficiently remote or inaccessible to preclude a superimposed castle from functioning militarily or, more importantly, as an administrative centre within a wider manorial economy, this mode of re-use represents more a means of minimising the labour force needed to raise a motte, rather than having any deeper symbolic resonances. As such, this policy is essentially similar to the creation of a motte by raising artificially and scarping an extant, natural knoll, as is common in glaciated landscapes (e.g. *Hunmanby, N. Yorks.* and *Duffield, Derbys.*)

In a number of instances, the identification of an artificial mound of 'pudding bowl' profile as a motte as opposed to a barrow is clearly specious (e.g. *Moorfield, Notts.*, *Cloughton, N. Yorks.*, *Markington, N. Yorks.* and perhaps *Skirpenbeck, Humbs., Yorks.*). At *Ripon I, N. Yorks.*, the prominent earthwork known as Ailcy Hill, long recognised as a motte, was demonstrated through excavation to be a natural feature re-used as an early medieval mausoleum, the site being c. 200m east of the Cathedral (MacKay 1982, 75-76;

see also Hall and Whyman 1996, 117-24; Whyman 1997, 156-61). The danger here is that the landscape context of the feature, on the fringe of an important Anglian monastic centre comprising a cluster of churches/cemeteries enclosed within an embanked *enciente*, could have lent support to the notion that the feature is a motte, sited so as to dominate a centre of pre-Conquest ecclesiastical (and administrative?) importance in the manner of *Newark, Notts.* (Chapter 7), or *Pontefract, W. Yorks.* (Chapter 6).

Elsewhere, the incorporation of barrows within the defensive circuits of early castles or their mantling with mottes was a matter of coincidence, the site being selected for alternative reasons, as at *Nottingham* (two small barrows were contained within the circuit of the early castle) and *York I* (the motte sealed a minor cist burial).

In other examples, identification is less certain: two sites in Leicestershire, *Kibworth Harcourt* and *Ingarsby*, demonstrate many of the problems in differentiating between the two types of earthwork (see Fig. 4.1). Despite suggestions that the large, bailey-less, mound at Kibworth (Plate 1) originated as a barrow, there is little evidence that the feature originated as anything other than a motte, and its similarity in plan to the nearby features at Ingarsby and *Gilmorton* is striking. Two small scale excavations at a large mound in Kibworth village in c. 1837 and 1863 are problematical in that it is unclear whether they relate to the feature discussed here, or to a large windmill mound north-west of the village at SP 678949 (Anon 1837; Trollope 1869). The nature of the material suggests that the excavated feature is a barrow later raised into a mill mound - making it likely that the mound is not the possible motte in Hall Close. The ditched mound known as 'Monk's Grave' at Ingarsby, has been alternatively viewed as a small ditchless motte, or a barrow. Although this site too lacks a bailey, landscape analysis would recommend its interpretation as a genuine example of an isolated motte, raised commensurate with the late-eleventh-century appropriation of the estate (see also Chapter 10).

Only rarely do we have clear evidence of a barrow purposefully re-used as a motte. The sample of sites is limited due to the exceptional clarity of evidence necessary to demonstrate this sequence. *Driffield, Humbs., Yorks.* is the only case where evidence is



Plate 1: View of the motte alleged to be a barrow or windmill mound at Kibworth Harcourt, Leics., looking north (Photo: O. Creighton)



Plate 2: View of the prospect mound with internal chamber alleged to be a motte at Scraftoft, Leics., looking north-east (Photo: O. Creighton)

conclusive, providing a notable example of two strata of pre-castle cultural activity, both with important impact on the choice of castle site; the motte was raised from an existing barrow lying in the immediate vicinity of a key pre-Conquest administrative site. The Moot Hill earthwork was long thought to be a prehistoric barrow with later Saxon re-use, lying at the heart of an extensive area of Anglian burials (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 90; Mortimer 1905, 295); yet re-use as a motte is now proven through excavation (Eddy 1983, 40). Essential, however, is the context of this feature within the pre-Conquest topography of Driffield: the motte was raised in the immediate vicinity of an early medieval manorial site, presumably the principle seat of Earl Morcar, a considerable landholder in Driffield and the area, on the Conquest, whose manor of Driffield (in royal hands in 1086) was reduced from £40 to waste in the wake of his open rebellion and William's northern campaigns (Domesday i, 299b). An Anglian manorial centre is well documented, Driffield evidently being a key centre of pre-Conquest political authority in East Yorkshire; chance finds and tradition suggest that it lay within the vicinity of Hall Garth, a later medieval manorial site immediately west of the motte (*ibid.*, 42; Humbs. SMR: No. 1725). Norman re-use of the barrow was thus almost a matter of topographical coincidence, representing the most pragmatic and appropriate site within the immediate locus of a regal site.

Elsewhere, more marginal archaeological data, in the form of stray finds, suggests that mottes at *Fleet, Lincs.* and *Rastrick I, W. Yorks.* are genuine examples of barrow re-use, whilst there is no definitive proof that the barrow at *Sowerby, N. Yorks.*, containing inhumations, was adapted as a motte, despite its common identification as such (see Gazetteer). In other cases place-name evidence is suggestive, as at *Barrow Haven, Humbs., Yorks.*, and less obviously at *Thornes, W. Yorks.*, where the place-name Lowe Hill ('tumulus hill') may indicate earlier origins. Elsewhere, *Catterick I, N. Yorks.* and *Shawell, Leics.* provide a reminder that barrows as well as mottes could be sited on the edges of churchyards (see Chapter 6 for full discussion).

Roman Activity

The most common mode of castles re-using Roman sites is the adaptation of civil town defences as the basis for bailey enclosures at urban castles, although such imposition may equally signify antecedent Saxon reconditioning of Roman works (e.g. *Doncaster, S. Yorks.*; *Leicester*: see Chapter 7). A similar mode of re-use is in evidence at *Bowes, Durham, Yorks.*, where the perimeter of the fort of *Lavatraye* almost certainly formed an outer bailey, thus accounting for the apparent isolation of the Norman keep, and at *Malton, N. Yorks.* where the south-west corner of the fort of *Deventio* formed the basis of a bailey. Besides re-use of existing defences as a means of economising labour, the adaptation of Roman forts must imply the re-emergence of a site imbued with strategic value - Malton overlooking a crossing of the Derwent, and Bowes the route through Stainmore - with the secondary implication of the survival of the Roman road network by the eleventh century as the key communications link between newly appropriated estates. It is a reflection of archaeological research priorities and period-based bias that in both cases Norman reconditioning and supplementation of existing Roman defences was demonstrated through secondary analysis of excavations focused specifically upon the Roman phases, to the detriment of medieval archaeology (see Robinson 1978, 31; Wright and Hassall 1971, 251).

Elsewhere, underlying Roman occupation appears purely coincidental (e.g. *Duffield, Derbys.*), or represents just one stage within a longer-lived palimpsest of cultural activity (e.g. *Goltho, Lincs.*: see Chapter 3). Although the site at *Aldbrough, N. Yorks.* has been identified as an amphitheatre associated with the town of *Isuriam Brigantum* (Collingwood and Richmond 1969, Fig. 42), the identification is almost certainly specious and the earthwork is likely to be a *de novo* ringwork rather than an adapted Roman site after the manner of Silchester (Fulford 1985, 77).

Antecedent Agricultural Land Use

The juxtaposition of early castle and ridge and furrow is, in itself, unsurprising, although analysis of the relationship is a valuable tool in deciphering castle-settlement relationships.

Most instructive is where the castle can be demonstrated to seal stratigraphically ridge and furrow which extends under the earthworks - as demonstrated at Hen Domen (Barker and Lawson 1971). Within the study area this relationship has been demonstrated archaeologically at *Sandal, W. Yorks.* and *Thirsk, N. Yorks.* only, where it is important in examining the impact of both sites on contemporary landscapes (see Chapters 3 and 8). Elsewhere, aerial photography demonstrates ridge and furrow to extend directly up to castle earthworks without an intervening headland, thus demonstrating a similar relationship, indicating not only that the castle was built, literally, on a greenfield site, but also the likely proximity of pre-castle settlement. This relationship is essential in understanding the impact of castles on rural settlement patterns at *Sheriff Hutton, N. Yorks.*, *Sigston, N. Yorks.*, *Ravensworth, N. Yorks.*, *Burley, Rutland* and *Great Casterton, Rutland* (see Chapters 9 and 10).

That enclosures associated with the castle site at *Sapcote, Leics.* overlie ridge and furrow is of less significance in terms of the initial choice of site, as the earthworks are clearly later manorial additions and not associated with the early castle. The converse relationship, of secondary ridge and furrow overlying castle earthworks or occurring within baileys or other enclosures, is demonstrated at *Bardsey-cum-Rigton, W. Yorks.*, *Ferwick, S. Yorks.*, *Topcliffe, N. Yorks.* and *Wellow, Notts*, clearly testifying to a maximisation of agricultural resources at a time following castle abandonment (see Gazetteer).

CASTLE AND MANORS

Early Medieval Activity

Although modern castle studies are founded upon the seminal work of Armitage (1912) and the thesis of the Norman origins of the castle, it is ironic that the centrepiece of Armitage's argument is being eroded progressively by later twentieth century scholars. There is now a growing corpus of archaeological evidence showing late Saxon manorial proto-castles underlying Norman mottes and ringworks (e.g. Addyman 1973; Beresford 1987; Davison 1971-72; 1977; see also Barker and Higham 1992, 38-61); also, scrutiny

of documentary data has provided a complementary research angle, refining the socio-legal context of these sites in the pre-Conquest period (Renn 1993; A. Williams 1992).

We must, however, differentiate between these sites and others, where suggestions of pre-Conquest origin are based entirely upon mistaken tradition. In this sense the recent suggestion that the castle at *Essendine, Rutland*, was founded on an earlier defended site is based patently on insufficient data and unfounded speculation. Cox (1994, xxxv) interprets the topographical position of the early castle, in a nodal position on high ground on the north-east boundary of Rutland - admittedly a territory with early origins (Phythian-Adams 1980) - as indicative of construction over a *burghal* antecedent, with no hard evidence.

Within the context of such adjacent parish churches, *Laughton-en-le-Morthen, S. Yorks.* and *Pontefract, W. Yorks.* are both likely to overlie manorial sites of possibly defensive character (see Chapter 6). *Kippax, W. Yorks.* may be typical of this type of late Saxon defended manorial residence juxtaposed with a church. The morphology of the low, relatively weak ringwork may itself be suggestive of the Norman re-fortification of a pre-Conquest proto-castle, after the manner demonstrated through excavation elsewhere (cf. Sulgrave, Northants.: RCHM Northants. IV 1982, 139-40). The ringwork lies adjacent to the small parish church of St. Mary, an essentially unaltered rectangular structure of eleventh-century construction, and part of the churchyard may fossilise the perimeter of a bailey (see Fig. 4.4). Although architectural descriptions have tended to concentrate on the large volume of Saxo-Norman transitional herringbone masonry (Ryder 1993, 161), the fabric of the church contains two fragments of late-tenth-century Saxon work (Collingwood 1914-18, 200-02; Holmes 1883-84, 380); a likely sequence being the late-eleventh-century reconstruction of an existing Saxon foundation shortly after re-fortification of the manorial site. Yet it is the evident administrative and ecclesiastical importance of Kippax in Domesday which provides a context for Norman occupation. Three unpublished entries in the chartulary of Pontefract Priory suggest that the three parishes churches of Swillington, Garforth and Whitkirk, all in existence by the eleventh century, were elements within a dependent *parochia* of a mother church at Kippax

(WYAS 1991, 11). Whilst likely that the mother church is the present parish church of Kippax, given the local place-names (Great and Little) Preston ('priest-town') and hilltop position of this place, it is not inconceivable that the Minster was based here, although the place-name may alternatively denote an adjacent township whose profit was retained for the support of a small community of priests serving the Minster (Yarwood 1989). Nonetheless, given the circumstances of the combined entry for Kippax, Ledston and Barwick, all demesne holdings of de Lacy in 1086 - mentioning three churches and three priests - and the fact that both Barwick and Ledston belonged to Earl Edwin in 1066 (Domesday i, 315a), there is considerable circumstantial evidence to suggest that Kippax formed the *caput* of an extensive, if decayed, pre-Conquest multiple estate (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 420). Domesday further records dependent land held by Edwin in 1066 at nearby Allerton (Bywater), Austhorpe, Coldcotes, Cufforth (Aberford), Kiddal, Manston, Parlington, Potterton, Skelton and Swillington, forming the basis of a relatively compact pre-Conquest multiple estate with Kippax as its ecclesiastical and administrative focus (Fig. 4.4). This ecclesiastical and teneurial status was perpetuated in the Norman (re)fortification of the ringwork adjacent to the church as a subsidiary administrative centre within Ilbert de Lacy's late-eleventh-century Honour of Pontefract, and ultimately in the fact that the honorial court was retained here following the replacement of Kippax with *Barwick-in-Elmet* as the local centre of lordship (*ibid.*, 735).

It has been long suggested that the motte and bailey at Oakham (Fig. 4.5) may be formed from an earlier defensive enclosure, possibly a Saxon *burh*, as indicated by the markedly square profile of the rectangular enclosure, into which the motte would seem to have been inserted (Radford 1955, 182-83). Although the parish church lies within the projected line of the outer enclosure, and a priest and church are recorded in Domesday, neither architectural analysis nor limited archaeological observation find any evidence to support pre-twelfth-century origins for the structure of All Saints (Holland Walker 1925b, 46-47; Pollard and Cox 1996, 169). Gathercote (1958, 19) has rejected Radford's hypothesis of *burghal* origins on the basis of excavation, dating the Saxo-Norman wares underlying the southern bailey defences to *c.* 1050, and demonstrating the bailey rampart to have been

raised by c. 1100. The value of Radford's observations are further diminished by the fact that the squarish profile of the castle perimeter is somewhat artificial, and attributable, at least in part, to post-medieval remodelling and in particular road construction in the 1830s (Clough 1981, 8; LAAC 1991, 1). Nonetheless, Radford's argument was based largely on the conjecture that the northern enclosure known as Cutt's Close formed the basis of a *burh* (see Wilson and Hurst 1957, 157), whereas Gathercote's excavations focused on the southern defensive perimeter. However, to the north of the bailey, more recent excavation between Cutt's Close and the castle bailey have recovered middle-Saxon pottery and a notable absence of medieval material (Sharman and Sawday 1990). Cutt's Close was undoubtedly used as a kitchen garden and fishpond by the fourteenth century, as indicated in *inquisitions* of 1300 and 1340 (VCH Rutland I 1908, 116; Holland Walker 1925a, 37-39), yet its origins remain obscure. Oakham was certainly a sizeable estate centre at Domesday, when a hall is mentioned which may underlie the castle. In 1066 the manor was associated with seven berwicks, and was part of the Dowry of the Queens of England retained by Edith, widow of the Confessor, until her death in 1075 (Gathercote 1958, 19). Situated at the head of the fertile Vale of Catmouse, at the sources of three streams flowing west to join the Gwash, the topographical position of Oakham seems suited to economic pre-eminence within a territory of undoubted early-medieval origins. However, Domesday (i, 23d) saw Oakham split by William I's retention of the area occupied by the castle (hence Oakham Lordshold), supported by two ploughs attached to the hall (*ad aulum*), whilst the rest of the manor, including the church passed to the Abbott of Westminster (Oakham Deanshold). This in itself points towards the area later occupied by the castle having high status connotations pre-Conquest. Here, if the castle lies in the vicinity of a pre-Conquest fortification, this is likely to be a spatially extensive quazi-urban as opposed to private fortification, into which the castle has been inserted as opposed to imposed upon.

William le Gros's castle at *Scarborough, N. Yorks.* was founded on a promontory with clear pre-castle occupation; the steep-sided natural eminence was the site of an iron age settlement, Roman signal station, and, more problematically, the *burh* established by Skardi c. 966 (Farmer 1988, 124). Remarkably, excavation of the Roman signal station

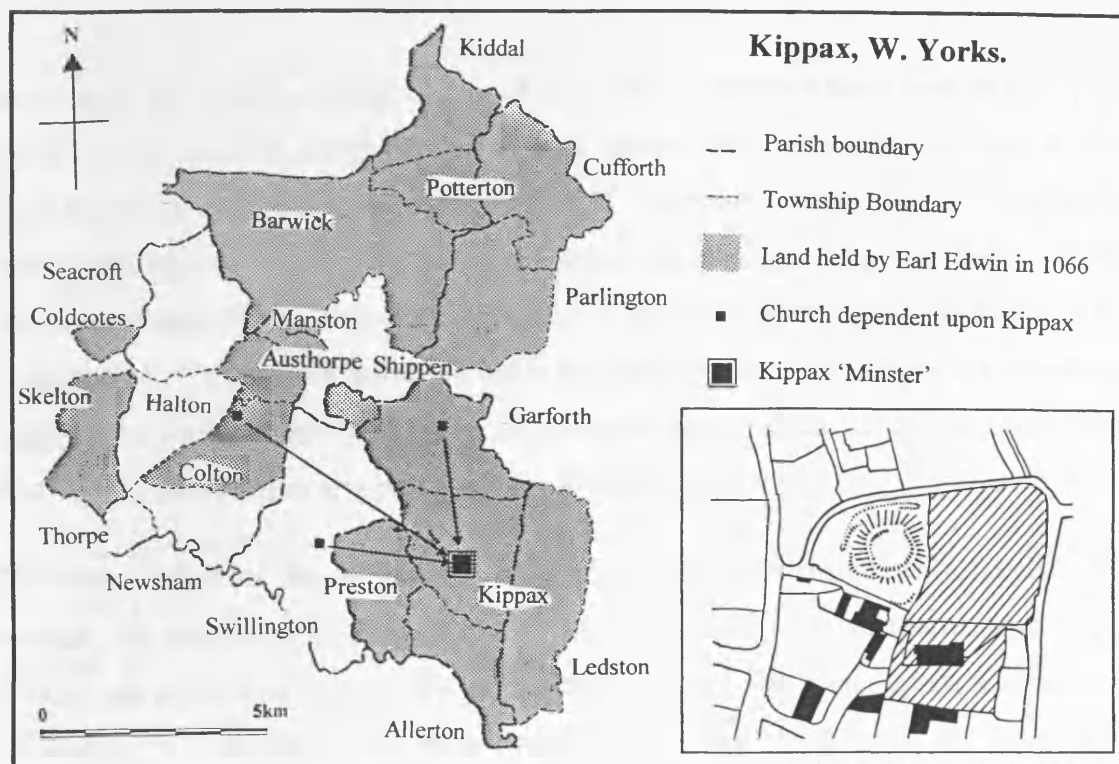


Fig. 4.4: Conjectured topography of a late Saxon multiple estate focussing on Kippax, W. Yorks. (left); morphological relationship between ringwork and parish church at Kippax (inset: scale 1:2500)

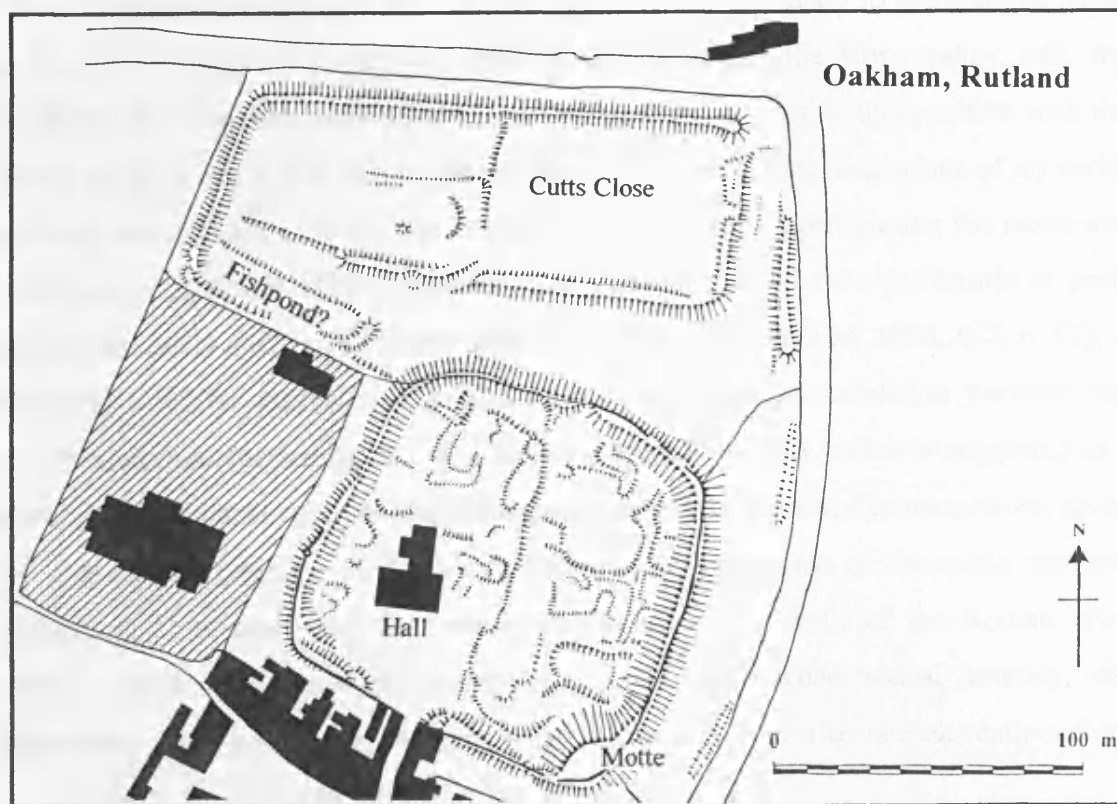


Fig. 4.5: Oakham, Rutland: castle, associated earthworks and parish church

has revealed the twelfth-century church of the castle to overlie a tenth-/eleventh-century church with associated cemetery, this in turn inserted within the central tower of the signal station (Hamilton Thompson 1931, 51-52). The implication is thus of a (mother?) church with parochial functions, perhaps implying the otherwise enigmatic *burh* to have been a communal fortification with associated population centred upon the headland or plateau below. Nonetheless, given the wider settlement history (see Chapter 7), the castle foundation is likely to represent re-use of a superior geographical setting as opposed to the deliberate domination of a previously fortified site *per se*.

Elsewhere, claims of Saxon manorial antecedents must be treated with caution. For instance, the suggestion by Hodges (1980, 32, n. 17) that the small ringwork at *Hope, Derbys.* was raised over the site of a tenth-century Saxon royal manor appears based on a mis-reading of a charter of 926 that conveys a royal estate to the hands of Uhtred, with no necessary implication of an earlier residential site (Hart 1975, 103). In 1066 and 1086 the manor was in royal hands, although sub-infeuded to William Peveril at Domesday (i, 273a). The ringwork seems likely to have originated as a subsidiary to the honorial *caput* at *Peveril*, constructed to oversee demesne manors within the Hope valley; still, the possibility of a manorial antecedent cannot be ruled out given the juxtaposition with the church of St. Peter's and its curvilinear churchyard, containing fragments of an early-medieval cross (Derbys. SMR: No. 8112/4). Likewise, the suggestion that the motte and bailey known as Castle Hills (*Catterick II, N. Yorks.*) is raised on a prehistoric or post-Roman defensible nucleus after the manner of Dunbar (Wilson *et al.* 1996, 6-7, n. 57), is based on doubtful evidence. The argument hinges upon a correlation between the documented dark age stronghold of *Cataracta*, and Castle Hills, which is suggested as a more likely candidate than the reconditioned defences of Roman *Cataractonium*, given the presence of cataracts in the Swale immediately north-west of the castle site and archaeological evidence for early medieval robbing of the walls of the Roman town (*ibid.*). Whilst this hypothesis awaits testing through archaeological scrutiny, the fortification has more likely origins as an element within the late-eleventh-century

fortification of the Honour of Richmond, and formerly lay within a separate township (L'Anson 1913, 359-60).

The evidence from *Sheffield, S. Yorks.* is similarly problematic: Armstrong (1929-30, 22-24) has claimed Saxon pre-castle manorial occupation on the site on the basis of a three-bay timber structure of cruck(?) construction destroyed by fire, and a stockaded ditch on a different profile to the later castle defences. Nonetheless, the coarse, gritted wares within the ditch that play such a key part in Armstrong's sequence may be late eleventh century in date (see Wilson and Hurst 1959, 308), perhaps suggesting that the defended pre-castle site was a motte or ringwork of the immediate post-Conquest period, raised before the emergence of William de Lovetot as Lord of the newly created Honour of Hallamshire, and (re)fortification of Sheffield as his key estate centre c. 1102-03 (Speight 1995, 66). However, given the pre-eminence of the manor as the focal point of Hallamshire pre-Conquest, pre-Norman fortification cannot be ruled out (see Chapter 5).

The motte and bailey earthwork at *Bakewell, Derbys.* has been interpreted, traditionally and incorrectly, as the *burh* founded by Edward the Elder in 923 (cf. Cameron 1959, 32). Nonetheless, excavation has provided tentative evidence of an enigmatic limestone boulder-built rampart forming a squarish plan, antedating the construction of the motte. Although not inconceivable that this feature was related to the motte as a necessary structural precursor to avoid slippage, the feature may denote a defended pre-castle nucleus (Swanton 1972-73, 21-22; Wilson and Hurst 1970, 175). The difficulty is that the respective features can be dated in relative terms only. The limited pottery assemblage suggests the late twelfth century as the most likely time for the construction of the motte - a date supported by the descent of the manor of Bakewell. At this time Bakewell became the head of the Derbyshire estates of Ralf Gernon, although the parish church had been granted to Lichfield cathedral shortly before; prior to this date the manor had been in the hands of the king at Domesday, before forming part of the extensive Peveril estates c. 1087-1153 and thence returning to the Crown (Swanton 1972-73, 16, 26). This provides a reminder that a structure underlying the earthworks of an early castle may not necessarily be of *pre-Conquest* date; clearly the earlier rampart could have originated at

any period prior to the late twelfth century, and may even have origins as a subsidiary fortification within the Peveril estates, re-occupied in line with wider changes in Bakewell's administrative geography.

Mirfield, W. Yorks., is another such site, where suggestions that the motte was raised over a pre-Conquest ringwork (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 736) cannot be supported. The circumstances of Mirfield's teneurial descent are indeed suggestive that the motte was raised in the period 1086-1159 either by Adam son of Svein, or Svein son of Alric, both prominent sub-tenants of de Lacy, and holding Mirfield as a single concern; before and after these dates the manor was split between three Saxon holders in 1066 and 1086 (Domesday i, 318b), and between Adam's heirs after 1159 (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 455-56). That the nineteenth-century church contains a pre-Conquest headstone (Pevsner 1959, 368) part-supports the thesis of a pre-castle manorial site, yet there is nothing within the conical morphology of the motte to suggest the development of an earlier ringwork, nor does the split status of the manor in 1066. Mirfield probably thus only gained prominence as a subsidiary, fortified, seat within the post-Conquest administrative context of the Honour of Pontefract.

Further examples of early castles with presumed origins as Saxon manorial sites are discussed fully elsewhere. Within the study area, the only site where pre-Conquest manorial occupation is demonstrated convincingly through excavation is *Goltho, Lincs.* (see Chapter 3). Analysis of siting of the small number of urban castles also raises the possibility that several were raised in the vicinity of high-status sites in the urban context: certainly *Stamford, Lincs.* was raised on a pre-Conquest manorial complex, though the evidence from *Leicester* and *Newark, Notts.*, is more ambiguous (Chapter 7).

Without detailed excavation, the likelihood of pre-Conquest manorial occupation on castle sites can be postulated on the basis of topographical, documentary or architectural data. At certain sites we can progress no further than supposition based on toponymic evidence - certainly the place-names of *Conisbrough, Mexborough, Sprotborough* and *Stainborough, S. Yorks.* may be suggestive of a network of late Saxon defended centres

forming a line north of the Don (Hey 1979, 23); *Knaresborough, N. Yorks.*, and *Aldbrough, Humbs., Yorks.* may be additional cases in point. The key problem is in demonstrating that a castle perpetuates the site of an earlier defensible enclosure as opposed to being sited within the vicinity of earlier defences. However, in a number of instances, growing academic acceptance that early castles were often sited over Saxon manorial antecedents can be seen to have prompted uncritical or plainly specious postulation of parallel origins for castle sites on the basis of insufficient data.

Duplicated Castles

Distribution maps of castles in the study area (Figs. 2.2 and 2.3) demonstrate various coincidences of two or more sites in a relatively restricted area; the evidence is summarised in Fig. 4.6. To date such 'duplicated' sites have been analysed only at a crude, nation-wide scale (Renn 1959, 110-112), seeking to quantify the phenomenon rather than examine the reality of its impact on contemporary landscapes. King has suggested three potential reasons for the 'duplication' of castle sites: one being raised against the other as a siege work, both sites having separate administrative contexts, or one supplanting the other (1983, xxix-xxx). To this model can be added the scenario of two sites existing contemporaneously within a unified strategy (Lewis 1989, 167). The latter is certainly less common, although *Catterick I and II, N. Yorks.* are illustrative examples; both are foundations of the immediate post-Conquest period (see Chapter 5), the former almost certainly within the Domesday manor of Catterick and the latter within the berwick of Killerby, although under the unified ownership of Count Alan (Domesday i, 310b; L'Anson 1913, 340-41, 359-60). The other clear example is the small motte at *Hartington Town Quarter, Derbys.*, which may be an outlying fortification of the major motte and bailey at *Pilsbury*; both were under de Ferrers lordship at Domesday (i, 274a-274b), and formed the centres of lordship from which the return to cultivation of a zone dominated by waste at Domesday was overseen. The former may have been sited to oversee the planted town of Hartington, while remaining intervisible with Pilsbury, itself associated with a small dependent hamlet and controlling communications along the Dove

County	Sites	Distance (km)	Comments
Derbys.	Pilsbury and Hartington	2.4	The motte at Hartington may be an outpost of the motte and bailey at Pilsbury, both sites being intervisible within the narrow Dove valley and presumably both constructed under de Ferrers lordship
Humbs. (Yorks.)	Wressle	2.95	Possible relocation from motte and bailey in Newsholme Parks to stone castle at Wressle, c. 1380?
Lincs.	Bolingbroke	0.43	Relocation from early enclosure on Dewy Hill to Bolingbroke Castle c. 1150
N. Yorks.	Catterick	1.7	Complementary fortifications within the Honour of Richmond, although probably in the hands of separate sub-tenants
N. Yorks.	Lythe	0.72	Relocation from motte and bailey of Foss Castle to stone castle known as Mulgrave Castle, c. 1214
N. Yorks.	Middleham	0.34	Relocation from the hilltop ringwork and bailey at Williams Hill to the stone castle in Middleham, soon after c. 1180
N. Yorks.	Northallerton	0.27	Probable relocation from an early ringwork and bailey at Castle Hills to the motte and bailey known as Bishop's Palace, c. 1174
N. Yorks.	Pickering	0.56	Beacon Hill is likely to be an undocumented siegework raised against Pickering castle
N. Yorks.	Sheriff Hutton	0.44	Relocation from ringwork and bailey to stone castle in the same settlement
N. Yorks.	Thirsk	0.32	Relocation from possible motte and bailey in a bend of the Cod Beck to stone castle on an open site
N. Yorks.	York	0.25	Both sites are complementary elements within the early Norman suppression of York
S. Yorks.	Bradfield	0.52	Probable relocation from the ringwork and bailey on Castle Hill to the motte and bailey on Bailey Hill
S. Yorks.	Tickhill	2.55	Relationship uncertain between important motte and bailey at Tickhill, and possible minor motte represented by the place-name 'Pudding Pie Hill'
W. Yorks.	Harewood	2.55	Relocation from motte and bailey at Rougemont to stone castle at Harewood, before c. 1366, when the latter is licensed
W. Yorks.	Rastrick	-	Relationship uncertain between motte in Rastrick village, possible motte on Round Hill c. 1.1km distant
W. Yorks.	Sandal and Thornes	1.85	Probably complementary fortifications within the de Warenne Manor of Wakefield

Fig. 4.6: Table summarising duplicated castle sites in Yorkshire and the East Midlands

valley; together the sites lay at the gravitational centre of a large manor focusing on the holding at Hartington, although in the highland zone these key components of seigneurial administration - castle and borough - could remain spatially distinct (Barnatt and Smith 1997, 82; Hart 1981, 143; see also Chapter 10). Any suggestion that the earthwork at *Sowerby, N. Yorks.* is an outlying fortification of *Thirsk I* overlooking the southern approach to the town over Cod Beck is undermined significantly by the likelihood that the feature is a bronze age barrow, as demonstrated by excavation and the feature's nodal position within a small zone of prehistoric field boundaries identified from aerial photography (N. Yorks. SMR: No. 0015901000), although re-use cannot be ruled out.

The process of one site succeeding another is the more common and of most interest, providing a further reminder that a shift in castle site was also a shift in manor, which must be understood within the context of wider processes such as the replacement of a castle with a non-defended manorial site, or the replacement of a pre-Conquest manor with a castle. Nonetheless, not all re-sited castles were constructed in the immediate vicinity of their predecessor. The castle/manorial site of *Burstwick, Humbs., Yorks.* was remodelled as the successor of the baronial motte and bailey at *Skipsea*, yet the new site lay over 25km distant; here changing political circumstances ensured that a site located centrally within Holderness could function more effectively as the honorial *caput* than *Skipsea*, initially chosen for its key coastal location in response to the late-eleventh-century Danish threat (see Chapter 10). In similar fashion, the changing political geography of the mid twelfth century ensured that early castles at *Mirfield* and *Kippax, W. Yorks.* were superseded by the distant sites of *Almondbury* and *Barwick-in-Elmet* respectively (see Chapter 5). A number of sites respectively less than 3km distant are excluded from analysis as their juxtaposition is clearly coincidental, with both sites having separate administrative/military contexts. Examples include *Egmanton* and *Laxton, Notts.*; *Swine I and II, Humbs. (Yorks.)*; and *Kirkby Moorside I and II, N. Yorks.* Other instances of potential castle duplication are the result of other landscape features being identified incorrectly as mottes; these include *Sauvey* and *Launde, Leics.* and *Morley I and II, Derbys.* (see Gazetteer).

King views the re-siting of a castle largely as a decision facilitating the appropriate physical development of a castle site, for instance shifting from a lowland site suitable for the construction of earthworks to a rocky site more suited to masonry defences (1983, xxx). This Darwinian explanation, however, overlooks important socio-economic variables that may also have had an important role to play. The realities of estate management from the end of the twelfth century onward ensured that economic concerns were increasingly important in the choice of castle site. Hence at *Bradfield, S. Yorks.*, the substantial motte and bailey at Bailey Hill was more closely integrated with the village than the earlier, more isolated ringwork at Castle Hill, whilst at *Sheriff Hutton, N. Yorks.*, a restricted ridge-top site was replaced by a more extensive masonry complex contained within a considerable moated precinct associated with a planned extension to the village (see Chapter 9). At *Bolingbroke, Lincs.*, King explains the relocation from the Dewy Hill site to Bolingbroke village in terms of a military desire to take advantage of the potential for wet, moated defences on a lowland site (1983, lvi-lvii). Yet the relocation more likely represented the closer integration of a formerly isolated lordship site within the developing manorial economy, and the moated earthworks, at least in their final form, may be more ornamental than military in character, featuring an enclosed rectangular island after the manner of Kenilworth, Warwicks. (Aston and Rowley 1974, 146-47). The sharply deviating causeway providing access to the archiepiscopal palace at *Sherburn-in-Elmet II., N. Yorks.* may indicate a parallel employment of water features as a means of social expression within formal landscape design, as recognised at Bodiam (Coulson 1990). Together, these sites echo the suggestion that elite residences may be (re)located relative to wider considerations of medieval landscape design as opposed to military imperative (Everson and Williamson 1998, 143-45).

Elsewhere, the relocation of a castle can be seen as an element in seigneurial economic policy specifically associated with the planning of towns and boroughs. *Harewood, W. Yorks.* illustrates this, the seat of lordship shifting from an isolated site of military character to a lowland castle site associated with a newly planned town. The re-location occurred within a large contiguous manor either side of the Wharfe under unified

ownership (Butler 1986, 86). In addition, excavations reveal the new site as remodelled from an extant, secondary manorial site rather than being founded *de novo* (MSRG 1989, 45; Moorhouse 1990, 1). More importantly, the new site was associated with a planned borough, and had space for the creation of an elaborate series of formal gardens (Moorhouse 1986; WYAS 1992, 14). Essentially similar process of re-location to more level, lowland sites are evident at the duplicated castles of *Middleham, Thirsk* and *Northallerton, N. Yorks.*, at which early castles occupying strategic sites were superseded by sites associated with a castle borough. The shifts at *Thornes/Sandal, W. Yorks.* and *Lythe, N. Yorks.* are more anomalous in the relative isolation of both earlier and later site; at Wakefield this is undoubtedly attributable to the specific circumstances of de Warenne lordship (see Chapter 3); the same may be true of Lythe.

Castles and Later Manors

Too often the possibility that castles are but one stage in longer-term manorial development on a site is overlooked. Clearly an integrated understanding of the interrelationships between castle sites and moated sites is a research priority for the future (Aberg 1983, 100). Whilst the upgrading of a manorial site to castle status is well known (Roberts 1962, 32), the reverse process is less well recognised. Many early castle sites testify to post-military re-organisation, allowing them to continue to function as seats of manorial administration. Most commonly, sites were remodelled as spatially more extensive complexes or compounds through the addition of dependent paddocks, enclosures and fishponds. Vitally, the distribution of this phenomenon emphasises that these developments could only occur if a castle occupied a suitable lowland site.

Typical of such sites is *Sapcote, Leics.*, where the selection of a lowland castle site allowed it to be continuously occupied and adapted as a manorial residence through the addition of moated enclosures, clearly demonstrated as being post-military through excavation (Addyman 1960); the place-name 'Toot Close' however remembers the motte recognised by Nichols (IV 1811, 898). *Topcliffe, N. Yorks.* demonstrates an alternative scenario: rather than the original defended site being added to, the motte and bailey was

preserved in its entirety and a newly-built manorial focus occupied the area immediately to the west with the motte terraced as a formal garden feature. A relatively common mode of re-use was the wholesale conversion of a bailey to define the perimeter of a moated site (e.g. *South Normanton, Derbys. and Lockington, Humbs., Yorks.*). Elsewhere, enclosures or closes of non-military character abutting the defences of early castles are suggestive of manorial adaptation, possibly as stock enclosures or dedicated paddocks (e.g. *Hallaton, Leics. and Burley, Rutland*). Similar features at *Boston, Lincs.* have been ploughed out, whilst others at *Shawell, Leics.* are evident only in aerial photographs, providing a reminder that such re-adaptation may be severely under-represented in the landscape record as these earthworks, surely more common on lowland sites, offer less significant obstacles to the plough or bulldozer than the defensive earthworks of primary castles.

Analysis of relationships between moated manors and early castles also raises a number of methodological issues in terms of definitions, as a morphological continuum clearly existed between the motte and moated site (Le Patourel and Roberts 1978, 47). Nationwide analysis of the two types of earthwork by Roberts (1964) highlights the frequency of moats in areas of later colonisation, in contrast to mottes, which tend to occupy the prime cultivable zone (see Fig. 4.7). What is instructive, however, is that the division between the two types of seigneurial residence is increasingly blurred in certain types of landscape, most notably the lowlands of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. This is reflected clearly in the morphology of low moated mounds such as *Ratcliffe Culey, Leics.*, and *Corby Glen and Swineshead, Lincs.* Such sites reflect a compromise between the need to give an appearance of defensive strength in landscapes where the construction of a moat made more sense, presumably at time before the moated site had become accepted culturally as an appropriate capital message. Elsewhere, the morphology of sites recommends that earthworks such as *Wellow, Notts.*, *Essendine, Rutland* and *Gilmorton, Leics.* are ringworks or mottes artificially lowered to facilitate continued manorial occupation on a spatially less restricted site. A final scenario is the documentation of a castle site at a place where no castle earthwork exists in the present

Distribution of Moated Sites

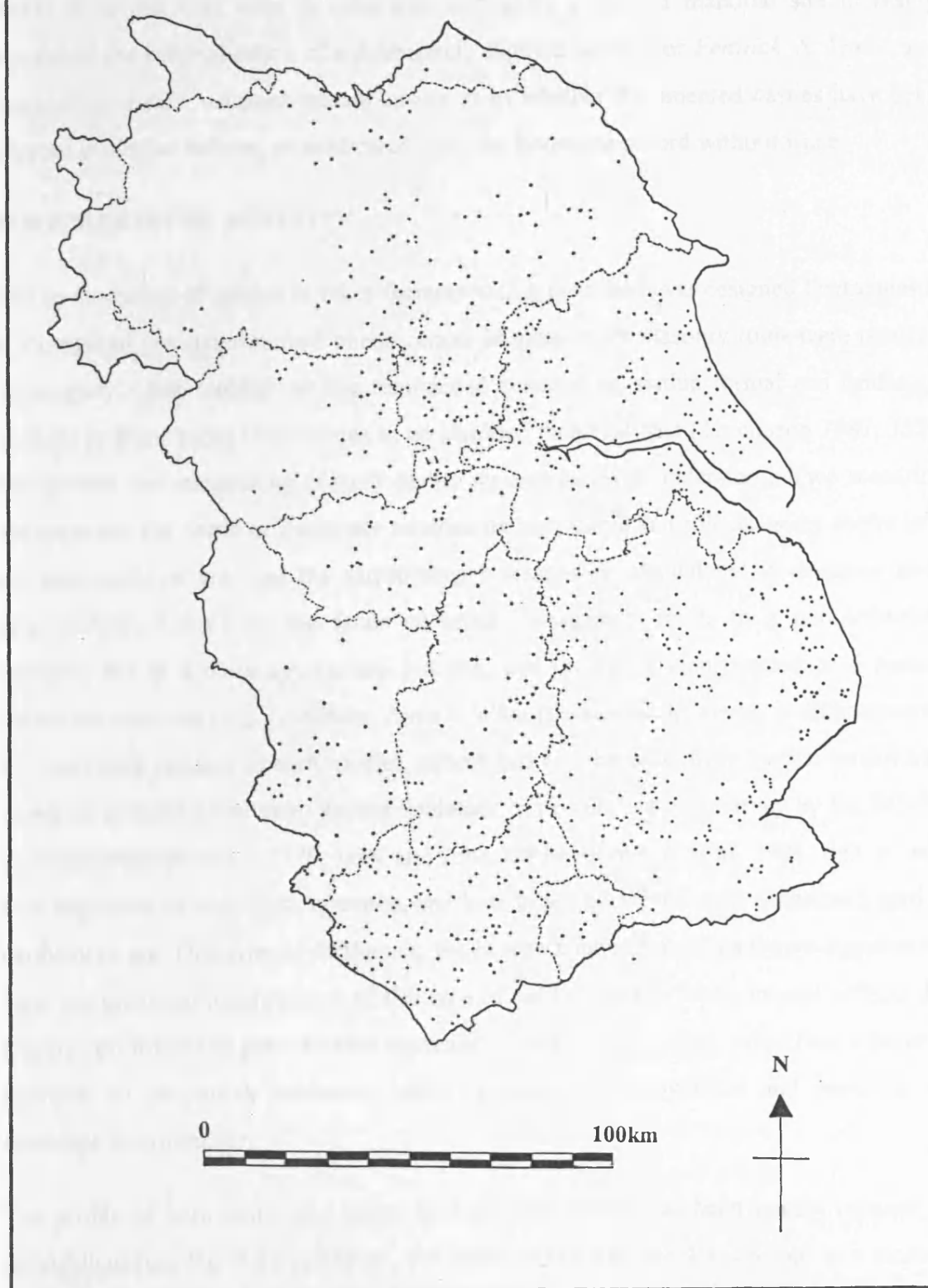


Fig. 4.7: Distribution of moated sites in the study area

landscape record. At *Kingerby, Lincs.*, the existence of remodelled bailey enclosures makes it certain that what is otherwise outwardly a moated manorial site in reality represents the rationalisation of a deliberately slighted castle. For *Fenwick, S. Yorks.* and *Ravenstone, Leics.* we must remain unsure as to whether documented castles have been adapted in similar fashion, or eradicated from the landscape record without trace.

POST-MEDIEVAL ACTIVITY

The re-modelling of castles as relict features within post-medieval designed landscapes is a widespread yet under-studied phenomenon. In many cases masonry ruins were retained deliberately, often highlighted and remodelled consciously, within formal and landscape gardens as picturesque touchstones to an idealised medieval past (Thompson 1987, 157); nonetheless, the remodelling of *early* castles remains less well understood. Two scenarios are apparent: the castle or castle site retained its high status and rôle as estate centre into the post-medieval era, and the surrounding landscape is manipulated in designed form (e.g. *Belvoir, Leics.*); or the focus of estate management shifts to a non-defensible manorial site in a more appropriate position, and the castle incorporated as a feature within the environs (e.g. *Lowdham, Notts.*). What is essential, however, is differentiating the earthwork remains of early castles, remodelled or otherwise, from garden earthworks purely of post-medieval date. Recent fieldwork, especially regional survey by the RCHM in Northamptonshire (II 1979, lxiv) and Lincolnshire (Everson *et al.* 1991, 54), is only now beginning to show how common, and how little understood such abandoned garden earthworks are. One type of earthwork, the prospect mound, is of particular significance here; the uncritical identification of this type of earthwork as a castle mound reflects the research priorities and period-based expertise of field archaeologists rather than a genuine appraisal of earthwork evidence, which is largely non-diagnostic and requiring of landscape interpretation.

The profile of both motte and bailey at *Aslockton, Notts.*, has been largely retained in remodelling (see Fig. 4.2). However, the assertion that the site was re-used as a moated homestead (Allcroft 1908, 405-06) seems incorrect, as is the suggestion that the

earthwork formed the residence of the Cramer family - Archbishop Cramer being born in the village in the 1489 (Speight 1994, 66). The late medieval manorial site and Cramer residence lay to the west at SK 74154015 (Notts. SMR: No. 01592), and the place-name 'Cramer's Mount' is a product rather of the remodelling of a motte and bailey in the 'pleasure grounds' associated with the residence - note also the place-name 'Cramer's Walk' describing the sunken way to the south of the site (Anon 1897, 24-25). As such, the earthworks at Aslockton reflect the remodelling of a motte and bailey in an aesthetically pleasing manner in a post-medieval formal garden context. Similar is the remodelling of the mottes at *Egmanton, Notts.* and *Topcliffe, N. Yorks.* through the addition of terraced features on the flanks of the earthworks (see Gazetteer). The earthwork castle at *Laxton, Notts.* would appear to have gone through a greater transition: the 'sub-motte' on the motte's summit is almost certainly a formal garden feature rather than the basis for a fighting platform (Speight 1994, 61; contra. Groves 1987, 60). The symmetry of both motte and the flanking earthen 'bastion' to the west as depicted on Pierce's map of 1635 would point towards the castle's adaptation as a formal viewing platform associated with the Tudor manor constructed within the bailey, commanding spectacular views of the associated estate to the north (Chambers 1964, 32-33); the flanking feature may even be a post-medieval bowling green as opposed to a military feature, as indicated by recent survey (K. Challis: pers. comm.; cf. *Leicester*: see Gazetteer). Elsewhere, we see the elaborate conversion of the motte and bailey at *Haughton, Notts.* into a post-medieval duck decoy in the landscaped grounds of Haughton Hall (Blagg 1931b, 6-7). As confirmed in a county-wide study of Bedfordshire, the key problem here is in differentiating such post-medieval features from original features of the early castle (Baker 1982a, 46).

More problematic, however, is a corpus of sites comprising prominent earthen mounds within designed garden contexts, without evidence of bailey enclosures, and mostly lacking surrounding ditches (Figs. 4.1). For example, *Oulston, N. Yorks.* is listed by N. Yorks. SMR as a motte (No. 0104101000), yet the form of the feature, complete with plastered internal chamber, in addition to its context within the designed landscape

associated with the post-Dissolution country house of Newburgh Priory, is sufficient to confirm entirely post-medieval origins. A similar scenario is likely with regard to the earthwork at *Sprotborough, S. Yorks.*, where Coates (1963, 300) demonstrates the alleged motte to be the 'Temple Hill' with associated ha-ha, raised, apparently *de novo*, in the late eighteenth century and lying south-west of Cusworth Hall in the 'Great Plantation'. Although the township boundary deviates notably around the feature, this is no unequivocal indicator of antiquity, as the boundary is itself a recent creation (Magilton 1977, 30). The site demonstrates well the danger of interpreting an isolated motte as the forerunner of a nearby late medieval or post-medieval hall or manorial site, rather than originating purely as a post-medieval feature. The earthwork known as Mote Hill, *Rise, Humbs., Yorks.* may be another case in point: situated in the eighteenth century designed landscape around Rise Hall, and incorporated as a garden feature associated with an avenue of trees running from a pond, the feature can probably be dismissed as of purely post-medieval origin despite claims that it is a motte (Allison 1976, 91). Here the feature may rather have originated as a prospect mound as opposed to a genuine motte, given the morphology of the feature and its context within a deer park documented from 1228 and known to have been remodelled in the post-medieval era (Neave and Turnball 1992, 158).

The alleged motte at *Scraptoft, Leics.* is a parallel example (Plate 2); here the mound, again with an internal chamber, lies within the formal garden context of Scraptoft Hall and was described by Throsby as a pavilion-topped prospect mound related to the mid-eighteenth-century remodelling of the grounds (Hickman and Tew 1989, 62). In addition to the steep-sided mound, a linear earthwork to the south, potentially confused with a bailey or outwork is undoubtedly part of the post-medieval designed landscape; a similar situation seems likely at *Shackerstone, Leics.* Likewise, the form of the conical platform at *Pilton, Rutland*, and its position on a ridge overlooking North Luffenham Hall may indicate post-medieval origins as an artillery position, but more likely a prospect mound (VCH Rutland I 1908, 111-12; Hartley 1983, 28-29). At *Legsby, Lincs.* the mound known variously as 'Mount Pleasant' and 'Mill Hill' may similarly be a prospect mound or mill mound rather than a typical example of a small motte (Everson *et al.* 1991, 126-

27). To this class of site we may add the similar earthwork at *Gumley, Leics.*, whilst the two mounds at *Morley, Derbys.* probably represent formal garden features rather than duplicated mottes, as suggested by Pritchard (1998). In respect of many of these ditchless mounds whose origins are otherwise problematic, the presence of low earthwork ramps leading up to the summit (present at Oulston, Pilton and to a lesser extent Scraftoft), may be vital in differentiating an unaltered motte from a post-medieval garden feature.

Only infrequently, therefore, can the scenario of post-medieval re-use of an isolated motte be demonstrated convincingly. *Chesterfield, Derbys.* is one example, where thirteenth-century documentary references (to a castle) and place-names demonstrate origins as a medieval fortified site, despite undoubted re-use as a mill-mound and probable prospect mound in the grounds of Taplow House (Cameron 1959, 312). The alleged motte at *Melton Mowbray, Leics.*, also appears a genuine post-medieval adaptation of a motte. Although documentary evidence records a mill on the Mount (Hartley 1987, 11), subsequent earthwork survey has revealed a system of ramparts and ditches suggestive of an earlier defensive function (Liddle 1989, 119). Conversely, place-name evidence points to the earthwork at *Launde, Leics.* originating as a mill mound (see Gazetteer).

Additional miscellaneous earthworks alleged to be early castles can be confidently identified as post-medieval in origin, with little possibility of re-use; these include *Withern, Lincs.* and *Tissington, Derbys.* (Civil War artillery fortifications), and *Repton, Derbys.* (a stock enclosure). Together, these examples demonstrate both the dangers of identifying outwardly non-diagnostic earthworks without adequate consideration of documentary and landscape evidence, and the degree to which earthworks associated with an early castle could be erased by subsequent activity. From one perspective there is clear evidence for the wholesale eradication of many early castles from the landscape record (e.g. *Hickleton, S. Yorks.*, *Bolingbroke II, Lincs.*), and a comprehensive county-wide analysis has concluded that a considerable number of early castles remain to be located (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 734-42). Yet the evidence discussed above highlights the potential danger of overestimating the number of extant mottes, and consequently overemphasising the proportion of castle sites of a certain morphological

type in similar positions, namely mottes without baileys located in situations remote from settlement.

Case-Study: Groby, Leics. (Fig. 4.8)

The example of Groby demonstrates the immense value of excavation, even on a spatially limited scale, for demonstrating antecedent occupation, and for providing a 'landscape explanation' for a motte located unconventionally. Excavations in 1962-63 opened two small areas of the earthwork (Fig. 5.8: top), and although time limits prevented full excavation to the lowest levels, the results have immense significance both in terms of rationalising the format of the castle, and demonstrating earlier occupation. Ultimately, the excavation remains unpublished (Davison 1963; Liddle 1982, 19; McWhirr and Winter 1978-79, 74; Creighton 1997, 22-25).

A striking aspect of the excavation was the evidence of a standing stone structure of well-mortared, granite construction, sealed *within* the body of the motte. Only the south-east corner of this structure was revealed, demonstrating it to have been oriented west-north-west to east-south-east. The excavator speculated that the structure formerly projected above the level of the motte summit, forming a ready-made parapet. The feature was subsequently filled in, and the walls reduced to a uniform level, possibly in order to support a timber superstructure (cf. Sulgrave, Northants.: RCHM Northants. IV 1982, 139-40).

Notably, the stone structure seems to have been perceived as constituting the main strength of the site, as the present elliptical form of the motte is a direct product of slighting, presumably under royal orders c. 1176 (Allen Brown 1959, 260), designed to undermine this core feature. The documentary reference to *Tourhulle* ('Tower Hill') in an *inquisition post mortem* of 1343 (Cox 1971, 498), is also significant. The date seems too early for the *Tour* element to relate to the gazebo-like feature depicted on the motte-top in the estate map of 1757, and may thus relate to the 'tower' - by this time certainly a relict feature (see Woodward 1984, 20-21).

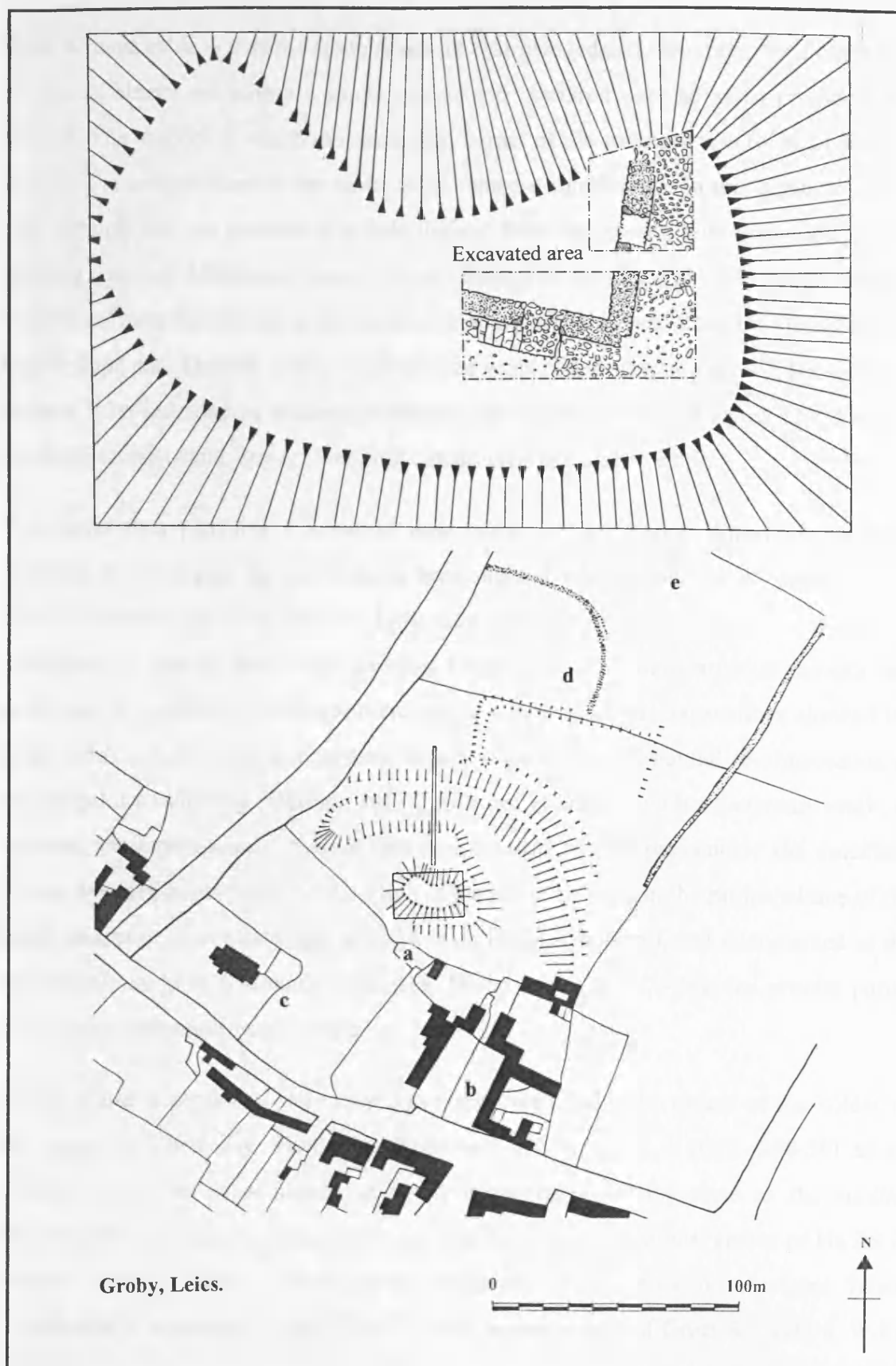


Fig. 4.8: Groby, Leics. Plan of excavation, 1962-63 (top); landscape context of motte and bailey (bottom). See text for key to lettering

What is remarkable is that the stone structure clearly antedated the motte, itself composed of granite blocks set within a sandy matrix and mortared over so as to provide a flat summit. The manner in which the south-east corner of the structure was robbed/collapsed prior to the construction of the motte is of immense significance. In this sense the motte was certainly not the product of rubble derived from the 'tower' later consolidating and grassing over (cf. Middleton Stoney, Oxon.: Rahtz and Rowley 1984, 61), and is likewise unlikely to have functioned as an earthwork abutment to a small keep (cf. Ascot Doilly, Oxon.: Jope and Threlfall 1959). Certainly the walls of the structure are insufficient for it to have been intended as primarily defensive, and again the robbed status of the corner implies that motte and 'tower' were not constructed in a unitary sense.

The motte thus provides a *terminus ante quem* for the tower. Whilst documentary evidence demonstrates the site to have been slighted whilst under the ownership of the Earl of Leicester in 1176 (Brown 1959, 268), there is no pressing reason to date its foundation as late as the twelfth century. Indeed, the indications are that the site was more than a short-term fortification erected in a time of crisis. Excavations showed the bailey ditch to have been a secondary feature relating to a substantial re-organisation of the site prior to slighting (Davison 1963), quite out of keeping with a temporary work. In addition, the castle seems to have spawned a castle chapel, presumably the cruciform feature depicted immediately to the south of the motte and within the projected line of the bailey enclosure in an estate map of 1754 (a on Fig. 4.8: bottom), and documented as the *oldechapele* in 1371 (Farnham 1928, 211; Woodward 1984, 20-21); the present parish church is of nineteenth-century date.

Indeed, if one accepts that the castle was constructed under the orders of the holder of the manor at Domesday, Hugh de Grantmesnil (VCH Leics. I 1907, 258-59) as an element within the consolidation of newly appropriated estates close to the hunting opportunities provided by Leicester Forest and near the gravitational centre of his fee in Leicester, then the stone structure can be speculated to have pre-Conquest origins. Whilst possible that it represents an early church tower in the manner of Great Somerford, Wilts.

(Creighton 1994, 34), the medieval ecclesiastical status of Groby, dependant upon Ratby, makes this unlikely. Alternatively, and more likely, it represents a late Saxon manorial precursor to the castle site, and as such provides a reminder that not all Saxon proto-castles will have been located in places of evident administrative significance.

Viewing this argument within the context of the surrounding landscape, the unconventional (and certainly non-military) siting of the motte - it lies below the crest of a north-facing ridge and is overlooked from the village to the south-west - may be explicable in terms of a decision to build over the site of this earlier structure. This decision certainly reflects a degree of martial opportunism - using the fabric of an extant standing structure to immediate defensive advantage, despite its physical situation - yet also hints at deeper motives. Certainly the domination of an earlier manorial site is outwardly a highly visible manifestation of an act of conquest, yet inwardly represents continuity in estate management.

The evidence of antecedent occupation also emphasises how the castle earthworks at Groby are but one stage in continuous manorial development on the site (Fig. 4.8). Although the present Old Hall to the south of the castle (b) is no earlier than fifteenth century in date (McWhirr 1997, 44), fragments of medieval masonry including a window and buttress are contained within a wall to the south of the present churchyard (c) which seems likely to represent an external wall of the manorial complex immediately succeeding the castle (Nichols IV 1811, 631). In this sense the earthworks north of the motte (d), apparently representing a series of manorial enclosures adjoining to the bailey, and a complex of fishponds c. 130m to the north represented on the estate map (e), testify to a considerable post-military complex. The motte also appears to have been remodelled to fit in with the designed environs of the later manor, the eighteenth-century estate plan depicting a belvedere or summer house raised on its summit.

Case-Study: Aughton, Humbs., Yorks. (Fig. 4.9)

No excavation has taken place at Aughton, but analysis of the earthwork complex associated with the motte suggests a parallel, though more elaborate, sequence of post-

military adaptation of a castle site. Here the motte lies not in isolation, but within a complex of manorial earthworks. The context of the manorial site within the local settlement pattern is also unconventional, marking the limit of communications patterns to the west, which are effectively blocked by the marshes around the Derwent. The settlement of Aughton seems likely to have originated as a nascent castle-dependent hamlet, expanding from an original nucleus in the vicinity of the castle to the east in the direction of the north-south route between Howden and Sutton-upon-Derwent (Rowley 1978, 40).

Despite the assertion that the earthwork complex can be explained as a motte adjacent to a medieval manorial site (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 41), earthwork analysis reveals a more complex sequence. Whilst the motte must undoubtedly antedate the manorial complex, a sequence of remodelling rather than the wholesale replacement of one site with another is in evidence. Notably, the motte seems to have been associated with a bailey. However, rather than the marshy depression to the east (a in Fig. 5.9) representing an element of its former perimeter (as suggested by Le Patourel 1973, 18), the original bailey can be identified as the large moated and embanked enclosure later adapted as the manorial enclosure, that appends to the south-east (b). The depression to the east likely originated as a fishpond relating to the late medieval phase of manorialisation. This enclosure was undoubtedly adapted as the manorial focus of the site, as indicated by window tracery and ashlar masonry incorporated within the modern house (c) occupying the slightly raised interior (Humbs. SMR: No. 141). What is remarkable is extent of manorial remodelling: recent research suggests that duplicated moated sites may indicate the provision of enclosed, dependent gardens (cf. Linwood, Lincs.: Everson *et al.* 1991, 49), and the moat to the east may be such a feature, subsidiary to the main homestead moat.

In addition, the motte (e) was itself extensively scarped and remodelled into its present form. The feature was clearly adapted to stand upon a squarish moated platform, with a small ornamental fishpond or garden feature inserted on its north side (f), whilst parallel banks to the east and west give regularity to the feature (g). The similarity to *Aslockton*,

Notts. is remarkable - together the sites give a good indication of late medieval and post-medieval attitudes towards aesthetically remodelling a motte as a garden feature. In addition, the southern arm of the bailey/moated enclosure has been artificially terraced and faced in brick to create a ha-ha (d), presumably in the site's post-medieval phases. To the south-east of All Souls' church (i), additional earthworks visible in aerial photographs (j) may date to a similar period of remodelling, or may equally represent a series of dependent paddocks. The early Norman chancel arch and south doorway of the church demonstrate it to have been contemporary with the original motte and bailey and presumably proprietary in origin (Pevsner 1972, 164-65). This sequence demonstrates clearly the need to understand castle earthworks within the continuum of longer-lived manorial occupation. Here, analysis of only the earthworks immediately associated with the key element of the castle (in this case the motte) can be as confusing as it is misleading (see King 1983, 513).

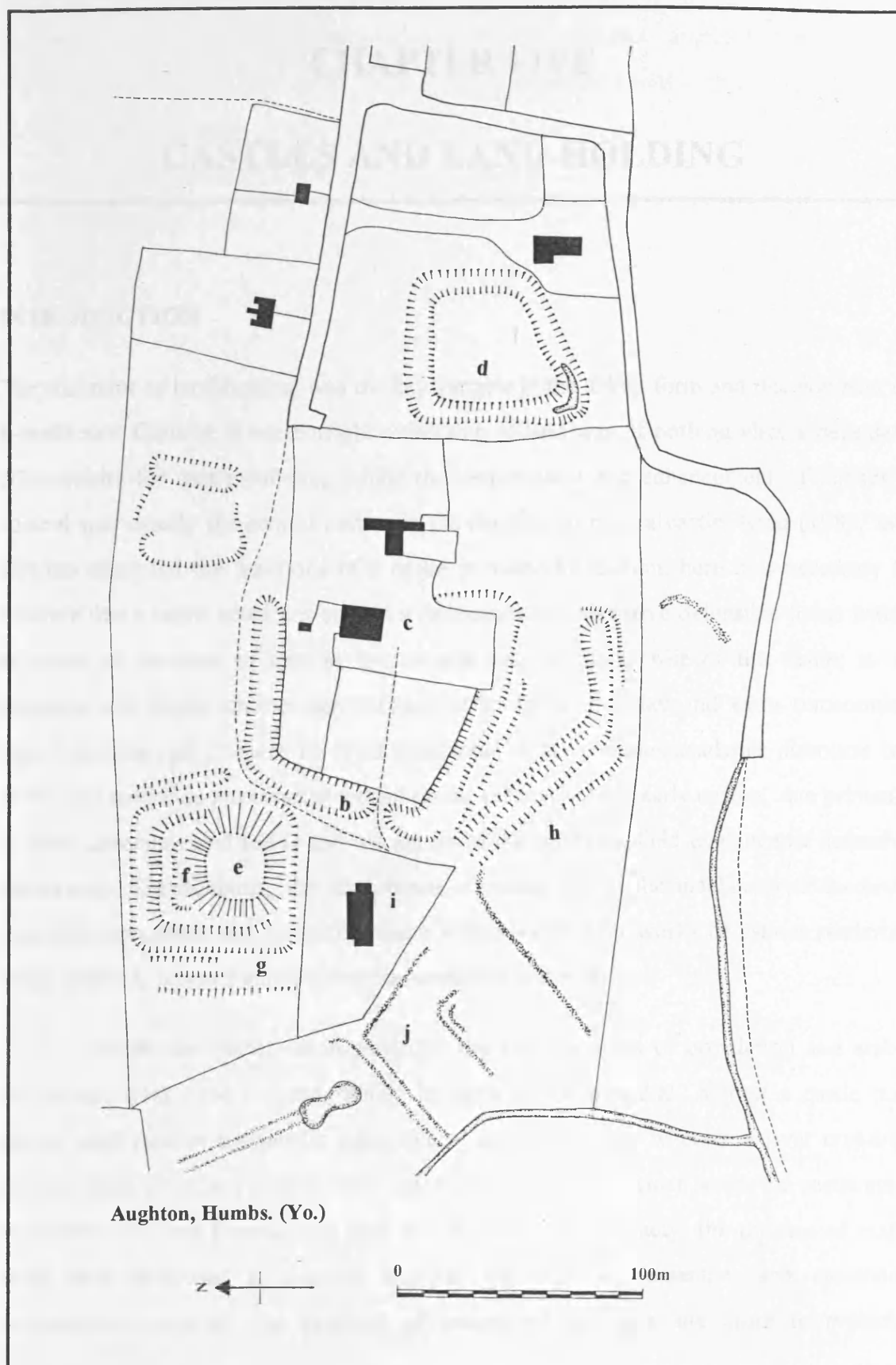


Fig. 4.9: Aughton, Humbs., Lincs. Earthworks of an early motte and bailey adapted as a medieval and post-medieval manorial residence with associated garden earthworks. See text for key to lettering

CHAPTER FIVE

CASTLES AND LAND-HOLDING

INTRODUCTION

The character of land-holding was the key variable in the siting, form and development of a castle site. Control, if not outright ownership of land was, if nothing else, a necessary pre-requisite for castle building, whilst the perpetuation and enhancement of territorial control was usually the central motive in the decision to raise a castle. King (1983, xvi-xiv) has dissected the functions of a castle in masterful fashion; here it is necessary to reiterate that a castle acted not only as a residential/administrative defensible focus within an estate or network of estates, but to add that the iconic rôle of the castle, as an imposing and highly visible manifestation of lordship, underlay and even transcended these functions (see Chapter 3). What is essential is that previous academic discourse has in the past tended to put unequal weight on the military rôle of early castles, due primarily to their undocumented status and the nature of the surviving field evidence of defensive earthworks. Consequently, the importance of castles within the machinery of medieval manorial economies, and as central places within wider frameworks of estates rendering rents, taxation, services and produce has remained understated.

As such, castle and land, and in particular the key resources of population and arable cultivation, went hand in hand. Whilst in terms of its immediate setting a castle may appear sited relative to specific geographical circumstances - whether a river crossing, fording-place, or cross-roads of communications routes - in a wider sense, the castle must be related, first and foremost, to land and its ownership. Broadly, the process of castle siting thus embodied a level of interplay between two essential, and somewhat contradictory, motives: the practical advantages of raising a site close to manorial

resources, and the strategic benefits often best served by more isolated positions (Bur 1983, 132; Eales 1990, 64). Whilst in smaller, more compact lordships the topographical choice of fortified estate centre may reflect compromise, in more extensive fees a web of castle sites could achieve both aims simultaneously through the delegation of military and administrative authority.

Here we must, however, draw an essential distinction: castle building will, in the overwhelming majority of cases, follow the receipt of land rather than *vice versa*, although the processes of land acquisition and castle foundation may be sufficiently closely linked for the events to have occurred more or less contemporaneously. The first wave of post-Conquest castle building by Norman tenants-in-chief and under-tenants in Yorkshire and the East Midlands was thus primarily a process of consolidating, legitimising and expressing symbolically existing territorial claims of ownership, as opposed to a military spearhead pre-empting and enabling secondary confiscation of estates. The converse process is exemplified in the systematic programme of royal castle building in late Saxon urban centres (see Chapter 7).

CASTLES AND CASTLE OWNERSHIP

Whereas all royal foundations and many of the more prominent baronial or private castles have some documentation of ownership, the vast majority of lesser earthwork sites were founded in the notoriously sparsely documented period between 1066 and the mid twelfth century, and as such have no conventional ownership history. Indeed, a summary of recent archaeological and historical research by Eales (1990, 54-63) has done nothing to contradict Stenton's suggestion that the vast majority of earth and timber castles must have originated in the period *c.* 1066-1135, with a probable peak by *c.* 1100 (1932, 198-201), although many were clearly raised on *sites* with antecedent occupation (see Chapter 4). Brown (1976, 217) suggests such sites to be founded relative to "innumerable local plans and *ad hoc* decisions"; nonetheless, a large proportion of these works must have been raised with reference to the network of estates they were intended not only to secure and dominate, but to manage as core elements within manorial economies, the essence of

which were unchanged by the Conquest and its immediate aftermath. Whilst the majority of castles can thus be related to units of lordship, the converse was not necessarily true. In areas dominated by smaller, less valuable and scattered holdings, fees could be, and were administered without the presence of a castle.

It is wrong, however, to over-generalise regarding the connection between castle ownership and territorial control. Instead, we may define six essential ways in which a castle was tied to the Anglo-Norman teneorial landscape at a particular point in time (see below). Of course this pattern did not remain static, as a castle may have originated to serve a certain administrative purpose or to fulfil a particular, limited, military rôle, yet subsequently assume greater or lesser significance in line with wider social and political developments.

(i) The Royal Castle

The first generation of royal foundations were by far the most numerous and important, and predominantly strategic/military foundations in the strictest sense, sited within pre-Conquest urban centres and functioning as seats of civil administration and stamps of centralised Norman authority (see Chapter 7); later sites, however, were selected increasingly as specialised palatial residences and hunting seats, as is apparent through documentation (Colvin *et al.* 1963). Consequently, royal castle sites have less of a spatial relationship with wider patterns of land-holding *per se*, and, as they were not permanent seats of residence, were entrusted to the custody of an appointed, residential castellan. Other royal sites such as *Tickhill, S. Yorks.* and *Peveril, Derbys.* were baronial foundations in origin, coming under extended periods of royal control for specific reasons of geographical circumstance following the forfeit of associated estates to the Crown. Tickhill was appropriated from c. 1100 as a primarily military site, forming an important node on the nation-wide grid of communications and guarding the northern rim of the midland plain (Pounds 1990, 27-29). Peveril, however, was not a primarily military site, rather employed by the Crown from c. 1155 as the key centre for the administration of Peak Forest, being situated conveniently following the mid-twelfth-century expansion of

the Forest through the addition of Longdendale, and its division into three administrative districts (Hart 1981, 148; Barnatt and Smith 1997, 85). As such, Peveril castle is representative of a broader nation-wide trend of association between royal castles and afforested zones (Steane 1999, 79); other illustrative sites include *Knaresborough, N. Yorks.*, *Pickering, N. Yorks.* and *Sauvey, Leics.*, respectively associated with the royal Forests of Knaresborough, Pickering and Rockingham. Indeed, with the exception of the early urban foundations noted above, of all sites subject to prolonged periods of royal expenditure, only *Tickhill* and *Bowes, Durham, Yorks.* were maintained for strategic value alone. Whilst *Nottingham*, lying at a key intersection of communications routes at the junction of highland and lowland England was undoubtedly a convenient central repository for royal siege machinery and a centre for the gathering of taxes (Pounds 1989, 11), it also lay close to the hunting resources of Sherwood.

(ii) The Baronial/Archiepiscopal Castle

These sites were raised to form the *caput* of a major unit of land-holding, whether an Honour, castelry or other spatially extensive and valuable fee in the possession of a key Anglo-Norman magnate, either lay (e.g. the de Caux family at *Laxton, Notts.*: see Chapter 9), or, less commonly, ecclesiastical (e.g. the Bishop of Lincoln at *Sleaford, Lincs.*: see Chapter 8). Such sites were usually characterised by a central position relative to the wider framework of estates, and typically the principle, if not permanent, seat of seigneurial residence. Whereas substantial, outlying portions of the dependent lands may be sub-infeuded, the estate within which the *caput* lay, and typically those in immediate proximity, were retained in demesne, with the provision of an appended deer park commonplace.

(iii) The Bailiff's or Retainer's Castle

These sites are characterised by not being the permanent or principal residence of a major tenant *in capite*, yet functioning as subsidiary centres of devolved seigneurial authority within spatially extensive units of lordship. The status of the individual permanently settled within the castle - variously a bailiff, sheriff, constable or forester (King 1988, 2) -

was dependent both on the status of the overlord and the precise social and economic rôle of the site within a wider territory. These were usually satellite centres of lordship, serving to administer widely-scattered land retained in demesne by the tenant-in-chief, either as economic concerns (e.g. *Kippax, W. Yorks.*, the administrative centre for the eastern portion of the Honour of Pontefract: see Chapter 4), or, more rarely, maintaining seigneurial presence in hunting resources (e.g. *Thorne, S. Yorks.*, sited within Hatfield Chase, an important hunting ground of the de Warenne lords of *Conisbrough*: see Chapter 3).

(iv) The Sub-Tenant's Castle

Limitations of documentary evidence ensure a thin distinction between these sites and those in class *(iii)*, as documents, in particular Domesday, may in many cases conceal the lower ranks of sub-tenant, as they were not the direct concern of the commissioners (Palliser 1992, 33). Nonetheless, these castles usually formed the principal residence of a sub-tenant, sited so as to administer effectively estates held of the tenant-in-chief from an early date (e.g. *Ravensworth, N. Yorks.*, within the northern part of the Honour of Richmond: see below).

(v) The Watch-Tower or Look-Out Post

These are subsidiary fortifications to those above, often fulfilling a specialised tactical/strategic rôle, such as commanding a ferry crossing (e.g. *Whitwood, W. Yorks.*), or a coastal signal station (e.g. *Hornsea, Humbs., Yorks.*). They were characterised by impermanent or non-residential status, yet crucially located with reference to a wider pattern of land-holding, usually as a means of protecting seigneurial assets and reinforcing claims of territorial control. Less commonly, a minor fortification may complement a more major early castle tactically (e.g. *Hartington Town Quarter* and *Pilsbury, Derbys.*: see Chapter 4), although the field evidence is potentially confused with a siege castle.

(vi) The Field Castle

These may be difficult to differentiate from (iv) in terms of surviving field evidence and location, but are usually short-term fortifications of ephemeral and entirely military character, thrown up for reasons of immediate tactical benefit in time of conflict, usually as predatory sites (e.g. *Hutton Conyers, N. Yorks.*, preying on Ripon), or siege works (e.g. *Pickering II, N. Yorks.*, raised in opposition to *Pickering I* at an unspecified time of conflict). Crucially, this class of site differs from (i)-(iv) in that the castle builder did not necessarily *hold* the land upon which the fortification was raised, although a degree of prior territorial *control* is implicit. Here the term ‘adulterine’ is avoided; it has become too traditional to dismiss undocumented earthwork castles as short-term fortifications of the Civil War between Stephen and Matilda (Renn 1968, 46-52), when they may be more accurately interpreted as castles of the immediate post-Conquest period (e.g. *Hallaton, Leics.*: see below). Furthermore, Coulson (1994, 67) has demonstrated many so-called ‘castles of the Anarchy’ to be refurbished eleventh-century fortifications, or products of the expansion and consolidation of Anglo-Norman settlement and seigneurial ambition (e.g. *Goltho, Lincs.*: see Chapter 3). Indeed, of the 27 castles in England positively documented as having been built in the reign of Stephen, 56% are entirely vanished (King 1983, xxxii), demonstrating such sites to be generally transient landscape features.

CASTLES AND DOMESDAY

Domesday provides a much under-used resource for understanding many of these minor castles of Conquest in their appropriate context as seats of Anglo-Norman manorial and estate administration (Pounds 1990, 10). Rather than providing an all-embracing explanation for castle siting, Baker (1982a, 41-43) has demonstrated Domesday’s considerable value for relating *certain* castle sites to the 1086 pattern of estates appropriated by the incoming Norman aristocracy in the immediate post-Conquest period. The following analysis is based on a detailed translation of Domesday (Morris 1977; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1986a; 1986b). However, a number of methodological issues arise in relating a castle site to the 1086 pattern of land-holding: problems of equating Domesday holdings with present parishes and townships, difficulties relating to lost or changed place-names, and doubts where a single place or settlement within the present landscape

is sub-divided manorially in 1086. In addition, we must recognise that a number of undocumented earthwork castles will have been raised in the century or more after Domesday, and allowing for radical changes in administrative geography, will have little spatial relationship with the pattern of 1086 land ownership. This problem may be particularly acute with respect to adulterine fortifications, although current academic consensus is moving towards an acceptance that fewer undocumented sites than previously thought relate to the limited historical context of the Anarchy (Coulson 1994, 91-92).

It is, however, extremely rare for a castle to be mentioned in Domesday, as they were sources of expenditure as opposed to taxable assets, and thus beyond the concerns of the commissioners. Notable exceptions include major urban castle foundations causing wide-scale disruption to other taxable assets such as fishing rights and urban property (e.g. *Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, York I and II*: see Chapter 7). Elsewhere, incidental references to castles apparently lying at the head of wider, associated, territories are more problematic. Land within the jurisdiction of Count Alan's 'castelry' (later Richmond) is mentioned in the Yorkshire Summary (i, 381b), whilst land at Thorner was disputed as being 'within the bounds of Ilbert's castlery' (later Pontefract) in the claims (i, 373c). However, Wightman (1966, 24) demonstrates that late-eleventh-century references to a castelry may not necessarily imply the pre-existence of a castle, the phraseology of later documents implying that it was equivalent to the word *Honour* before the latter became accepted widely as a legal term.

The example of Peveril lordship in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire illustrates well the types of linkage between castle siting and late-eleventh-century Norman land-holding (Fig. 5.1). The mention of a castle at *Peveril, Derbys.* in Domesday is somewhat of an anomaly, recorded under William Peveril's manor of *Pechesers* 'Peak's Arse' (i, 276b). Peveril was clearly an important site of lordship by Domesday, as it heads the list of the seven holdings in Peveril's Derbyshire estates retained in demesne. Peveril castle was complemented by a second, a small ringwork at *Hope, Derbys.*, overlooking the Hope-Castleton route of communication, located mid-way along the same valley and near a

probable early royal estate centre associated with seven outliers in 1066 (Hodges 1980, 32; see also Chapter 4). The manor of Hope was in the hands of the Crown in 1066, and, as was customary, passed to William, who, rather than retaining it in lordship, sub-infeuded the manor to Peveril (i, 273a), thus completing a contiguous block of Peakland estates focused on Peveril castle. Together, these manors and two castle sites represent a coherent and deliberate settlement as a result of royal policy, presumably to subjugate this zone of the marginal Pennine uplands as a focus for resistance in a manner analogous to the great northern Honours, but on a spatially less extensive scale (Hart 1981, 148). Certainly this area had recovered well from the socio-economic dislocation of the 1070s through effective estate management, as indicated by the low levels of waste relative to other parts of the Pennines in Derbyshire (see Fig. 5.2); it indicates thus an economic as well as military imperative in post-Conquest land allocation. Of Peveril's 17 holdings in Derbyshire, the value of only two had increased in the period 1066-86: 'Peak's Arse' (40-50s), and *Bolsover* (40-60s), possibly indicating the foundation of early boroughs (both sites are associated with small castle-towns of similar form: see Chapter 8). It is no surprise that an early castle was raised at Bolsover, probably pre-1086 (Gregory 1947, 4), and heading the list of Peveril's ten additional Derbyshire manors in the hands of five sub-tenants and forming a compact block in the west of the county. Peveril's Nottinghamshire estates formed a similarly compact block around *Nottingham* (see Fig. 5.1), dominating its immediate hinterland and approaches to the centre via the Great North Road through possession of key manors such as Clifton and its outliers (Roffe 1997, 36). William Peveril was installed at Nottingham as royal castellan, the castle forming his principal residence and effectively the *caput* of his fee, whilst the honorial court lay within the town (Owen 1945, 18; see also Chapter 7). Other early castles correlating with Peveril's 1086 manors have alternative origins: although the manor of *South Normanton, Derbys.* was a sub-infeuded holding in Peveril hands (i, 276b), the motte and bailey here lay in a formerly extra-parochial district and rather emerged as a specialised seat of twelfth-century forest administration (see Chapter 9).

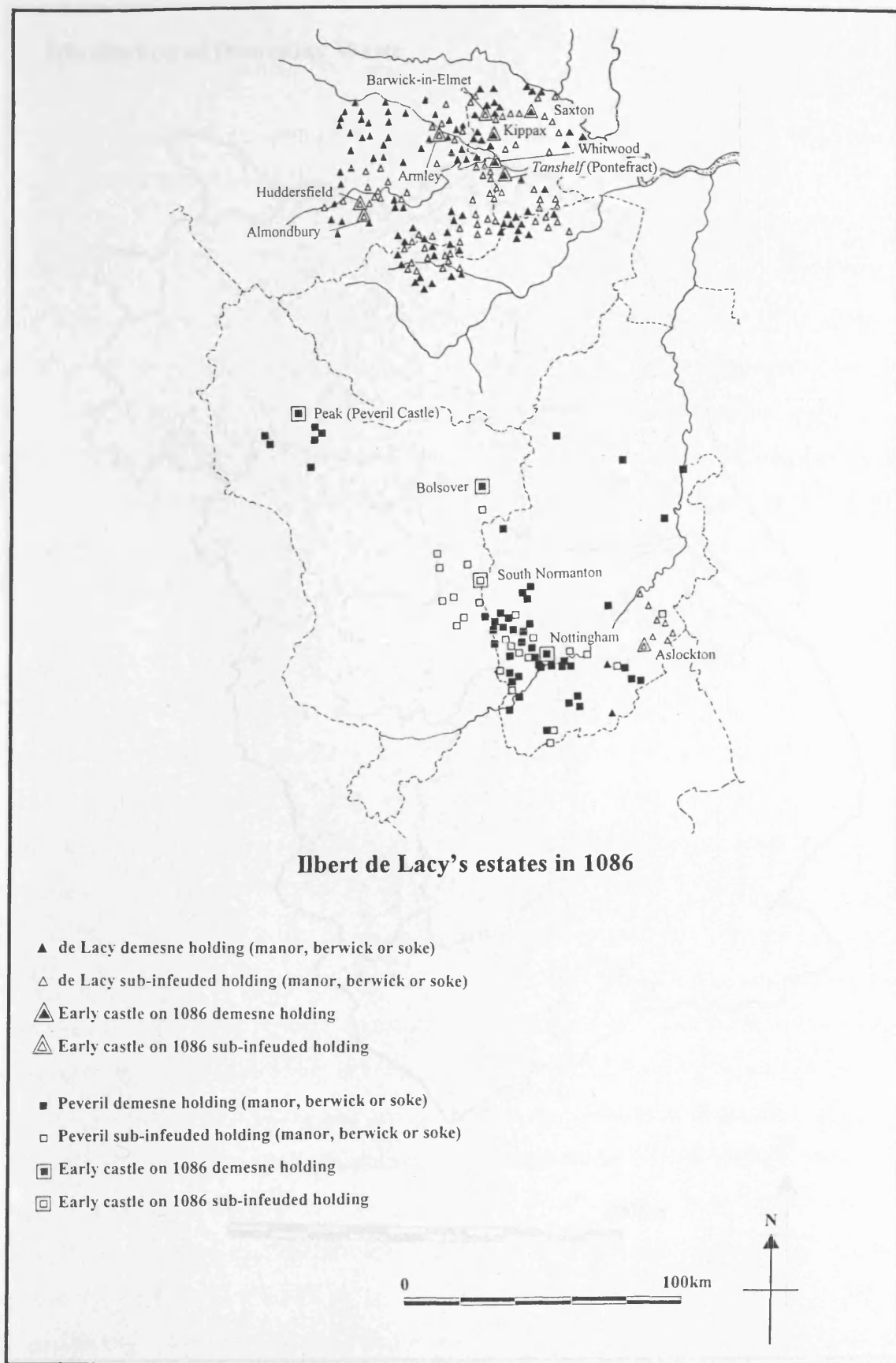


Fig. 5.1: Relationship between land-holding in 1086 and the distribution of early castles in William Peveril's fee in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and Ilbert de Lacy's fee in Yorkshire and the East Midlands. (Source: Domesday Book)

Distribution of Domesday Waste

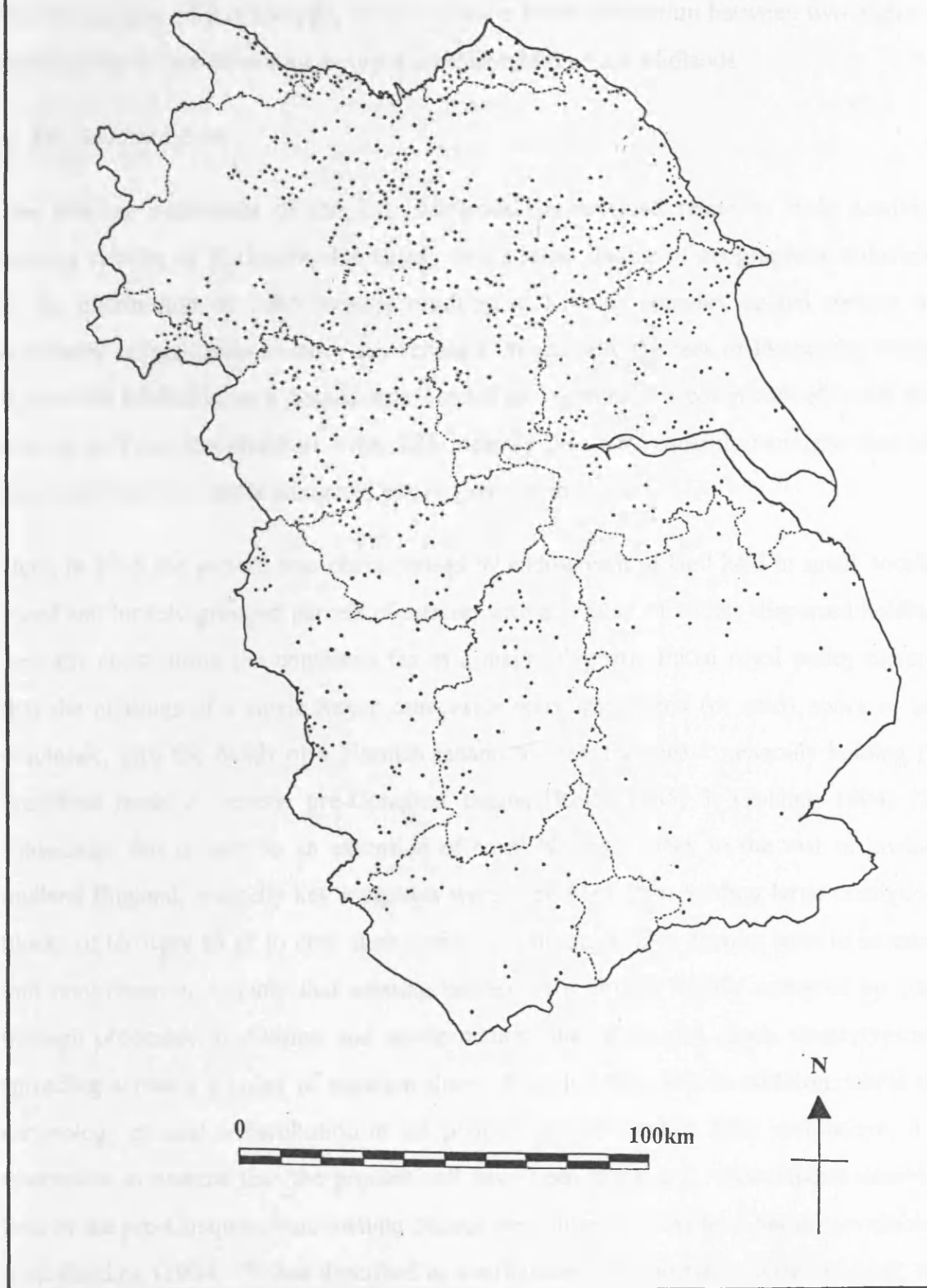


Fig. 5.2: Distribution of waste in Yorkshire and the East Midlands in 1086, comprising villas documented either partially or fully waste. (Source: Darby and Terrett 1952; 1954; 1962)

THE PATTERN OF LAND-HOLDING IN 1086

For the purpose of this analysis, we may draw a broad distinction between two zones of land-holding in late-eleventh-century Yorkshire and the East Midlands.

(i) *The Southern Zone*

The Norman settlement of the East Midlands has received relatively little academic scrutiny relative to Yorkshire, due largely to the lesser degree of geographical coherence in the distribution of 1086 estates, resulting in a more complex spatial pattern not outwardly as intelligible to latter-day scholars. In addition, the fees of Domesday tenants in the East Midlands, as a general rule, tended to fragment at a comparatively early date relative to Yorkshire (Beckett 1988, 28), meaning that we frequently can draw less of a direct link between castle siting and estate distribution.

Here, in 1086 the pattern was characterised by endowment of land held in small, locally-based and loosely-grouped parcels of estates, with a number of widely-dispersed holdings typically constituting the combined fee of a major magnate. Initial royal policy dictated that the holdings of a single Saxon *antecessor* were transferred (or sold), more or less wholesale, into the hands of a Norman tenant-in-chief, the tenant generally holding the combined lands of several pre-Conquest thegns (Roffe 1985, 3; Golding 1994, 72). Classically, this is seen as an extension of royal Norman policy in the rest of lowland midland England, whereby key magnates were prevented from holding large contiguous blocks of territory so as to limit their authority - although other factors have to be taken into consideration; notably that existing estates were already widely scattered by 1066 through processes of division and amalgamation, the lands of a single thegn typically spreading across a number of separate shires (Pounds 1990, 33). In addition, whilst the chronology of land redistribution in the period 1066-86 remains little understood, it is reasonable to assume that the process will have been piecemeal, with tenants receiving land as the pre-Conquest land owning classes were displaced and land became available - what Golding (1994, 73) has described as distribution by 'teneurial criteria'. Overall, the

best estimates are that redistribution of Midland estates occurred early in the 1070s, up to a decade prior to the redistribution of Yorkshire lands (Phythian Adams 1988, 1-5). Furthermore, as far as documentary sources indicate, the five boroughs, subdued by systematic castle building, did not join the northern rebellion of 1069-70, ensuring that the East Midlands were colonised in the absence of the widespread socio-economic dislocation commensurate with the Harrying of the North that preceded the Norman settlement of Yorkshire (Kappelle 1979, 118-119).

(ii) The Northern Zone

This zone covers the whole of Yorkshire, in addition to the Pennine uplands of Derbyshire, northern Nottinghamshire and the northern coast of Lincolnshire. Here, late-eleventh-century administrative geography was dominated by large numbers of estates held in compact, contiguous blocks by a relatively limited number of key feudal magnates. The classic interpretation of the creation of such lordships is military necessity during a period of intense political uncertainty with the potential for English insurrection and the combined threat of Scottish, Northumbrian, Cumbrian and Danish raiding or invasion (e.g. Wightman 1966, 20; Hey 1986, 31). Hence, the creation of Northern Honours is seen as the result of calculated Norman royal policy, with Norman magnates settled strategically in the twin rôle of "...an army of occupation and a border force" (Brooks 1966, 56). As such, the Norman settlement of the north forms an interesting parallel to the creation of similarly compact fees in militarily sensitive zones in other parts of the newly-conquered Anglo-Norman realm, comprising the three Palatine earldoms sealing the Welsh marches (Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford: Wightman 1962), the original five Sussex *Rapes* (Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings: Pounds 1990, 33), and settlement of Roger of Poitou in the lands of Lancashire between the Ribble and Mersey (Tait 1904, 152).

A number of conditions, internal and external, marked Yorkshire out for the strategic settlement of magnates in this way. Most importantly, in 1086 the northern limits of Yorkshire constituted not a static border but a fluid frontier zone, forming a buffer against

perceived military threat from Scotland and a quazi-independent Northumbria to the north. On the east coast, meanwhile, Yorkshire faced a still active Danish threat, indicated not only by the events of 1069-70, but by threatened invasion as late as 1085 (Brown 1985, 168-173). However, Le Patourel (1971, 14-15) has argued that the Norman intention may have been primarily offensive, as the compact lordships were not situated directly on the Scottish frontier. Nevertheless, Le Patourel's additional argument against the defensive intention of compact 1086 lordships, in terms of the manner in which they were broken up from an early date, is not borne out by a detailed scrutiny of the Yorkshire evidence, being derived largely from analysis of William fitz Osbern's lordship of the Isle of Wight (*ibid.*, 15). Thus, whereas the Honour of Tickhill escheated to the Crown from a relatively early date and failed to survive the twelfth century in its original form, the structural integrity of the Honours of Holderness, Pontefract and Richmond was maintained by a succession of lords of the same lineage into the later medieval period.

In addition, Reid (1987, 170-71) has drawn attention to inherent military and political difficulties within the Norman Conquest of Yorkshire, with widespread public discontent drawing the Conqueror into the north more rapidly than intended, and Yorkshire acting as a focus for resistance, attracting displaced native leaders from elsewhere. Such an interpretation views the Norman settlement as a means of internal pacification, re-settlement and economic intensification in an attempt to secure effectively the means of production and control, rather than military deterrence and defence. However, the practicalities of estate redistribution may also have a rôle to play; the level of socio-economic dislocation in Yorkshire in the wake of the Harrying ensured that the widespread Norman policy of redistributing the lands of a single pre-Conquest land holder to a Norman, as practised in much of central England, was impractical given imperfect knowledge of earlier land ownership (Pounds 1990, 39-40).

Additional factors may have also contributed to the size and unique teneurial character of these compact units of land-holding; in particular, the higher proportion of wasted and devalued villis in Yorkshire ensured that a relatively large number were needed to constitute a viable estate relative to the rest of lowland Britain, which may partially

account for the exceptionally low number of tenants-in-chief relative to the size of the shire (28), compared to Midland counties such as Derbyshire (16), Lincolnshire (69), or Nottinghamshire (29). Nonetheless, this argument loses much of its force when observing that the majority of lords holding extensive fiefs in Yorkshire held considerable estates elsewhere (Brooks 1966, 55). Furthermore, it is important to highlight an essential chronological distinction between the process of estate redistribution in Yorkshire relative to the East Midlands and much of lowland England. In the north, redistribution was not initiated until at least the mid 1070s following the defeat of Morcar and Edwin, and perhaps as late as the period immediately following Robert de Mowbray's appointment as Earl of Northumbria c. 1080 (Wightman 1966, 21). In addition, the infamous Harrying of the North of 1070-71 in many ways "paved the way" for Norman settlement in the northern zone (Williams 1995, 40). What is clear is that here redistribution of lands, whilst ensuring *territorial* integrity, tended to cut across pre-existing *teneurial* patterns, leading - perhaps inevitably, perhaps deliberately - to a greater degree of socio-economic dislocation, as partially reflected in the distribution of Domesday waste (Fig. 5.2).

THE NORTHERN HONOURS

Drogo de Bevière's fee and the Honour of Holderness (Fig. 5.3)

The Holderness peninsula was consistently referred to as an 'island' throughout the Middle Ages (English 1979, 1), its isolation attributable not only to the Humber estuary to the south, but the marshes on the peat and alluvium of the Hull river floodplain that defined its western limit, and Earl's Dyke to the north. The administrative geography of Holderness was re-cast radically following the Norman Conquest, transforming a teneurial landscape characterised by a multitude of freeholders into a compact and integrated fee under centralised authority. As such, the fee of Holderness represents an extreme form of aristocratic Norman settlement.

Prior to the Conquest, Domesday indicates Holderness to have comprised a widely dispersed series of modest holdings in the hands of minor lords, interspersed with a small number of more valuable manors belonging to the Saxon magnates Morcar, Tostig,

Harold and Ulf, son of Tope (i, 232c-325a). Land was re-distributed following the confiscation of Morcar's lands after c. 1071 to create a compact fee in the hands of Drogo de Bevière, later recognised as the Honour of Holderness, with twenty knights' fees (English 1979, 3). Unlike Blyth-Tickhill, the integrity of Holderness as a unified holding was perpetuated by the grant of Drogo's entire fee to Odo of Champagne following Drogo's flight c. 1087, and its subsequent descent through the Counts of Aumâle, Lords of Holderness. At Domesday, all lands within the Wapentake of Holderness not in the possession of the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Durham were redistributed to Drogo. The teneorial Domesday geography of Holderness was further exceptional in the low level of enfeoffment, with a mere four sub-tenants in possession of more than one vill, and Drogo retaining in demesne the vast bulk of valuable holdings (Dalton 1994, 117). In addition, the circumstantial evidence of personal names in Domesday suggests deliberate Flemish colonisation at the level of sub-tenants; Drogo was himself a Fleming (English 1979, 8). Such evidence reminds us that the creation of an Honour such as Holderness was part of an expansionist and explicitly colonial Norman enterprise, prompted in part by an eleventh-century quest for aristocratic *Lebensraum* as well as dynastic claim (Le Patourel 1971, 19); clearly this was a military settlement in the strictest sense, involving wholesale removal of Saxon *antecessors*, in effect representing a programme of Norman ethnic cleansing. A similar importation of Flemish *locatores* has been noted in Pembrokeshire (Kissock 1997, 131-32); the key difference here was that the colonists were not associated with village planning, the Holderness landscape remaining dominated by irregular, attenuated settlements related to the characteristic regional economy and manorial structures (Harvey 1982, 65-66).

The relationship between this remarkable pattern of land-holding and the siting of early castles is of great interest. First, there is a notable correlation between manors in the hands of Saxon magnates in 1066 and the location of key fortified sites: of nine manors with 1066 values in excess of £30, three had castles imposed within. *Cleeton* was in the hands of Harold in 1066 (i, 323d), and had the powerful motte and bailey of *Skipsea, Humbs. Yorks.* raised in its immediate locality by c. 1087 (L'Anson 1897, 258), to form

the central *caput* of de Bevière's fee. The strategic importance of Skipsea is self-evident, guarding the key route through the Hull marshes linking Holderness to the rest of the East Riding, whilst remaining closely in touch with sea-bourne communications via the surrounding mere, which was formerly linked to the coast (see Chapter 10). In microcosm, the location of Skipsea castle reflects how in the context of the late eleventh century, the entire Honour formed a buffer against piracy and a still active Danish threat.

Elsewhere, *Burstwick* was clearly a key pre-Conquest estate centre within Holderness, being in the hands of Tostig in 1066 and with an extensive jurisdiction and value of £56 (declining to £10 by 1086: i, 323c), whilst *Aldbrough* belonged to Ulf, with a similarly extensive jurisdiction and 1066 value of £40 (declining to £6: i, 324a). A manorial centre at Burstwick emerges into history in the thirteenth century as the successor to Skipsea as the *caput* of the Aumâle fee (Denholm-Young 1934, 401). The present field monument is interpreted conventionally as a non-defended manorial complex originating at this time (VCH ER Yorks. 1984, 9-10), reflecting the movement of lordship to a more centralised position following the slighting of Skipsea castle c. 1222 (the coastal position of the original *caput* rendered unnecessary in the absence of a Danish threat). Nonetheless, re-appraisal of the field evidence suggests the prior existence of a motte and bailey at Burstwick, presumably of the first post-Conquest generation and on the site of Tostig's holding (see Gazetteer), suggesting that an apparent movement of lordship to a *de novo* site is rather the upgrading of an extant fortified site. Although the site of Aldbrough castle, documented in 1115, is lost, the natural eminence of 'Castle Hill' overlooks St. Bartholemew's church c. 450m to the south-west. Lying within a curvilinear churchyard, this building contains early Norman work and an eleventh-century sundial recording 'Ulf' as ordering the church's construction (Pevsner 1972, 163; Twycross-Raines 1920); if the church is indeed a Saxon *Eigenkirche*, it is likely that a manorial residence lay nearby, as evidence from elsewhere within the study area suggests (see Chapter 6). The raising of castles in these estates thus reflects a systematic appropriation of the more valuable holdings and the uninterrupted management of their associated agricultural resources under new lordship, but also the location of military sites near key pre-Conquest

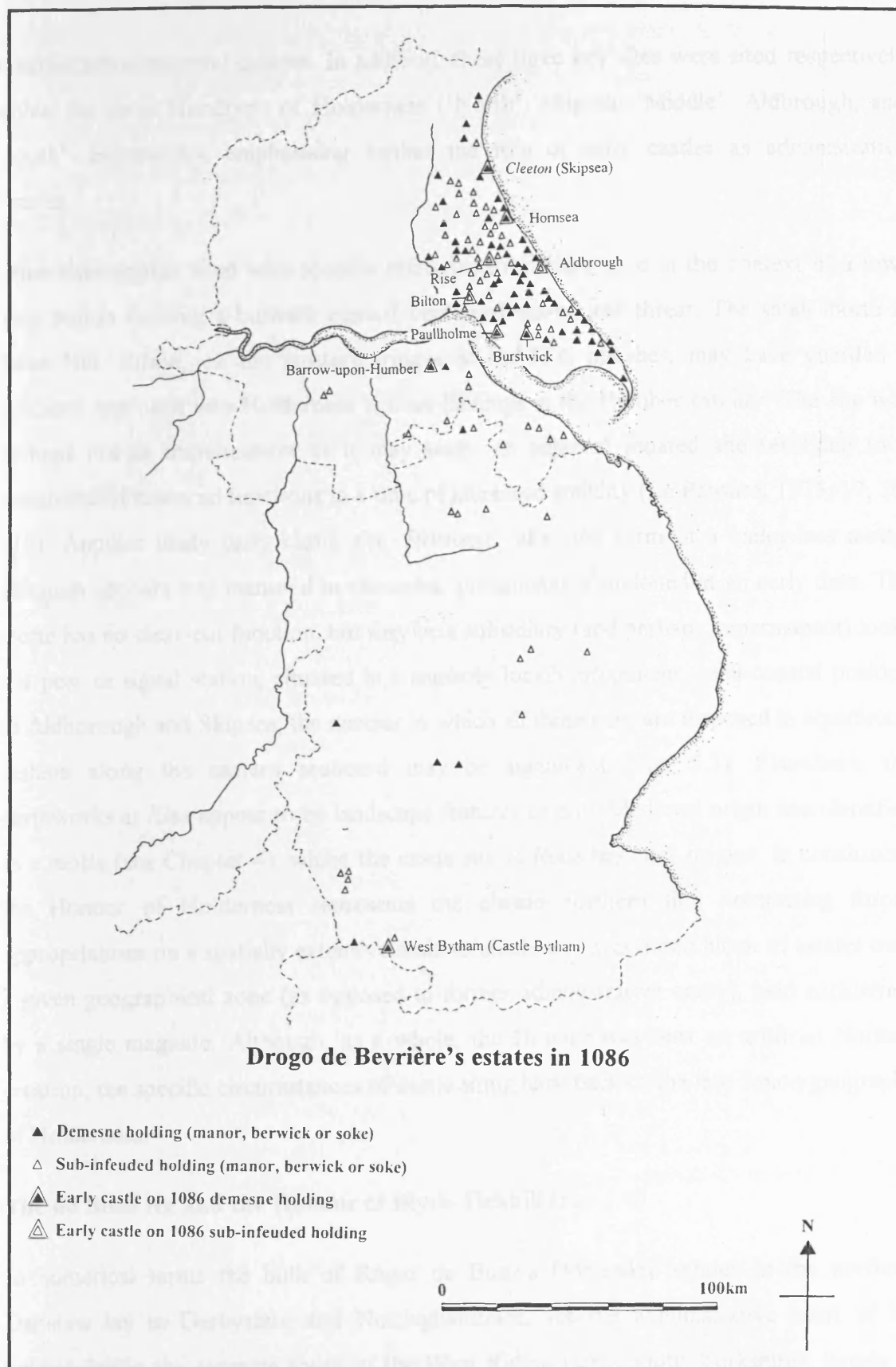


Fig. 5.3: Relationship between land-holding in 1086 and the distribution of early castles in Drogo de Bevière fee in Holderness and Lincolnshire. (Source: Domesday Book)

administrative/manorial centres. In addition, these three key sites were sited respectively within the three Hundreds of Holderness ('North': Skipsea; 'Middle': Aldbrough; and 'South': Burstwick), emphasising further the rôle of early castles as administrative centres.

Other sites appear sited with specific reference to military need in the context of a low-lying region forming a bulwark against perceived sea-bourne threat. The small motte at Swan Hill, *Bilton*, on the western fringes of the Hull marshes, may have guarded a southern approach into Holderness against landings in the Humber estuary. The site was perhaps not as impermanent as it may seem, an adjacent moated site testifying to a transferral of manorial functions in a time of increased stability (Le Patourel 1973, 17, 20, 110). Another likely early castle site, *Hornsea*, takes the form of a bailey-less motte, although appears less manorial in character, presumably abandoned at an early date. The motte has no clear-cut function, but may be a subsidiary (and perhaps impermanent) look-out post or signal station, situated in a similarly locally prominent, semi-coastal position to Aldborough and Skipsea; the manner in which all three sites are disposed in equidistant fashion along the eastern seaboard may be significant (Fig. 5.3). Elsewhere, the earthworks at *Rise* appear to be landscape features of post-Medieval origin mis-identified as a motte (see Chapter 4), whilst the castle site at *Roos* has later origins. In conclusion, the Honour of Holderness represents the classic northern fief, comprising forced appropriations on a spatially extensive scale to create a concentrated block of estates over a given geographical zone (as opposed to former administrative entity), held exclusively by a single magnate. Although, as a whole, the Honour was thus an artificial Norman creation, the specific circumstances of castle siting hark back to the late Saxon geography of Holderness.

The de Busli fee and the Honour of Blyth-Tickhill (Fig. 5.4)

In numerical terms the bulk of Roger de Busli's Domesday estates in the northern Danelaw lay in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, yet the administrative heart of his holding lay in the extreme south of the West Riding (now South Yorkshire), largely in

Strafforth Wapentake (where he held 54 manors), and Osgoldcross (a further three). Analysis of the pre-Conquest tenure of de Busli's lands demonstrates the Honour to have been created *de novo*, carved from the diffuse estates of a plethora of pre-Conquest land holders to create a coherent entity. The core lands of De Busli's 1086 estates emerged to become known as the Honour of Blyth (alternatively Tickhill-Blyth). Various in the hands of powerful magnates and the Crown from c. 1100, the Honour however lacked the territorial and teneurial continuity that characterised other Yorkshire-based Honours. Hence we find limited support for Le Patourel's hypothesis (1971, 15) that some compact 1086 fees may not have been defensive in nature, as the Honour was broken up from an early date; nonetheless, at the macro-scale the creation of the Honour was of undoubted strategic value.

Kapelle (1979, 145) subscribes to the notion of a defensive rationale behind the Honour's creation. Bracketed by the Pennines to the west and Humberhead marshes to the east, whilst the Nottinghamshire portion of the Honour bordered on Sherwood Forest, the fringes of the Honour were strategically troublesome weak spots in the newly conquered north. As such, the Honour effectively blocked the northern entrance to Nottinghamshire and the Midland plain via the Roman road south from York. Nevertheless, the honorial *caput* at Tickhill did not lie on a frontier, and the Honour's creation seems as much attributable to the pacification of a troublesome region as defensive necessity *per se*. A degree of military importance for the region is, however, evident in the seizure of Tickhill castle by the Crown c. 1102 following capture when in the hands of Robert of Bellême, who had inherited (or purchased) the Honour c. 1100 (Warren Hollister 1989, 193). However, it may well have been in royal control from a slightly earlier date, as Bellême seems to have held the Honour as custodian and Tickhill castle as royal castellan (Pounds 1990, 28); whichever the case, Tickhill was perceived by the Crown as a strategically essential site.

Claims of a baronial castle at Blyth, Notts. are based on a mis-reading of documents mentioning the 'Castle of the Honour of Blyth' (Groves 1987, 8). Rather, the *caput baroniae* lay on the newly-selected site at *Tickhill, S. Yorks.*, whereas Blyth was the

location of a monastery founded by de Busli c. 1080 (Thompson 1986, 308). Tickhill is not named in Domesday, although it is beyond doubt that the castle and newly founded borough are concealed within the composite entry for *Dadesley*, Stainton and Hellaby (i, 319a), where it superseded a nearby vill (see also Chapter 8). The economic intensification of *Dadesley* manor, in which the castle lay, whilst under early Norman lordship is evident in the fact that the composite Domesday holding of the three manors is the only instance of a de Busli holding in Yorkshire increasing in value (the composite value increasing from £12-£14 in the period 1066-86).

The motte and bailey at *Laughton-en-le-Morthen*, *S. Yorks.* was not so much a secondary administrative centre within the Honour as an element within an tripartite stamp of Norman authority on the region, comprising two complementary military/administrative sites (Laughton and Tickhill) and an ecclesiastical focus (Blyth). Here, the motte and bailey occupied a seat of evident pre-Conquest administrative importance (see Chapter 6). In 1066 the manor, including a berwick and extensive jurisdiction of sokeland, was in the hands of Earl Edwin (i, 319a); having a composite value in 1066 of £24 (declining to £15 by 1086), and de Busli's most valuable demesne holding in Yorkshire. This importance is indicated further by the fact that it heads de Busli's list of demesne manors (cf. Gilling and *Richmond*, *N. Yorks.*: see below). Whilst the baronial *caput* thus occupied an essentially *de novo* site, well served by communications routes and with the potential for economic investment, the selection of Laughton as a subsidiary centre harked back to the pre-Conquest past as a deliberate act of usurpation.

Elsewhere, we may be less certain that castles lying on de Busli's 1086 estates originated in the late eleventh century, but a number of candidates offer themselves. The motte and bailey of *Mexborough* overlooks the important ford of Strafforth Sands (Glassby 1893, 16-19); lying on a demesne manor of de Busli (i, 319b), it may be a foundation of the immediate post-Conquest period of consolidation, especially as a subsidiary court of the Honour was later held here (Hey 1979, 44). Here the motte and bailey was succeeded by a manorial site c. 550m to the south-west (Magilton 1977, 57). The motte at *Kimberworth* and motte and baileys at *Hampole* and *Beighton* may be seen in a similar

light, lying on demesne de Busli manors and acting as outlying administrative centres necessary to oversee the south-west and north-east zones respectively of a spatially extensive Honour. Kimberworth in particular overlooked the substantial de Busli demesne estates within the Rother valley, and was undoubtedly a castle of manorial status as opposed to a temporary fortification, as indicated further by the manorial successor c. 250m to the south, known to have been occupied from at least the thirteenth century (S. Yorks. SMR: No. 471). The motte at Hampole, located at the northern extremity of the Honour, overlooking the Great North Road was perhaps a less permanent fortification securing the key route of approach to the agricultural heartland of the Honour. The pattern of land-holding in the immediate post-Conquest period, however, does little to support the notion that the artificial mound at *Sprotborough* was an early castle as opposed to a post-medieval garden earthwork (see Chapter 4); here it is impossible to define whether the site lay in the manor of Sprotborough or Cusworth, although both are characterised by split ownership in 1086.

A different problem is apparent with a series of early castles in the west of the Honour. The two castles at *Bradfield* and cliff-top site at *Sheffield* are generally assumed to date from the early twelfth century, when the pre-Conquest territory of Hallamshire re-emerged as the heart of William de Lovetot's barony, with Sheffield as its *caput*, following the royal confiscation of the Honour of Blyth (Hey 1986, 31; Speight 1995, 66). Nonetheless, re-examination of archaeological evidence at Sheffield suggests that de Lovetot's fortification may have been preceded by an earlier Norman castle built to dominate the valuable Domesday manor of Hallam, undoubtedly the main administrative centre of pre-Conquest Hallamshire (Hey 1979, 29; see Chapter 4). Other than Laughton, Hallam was the only other manor within de Busli's Yorkshire estates to have been in the hands of a key Saxon magnate in 1066 (earl Waltheof had a hall here: i, 320b), and it would seem odd if this were not fortified. Although Bradfield is not named in Domesday, the area is likely to be covered by the de Busli demesne manor of Ecclesfield; here the duplication of early castles may well reflect an early ringwork relating to the period of initial Norman take-over (*Bradfield II*), superseded by a motte and bailey of more

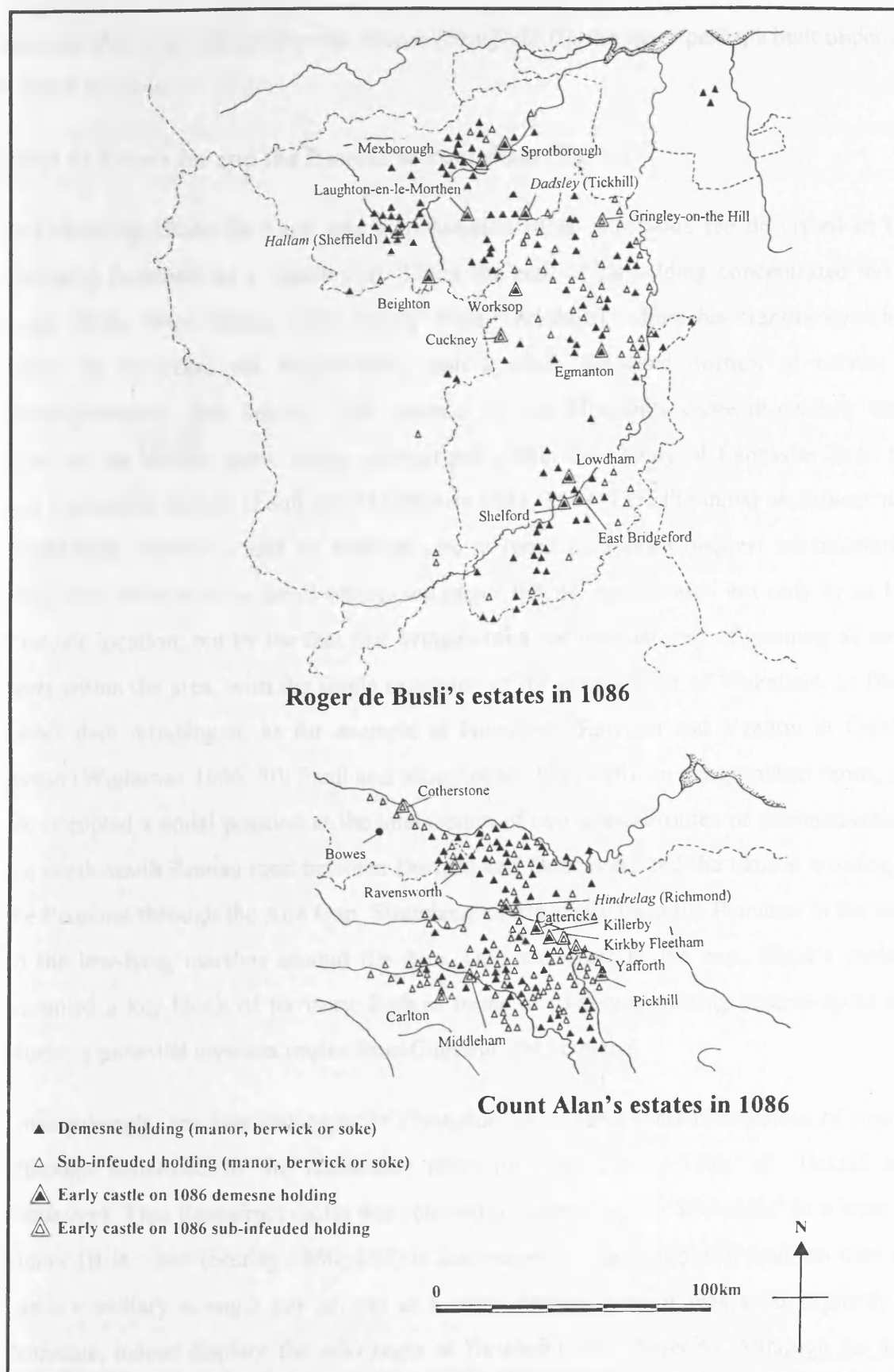


Fig. 5.4: Relationship between land-holding in 1086 and the distribution of early castles in Roger de Busli's fee in Yorkshire and the East Midlands, and Count Alan's fee in North Yorkshire. (Source: Domesday Book)

manorial character, adjacent to the church (*Bradfield II*), the latter perhaps built under de Lovetot lordship.

Ilbert de Lacy's fee and the Honour of Pontefract (Fig. 5.1)

At Domesday, Ilbert de Lacy was in possession of an enormous fee described in the Yorkshire Summary as a 'castlery' (i, 373c), the bulk of his holding concentrated in the south of the West Riding (now largely West Yorkshire), where his manors stretched across no less than six Wapentakes, with a small, detached portion of estates in Nottinghamshire (see below). The essence of the Honour's eleventh-century form survived the Middle Ages, being incorporated within the Duchy of Lancaster from the mid fourteenth century (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 250). That the initial settlement was a deliberate creation - and an artificial one in terms of a pre-Conquest administrative geography dominated by small estates and minor thegns - is indicated not only by its key strategic location, but by the fact that William took the unusual step of granting all *terra regis* within the area, with the single exception of the great manor of Wakefield, to Ilbert rather than retaining it, as for example at Horsforth, Rawdon and Yeadon in Guisley parish (Wightman 1966, 30; Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 248). In geographical terms, the fee occupied a nodal position at the intersection of two arterial routes of communication: the north-south Roman road between Durham and Doncaster, and the natural crossing of the Pennines through the Aire Gap. Stretching continuously from the Pennines in the west to the low-lying marshes around the Aire, Don and Ouse to the east, Ilbert's castlery occupied a key block of territory, both in terms of pacifying existing trouble-spots and blocking potential invasion routes from Cumbria and Scotland.

Unsurprisingly, the honorial *caput* of *Pontefract* lay close to this intersection of routes, although concealed in the Domesday entry for *Tanshelf* (i, 316c: cf. Tickhill and *Dadesley*). That Pontefract castle was referred to as the "key to Yorkshire" in a letter to Henry III in 1264 (Shirley 1866, 255) is due more to its geographical position than the castle's military strength *per se*, yet at a more detailed level it was sited explicitly to dominate, indeed displace the *villa regia* of *Tanshelf* (see Chapter 6). Although the late-

eleventh-century conditions of labour service on Ilbert's core demesne lands at Pontefract, initially including the forced labour needed to erect the substantial motte and bailey, remain a matter of conjecture, Bishop (1948, 13-14) draws attention to thirteenth-century documentary evidence implying an unusually high level of obligation including week work in Pontefract and its immediate environs. Week work was otherwise uncommon in Yorkshire, perhaps indicating conditions inherited from the late eleventh century and relating to a period of intense and forced demesne cultivation at the hub of the Honour (cf. *Castle Sandal, W. Yorks.*: see Chapter 3).

The considerable spatial extent of the Honour ensured that it had to be administered from a number of separate foci dominated by castles (predominantly in West Yorkshire), one overseeing the eastern portion of the Honour (*Kippax*, later *Barwick-in-Elmet*: see Chapter 4), and another the southern estates held in demesne (*Almondbury*: see Chapter 10). The motte and bailey at *Saxton, N. Yorks.* (later adapted as a manorial residence) may be another such site, located at the heart of an outlying number of estates in the north-east of the Honour, whilst the demesne estate of *Tanshelf* (Pontefract) lay to the south. Although the administrative division of the Honour into four zones (or bailiwicks) was not formally recognised until 1425 (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 250), it is possible that the distribution of these four key centres represented a late-eleventh-century pattern of decentralised honorial administration. These sites and the development of associated manors and settlements relative to the evolving Honour are dealt with in detail elsewhere; here it is sufficient to state that they occupied a second tier of seigneurial authority, sited to control newly appropriated agricultural resources. The manner in which Kippax heads the Domesday list of Ilbert's demesne manors (i, 215a) should not escape attention, given the likelihood that Kippax represented the gravitational centre of pre-Conquest authority in the region (cf. *Laughton and Tickhill, S. Yorks.* and *Gilling and Richmond, N. Yorks.*; see also Chapter 8). Notably, Kippax was one of the very few of Ilbert's manors to retain its 1066 value at Domesday (valued, with the single berwick of Barwick at £16).

A third tier of castle sites is represented by sites of lesser administrative significance. Here we may mention the motte at *Whitwood*, overlooking a ferry crossing of the Calder (the

place-name 'Fairy Hill' may be a corruption of 'Ferry Hill': VCH Yorks. II 1912, 42); here Ilbert held two manors, one retained in demesne and another sub-infeuded to Roger. The minor motte at Arc Hill, *Huddersfield*, may be another subsidiary, less permanent site. The origins of this motte remain a matter for conjecture, yet an earthwork of this type was unlikely to be raised as late as c. 1193, when the manor was sub-infeuded, as suggested by Faull and Moorhouse (1981, 409); it is altogether more likely to have originated in the period 1119-1193 when Huddersfield was held in demesne following possession in 1086 (and 1066) by Godwin (*ibid.*), and raised as a lowland outpost to complement nearby Almondbury. In contrast, the early castle at *Armley* was almost certainly the residence of a minor sub-tenant, either the Domesday tenant Ligulfr, or more likely the Reineville family, who held Armley and Breamley as a small estate within the Honour by c. 1166 (Wightman 1966, 110), although the fortification was short-lived, and remembered as a place-name only by c. 1300 (Smith 1983, 6-7).

What is further instructive is the distribution of Ilbert's sub-infeuded holdings at Domesday. Overall, enfeoffment was relatively well progressed relative to the Honours of Tickhill and Holderness, although restricted almost entirely to the more fertile Vale of York, whilst the holdings on the Pennine fringe were held as demesne and show a higher proportion of waste (Wightman 1966, 38, 52-53). Dalton (1994, 116) has noted a close spatial correlation between the distribution of Ilbert's lands in the hands of sub-tenants and the siting of early castles, with enfeoffed estates tending to cluster around the early administrative centres of Pontefract, Saxton and Kippax in the west; Almondbury was the only centre overseeing the substantial demesne on the Pennine fringe. The implication here is twofold. First, the earliest generation of Norman castles were sited deliberately to oversee the cultivation - perhaps a *return to cultivation* in the wake of 1070-71 - of the more favourable arable resources in the region; those resources that had been cultivated most heavily in 1066 and recovering under Norman management most effectively by 1086. Second, we must acknowledge the rôle of the castle in an essentially colonising venture, securing the newly-appropriated territorial resources of a deliberately introduced class of sub-tenant as an act of seigneurial economic policy as much as military necessity.

Despite the truth in Dalton's arguments at a general level, the best indications are that the estates in which these castle sites *themselves* lay were retained in demesne. In the Honour of Pontefract "strategic considerations were not independent of economic viability" (Stinson 1991, 72), and the retention of castle-dominated estates in demesne reflects this well. For instance, when the administrative centre of the eastern part of the Honour shifted from Kippax to Barwick-in-Elmet in the twelfth century (see Chapter 4), land in the immediate hinterland of the hill-top site at Hillum, Barnbow and Seacroft was acquired by the de Lacy lords from c. 1144 as an act of seigneurial policy in order to create a complementary demesne estate around the hub of Barwick (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 257). A similar process may have occurred in the late eleventh century at Almondbury; here the argument is strengthened further by the downgrading and decline of Almondbury as an administrative centre as a direct result of the early-thirteenth-century sub-infeudation of many of the Colne valley demesne estates that were the site's original *raison d'être*, although Almondbury township was itself retained in demesne (*ibid.*, 251, 302; see also Chapter 10).

Count Alan's fee and the Honour of Richmond (Fig. 5.4)

The strategic significance of the block of territory forming the Honour of Richmond, occupying the entire western portion of the North Riding, has been long recognised. Straddling the key border territory south of the Tees, and stretching from the Pennines in the west to the Wiske in the east, Richmondshire covered the key route of approach from the north to the Vale of York and thence lowland England. Two arterial routes of communication on the line of Roman roads ran through the territory: the Great North Road leading north to Corbridge, and the pivotal crossing of the Pennines through Stainmore to Carlisle. Under *terra Alani comitis*, Domesday records that the Breton, Count Alan (the Red) was in possession of a lordship comprising 199 manors and a further 43 outlying holdings (i, 309a). In addition to its key border location, Richmond was one of the longest surviving of the great Domesday fees, retaining its territorial integrity until 1399 (Mason 1968, 704).

Butler (1992, 70) has emphasised through an examination of twelfth- and thirteenth-century lists of knights fees that the Honour was in administrative terms a coherent unit welded together via a closely integrated network of enfeoffment and military service; he further attempted to correlate the situations of undocumented earthwork castles within the Honour with documented land holders (*ibid.*, 73-74). As such, his arguments make an immense leap of faith in a brave, yet ultimately unsustainable attempt to marry historical and archaeological data. For instance, how may we be sure that the motte and bailey at Killerby (*Catterick II*) was raised under the orders of Scolland c. 1120-25 as opposed to a fortification occupied by a retainer or bailiff in the late eleventh century? (Butler 1992, 73; see also L'Anson 1913, 359). What is essential is that we recognise such a site as an essentially secondary element within a concerted programme of estate fortification as opposed to a temporary, military site. Rather than attempting to pin the origins of individual castles to individual builders, two general points of interest emerge in analysis of the Honour and its early castle; first, the evident hierarchy of castle sites within the territory, and second, the relationship between the pre- and post-Conquest administrative geography of the Honour.

Whereas the Honours discussed above were essentially Norman creations, an examination of Count Alan's holdings shows a degree of territorial continuity either side of the Conquest. The name 'Richmondshire' is itself indicative of an earlier unit of land-holding (cf. Hallamshire, S. Yorks.: Hey 1979, 26-29); given the Norman nomenclature of the first element, this may well represent a re-naming of pre-Conquest Gillingshire (Palliser 1992, 25). The indications are that the lands of Earl Edwin, later forming the basis of Alan's estates, were focused in the immediate pre-Conquest period upon Gilling, a probable monastic site on the moor-edge to the north, and Catterick in the Vale of York to the east. Unlike Richmond itself (concealed within the entry for *Hindrelag*: see Chapter 8), both were held by Edwin in 1066 and retained in lordship by Count Alan in 1086 (Butler 1992, 69-70). As with *Laughton-en-le-Morthen*, S. Yorks., the importance of Gilling as an early focus of administration is indicated by its position in Domesday at the head of Alan's demesne manors (i, 309a). The Norman reaction to this administrative

framework was a gravitational shift in estate centre to a single pre-eminent focus, the *caput* at Richmond combining castle, monastery and borough; that Gilling remained unfortified is an indication that it was supplanted entirely as an administrative focus by Richmond. The seigneurial decision to relocate from Catterick/Gilling to Richmond is often explained in military terms alone, siting the castle on a rocky promontory above the Swale in a classic defensive position (e.g. L'Anson 1913, 375); indeed a fifteenth-century register of the Honour of Richmond makes specific, albeit retrospective, mention that the Earl Alan's castle was sited here for reasons of security in the period of intense political uncertainty following the events of 1070-71 (Brown 1989, 198). Yet analysis of the growth of Richmond as an economic centre recommends that economic concerns were of equal, perhaps greater, significance in the choice of honorial *capita*, as indicated in the foundation of an early dependant borough (see Chapter 8).

Alongside Richmond, the former administrative focus of *Catterick* was fortified by the construction of a motte and bailey at Palet Hill, the bailey embracing St. Anne's church - presumably the church mentioned in Domesday (i, 310c). Catterick was evidently an important centre at the Conquest (Wilson *et al.* 1996, 1-2); with a documented background as a seventh and eighth century *villa regia*, and by 1066 the second largest manor in Richmondshire (valued, with three outliers at £8 in 1066 and 1086), the fortification is unlikely to be adulterine (contra L'Anson 1913, 340-41). We can also mention the motte at *Pickhill*: when viewed in conjunction with Richmond and Catterick, we see evidence of a deliberate policy of siting early castles as central places within the three Hundreds of the Honour ('Gilling': Richmond; 'Hang': Catterick; and 'Hallikeld': Pickhill). In contrast to the majority of other manors associated with early castles in Richmondshire, these manors were, significantly, retained in demesne - indicating not only the systematic nature of the Conquest and its consolidation, but a broad continuity in administrative geography. In addition to these sites we may draw attention to two further tiers of early castles; those forming the principal residences of sub-tenants and knights and lying on sub-infeuded manors (*Catterick II*; *Kirkby Fleetham*; *Middleham I* and

Ravensworth), and those less substantial fortifications sited for more specific tactical reasons (e.g. *Yafforth* and *Cootherstone*).

We may also examine the siting of early castles within the Honour as a whole. The distribution of early castles relative to Count Alan's lands (Fig. 5.4) demonstrates that the first generation of castles were intended to dominate the agriculturally rich lowland zone of the fee. Here a military/strategic explanation is inappropriate, with castles dominating the pacified Vale of York rather than the troublesome Pennines that were the heartland of anti-Norman unrest; certainly we see nothing of the clustering of mottes on the exposed borders of Anglo-Norman lordships noted in Ireland (McNeill 1997, 68-69). Rather, the settlement of sub-tenants and construction of early castles, as in Ilbert's Honour of Pontefract (see below) went hand in hand. Whether such sites were built under the orders of Count Alan himself or the sub-tenants must remain a moot point; what is essential is that it was in the tenant-in-chief's interests to fortify his enfeoffed estates as a means of delegated asset protection. The colonial settlement of Breton sub-tenants was indicative of a systematic and controlled Norman policy ensuring effective management of agricultural resources; clearly economic sustainability, as much as military security, was the key to retaining social and political control in the north.

THE EAST MIDLANDS

The widely-dispersed character of estates throughout much of the East Midlands in 1086 ensures a less obvious spatial relationship with early castle siting. However, three Yorkshire-based Honours, Holderness, Pontefract and Tickhill, extended significantly into the East Midlands. In particular, land-holding in the northern parts of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Derbyshire can only be understood relative to the aristocratic settlement of Yorkshire; indeed, within the study area, only Leicestershire and Rutland were significantly removed from these northern holdings. However, the southern portions of Yorkshire based Honours remain severely under-studied due to the tendency of regional studies of Norman administrative geography to deal exclusively with the portions of Honours contained within Yorkshire alone (Dalton 1994; English 1979).

Although Holderness formed the key to Drogo's possessions in 1086, a series of more scattered estates lay beyond Yorkshire, in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. However, analysis of Drogo's 1086 estates which concentrates exclusively on Yorkshire (e.g. Dalton 1994, 39-49) fails to demonstrate the strategic significance of these more widely dispersed estates, and in particular, the relationship between these holdings and castle siting. Drogo held 24 Lincolnshire estates in 1086, including major holdings at Barrow-upon-Humber and Carlton le Moorland, with the gravitational centre at West (Castle) Bytham (Fig. 5.3). According to Domesday, West Bytham was a valuable manor of Morcar in 1066; worth £19 10s, and retained in demesne by Drogo (i, 360d). Seven *francigenae* with two ploughs are also mentioned: although translated literally as 'Frenchmen', Stenton argues that the term may have connotations of "sergeants and household officers" (1932, 144). The evidence suggests a small community associated with the running of a castle here in 1086; the parallel of *Belvoir, Leics.* (see below) is instructive. Indeed, empirical analysis of the distribution of Leicestershire 'Frenchmen' in 1086 demonstrates a notable correlation. Of the total of seventeen manors containing Frenchmen, eleven are in the hands of three tenants-in-chief (Hugh Grantmesnil, Robert de Toden and Robert de Vessey), and four manors are associated with the earthworks of early mottes (Bottesford (*Belvoir*), *Gilmorton*, *Ingarsby* and *Kibworth Harcourt*). The latter three mottes are of identical dimension (see Chapter 4), and it seems likely, if ultimately unprovable, that the sites were the seats of early groups of colonist sub-tenants, introduced to cultivate the demesne of appropriated estates.

In addition, the early castle sites at *Paullholme II*, and *Barrow-upon-Humber, Humbs., Lincs.* lay respectively within Drogo's estates on the north and south banks of the Humber and seem complementary elements within the late-eleventh-century fortification of Drogo's estates. Le Patourel (1971, 15), however, states that this constitutes poor military sense in light of events in York, where two complementary sites either side of the Ouse were militarily ineffective in the face of Danish threat. In addition, Palliser gives the absence of a compact block of estates on the southern bank of the Humber estuary as an

argument against Drogo's Holderness estates being to counter a Danish threat (1992, 33). These arguments perhaps miss the point: the castles on either side of the estuary may have served rather a means of *linking* two portions of an estate which were otherwise isolated from one another by the Humberhead marshes, as opposed to opposing sea-bourne forces, although additional functions as look-out stations cannot be ruled out. Certainly a ferry is recorded here in the later-medieval period (VCH ER Yorks. V 1984, 113), and conceivably one operated in the immediate post-Conquest period. The situation of the motte and bailey at Barrow is indicative of such a function, lying on an island of boulder clay and surrounded by former marshland to overlook water traffic at the mouth of Barrow Haven (Atkins 1983, 193; Loughlin and Miller 1979, 183), and a number of other early castles may have originated in similar fashion (cf. *East Bridgford, Notts.* and *Whitwood, W. Yorks.*).

In Nottinghamshire two sites appear early fortifications on an outlying part of the Honour of Tickhill. De Busli's key administrative centre in the south of the county was the motte at *Lowdham*, lying on a demesne de Lacy manor north of the Trent (i, 285d). Although the present field monument comprises a bailey-less motte only, the site was undoubtedly a seigneurial residence as opposed to an impermanent fortification (excavations demonstrate occupation into the fourteenth century: see Gazetteer), and the site may not have become disused until the adjacent manorial site of Lowdham Old Hall was built. The small motte and bailey at *East Bridgford* similarly occupied a demesne holding (i, 286b). Elevated above an important ferry crossing over the Trent (Ashikaga 1996, 77; VCH Notts. II 1910, 17), the fortification served to link de Busli's outlying estates south of the river with Lowdham and thence his more major holdings to the north.

Compact 1086 Estates and Early Castles: Belvoir and Hallaton (Fig. 5.5)

The remarkably well preserved early castle earthworks at Hallaton - the epitome of what is accepted commonly as the 'classic' motte and bailey - has consistently deflected attention away from any understanding of the site in the context of its surrounding landscape (cf. Cantor 1978, 54). The isolated position of the castle relative to settlement,

combined with the fact that the defences were never rebuilt in stone has led to the suggestion that Hallaton was adulterine (Hoskins 1970, 55; VCH Leics. V 1964, 121). This interpretation views the site as little more than an impermanent seigneurial bolt-hole, with little importance as a focus for estate management. However, a review of available data instead interprets Hallaton as a locally important seat of early Norman lordship linked to local land-holding patterns.

The motte and bailey was clearly sited with immediate reference to local communications routes; it immediately overlooks the 'Old Leicester Way' to the north, a hollow way formerly an arterial route of communication between Leicester and the Hallaton/Medbourne area (Liddle 1983, 15). Early excavations on the castle site provided clear evidence of metalworking within the bailey in the form of slag, unfinished iron artefacts and possible furnace sites (see Gazetteer); here the bailey seems to have functioned, at least in part, as a place to concentrate and control key industrial processing, and the broken ground to the north may indicate the former area of mining (Hoskins 1970, 55). The existence of a rectangular earthwork enclosure to the north provides hints of a manorial function to the site; this feature, clearly non-defensive and probably agricultural in nature, parallels closely the manorial paddocks known from DMVs in the region.

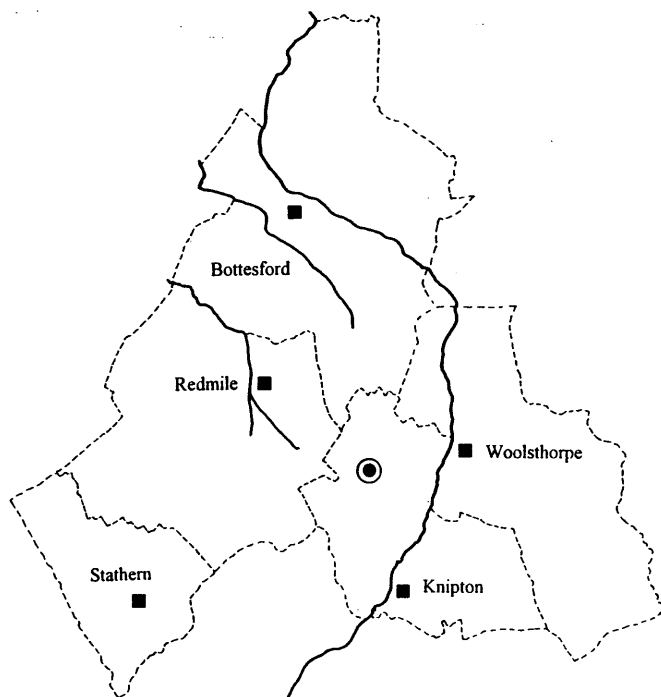
In 1086 Hallaton was part of a remarkably compact estate comprising Hallaton, Goadby, Keythorpe, Billeston and Rolleston (i, 235b), controlled by the great magnate Geoffrey Alselin and sub-infeuded to Norman (VCH Leics. V 1964, 121-23). The basis of Alselins's 1086 estate appears to have come through the Conquest essentially intact - although in 1066 it formerly included Tugby and Enderby, and analysis of parochial topography recommends that Allextun and Skeffington may have formerly been included, both lying south-west of the Eye Brook (Fig. 5.5). The pre-Conquest owner of the estate was the Saxon Toki, perhaps recalled in the likely pre-Conquest centre of Tugby, upon which Keythorpe and East Norton are dependent ecclesiastically (Bourne 1988, 13-14; Hoskins 1957, 8-11).

In addition, the descent of the manor of Hallaton provides only a limited historical context for the motte and bailey. If, as seems likely, it functioned as an administrative centre within Alselin's compact estate, the site must have been founded before or immediately after 1086. Alselin's lands were subsumed within the Peveril estate shortly after Domesday, before Hallaton eventually escheated to the Crown following forfeit in 1155 (VCH Leics. V 1964, 121). Overall, the political geography of the Hallaton in the immediate post-Conquest period provides a more convincing historical setting for the castle than the political turmoil of the Anarchy.

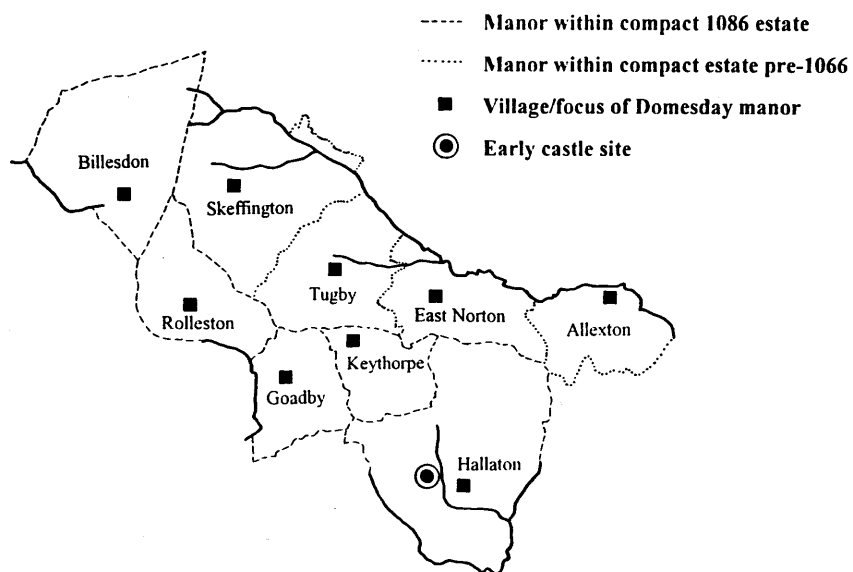
Within the context of conjectured estate topography, the Hallaton motte and bailey likely reflects the relocation of lordship to the most appropriate site within the geographical constraints of a compact block of manors - a defensible and dominant location within the local communication network. Such a compromise in site may well be a direct reflection of a small, compact fee maintaining a single site of lordship. Prior to the Conquest, Hallaton occupied a peripheral position within the estate, as reflected by the place-name - 'corner of land' (Bourne 1988, 13). Upon the Conquest, the former administrative focus of Tugby was retained by the Crown, and carved from the estate to become part of the soke of Rothley, an area set aside as a royal hunting preserve (Hoskins 1957, 8-11; Squires 1995, 94). The Conquest thus to have conditioned a major shift within the administrative geography of the area.

Viewing the consequences of these changes at a reduced scale of analysis, a settlement on the site of the present village of Hallaton clearly existed by 1086, as indicated by the pre-Conquest grave-slabs in the churchyard (Leics. SMR: No. SP 79 NE AS). The position of the motte and bailey reflects a physical stand-off between lord and community in the immediate wake of the Conquest, the castle overlooking rather than overawing a Saxo-Norman population, and representing an alternative mode of early Norman rural castle siting to direct imposition at the heart of a community, as elsewhere in Leicestershire (e.g. *Earl Shilton*: see Chapter 6).

It is commonly suggested that the motte and bailey at *Belvoir, Leics.*, later the basis of an important Leicestershire barony (Sanders 1960, 12), was raised *c.* 1088 (Cantor 1978, 53). However, analysis of Domesday provides circumstantial evidence that the castle - and more importantly the garrison arrangements that supported it - were already in position by 1086. The eleventh-century development of Belvoir is however obscure, due to its absence from Domesday, leading Nichols (II 1795, 22-23) to suppose that the place only gained significance post-Conquest. Yet, the pattern of Domesday land-holding in the surrounding manors is instructive; essentially, Belvoir lay at the heart of a small yet compact estate retained in demesne by Robert de Toden, a standard-bearer of the Conqueror. In Leicestershire the manor of Bottesford and its dependencies of Redmile and Knipton surround the castle, whilst Stathern is appended to the south-west (Domesday i, 233d-234a). In addition, the Lincolnshire Domesday records that Woolsthorpe, flanking Belvoir to the east, was in the hands of de Toden (i, 353b). We thus have an interesting compact estate with the castle as its gravitational centre. Although unclear whether redistribution of land in this manner was intended specifically to support a castle, or the castle planted at the core of a block of granted lands, two further points are of interest. First, Round (1910, 508-10) has suggested that a group of ten *francigenae* in the neighbouring Domesday manor of Bottesford may indicate the deliberate settlement of a body of retainers (cf. *Castle Bytham, Lincs.*). Second, whilst uncertainties must remain about pre-Conquest tenure, particularly at Bottesford, where four Saxon thegns are mentioned in association with six of de Toden's Leicestershire manors, the entire estate, including Woolsthorpe, appears to have been in the hands of the Saxon Leofric pre-Conquest. Considering that Leofric held considerable estates in the region in 1066, with a territorial basis in the West Midlands (Phythian-Adams 1988, 20), and comparing this to de Toden's more limited power base in 1086, we can draw limited support for Nichols's thesis that Belvoir is indeed a fortification on a hitherto unoccupied site - although the centre of local pre-Conquest administrative authority in the locality must remain obscure (see also Chapter 8). What is important is that the parochial topography of several parishes/manors dispersed around Belvoir in the manner of 'spokes of a wheel' is an entirely post-Conquest creation, relating to the foundation of a castle



Robert de Toden's compact 1086 estate, Belvoir, Leics.



Geoffrey Alselin's compact 1086 estate, Hallaton, Leics.

0 10km

A scale bar showing a distance of 10km, with a 0 mark at the start. To the right of the scale bar is a north arrow pointing upwards, labeled with 'N'.

Fig. 5.5: Relationship between compact 1086 estates in Leicestershire and the siting of early castles at Belvoir and Hallaton.

and associated borough on a green-field site at the junction of pre-existing units; the present parish of Belvoir being carved from earlier entities commensurate with a recasting of the multiple estate, as opposed to representing a focus of pre-Conquest administrative power.

CONCLUSIONS

What is abundantly clear is that early castles within the study area were not founded as elements within a centrally co-ordinated scheme of national defence and Norman suppression, as advocated by Beeler (1956); rather, the evidence supports Painter's thesis (1935, 130-132) that the military, political and economic interests of the Norman monarchy and major magnates were indivisible in the late eleventh century. It has been emphasised that any individual castle was suspended within a web of teneurial relationships, and ultimately one component within a hierarchy of castle sites ranging from instruments of royal suppression (e.g. *York*), to impermanent fortifications securing the possessions of petty sub-tenants (e.g. *Hallaton*). Le Patourel (1974, 28-48) has argued that the Norman Conquest comprised two phases; military action and colonisation. An examination of the relationship between castle and land-holding in the immediate post-Conquest period suggests, in fact, that the castle had a more significant rôle in the latter than the former.

We must conclude, however, somewhat depressingly, that archaeology can have only a limited rôle in relating undocumented castle sites to their functions as estate centres. The future excavation of castle baileys may indicate that such sites often had mundane lives as everyday centres of estate administration, as indicated by artifact inventories (e.g. *Goltho, Lincs.* and *Castle Sandal, W. Yorks.*: see Chapter 3). However, relating individual sites to specific circumstances of ownership remains intensely problematic. For instance, it is difficult to envisage how current archaeological techniques could never reveal whether the powerful motte and bailey at Bradfield emerged as a late-eleventh-century fortification under de Busli lordship, or the de Lovetots in the early twelfth century. The aceramic nature and artefactual sterility of comparable early castles within the region, as

demonstrated through excavation (e.g. *Doncaster, S. Yorks.* and *Bakewell, Derbys.*), makes it unlikely that we will attain the chronological precision necessary to answer such hypotheses through archaeology. Hence, topographical observation, combined with detailed scrutiny of documentary sources, currently represents the most appropriate way forward.

CHAPTER SIX

POWER, PARISH AND PATRONAGE: CASTLE-CHURCH RELATIONSHIPS

CASTLES, CHURCHES AND LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY

This chapter addresses the complementary rôle of castle and church in the socio-political context of the Norman Conquest and its immediate aftermath. An empirical analysis of church-castle association across the study area precedes detailed scrutiny of the chronological and morphological dimensions to the relationship. A number of case-studies are subsequently used to examine the social and ideological factors which underlay the association.

The links between church and castle foundation imply interplay between institutions which have been termed the "twin pillars of feudal lordship" (Brown 1989, 147). Indeed, the acts of church and castle foundation have a number of essential features in common: both require complex decisions of site and a substantial investment of labour, resources and time. Furthermore, once founded, both institutions were also forms of Norman social control. If the structure of an early castle is itself an expression of conspicuous consumption, then explicit association with a parish church could only serve to strengthen the powerful social signals inherent in castle foundation, thus emphasising the rôle of the early castle in the seizure and maintenance of social control. In this sense, two essential factors underlie the association of castle and church: first, a continuation of the same benefits that would underlie association between a high status seat of residence and proprietary church in the pre-Conquest period; and, second, the Norman desire to appropriate churches as an act of conquest.

From the perspective of re-integrating both institutions within their contemporary landscapes, Pounds sees an underlying link wherein the intense wave of castle building in the immediate wake of the Conquest occurred at approximately the same time as the parochial framework of England was crystallising (1990, 222-23). In a small number of cases parishes certainly appear to have been carved *de novo* from earlier administrative entities as a direct result of castle foundation. The most extreme demonstration of this process is the planning of Norman castle boroughs such as *Belvoir, Leics.*, or *Castle Carlton, Lincs.* on essentially greenfield sites in order to attract populations requiring new churches, and by extension the associated creation of parishes. Although the precise numbers of rural churches in existence by 1066 is a matter for debate (Morris 1985, 49-55), in the majority of cases, castles were imposed within, and usually sited with explicit reference to, an extant parochial framework. Thus, rather than the foundation of church-castle-parish representing a single, unified event, we can rather demonstrate a suite of different Norman responses to existing parish topography.

The relationship between castles and churches is a theme often alluded to, both in literature concerning the archaeology of churches (Morris 1989, 248) and castle studies (Pounds 1990, 224), as well as regional archaeological survey (cf. VCH Yorks. II 1912, 20; Bu'Lock 1970). The juxtaposition of both features in close proximity is common (see Plates 3 and 4), yet these linkages remain to be examined empirically, and the full social significance of the interrelationship awaits analysis. Nonetheless, studies from northern Europe illustrate potential: Le Mayo (1976) has demonstrated how almost 50% of all eleventh- and twelfth-century earthwork castles in the Grand Caux peninsula, Normandy, lie within 500m of a church, with a clear implication of linked histories.

The study of castle-church relationships thus has two essential contributions to a wider understanding of the rôle and impact of the castle in medieval landscapes. First, in morphological terms the spatial relationship between the church, castle and other units of medieval topography, can provide a key into unravelling medieval settlement histories, and in many instances may provide a crude date for a plan element (Roberts 1990, 120; 1992, 19-20). This mode of analysis - viewing churches as a 'tool' to address other, wider

questions of settlement morphogenesis - is addressed separately within the individual chapters dealing with settlement (Chapters 7-10). Second, castle-church relationships can be studied in their own right, as an integrated and complementary mechanism of social control reflecting upon wider social relationships between seigneur and community. The very existence of a castle-church 'cell' is itself a powerful and deliberately constructed social signal, and in the case of many early castles, spatial analysis of these relationships may serve to refine our understanding of the Norman Conquest and its aftermath at the level of the rural parish.

In terms of academic discourse, the 'landscape archaeology' of churches is comparatively advanced relative to the state of research in castle studies (Morris 1989) - a recent review stating that it is increasingly the settings of churches rather than the buildings themselves that deserve archaeological attention (Rodwell 1996, 198). Yet substantial academic common ground undoubtedly exists; most importantly the continuing debate within ecclesiastical studies over the pre-/post- Conquest 'coming of the Romanesque' finds a direct parallel in the key debate within castle studies over castle origins. Traditional perceptions of the castle as an explicitly Norman institution introduced through the medium of conquest, as advanced by Armitage (1912), Brown (1987) and others have, until recently, stood in stark contrast to the perceived stylistic continuity of the Romanesque either side of 1066 (Coulson 1996, 173). More recently, however, attitudes within castle studies have aligned remarkably along the latter lines; in many ways usage of the term 'Saxo-Norman' with regard to mid- to late-eleventh-century ecclesiastical architecture echoes closely terms such as 'proto-castle' used within contemporary castle studies (compare Barker and Higham 1992, 36-38; Gem 1988, 21-22). The key point for landscape analysis is that, as institutions, both the Romanesque church and early castle had a degree of pre-Conquest ancestry within Britain; it is consequently the Norman reaction to *existing* ecclesiastical and manorial topography which becomes increasingly of interest as opposed to the wholesale imposition of architectural styles and fortifications that were entirely alien and culturally distinct.

THE CASTLE CHAPEL

This neglect of castle-church relationships stands in contrast to the study of castle chapels. These are relatively well understood, due largely to the often well-preserved architectural evidence of an east window or *piscina*, which serve to identify them within masonry castles, whilst documentary evidence, particularly for castles in royal ownership is often informative (Colvin *et al.* 1963). Although the current archaeological data set relating to castle chapels is synthesised adequately elsewhere (Kenyon 1990, 151-57) and the historical material well summarised (Pounds 1990, 224-31), two wider themes remain under-studied and demand the attention of a study of castles in their landscapes: first, the social significance of differential religious provision between castle and community, and second the instances where the castle chapel grew to assume the functions of parish church.

A small number of early castles in the study area demonstrate evidence of free-standing buildings in the courtyards or baileys, whilst a greater number of (predominantly later) castles incorporated chapels structurally into larger masonry features including towers and keeps. Fig. 6.1 summarises cases where archaeological or documentary evidence of a castle chapel is unequivocal.

Evidence for the first category is relatively scarce due to a higher probability of subsequent destruction through continuous occupation or settlement encroachment, often meaning that evidence can only be recovered archaeologically, and the phenomenon is thus under-represented in the archaeological record. At *Sandal, W. Yorks.*, documentary evidence mentions chaplains serving an oratory of St. Nicholas in the castle in addition to a chantry in the parish church in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Mayes and Butler 1983, 5). Despite the assertion that no chapel-like structure was identified in the bailey (Kenyon 1990, 155), Building T probably fulfilled this function (Mayes and Butler 1983, 79), and finds from the barbican ditch - most notably the probable carved base of a stone altar, and fragments of fourteenth-century painted glass (*ibid.*, 289, 318) - seem to substantiate this. This chapel and its position relative to domestic accommodation in the

bailey appear to mirror a parallel arrangement with regard to a second chapel in the keep; the keep chapel and accommodation providing for the castle lord, and the bailey arrangement for guests.

Other excavations provide an indication of the ephemeral nature of such structures. At Hen Domen, the identification of Building IX as a castle chapel remains problematic, and relies largely on the recovery of a limestone holy water stoup from an associated post-hole (Barker 1987, 53), despite the puzzling north-south orientation of the structure (Barker and Higham 1982, Fig. 43). The argument that the underlying timber structures may, by extension, be earlier chapels (*ibid.*, 38) must remain tentative in the extreme. At Pleshey, Essex, the identification of a chapel in the castle bailey can be made more confidently (Williams 1977), although it is only by conjecture that the two structures on the same site antedating it can be seen as earlier chapels.

In Yorkshire, the second category of chapels incorporated into wider structures includes examples at *Conisbrough, S. Yorks.* (on the first floor of the keep); *Helmsley* (chapel incorporated into keep); *Middleham I, N. Yorks.* (within a tower on the side of the keep). In contrast, the chapels at *Richmond, N. Yorks.* were contained as peripheral structures associated with the curtain wall. In many such examples, the position of castle chapels indicates limited access and extreme exclusiveness of interest to what McNeill (1992, 23) has usefully termed the 'inner core' of the castle household. Significantly, the links between castles and parish churches embody many of the same themes: access to religious provision for the wider community was often dominated by the castle, providing a vivid reminder of seigneurial patronage. Indeed, any fixed classification of castle chapels and castle churches is ultimately deficient as it ignores that several parish churches closely associated with castles may equally have originated in proprietary capacity as a castle chapels (e.g. *Essendine, Rutland*: see below).

However, the growing sophistication of domestic castle planning from the beginning of the thirteenth century ensured that chapels became increasingly privatised institutions, reflecting the observation that it is often the more infrequent social activities which

become disproportionately formalised in building plans (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 235), and exemplified through spatial analysis of castle plans (e.g. *Castle Bolton, N. Yorks.*: Faulkner 1963). As such, the growing privatisation of 'spiritual space' within domestic castle planning is a direct manifestation of the withdrawal of increasingly aloof castle lords from the community (Fairclough 1992, 362-64; McNeill 1992, 51-53). What is essential here is that this trend was matched by progressive erosion of seigniorial rights over parish churches, including proprietary customs and hereditary priesthoods (Platt 1978, 25-26). Together, the two processes indicate a divergence of traditions from the later eleventh century, when parish church and proprietary castle chapel may have been indistinguishable in certain cases, to a fragmentation of, on the one hand, internalised castle chapels, and, on the other, the transferral of churches into the hands of monastic houses. The transferral of All Saints, (*Skipsea, Humbs., Yorks.*), documented as the 'church of the castle', to the monastery at Albermale by Stephen, Earl of Albermale c. 1098-1102 may be typical of this process (L'Anson 1897, 258; see Plate 3), as may the grant of the church and tithes of *Aldbrough, Humbs., Yorks.* to the same institution in 1115 (English 1979, 9, 136). A similar sequence is in evidence at *Kingerby, Lincs.*, where the advowson of St. Andrew's - again closely juxtaposed with early castle - was granted by the Amunderville lords to the Priory at Elsham c. 1166 (Everson *et al.* 1991, 147; VCH Lincs. II 1906, 171).

Whilst the changing religious sensibilities of the eleventh century dictated that a castle seigneur could no longer hope to control parish churches outright, the provision of a priest for a personal castle chapel provided a mechanism for ensuring exclusive status, whilst at another level, the fact that castle chapels were commonly served by representatives of monastic communities, hints at another type of integration between the inner core of the castle and outlying community.

County	Site Name	Location	Notes
Leics.	Leicester	St. Mary de Castro lies centrally within the bailey of the early castle	Fragments of a Norman church are incorporated in the rebuilding of c. 1150
Leics.	Sauvey	Documentary evidence only	The chapel was of wooden construction, using timber from Rockingham Forest in 1244 (Colvin <i>et al.</i> 1963, 829)
Lincs.	Lincoln	The chapel stood in the complex of residential buildings within the bailey	Royal expenditure on a castle chapel is recorded in 1269-70 and again in the early 14th century (Colvin <i>et al.</i> 1963, 705)
Lincs.	Thonock	A chapel may have been enclosed within the southern bailey	The enclosure is recorded in the 19th century as 'White Chapel Garth', and masonry has been recovered from within
Notts.	Nottingham	The Chapel of St. Nicholas was contained within the keep. Separate private chapels were incorporated within the king's and queen's chambers within the bailey	The chapel was in existence by 1195 when repaired; windows were inserted in 1237-38 (Colvin <i>et al.</i> 1963, 757-58). A minimum of two additional chapels were in existence before 1237-38 when repaired (<i>ibid</i>)
S. Yorks.	Conisbrough	A chapel was incorporated into the south-east buttress of the keep at second storey level; a second chapel-like structure was appended to the curtain immediately east of the gate passage	Architecturally the chapel is contemporary with the keep - the endowment of a priest in 1201 by Hamelin Plantaganet and his wife must thus relate to this structure. Of the later casemate structure, excavations recovered a <i>piscina</i> and altar from the building - built against the curtain in the late 13th century (Johnson 1980, 81)
N. Yorks.	Helmsley	The chapel was free-standing, within the inner ward	The chapel was dedicated in 1246 (Illingworth 1938, 49)
N. Yorks.	Kilton	The first-floor chapel appended to the great hall against the north curtain	The chapel is architecturally early 13th century in date.
N. Yorks.	Middleham	Both chapels are incorporated within the keep	A small chapel is contained in the first floor of the keep, and a larger (successor?) in the second storey of the three-storey tower built in the late 13th century against the keep
N. Yorks.	Pickering	The chapel stands adjacent to the Great Hall	Architecturally the earliest parts of the chapel are 13th century.
N. Yorks.	Ravensworth	The chapel is incorporated structurally within the south-east range of internal buildings	The foundation of a chantry of St. Giles in 1467 was a re-foundation; only a the 'belfry tower' adjacent to the chapel survives as a standing structure (Ryder 1979, 95-96)
N. Yorks.	Richmond	Three chapels are known: St. Nicholas's lies in the ground floor of a tower on the east curtain, the Great Chapel was appended on to the west curtain, and a first floor chapel is incorporated within a service range adjacent to Scolland's Hall	The church of the Holy Trinity may also have begun life as a castle chapel, as it lay within the projected line of a semi-circular outer ward
N. Yorks.	Scarborough	The chapel of Our Lady lies against the natural slopes marking the eastern limit of the inner ward	The chapel was a 12th-century structure built on a pre-Conquest cell
N. Yorks.	Skelton	Documentary evidence only	-
N. Yorks.	Skipton	Documentary evidence only	The chapel may have lain within the inner ward (see Renn 1974, 173)
W. Yorks.	Pontefract	The chapel was free-standing, within the bailey	The Chapel of St. Clement was originally a two-celled structure, to which an apse was added in the 13th century
W. Yorks.	Castle Sandal	Documentary evidence only	Whilst excavations have recovered stained glass from the bailey area, the location of the presumed chapel remains obscure.

Fig. 6.1: Castle chapels associated with early castles

CASTLE AND CHURCH: MORPHOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Morphological relationships between castles and churches have been analysed employing a uniform classificatory scheme across the study area, in addition to the gathering of other essential structural architectural/archaeological data. In essence, the spatial relationship between castle and medieval parish church can be defined in terms of four categories: (i) Integrated (*Integ.*) - the church is integrated within the castle or its outer defences; (ii) Adjacent (*Adjac.*) - castle and church are adjacent (usually the churchyard and castle share a common boundary); (iii) Vicinity (*Vicin.*) - the church is within 500m of the castle; (iv) Remote (*Rem.*) - the church is over 500m from the castle. For categories (i) and (ii), any evidence for pre-Conquest origins to the church was also noted, whether through documentary (including Domesday), structural, sculptural (including tombstones and crosses), or archaeological evidence.

The data are summarised in graphical form (Fig. 6.2), and as distribution maps (Figs. 6.3 and 6.4). One trend is of overall relevance to the field archaeology of early castles: a notably higher proportion of possible early castles as opposed to confirmed early castles can be defined as isolated from the parish churches (37% compared to 42%), reflecting both the potential mis-identification of other isolated earthworks as castles, and the continuum between isolated moated manorial sites and mottes characteristic of lowland non-nucleated landscapes.

This classificatory approach adopts necessarily arbitrary criteria and inevitably has weaknesses. Some are more obvious and technical, such as problems in defining whether a church lies within conjectural outer defences which do not physically survive into the present landscape record (e.g. *Healaugh, N. Yorks.*, where both occupy a natural eminence yet positive evidence of church enclosure is lacking: Plate 4), or whether a castle and church separated by a road can be categorised as 'adjacent' (e.g. *Castle Bolton, N. Yorks.*). Other problems are less obvious, such as the danger of imposing a uniform criterion of castle-church association irrespective of wider regional settlement patterns. Other sites fall outside any classificatory scheme: the example of *Fraisthorpe*,

Humbs., Yorks. is unique in that a small thirteenth-century chapel is raised on an artificially-scarped motte-like eminence, whose medieval credentials are heightened by the motte's position on the fringe of extensive SMV earthworks (see Chapter 10). Nonetheless, the scheme serves as an effective key into exploring the essential social and ideological relationships which lay behind the morphological reality of castle-church association.

The most instructive associations between castle and church are those where the two institutions are integrated or physically juxtaposed within the landscape. The closest physical relationship exists where the parish church is embraced within the castle defences (Fig. 6.5). In certain cases the churchyard fossilises the alignment of bailey defences which are fully or partially eroded (e.g. *Earl Shilton, Leics.* and *Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs.*). A key point here is that the churches - if they indeed co-existed functionally with the castle in some form - would have occupied considerably less space in their eleventh- and twelfth-century forms. In the majority of cases burial rights would only be acquired after the castle had become disused, a consequent result being the wholesale later and post-medieval disruption of bailey archaeology. Many of these small, early churches within bailey enclosures may have been intended to serve the lord and his immediate family only, and the tower may have some significance in reflecting the status of the site, as seems likely at a number of important Anglo-Saxon churches associated with private *burhs* including Barton-upon-Humber, Lincs. and Earl's Barton, Northants. (Williams 1992, 234-35; Audouy *et al.* 1995, 87-90).

In other cases topographical evidence can suggest - but not confirm - that the churchyard perpetuates the bailey defences (e.g. *Catterick, N. Yorks.*, *Hope, Derbys.*, *Kildale, N. Yorks.* and *Shawell, Leics.*). In the case of Shawell, a low earthen causeway may mark the point of interface, whilst the motte ditch extends to align with the churchyard in a manner suggestive of linkage. Shawell raises another question: whilst this study accepts the earthwork as a motte, the suggestion has been made that it may have originated as a bell-barrow (VCH Leics. I 1907, 275), which may or may not have formed the nucleus of the motte. At Catterick, the argument for Palet Hill (*Catterick I, N. Yorks.*) being a motte as

opposed to a barrow (as sometimes claimed) can be made with the supporting evidence that the raised churchyard appears to fossilise the perimeter of a triangular bailey (L'Anson 1913, 340-41). These examples imply a range of possible scenarios including a direct link between church foundation and the proximity of a barrow, which is by no means unknown elsewhere (Morris 1989, 40-41). In such cases it is thus possible that the spatial association of castle *site* and church may be longer lived; a parallel example of a disputed motte/barrow in a churchyard exists at Ryton, Co. Durham (Young 1980, 10). In the case of Kildale, the churchyard provides the only physical signs of a probable former bailey, save a shallow depression marking its eastern edge, serving to cast considerable doubt on the interpretation of the site as a medieval manor (Wilson and Hurst 1962-63, 338). At Hope, a curvilinear churchyard is similarly indicative of a bailey enclosure appended linked to the adjacent ringwork, and possibly integrated with the site's wet defences.

The evidence at *Owston Ferry, Lincs.* is less typical in that the churchyard occupies a narrow sector of the former bailey, the church being sited somewhat asymmetrically within the enclosure. Here charter evidence demonstrates a link of patronage in that the Mowbray family installed a family member (Samson d'Aubigny) as priest, as at *Burton-in-Lonsdale, N. Yorks.* and *Egmanton, Notts.* (Greenway 1972, 264; Speight 1994, 63). Whether the church preceded or post-dated the castle site, a key factor emerges: the physical setting of parish church within a castle bailey ensured that access to the church was controlled and 'spiritual space' effectively appropriated. What is significant is that, in social terms the church marked a crucial zone of interface between the seigneurial (private) domain of the motte and bailey and the public (communal) sphere of the village which stretched in linear form beyond the bailey to a medieval ferry crossing of the Trent. The example highlights well the manner in which populations may have had strictly limited access to bailey enclosures. However, this relationship could also be explained in military terms: Cronne (1970, 2) emphasises the defensive potential of a stone-built structure such as a church in an era of earth and timber fortification. A militaristic explanation could see the church forming in effect a 'gatehouse' in the manner of the D-

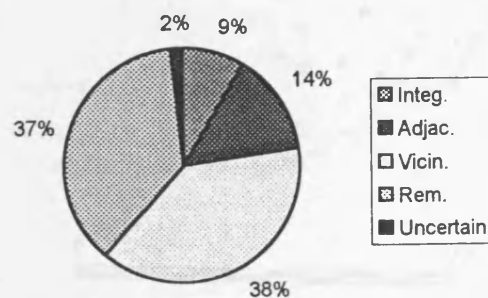
shaped Viking-age fortification at Repton, Derbys. (Biddle 1986, 16). Yet physical evidence recommends otherwise; castle churches (or at least in their later medieval forms) lie predominantly in the centre of bailey enclosures - a notable exception being *Redbourne, Humbs., Lincs.*, where the church of St. Andrew is situated off-centre on the western perimeter of a moated outer ward (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 207). We must also bear in mind the metaphysical aspects of the enclosure of churches within baileys; for instance, Renn (1993, 182) coins the term 'towers of display' in the recognition that many late Saxon churches were badges of secular status as well as ecclesiastical authority, as reflected in the emblematic architecture of their towers. It is thus more likely that we are in the presence of a quite deliberate creation and manipulation of spiritual and lordly space as a means of social control, as opposed to a labour-saving and expedient means of fortification in a time of crisis of uncertainty.

In other cases parish church and early castle are sufficiently close as to suggest that the association is more than coincidence, although topographically churches and castles tended to be situated in similarly prominent positions (Fig. 6.6). At *Bradfield, S. Yorks.* the motte took advantage of a cliff-like slope, ensuring that the defences could not embrace the church (thus accounting for their discontinuous nature). At *Egmanton, Notts.*, *Burton-in-Lonsdale, N. Yorks.* and *Hathersage, Derbys.*, the edges of the castle defences and churchyard are all less than 10m apart, yet there is no indication that the church was enclosed (although churches could have been annexed to castles in a manner which leaves little trace, such as a non-defensive, enclosing precincts). Certainly we should beware of equating present churchyards with their medieval antecessors; in the case of *Hathersage* the present boundaries of the churchyard are demonstrated through excavation to be a post-medieval creation (Gething 1992).

A: Tabulated data

County	EARLY CASTLES						EARLY CASTLES AND POSSIBLE EARLY CASTLES					
	Integ.	Adjac.	Vicin.	Rem.	Uncert.	TOTAL	Integ.	Adjac.	Vicin.	Rem.	Uncert.	TOTAL
Derbys.	0	2	4	9	0	15	0	3	7	13	0	23
Humbs., Li.	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	5
Leics.	2	4	6	5	1	18	2	5	9	6	1	23
Lincs.	1	3	13	6	0	23	1	3	14	8	0	26
Notts.	1	1	6	6	0	14	1	3	9	7	0	20
Rutland	2	0	0	3	0	5	2	0	0	4	0	6
Durham	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	2
Cleveland	1	0	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	3	0	4
Cumbria	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
Humbs., Yo.	0	2	6	4	1	13	0	2	7	8	1	18
Lancs.	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
N. Yorks.	1	11	18	17	0	47	1	13	23	24	0	61
S. Yorks.	3	0	8	4	0	15	3	0	8	9	0	20
W. Yorks.	2	1	5	6	0	14	2	1	6	10	2	21
E. Midlands	7	11	30	30	2	80	7	15	40	39	2	103
Yorkshire	8	14	38	35	1	96	8	16	45	56	3	128
TOTAL	15	25	68	65	3	176	15	31	85	95	5	231

B: Percentages for early castles in the study area



C: Percentages for early castles and possible early castles in the study area

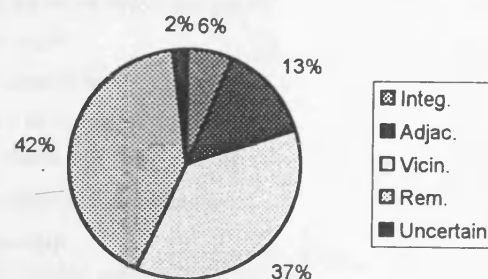
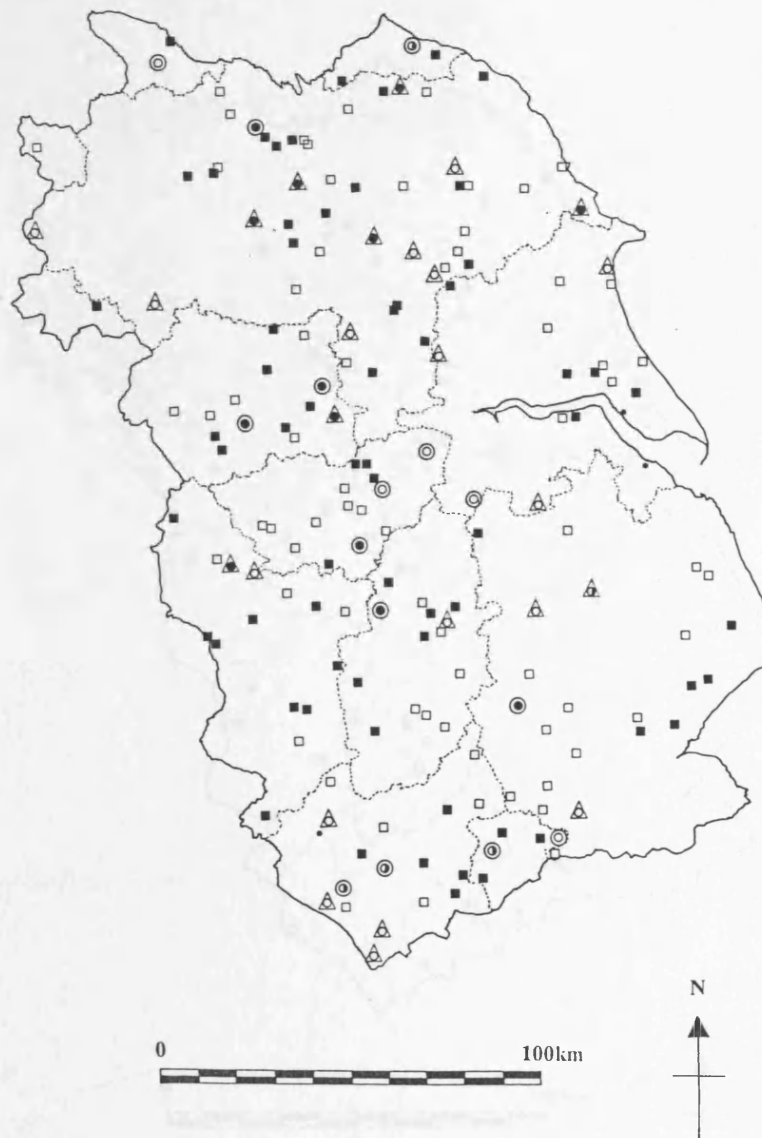


Fig. 6.2: Graphical representation of castle-church relationships in the study area. All graphs classify church-castle relationships into a number of spatial relationships as discussed in the text.

Early Castles and Churches



- Integrated (parish church annexed physically to castle)
- △ Adjacent (castle and parish church juxtaposed)
 - Pre-Conquest church
 - Possible pre-Conquest church
 - No evidence of pre-Conquest church origins
- Vicinity (castle <500m from parish church)
- Isolated (castle >500m from parish church)
- Uncertain relationship

Fig. 6.3: Distribution of key categories of spatial relationship between early castles and churches

Possible Early Castles and Churches

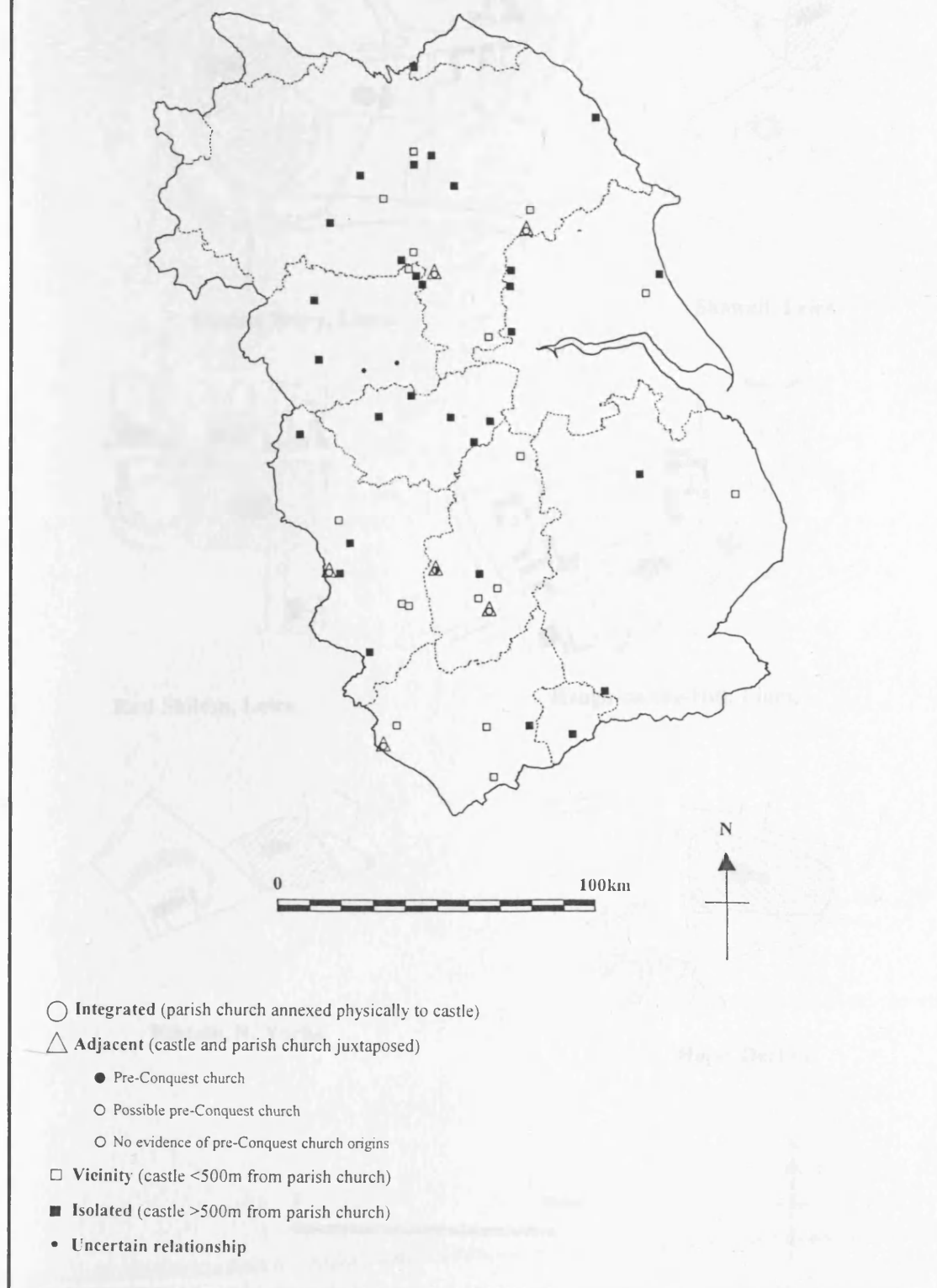


Fig. 6.4: Distribution of key categories of spatial relationship between 'possible' early castles and churches

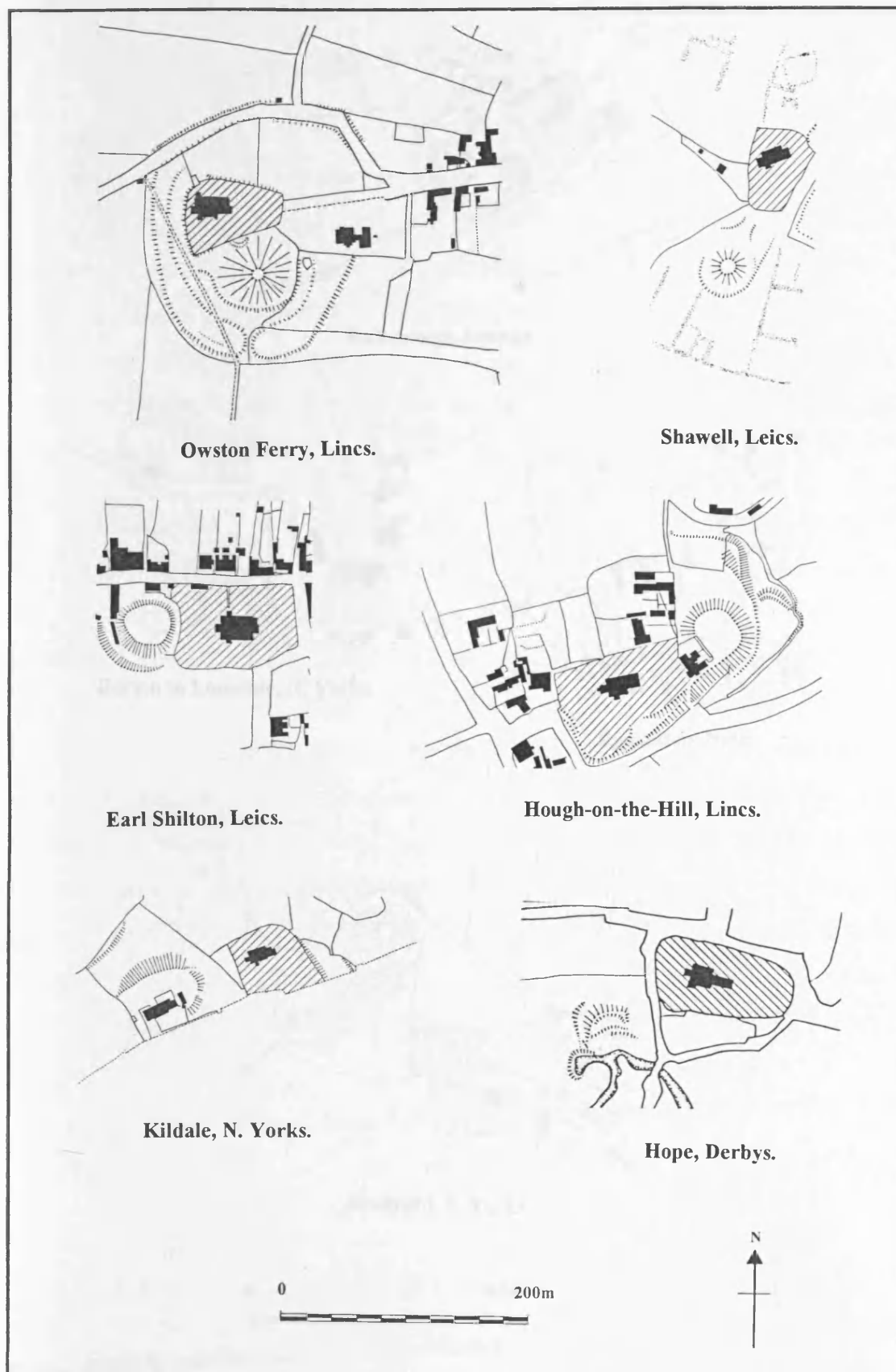


Fig. 6.5: Examples of castle-church relationships where the parish church is enclosed within the outer defences of an early castle site

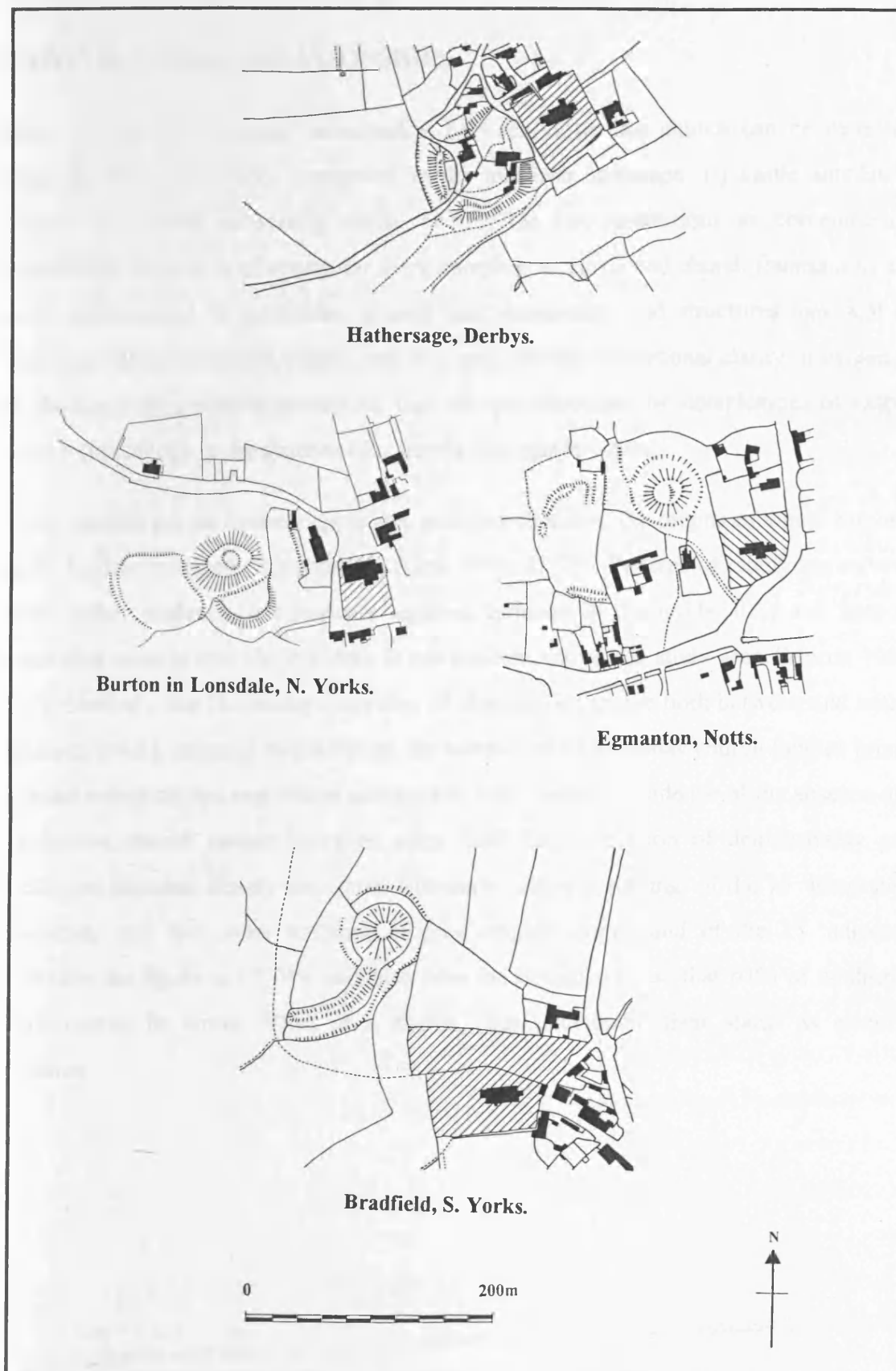


Fig. 6.6: Examples of castle-church relationships where the parish church stands adjacent to an early castle site.

CHRONOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Three distinct chronological relationships between castle and church can be expected when the two are closely juxtaposed in the medieval landscape: (i) castle antedating church; (ii) church antedating castle; or (iii) the two institutions as contemporary foundations. Reality is of course far more complex, as castle and church *foundations* are rarely documented. In particular, present field monuments and structures may seal or destroy evidence of earlier origins, and it is only through exceptional clarity of evidence, or through topographical guesswork that we may elucidate the complexities of castle-church chronology in the absence of coherent documentary data.

These caveats are particularly applicable to minor churches, the origins of which can only rarely be demonstrated with precision (Gem 1988, 23-25). Patterns of rebuilding serve to mask earlier evidence, but intricate regional variation in the mode, date and style of rebuilding ensures that the evidence is not uniform across the study area (Morris 1988, 191). Similarly, the Domesday recording of churches is variable both between and within counties (*ibid.*), meaning that although the mention of a Domesday church (and/or priest) is a fair reflection that one was in existence in 1086, negative evidence of the absence of a Domesday church cannot be relied upon. Still, the proportion of demonstrably pre-Conquest churches closely associated with early castles is striking: of the 15 'integrated' churches, only five show no signs of pre-Conquest origin, and of the 25 'adjacent' churches the figure is 17. We may also note the overall statistic that 61% of confirmed early castles lie within 500m of a church, thus underlining their status as manorial features.

Primary Churches

Pounds has suggested on the basis of a study of castles of the Norman Conquest that "The presence of a parish church within a bailey demonstrates not only that the lord endowed and was at one time the patron of the church, but that the population frequented the castle" (1990, 24). This view, however, neglects the notion of a castle lord enclosing a pre-existing church as an act of seigneurial usurpation.

From one perspective, the imposition of a castle in the immediate vicinity of an ecclesiastical building is an extension of the same concepts of antecedent occupation under castle sites analysed in Chapter 4. Consequently, the recognition and empirical analysis of the process is beset by many of the same methodological problems, namely in recognising antecedent occupation effectively sealed by the castle, and in demonstrating continuity up to the point of castle foundation. However, we may distinguish between cases of the castle actually being sited *upon* an extant church site, and examples where the castle-builder chose rather to embrace a church within a defensive perimeter or associated precinct.

(i) Church Removed

The excavated record within the study area reveals a single example of a church destroyed by castle building, that of *Pontefract, N Yorks.* (see below). Beyond the study area, the only detailed parallel excavation is that at Eaton Socon, Beds., which deserves attention due to the castle's remarkable imposition over the church, cemetery and private buildings of a late Saxon settlement only recognised after extensive trenching (Lethbridge and Tebbutt 1952; Addyman 1965). Either as a secondary expansion of the castle, or as a development contemporary with the construction of the rest of the site, the north ward was constructed over at least 40 Saxon burials belonging to a cemetery, itself covered by a layer of rubble containing a pilaster strip and Collyweston slates, indicating the former site of a church. In addition, the bank of the north ward stratigraphically sealed a rectangular village building representing part of an extensive Saxon village conjecturally

lying to the east of the castle; another excavated Saxon house lay just outside the defences.

The evidence at Eaton Socon provides indirect evidence of seigneurial motives for imposing the castle over the church and village. From one perspective the north ward has been seen as a secondary development, perhaps prompted by the transference of ownership to the Beachamps (Bigmore 1979, 99); this implies that the destruction of the village was a controlled, seigneurially-planned scheme, presumably associated with growing economic ambition commensurate with a rise in lordly status, expansion of the castle and re-planning of the village. Conversely, if the construction of the north ward was contemporaneous with the rest of the castle, dating to the Anarchy and built by the king's tenant Eudo Dopifer (Rowley 1983, 42), then the destruction of the village reflects the immediate military necessity of controlling a strategic crossing of the Ouse at this point, perhaps opportunistically taking advantage of a pre-existent defensive enclosure on the site (Lethbridge and Tebbutt 1952, 50). Suggestions that the pre-Conquest manorial *caput* of Ulmar lay in the vicinity of the outer bailey (possibly in the vicinity of the church), raise the possibility of a form of manorial continuity; yet even if this is the case, one is also addressing the displacement of a wider community - suggested by the fact that one of the houses was destroyed by fire (Addyman 1965, 51). Here, it is tempting to see the overwhelming of a parish church essentially as a by-product of castle foundation, although the consequent social signals imparted to the pre-existing communities should not be overlooked.

(ii) Fortified Churches

A variant of the same process is the occupation or modification of extant churches for purely martial reasons, with the church itself offering advantages for short-term fortification. In the study area we see this at *Bridlington Priory, Humbs., Yorks.* and *Southwell Minster, Notts.*, although in neither case can the fortification be termed a 'castle' (see Gazetteer). The occupation of churches by medieval refugees is well chronicled, and the conversion of their very structures into defensible units represents an

extreme manifestation of the same process. The tower of Bampton was fortified against Stephen (Renn 1968, 100), whilst a church at Wallingford was converted into a siege castle by Stephen (*ibid.* 1968, 338); both acts being dictated by the rapidly changing military circumstances of the Anarchy. At a higher level still, the cathedrals of both Hereford and Lincoln are chronicled as having been employed as bases for opposition to forces contained within the respective castles in 1140 and 1141 (Strickland 1989, 209-10). Contemporary outrage of a similar act is demonstrated at Malmesbury, Wilts., where the proximity of an Anarchy-period castle to the abbey, whose cemetery it encroached upon, was deemed detrimental to the welfare of the monks, and eventually lay behind the dismantling of the fortification (Haslam 1976, 35).

Strickland (1989, 207-210) has demonstrated from a documentary study of church fortification that a common factor linking these cases is extreme military necessity, overwhelmingly in the extreme socio-political context of the Anarchy, when the conservation of labour and time was at a premium and concerns of breaching the sanctuary of a church at a discount. It is perhaps surprising - though instructive - that only very rarely can the castles of the immediate post-Conquest be seen in a similar light.

(iii) Church Survival

The castles of the eleventh and twelfth-century period instead often demonstrate a more subtle response to ecclesiastical topography, whereby the castle was sited close to a pre-existing church, and its defences designed to embrace the church. Of the examples within Fig. 6.5, we may be sure that church precedes motte at *Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs.* on account of its demonstrably Saxon tower with external stair turret; here we may also note the probability of linked patronage between the castle and Hough Priory, an Augustinian cell founded c. 1164, which occupied a precinct c. 200m south-east of the motte (VCH Lincs. II 1906, 242-43). Mention of a Domesday priest at *Earl Shilton, Leics.* (i, 232a) makes the scenario of a primary church likely, there being no evidence, topographical or otherwise, to suggest that the church site has moved, whilst recovery of c. eight burials of Viking type under the nave and chancel of St. Cuthbert's church, *Kildale, N. Yorks.* in

1866-67 demonstrates a parallel sequence (L'Anson 1913, 358). In essence, a castle embracing a parish church in this manner was achieving one of two things: harnessing the ecclesiastical focus of a settlement as an act of conquest, or imposing upon a pre-Conquest manor previously associated with a (proprietary?) church (see Chapter 4). Significantly, both motives could be combined within a single site (e.g. *Laughton-en-le-Morthen*, *S. Yorks.*: see below; *Kippax*, *W. Yorks.*: see Chapter 4).

Secondary Churches

Eigenkirchen is a concept well known within medieval history. Current academic views increasingly see early medieval power-holders as the essential motor behind church construction (Gem 1988, 23). Early medieval law codes reveal the social value of a Saxon *thegn* possessing a church, such possession being an essential criterion differentiating a *thegn* from a *ceorl* (A. Williams 1992, 226-27). It is tenable that a number of castle-church relationships embody a Norman version of the same process: by the foundation of a church, castle lords sought benefits - social, spiritual and financial. Nonetheless, the Gregorian reforms of the twelfth century demonstrate that this process was becoming less common in the immediate post-Conquest period.

A more likely scenario is that a structure originally dedicated as a proprietary castle chapel subsequently grew to assume parochial functions, as is the case with *Essendine*, *Rutland* (see below); further examples include *Doncaster* and *Thorne*, *S. Yorks.* At Thorne, although the majority of the fabric of St. Nicholas is thirteenth century, windows in the chancel testify that the site is at least Norman (Ryder 1982b, 97; Pevsner 1959, 501). Similarly, although the site of the original parish church at Doncaster, St. Mary Magdalene, was destroyed by fire in 1853, surviving capitals attest an early Norman date (Buckland and Dolby 1972, 277). The alignment of Southfield Road - Bridge Street - Silver Street to the south of the motte at Thorne suggests that the church lay within a squarish bailey, and a similar scenario seems likely at Doncaster. Combined, the evidence points towards foundations originating as private chapels developing to assume parochial functions (Ryder 1982b, 97). Both sites, however, appear short-lived: Doncaster castle

was levelled by c. 1200 (Magilton 1977, 34), and Thorne exhibits no signs of manorial occupation; crucially, the upgrading of castle chapel to parish church may have occurred after the functional lifetime of both castles. Similarly, the church of St. Nicholas at *Bradfield II, S. Yorks.* (Fig. 6.6) seems unlikely to have had pre-castle ancestry, as indicated from the absence of the place in Domesday (the area was presumably contained within the de Busli manor of Ecclesfield: i, 319b). Forming the junction between castle and the settlement agglomerating adjacent to it, the church presumably served both, and emerged into history as a chapel of ease within the parish of Ecclesfield, an early Minster; the structure includes re-incorporated material of c. 1200 and the early medieval cross within is transplanted from Low Bradfield (Pevsner 1959, 119-20; Hey 1979, 28-29).

CASE-STUDIES

Whilst we have noted a variety of examples above, in order to illustrate the manner in which these three dimensions to castle-parish church relationships - morphological, chronological and social/functional - interact, four specific examples can be offered where evidence is particularly instructive: two each from Yorkshire and the East Midlands.

Laughton-en-le-Morthen, S. Yorks. (Fig. 6.7: top)

The parish church of All Saints at Laughton has been much studied architecturally, largely on account of the high-quality pre-Conquest work and its fine fourteenth-century spire (Rigby 1904; Ryder 1980a; 1982b); yet it remains to be fully understood within the context of the adjacent motte and bailey. Here, the earthworks of a small bean-shaped bailey north-east of the motte are well defined, although topographical evidence implies the loss of more extensive earthworks. In this sense the curvilinear alignment of roads, paths and property boundaries around the site appear to fossilise the perimeter of a large enclosure formerly embracing the parish church to the east, and a smaller lunate enclosure to the south. Given the comparative profiles of these features, it is conceivable that the motte and bailey was imposed as an integrated unit within an extant ovoid enclosure (Morris 1989, 258-59); the morphological parallel with *Goltho, Lincs.* may be instructive (see Chapter 3).

Three essential phases of church building were recognised by Rigby (1904), comprising late Saxon *porticus* and triangular headed *piscina*, Norman aisled nave and chancel, and fourteenth century rebuilding of the nave and addition of aisles. Although Rigby linked the latter two phases of construction respectively to rebuilding following destruction in the 1069-70 'harrying', and baronial insurrections of 1322, close examination of the social and administrative rôle of the adjacent motte and bailey allows us to provide a more appropriate context for the evolution of these linked institutions.

Although the pre-Conquest form of the church remains a matter for conjecture, analysis of the relationship between the surviving fragment of *porticus* and later west tower

suggests, on the basis of analogy, that the building was essentially cruciform (Ryder 1980a, 428). This characteristically late Saxon, probably proprietary plan was virtually eradicated by a radical Norman rebuilding within a generation of the Conquest, as indicated by the north doorway, where a smaller early Norman doorway is inserted quite deliberately into the pre-Conquest arch with its characteristic 'long and short' quoining, and by wholesale re-planning of the church around a nave, with surviving Norman arcading, and chancel (Pevsner 1959, 300-01; Ryder 1982a, 63-4; 1982b, 71-83). Furthermore, the quantities of Rotherham red sandstone re-used within this structure are sufficient to suggest an earlier building of some standing.

Neither church nor motte have been subject to excavation, but stray finds of Roman and middle/late Saxon ceramics within the churchyard, and antiquarian references to a Roman mosaic or tessellated pavement in the field immediately south of the site provide a tantalising glimpse of possible long-term continuity of (high status?) occupation of the zone (S. Yorks. SMR: Nos. 723, 4264).

Laughton was a demesne manor of Roger de Busli at Domesday, forming part of de Busli's Honour of Tickhill (see Chapter 5). Although the church is omitted, despite obvious architectural evidence for pre-1086 origins, Domesday (i, 319a) makes mention of an *aula* in the manor formerly in the possession of the pre-Conquest holder, Earl Edwin of Mercia; notably a church is also omitted at another of Edwin's halls in Macclesfield (Addy 1914-18, 358). Topographical evidence recommends that the Norman motte and bailey likely perpetuate the site of the *aula* (Birch 1980, 430); besides obvious physical association with a (proprietary?) church, the scarp-edge position of the early castle is prominent, commanding views to the north, west and south. This likely combination of pre-Conquest manor and proprietary church in a prominent position provides an important example of what Roberts has termed a 'magnate core' (1987, 73-75); this fact allows us to view the Norman act of castle foundation in a different light.

Fortuitously, the pre-Conquest origins of the manorial site may also be reflected in de Busli's charter of 1088 for Blyth Priory, with the 'land of the *aula*' mentioned among the

grants (Hey 1979, 41). Laughton was undoubtedly a central place within the pre-Conquest territory of Morthen, as reflected in the early place-name *-in morthing* ('meeting place': Smith 1953, 141; Parker 1986, 23), yet is relegated to a satellite dependency within de Busli's Honour of Tickhill. Nonetheless, limited recognition of its former importance is evident in de Busli's decision to hold the manor in demesne in 1086, its retention as the seat of the honorial court and documentation of Laughton as a Barony in the Hundred Rolls of 1278 (Hey 1979, 26). Within this model of administrative downgrading, in physical terms, the Norman reaction to the 'magnate core' is instructive.

In a sense, the Saxon nexus between manor and proprietary church is not so much broken as usurped and manipulated to produce a 'Normanised' version of the manor-church cell. Whilst we remain unsure as to the physical appearance of Edwin's *aula*, the foundation of the motte and bailey must have been highly provocative and a massive assertion of Norman military authority at the social, administrative and spiritual hub of a community. The possibility that the plan of the rebuilt Norman church was dictated by the proximity of the motte and bailey further underlines the symbiotic association between the two institutions (Ryder 1980a, 428; 1982b, 74). What is certain, however, is that this rebuilding is more than a matter of spatial coincidence. As opposed to a blunt military statement, the dual reconstruction of manor and church was surely a carefully considered act designed not only to suppress and impress, but to emphasise the Norman tenant as the heir of his Saxon antecedent (earl Edwin) in the short term, whilst in time erasing memory of the Saxon past in the minds of the contemporary community. The historical context of these actions - the Norman settlement in the wake of the well known events of 1069-70 - should leave us in no doubt as to the necessity for such policy.

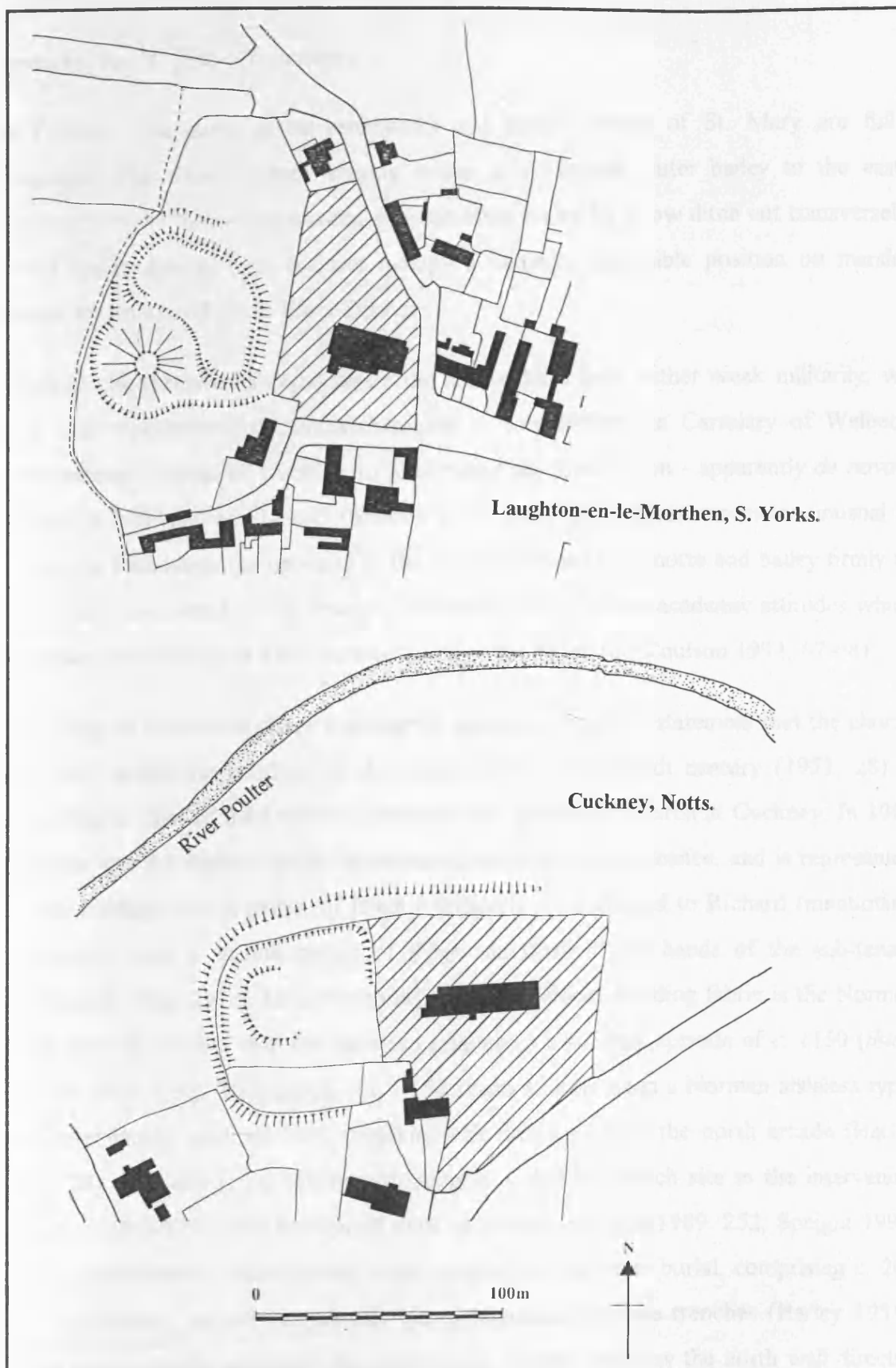


Fig. 6.7 : Case-studies of castle-church relationships: Laughton-en-le-Morthen, S. Yorks. (top), and Cuckney, Notts. (bottom).

Cuckney, Notts. (Fig. 6.7: bottom)

At Cuckney, the early castle earthworks and parish church of St. Mary are fully integrated. The church stands entirely within a rectangular outer bailey to the east, isolated from the motte and smaller, squarish inner bailey by a low ditch cut transversely across the enclosure; both features occupy a naturally defensible position on marshy ground within a bend of the River Poulter.

Although the earthworks demonstrate the site to have been rather weak militarily, we have clear documentation contextualising its foundation: the Cartulary of Welbeck demonstrates Thomas de Cuckney to have raised the fortification - apparently *de novo* - during the 'old war' of 1139-45 (Stenton 1932, 199). The reference remains unusual in linking the foundation (as opposed to the *re*-fortification) of a motte and bailey firmly to the political turbulence of the Anarchy, contrasting with current academic attitudes which downplay the Anarchy as a key period of castle foundation (cf. Coulson 1994, 67-68).

The dating of the church raises a number of questions: Barley's statement that the church was built within the confines of the castle in the mid twelfth century (1951, 28) is misleading in light of the Domesday mention of a priest and church at Cuckney. In 1086 Cuckney was not marked by any apparent administrative significance, and is represented by two holdings; one a manor of Hugh FitzBaldric sub-infeuded to Richard (mentioning the church), and a second manor of Roger de Busli in the hands of the sub-tenant Geoffrey (i, 285a, 291c). In architectural terms the earliest standing fabric is the Norman south doorway, earlier than the nave and relating to a building episode of *c.* 1150 (*ibid.*; Pevsner 1979, 110). The church of *c.* 1150 seems to have been a Norman aisleless type, the underpinning work of 1951 revealing wall footings under the north arcade (Barley 1951, 28). As there is no evidence to suggest a shift in church site in the intervening period *c.* 1086-1150, here the church must be primary (Morris 1989, 252; Speight 1994, 66-67). Furthermore, underpinning work revealed a large mass burial, comprising *c.* 200 male individuals, packed haphazardly into a minimum of three trenches (Barley 1951). These burials clearly antedated the church, as a number underlay the north wall directly,

although it remains lamentable that the burials were immediately re-interred and not exposed to scientific scrutiny.

Combined, these data are instructive, given the position of Thomas de Cuckney as a favourite in the court of Henry I, and his consequent rôle in the Anarchy as an anti-Stephanic sympathiser. Although de Cuckney is not linked by documentary evidence to any of the known actions in the region, central Nottinghamshire appears to have been much contested in the period, with *Nottingham* and *Newark* castles both taken and *Southwell Minster* circumvallated by Stephen's supporters (Barley 1957, 84; VCH Notts. I 1906, 320-22). Although the burials could be interpreted as the war cemetery of the documented battle of Heathfield in 633, they are more likely to represent casualties of some unspecified conflict in the troubles of 1139-40 (Groves 1987, 31).

The likely sequence of developments at Cuckney sees the parish church extant in Domesday as surrounded and fortified by de Cuckney's adulterine motte and bailey, effectively harnessing the core of Cuckney village. The motives behind this action appear to be short-term personal and property protection, and the provision of a raiding base; the defensible position of the church within a bend of the Poulter made an undoubtedly provocative action expedient in a time of crisis. The church rebuilding of c. 1150 may be an act of seigneurial penance: the same lord is documented as founding the Premonstratensian house of Welbeck, whose foundation charter of c. 1153-54, which includes St. Mary's at Cuckney as a gift, records the remarkable dedication "...for my soul and the souls of my father and my mother, but also for all those whom I have unjustly plundered" (Colvin 1951, 64-65; Stenton 1932, 199). The dedication seemingly bears vivid testimony to the lordly ravaging endemic during the Anarchy in central Nottinghamshire. William d'Albini's monastic foundation at New Buckenham Norfolk, on the site of a demolished Anarchy-period castle may be an instructive, parallel example of seigneurial piety in the wake of localised warfare (Thompson 1986, 306, 312).

Two factors thus emerge of especial importance to the wider study of castle-church relationships: first, the rebuilding of the church c. 1150 is likely to coincide with the

slighting or at least abandonment of the castle - a relatively humble and impermanent fortification unsuited to, and with no evidence of, longer-lived manorial functions. Certainly the act of patronage by de Cuckney occurred when the physical nexus between castle and church was broken. Second, the example demonstrates that the physical evidence of castle-church association may mask earlier origins for the church; only through the Domesday mention can we be sure church antedated castle, even if physical evidence of this phase of building is lacking.

Essendine, Rutland (Fig. 6.8)

Essendine demonstrates clearly the influence of seigneurial decision-making on the ecclesiastical topography of a settlement. The site is often identified as a moated manorial complex, yet, whilst the core element of the earthwork is little more than a low moated platform, the enclosure to the south recommends an early ringwork and bailey, subsequently remodelled for a manorial phase of occupation; the extensive series of fish-stews to the north and south were possibly built at the same time.

The present parish church of St. Mary lies entirely within the bailey, offset immediately to the west of the causeway linking former ringwork and bailey. That the church is positioned not only within the bailey, but sited explicitly at the interface between the inner and outer enclosures suggests a private foundation as a castle chapel. Indeed architectural analysis emphasises this link, with a number of panels depicting hunting scenes (Rut. Loc. Hist. Soc. 1988, 36-37), directly reflecting the position of the castle on the fringe of an extensive manorial deer-park that enclosed an undeveloped extremity of the historic county of Rutland to the north-east.

Despite early assertions that the *tympanum* above the south doorway is of pre-Conquest date (Rut. Arch. and Hist. Soc. 1903-04, 103-04), on architectural grounds the fabric of the church can be dated no earlier than c. 1130-60, the majority of the structure being of thirteenth-century date (Rut. Loc. Hist. Soc. 1988, 36-7). Presuming church to be secondary to the castle, the structure effectively forms a *terminus ante quem* for occupation on the castle site, which must have been founded by at least the early twelfth century (Hoskins 1949, 32), rather than up to a century later, as dating based circumstantially upon the manorial descent and evidence of a manorial park in 1269 may suggest (cf. Cox 1994, lvi; VCH Rutland II 1908, 250-51). Claims that the castle site itself has pre-Conquest ancestry are almost undoubtedly mistaken (see Chapter 4).

The developing ecclesiastical topography of Essendine is complicated by the identification of what is almost certainly an additional church within the village at TF 04671314; a site

at the northern end of the north-south row of Essendine village. Here ecclesiastical fabric, including widows of probable thirteenth-century date, are built into the end of a cottage, and associate earthworks indicative of underlying stone footings can be identified adjacent (Leics. SMR: No. TF 01 SW Z). As there is no evidence - topographical or documentary - to suggest that the present parish was ever sub-divided, the field evidence recommends one of two alternative scenarios: either the castle site was imposed adjacent to an extant parish church and another church subsequently built to provide for the village (which is unlikely given the evidence above), or the present church originated as a castle chapel, and grew to assume parochial status whilst the other (presumably pre-existing) church became disused and was eventually abandoned. The genesis of the standing church as a one-time castle chapel is beyond doubt, as a grant to the monks of St. Andrews, Northampton, in the reign of Henry II mentions exchange of 12 acres demesne in return for a permanent chaplain at Essendine; a chapel is also described in association with the manor in an extent of 1417 (Blore 1811, 201; VCH Rutland II 1908, 250). As the castle bailey now envelopes the graveyard entirely, it can be only assumed that the chapel came to gain burial rights in the late/post-medieval period.

In the absence of archaeological analysis it is impossible to confirm either hypothesis in absolute terms, yet evidence of settlement change at Essendine further supports the latter notion of the present church originating as a proprietary castle chapel. In morphological terms, Essendine comprises an L-shaped village consisting of an attenuated north-south row with the second church site at its head, characterised by settlement earthworks indicating the positions of a number of abandoned plots, and a second, more regular east-west row with the castle at its eastern head. Both rows are backed by substantial medieval ridge and furrow and the north-south row includes a windmill mound to the rear of the plots, whilst a hollow way to the north of the north-south row may indicate a continuation of the original village core (Brown 1975, 10; Hartley 1983, 15). A possible sequence fitting the present field evidence could be an original settlement core associated with an early church site, abandoned - or rather re-oriented - to face the castle site. With respect to the position of the castle adjacent to the river, this sequence makes a degree of

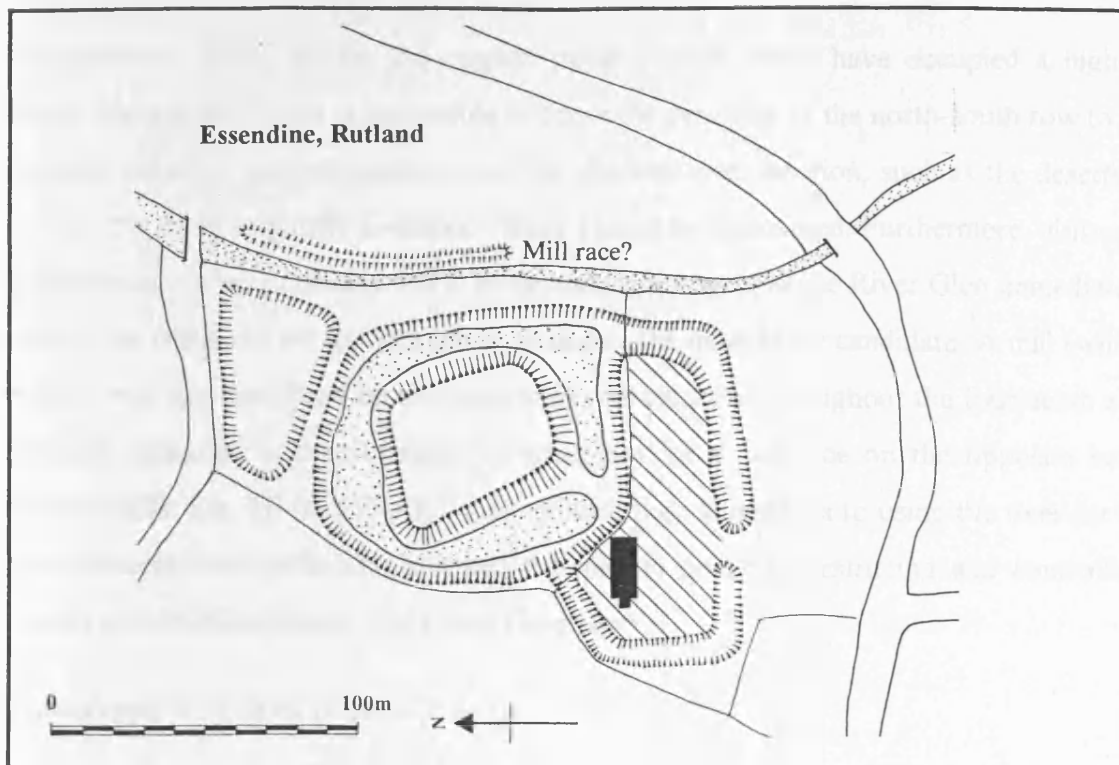


Fig. 6.8: Case-study of castle-church relationship at Essendine, Rutland.

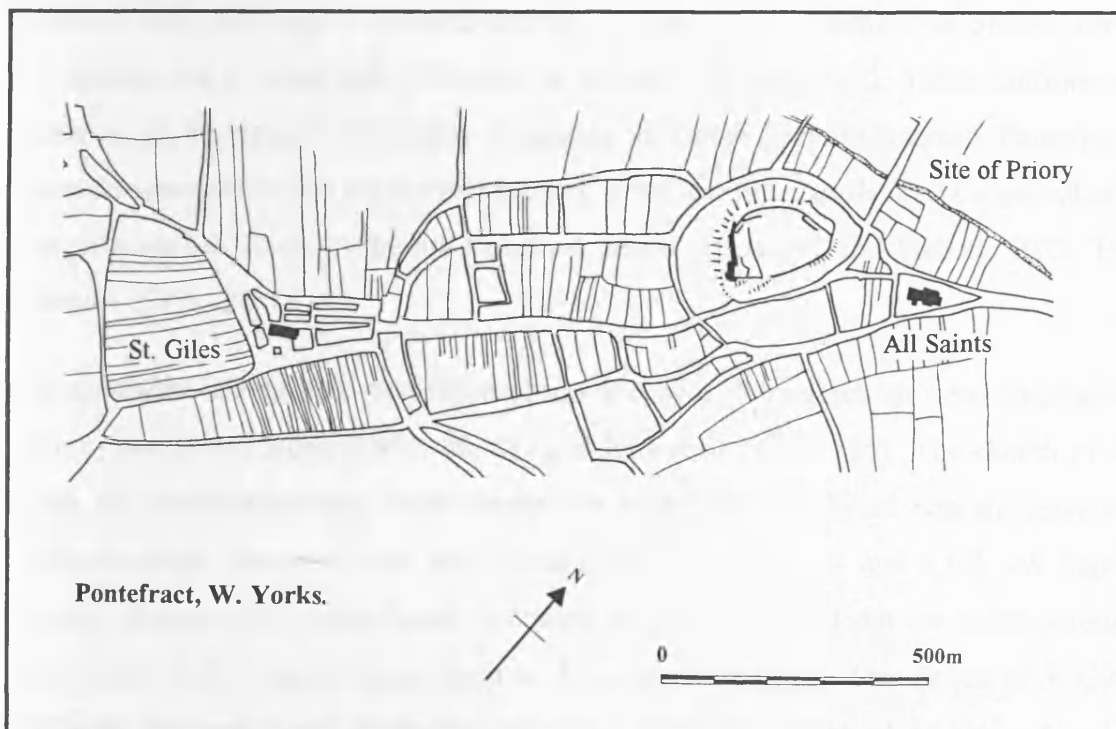


Fig. 6.9: Urban and ecclesiastical topography at Pontefract, W. Yorks.

topographical sense, in that the original parish church would have occupied a higher, better drained site. Yet it is impossible to prove the desertion of the north-south row to be causally linked to castle foundation, and an alternative explanation, such as the desertion of one row of an originally L-shaped village cannot be discounted. Furthermore, although the position of the Domesday mill is conjectural, the course of the River Glen immediately east of the castle is - on topographical grounds - the most likely candidate. A mill (which may or may not have been on the same site) was recorded throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and earthworks of what may be a mill race on the opposite bank (Leics. SMR: No. TF 01 SW AK), may indicate that, in addition to using the river for its wet defences, the castle also annexed the mill, in doing so restricting and controlling access to it (cf. *Kinshaugh, Notts.*: see Gazetteer).

Pontefract, W. Yorks. (Figs. 6.9, 6.10)

At Pontefract, the topographical relationship between church(es), castle and borough reveal that their association is not the product of a single, unitary episode of planning. The pre-Conquest origins of settlement at Pontefract have been long-recognised from historical data, although it remains difficult to relate this settlement to present urban topography due to place-name changes. In summary, Domesday (i, 316c) confirms the existence of 60 'lesser' Domesday burgesses at *Tanshelf* (pre-Conquest Pontefract), whilst documentation of a royal *witan* meeting in 947 confirm *Tanshelf* as a royal vill of at least proto-urban status in the pre-Conquest period (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 191; Willmott 1987a, 340).

The somewhat incongruous ecclesiastical topography of Pontefract has been commented upon by Aston and Bond (1976, 80, 86) and Beresford (1967, 525). The church of All Saints lies immediately east of the castle, the triangular churchyard entirely contained within the angle between North and South Baileygate (Figs. 6.9 and 6.10). All Saints, although formerly the parish church, is conspicuously dislocated from the castle-borough which is laid out in regular linear form to the west of the castle. The church of St Giles (earlier St. Mary *de Foro*: 'in the market') was a dependant chapel of All Saints founded

to serve the second borough of West Cheap planned at the western extremity of the first borough (Fig. 6.9). The fact that St. Giles was elevated to parish church status in 1789 seems attributable to the isolated nature of the original parish church. Indeed, excavations between the castle and All Saints in 1986-87 demonstrate the area to have been a somewhat poorly developed industrial backwater in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, as supported by the place-name Tanners Row (Willmott 1985; 1987b).

Until recently, speculation as to the topographical relationship between pre- and post-Conquest Pontefract was based on topographical evidence and stray finds. However, excavation within four zones around Tanner's Row and The Booths immediately south-east of the castle (Fig. 6.10) revealed evidence which assists in explaining the evolving ecclesiastical topography of Pontefract and its relationship with the castle. Foremost was the discovery of a pre-Conquest two-cell church with underlying burials in The Booths site associated with an extensive cemetery extending into the Tanner's Row site (Willmott 1986; 1987a). Further burials of similar date were recovered from the Ass Hill site, where the probable southern boundary of the cemetery was defined (Youngs *et al.* 1987, 172). Excavation within the castle has complemented this picture, revealing a number of early-medieval burials within the vicinity of the castle chapel of St. Clement's, and recovering evidence of Saxon inhumations from the bailey ramparts (Thorp 1983).

It is not without coincidence that the place-names Pontefract, *Tanshelf* and Kirkby ('church village') could be all equated with one another by c. 1137 (Beresford 1968, 525); clearly the pre-Conquest focus of settlement lay within the immediate vicinity of the castle - although the present location of the place-name *Tanshelf* in the area of West Cheap borough to the west may indicate that it took an extended, straggling form, or imply a transferral of place-name.

The evidence combines to imply that castle foundation prompted a major re-orientation of the ecclesiastical topography of Pontefract. Essentially, construction of Ilbert de Lacy's castle resulted in the displacement of the pre-Conquest church and its replacement wholesale with All Saints (Morris 1989, 230), the latter documented as early as 1090

(Holmes 1878, 70-78). It is further tenable that the excavated two-cell church may have formed one of a monastic cluster (Ryder 1980a, 14). Similar sequences have been demonstrated through excavation elsewhere: at Colchester, Essex, a pre-Conquest chapel was incorporated as an apsidal structure within the great keep, although remained distinct from an interior castle chapel; at Castle Rising, Norfolk the church engulfed by the Anarchy-period castle was parochial as opposed to proprietary, and apparently associated with an extension of the Saxo-Norman village (Morley and Gurney 1997, 33). At Pontefract, whilst castle building represented a massive assertion of seigneurial authority and a deliberate Norman intrusion into, and manipulation of, urban and ecclesiastical space, the action further conditioned huge-scale re-orientation of the borough's topography.

An exclusively military explanation of this phenomenon would view the re-location of the parish church as an inevitable by-product of castle foundation - a case of topographical opportunism as Ilbert de Lacy sought to occupy the natural eminence coincidentally occupied by the parish church and associate cemetery. Whilst certainly a provocative act - disrupting an extant cemetery - the Norman reaction to existing ecclesiastical topography also ensured the replacement of a church of explicitly Saxon form with a more 'Normanised' ecclesiastical foundation of All Saints. In this sense the possible evidence of a pre-Conquest manorial antecedent to Pontefract castle may be instructive; geophysical survey has revealed the lip of a massive ditch between motte and bailey (Fig 6.10) - the comparative plans of motte and ditch suggesting the latter to be an earlier feature and feasibly a pre-castle ringwork (Youngs and Clark 1982, 217). It is thus tempting to see the foundation of All Saints as commensurate with the castle's construction, forming a mechanism transmitting powerful social signals of dual military and spiritual control over the Saxon settlement, whilst simultaneously breaking the nexus between pre-Conquest church and pre-Conquest manorial site in the minds of the contemporary community. Further instructive is the subsequent splitting of ecclesiastical provision between the 'inner core' of the castle (St. Clement's Chapel), and the borough community (All Saints and subsequently St. Giles).

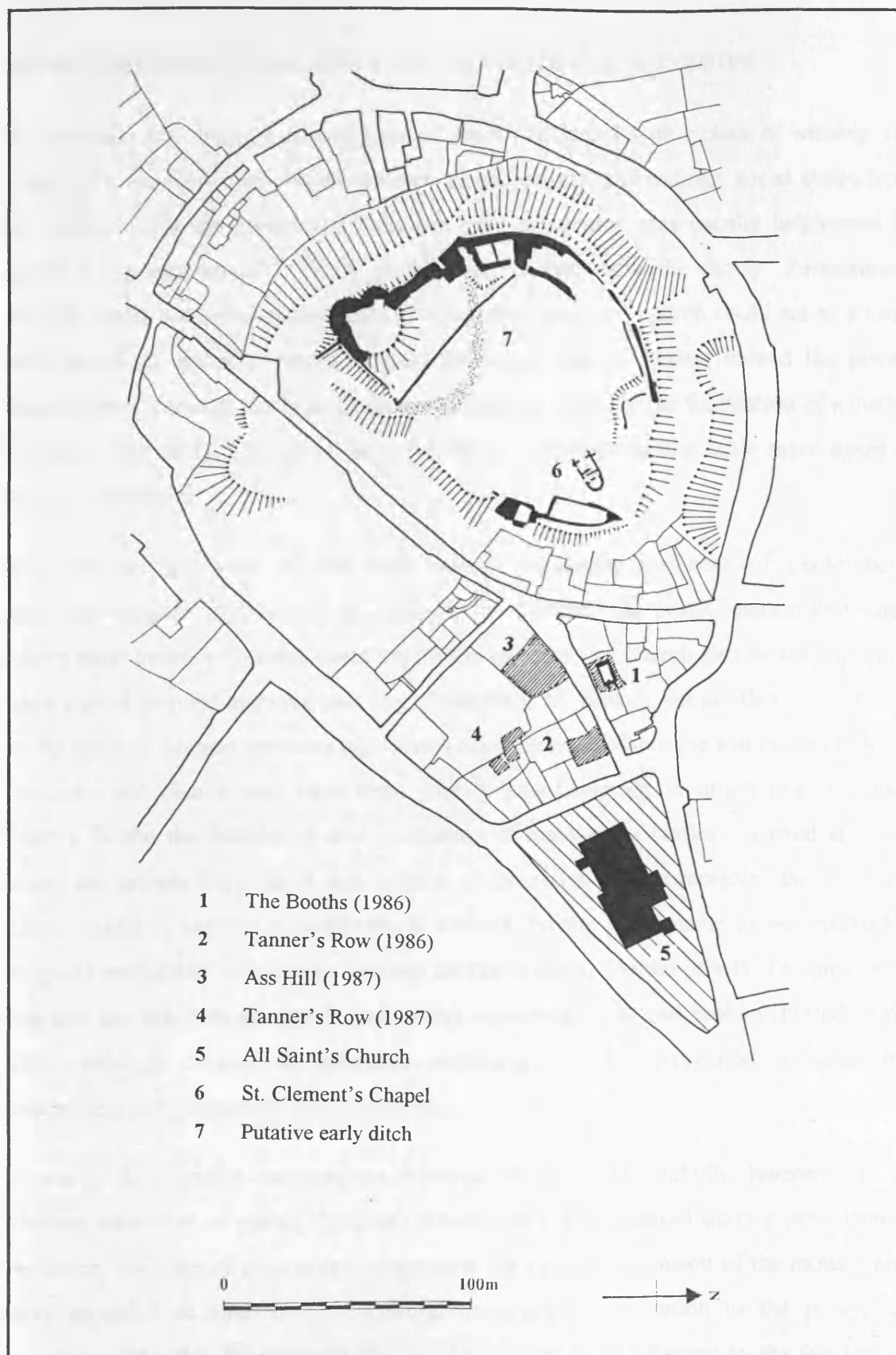


Fig. 6.10: Case-study of castle-church relationship at Pontefract, W. Yorks. (Based on Willmott 1986; 1987a; 1987b)

CONCLUSIONS: SOCIAL AND FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

By physically associating a private place of thegnly residence with a place of worship, the patron of a pre-Conquest church received direct spiritual and indirect social status from his action, whilst the seigneurial influence over the church was usually heightened by personal appointment of a priest, often being chosen from the family. Furthermore, through rental, incumbency payments or customary dues, the church could act as a long-term source of financial return, despite the initial cost of outlay; indeed the private foundation of a church has been likened, in economic terms, to the foundation of a market (Pounds 1990, 223). The act is, however, at an altogether smaller scale more suited to minor rural centres.

These factors go some of the way towards explaining instances of castle-church association; namely, that by siting a castle next to a church, the post-Conquest lord would inherit these benefits. In some cases imposition adjacent to a church also meant imposition upon a pre-Conquest manorial seat (e.g. *Pontefract, W. Yorks.*); yet in other cases there is no evidence to suggest previous high-status occupation, and here the association of lordly residence and church may have been entirely post-Conquest in origin (e.g. *Cuckney, Notts.*). Whilst the foundation and occupation of many early castles occurred at a time when the private foundation and control of churches was acceptable, the thirteenth century came to see this as politically ill-advised. Private rights came to be entrusted to religious institutions, which also received the tithes and appointed priests. To some extent this saw the link between castle and church weakened or indeed broken (Pounds 1990, 224), although seigneurial influence continued to find expression in seigneurial endowment and promotion of monasteries.

However, functionalist explanations overlook the essential symbolic dimension to the Norman take-over of parish churches. Where castle was imposed upon a pre-Conquest residence, the form of the castle - particularly the vertical dimension of the motte - must have appeared an alien form of cultural construction/fortification to the pre-existing population. Yet this dimension to the relationship was often balanced by the fact that the

castle was occupying an existing, recognised seat of power. At one level this was an act of conquest, but at another a form of continuity.

The act of constructing a castle next to a church sent obvious social signals to the local populous. Yet enclosing the structure within the outer defences manipulated social space at a deeper level: through such an act, a castle lord was effectively enveloping the church within seigneurial space, both controlling and restricting access for the populous, forcing them to enter/cross from the communal to a quazi-seigneurial sphere in order to worship.

Furthermore, these acts will have influenced the memory of the existing population. By erecting a castle over a previous seat of lordship, the conquerors were in a way disguising aspects of their ancestry whilst seeking to 'continue' pre-existing systems and customs. Similarly, Norman attitudes to the very fabric of churches and churchyards may be further indicative of the mentality of the Norman conquering classes. The Romanesque rebuilding of many parish churches associated with castles may be seen as a means of disguising the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of these buildings. In addition, the clearance of crosses and monuments from churchyards may illustrate Norman 'paranoia' in the immediate post-Conquest generation. What is unfortunate, however, is that research strategies have often failed to take these considerations into account (e.g. *Goltho, Lincs.*: see Chapter 3). As a recent analysis of church archaeology has demonstrated, churches and churchyards have commonly been perceived as taboo zones to the archaeologist rather than being appreciated as the complex organisms that they truly are (Rodwell 1996, 197).

The physical realities of castle-church association thus embody a range of underlying relationships. The central dichotomy here is that the association of castle and church in Anglo-Norman England was in some ways a product of social relationships, yet simultaneously represents a deliberate arrangement and manipulation of space - seigneurial, communal and religious - in order to both harness and perpetuate the means of social control.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CASTLES AND URBANISM

URBAN CASTLES: DEFINITIONS

Although this study is aimed primarily at redressing the academic balance in favour of the study of minor, early castles, these sites and their environs must, themselves, be set within the context of the more major, and usually better-documented urban castles. As Chapter 5 has demonstrated, an early castle site was invariably an element within a wider administrative web, usually with a major regional centre at its head. In addition, we must judge whether the processes of settlement planning and landscape re-organisation associated with minor castles paralleled, even emulated, their larger and better studied urban counterparts.

Two major classes of chronological relationship between castle and town have been defined by Drage (1987): the 'urban castle', where the castle is inserted into an extant community, and the 'castle borough', where a primary castle attracts a secondary borough or the two are planned as an integral unit. Drage highlights a number of key trends in the spatial relationship between castle and town in both categories: essentially urban castles are commonly inserted on the peripheries of an extant town, whereas a castle borough gravitates around the dominant castle. In addition, whilst an urban castle would transmit social signals of conquest and domination, the foundation of a castle borough implies seigneurial economic ambition and investment (Drage 1987, 117, 128).

Drage's model however suffers from a number of inherent weaknesses. In particular, it is important not to overlook differences in the function and format of the late Saxon urban centres into which castles were imposed. Current academic views are moving towards an acceptance of the heterogeneity of urban settlement types at Domesday (Martin 1987,

56). Within the study area, a complexity of urban types is apparent on the eve of the Conquest; specifically, the five former Anglo-Scandinavian boroughs may have had widely varying functions, exhibiting differing balances between commercial and military need (Biddle 1976, 31; Hill 1987, 52). Clearly, any account of the Norman response to urban topography in terms of castle siting must take this into account. Finally, Drage's model views the imposition of an urban castle in a largely static sense, neglecting to consider fully the subsequent impact of castle foundation on urban topography, both short-term - such as imposition upon existing settlement and routeways, and the diversion of water-courses - and longer-term - such as the re-orientation of settlement and communications patterns.

URBAN CASTLES: MAJOR REGIONAL CENTRES

Early castles founded within the major urban administrative centres of Yorkshire and the East Midlands deserve treatment as a coherent group. These castles originate, without exception, in the unique and limited socio-political context of the immediate post-Conquest years (c. 1066-80). Orderic describes the construction of castles at York and Nottingham (in addition to Warwick) as royal foundations in the first phase of the great northern campaign, whilst Lincoln (as well as Huntingdon and Cambridge) was raised on William's return journey from York (Chibnall 1969, 218). The statement within the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that other castles were built "everywhere in that district", and Orderic's additional assertion that William "fortified strategic sites against enemy attacks" (*ibid.*; Whitelock 1963, 151-52) provide the likely historical context for the sites at Leicester and Stamford, both of which lie on major routeways presumably used in the campaign (Buckley and Lucas 1987, 59; Roffe 1986, 6). Thus, within the study area, all towns acting as major centres of regional administration in 1066 had castles imposed within them or in their immediate vicinity; the handful of urban settlements escaping castle building were primarily industrial and commercial foci as opposed to key sites of civil administration (Fig. 7.1). This preliminary wave of castle building had two essential objectives: to suppress systematically and dominate the key centres of population,

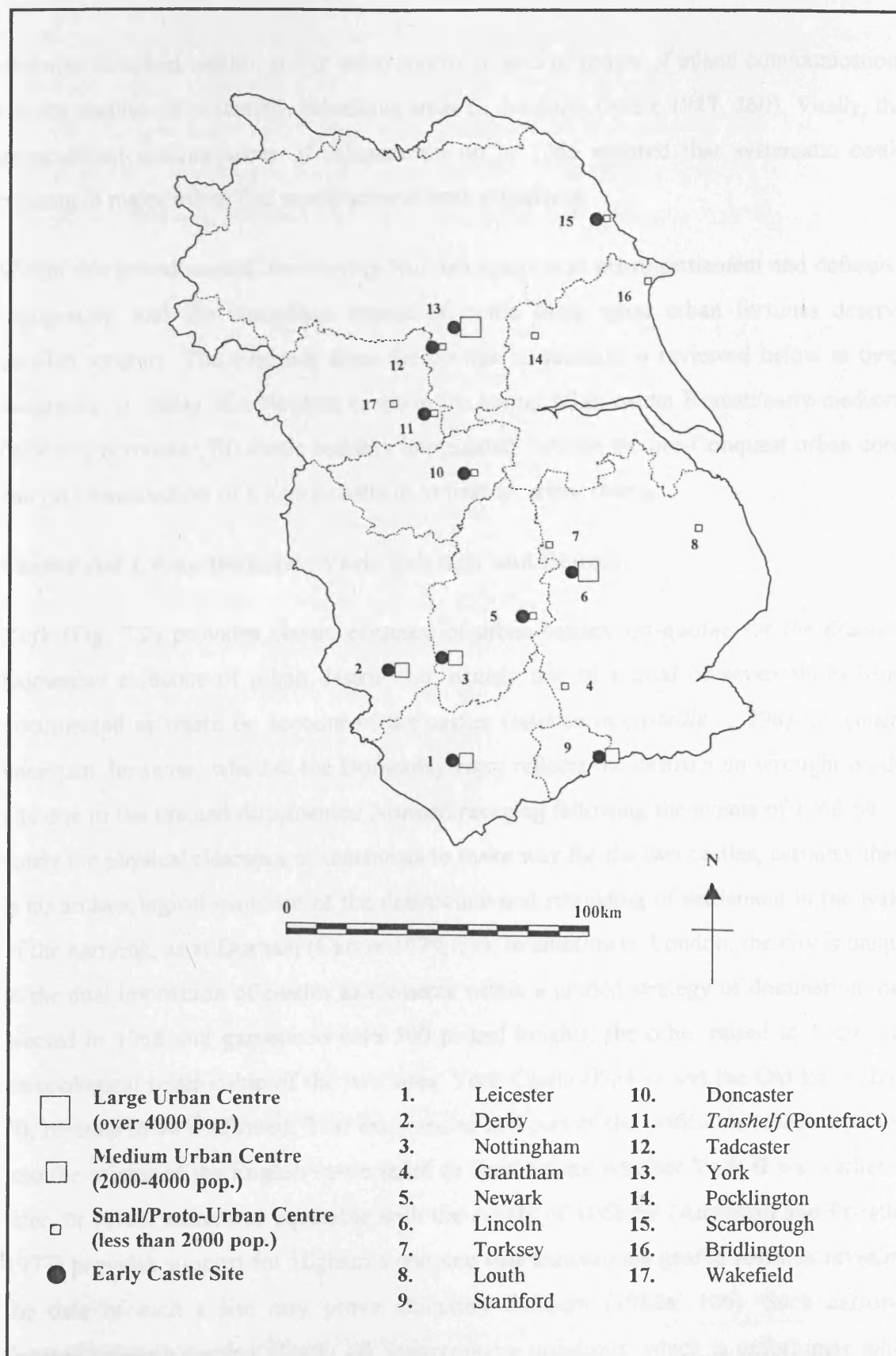


Fig. 7.1: Distribution of urban centres in 1066, showing estimated populations and the imposition of urban castles by c. 1100 (Compiled from Darby and Terrett 1952; 1954; 1962)

administration and wealth, and to seize control of arterial routes of inland communication, thereby sealing off potentially rebellious areas to the north (Roffe 1987, 260). Vitally, the geographical circumstances of urbanisation up to 1066 ensured that systematic castle building in major urban foci could achieve both objectives.

Within this overall model, the varying Norman reaction to urban settlement and defensive topography, and the immediate impact of castle siting upon urban fortunes deserve detailed scrutiny. The evidence from the centres in question is reviewed below in three categories: (i) siting of a Norman castle in the corner of an extant Roman/early-medieval defensive perimeter; (ii) castle building immediately beyond the pre-Conquest urban core; and (iii) construction of a minor castle in or near an urban centre.

Castles and Urban Defences: York, Leicester and Lincoln

York (Fig. 7.2) provides classic evidence of urban castles, oft-quoted for the dramatic Domesday evidence of urban destruction; namely one of a total of seven shires being documented as waste on account of the castles (*vastata in castellis*: i, 298). It remains uncertain, however, whether the Domesday entry reflects the destruction wrought on the city due to the fire and documented Norman ravaging following the events of 1068-69, or solely the physical clearance of tenements to make way for the two castles; certainly there is no archaeological evidence of the destruction and rebuilding of settlement in the wake of the harrying, as at Durham (Carver 1979, 71). In addition to London, the city is unique in the dual imposition of castles as elements within a unified strategy of domination: one erected in 1068 and garrisoned with 500 picked knights, the other raised in 1069. The chronological relationship of the two sites, York Castle (*York I*) and the Old Baile (*York II*), remains to be confirmed. That excavations as a part of the Institute's research project into the origins of the English castle failed to demonstrate whether York II was earlier or later, or reveal structures equatable with the events of 1068-69 (Addyman and Priestley 1977) provides support for Higham's warning that excavations geared towards revealing the date of such a site may prove ultimately deficient (1982a, 106). Such narrowly focused research designs clearly ask inappropriate questions, which is unfortunate when

considering that, with the exception of the castles, archaeological data relating to this period of the city's development is minimal (Andrews 1984, 182). What is abundantly clear is that complementary castles were clearly essential to achieve both the effective subjugation of a city with two clear foci either side of the river in 1066, and dominate the strategically vital intersection of north-south and east-west routes marked by the crossing of the Ouse.

Perhaps contributing to settlement displacement associated with the construction of the castles, the damming of the Foss near York I resulted in the inundation of a caracut of agricultural land and two newly-built mills, creating the fishpond known as 'King's Pool' at Domesday, in addition to enhancing the site's defences. The erection of York I further resulted in a re-planning of communications routes: the main route in/out of the city via Fishergate, an essential part of York's urban topography from the Roman period, was impinged upon by construction of the castle, resulting in a new route being created to skirt the defences of the castle, crossing the Foss over the artificial dam (RCHM 1972, 60). The number of eleventh-century church redundancies in Fishergate suggests a consequent shift in the focus of communications patterns to a route via Walmgate north of the castle, conditioning a major re-orientation in the axis of suburban development (Andrews 1984, 182).

Despite the assertion that both sites, in particular York II, were erected within the line of pre-existing defences (e.g. Brown 1989, 237-39), this is far from clear. The medieval town walls undoubtedly embraced both sites, but although the medieval defences to the north-west undoubtedly perpetuated the Roman civil defences (RCHM 1972, 57-58), it is likely that the town defences encompassing York II relate to a mid-thirteenth-century re-alignment (Illingworth 1938, 118). In fact, both sites overlay Roman cremation cemeteries (RCHM 1962, 107), perhaps indicating peripheral locations relative to the Roman *colonia*. Excavations at York II by Addyman and Priestley revealed little Roman occupation save a probable domestic pit (1968, 122-24), and little can be said of occupation on the site in the immediate pre-Conquest period, the only evidence being a series of stray finds (RCHM 1972, 60, 87). In addition, the pre-castle surface of York II

yielded eleventh-century occupation debris comprising just c. 25 sherds (Addyman 1968, 124); certainly nothing was found on the scale of the pre-castle occupation at Oxford (Hassall 1976). Overall, it seems more likely that the sites were positioned within existing suburbs, taking advantage of natural rather than artificial defensive topography: York I lies at the north-west extremity of a spur between the Ouse and Foss, while Baile Hill occupies the tip of a ridge running south of, and parallel to, the Foss (RCHM 1972, 59, 87).

We remain less certain as to the impact of the Norman castle on *Lincoln* (Fig. 7.2). The castle has been neglected academically on account of its downgrading at a relatively early date, whilst urban excavation has focused on the lower rather than upper city, due to the location of late-twentieth-century redevelopment (Colyer 1975, 36; Young and Vince 1992, 385). In terms of Norman reaction to Lincoln's pre-Conquest topography, the castle occupied the south-west quarter of the Roman upper city "....like a cuckoo in the nest" (Donel 1992, 380). Unlike Leicester (see below), the Norman rampart appears to have perpetuated exactly the alignment of the civil defences. Notably, the important Upper West Gate was incorporated within the bailey defences, testifying to a Norman desire for a balance between domination of the townscape whilst remaining in communication with the city's hinterland.

The immediate impact of castle siting was threefold. First, Domesday testifies to the destruction of 166 houses cleared to make way for the castle (i, 336b). However, the Domesday figure is undoubtedly approximate, the Lincoln entry demonstrating a tendency to count in fives and sixes, whilst there is no guarantee that every Domesday *mansio* was inhabited by a single burgess (Hill 1965, 53-55). It is also likely that the original area covered by the castle was far in excess of the five and three-quarter acres estimated by Armitage (1912), as historical map evidence shows the early castle ditches to have intruded into the lower city, and beyond the west wall of the upper city (Hill 1965, 55). Domesday documents a further 74 houses as waste specifically for other reasons, underlining the potential error in necessarily equating Domesday waste within towns with the construction of a castle. Second, topographical evidence suggests a re-orientation of

routeways in the upper city in the wake of castle founding, since the effective incorporation of the Upper West Gate within the castle ensured the laying out of a new east-west route skirting to the north of the castle. Third, whilst the linear suburb of Wigford, to the south was apparently well developed and enclosed by 1066 (Keene 1976, 76-77), the growth of the Newport suburb to the north appears to immediately post-date the construction of the castle (Barley 1976, 57; Colyer 1975, 31-35), and seems likely to have originated as an element of Norman town planning designed to accommodate settlement displaced by the castle. The cognate result of these changes in the urban topography of Lincoln was the emergence of the upper city, already raised naturally on a limestone ridge, as a tightly focused nucleus of Norman ecclesiastical, military and administrative power (cf. Old Sarum, Wilts: Steane 1999, 86). Following the transfer of the Episcopal see from Dorchester-on-Thames to Lincoln, the cathedral was built facing the castle with its west front incorporating conspicuous aspects of military architecture (Gem 1986; Morris 1989, 252), the former Roman upper town forming in effect a vast outer bailey subsequently known as 'the Bail', defining a zone not integrated legally with the rest of the city until the nineteenth century (Jones 1993, 19).

Leicester castle (Fig. 7.3) emerges in the twelfth century in the ownership of the earls of Leicester and at the head of an extensive barony - hence the supposition of a baronial origin (see Pounds 1990, Fig. 2.1). As such, the castle would be unique amongst the major urban castles of the study area in its non-royal foundation. However, the historical likelihood is that it owes its origins to royal policy during the northern campaign of 1068-69 (Buckley 1991, 1; Fox 1942, 132-33), with Hugh de Grantmesnil, possessing extensive estates in the city and county at Domesday, and probably sheriff of the shire, presumably appointed as William's initial castellan (Cain 1990, 17-18).

Leicester was undoubtedly a thriving commercial and administrative centre on the eve of the Conquest: as a Mercian bishopric from 675, later a Danish borough, and with an estimated Domesday population of c. 2-3000, it was the largest urban centre in the Midlands by 1086 (Darby and Terrett 1954, 346-47; Beresford and Finberg 1973, 135). Yet relative to the other five boroughs, the topography of late Saxon Leicester is poorly

understood. The church of St. Nicholas contains Saxon fabric (Morris 1989, 37), yet is the only standing structure of this date, whilst the only significant archaeological traces of domestic occupation between the fourth century and the Norman Conquest come from the area south of the Roman perimeter (Finn 1994). The most probable scenario is that occupation was concentrated around an internal re-planning of a street network enclosed by the Roman circuit, probably including intra-mural streets within reconditioned civil defences, perhaps centring upon an axial, curvilinear north-south routeway between the Roman north gate and post-Roman break through the south circuit wall, thus respecting the Roman forum (Buckley and Lucas 1987, 56).

The immediate motives for castle foundation at Leicester are complicated by debate concerning the origins of the church of St. Mary de Castro, which lies within the bailey of the early castle. This topographical relationship, along with Robert de Beaumont's foundation charter of c. 1107 and an absence of any pre-twelfth century physical fabric has led to suggestions that it is a proprietary castle chapel in origin, situated opposite the great hall (Liddle 1983, 24-25; Fox 1942, 134-35). However, a radical re-appraisal sees St. Mary as having pre-Conquest origins and the charter as a *re*-foundation (Simmons 1974, 22-23). Similarly, Cain (1990, 21) identifies St. Mary's as one of the six churches mentioned in Domesday (i, 230a) and suggests that it is one of the two churches mentioned separately in conjunction with two houses and four 'waste houses'. Cain's argument hinges largely upon the fact that the 'waste houses' may have been displaced/destroyed by the construction of the castle in the manner of York (*ibid.*; see also Chinnery 1986, 46), hence demonstrating a physical link between a church, thought to be St. Mary's, and the castle site. If this identification is correct, the siting of the Norman castle must be seen in a different light, as incorporating a major ecclesiastical centre which may itself have been associated with a former high status secular site. Yet this argument has little to recommend it. As demonstrated at Stamford (see below), it may be misleading to imply physical association of castle and church on the basis of textual linkage in Domesday. In addition, St. Mary's emerges as a collegiate church and follows the wider trend that churches endowed in association with major baronial castles

commonly took the form of colleges of secular cannons - the community being more flexible and appropriate for association with the castle household (Pounds 1990, 231-39).

Documentary evidence has confirmed the existence of medieval defences on the west side of the Roman town, presumably re-using an antecedent Roman work and completing the fourth side of a rectilinear circuit (Lucas 1978-79, 61). Hence, the Norman response to this extant townscape represents what has come to be regarded as a 'typical' urban castle, the motte at Leicester being sited in the south-west corner of the Roman defences (Drage 1987, 119). Outwardly, military pragmatism and economy of effort would seem to be the principle factors conditioning such a topographic relationship - the corner of the Roman defensive circuit forming a solid basis for the motte, and the corner of the circuit constituting two sides of a bailey (*ibid.*) - yet closer analysis recommends otherwise. Limited excavations on the perimeter of the civil defences immediately east of the castle have revealed the Roman (and later?) rampart and wall to have been completely disrupted by the cutting of the bailey ditch (Buckley and Lucas 1987, 45), indicating the castle defences as not respecting antecedent defensive topography in detail. As such, the presence of a pre-existing defensive perimeter may have conditioned the Norman response to Leicester's topography in terms of overall strategic value rather than immediate tactical benefit. In this sense, the castle was also sited with explicit reference to communications patterns focused on the arterial north-south routeway c. 30m east of the bailey (*ibid.*, 56-57). A site above the Soar was also favoured, and excavations in a palaeochannel immediately west of the castle suggest that the river was diverted to supply the castle mill and probably wet defences (R. Buckley: pers. comm.).

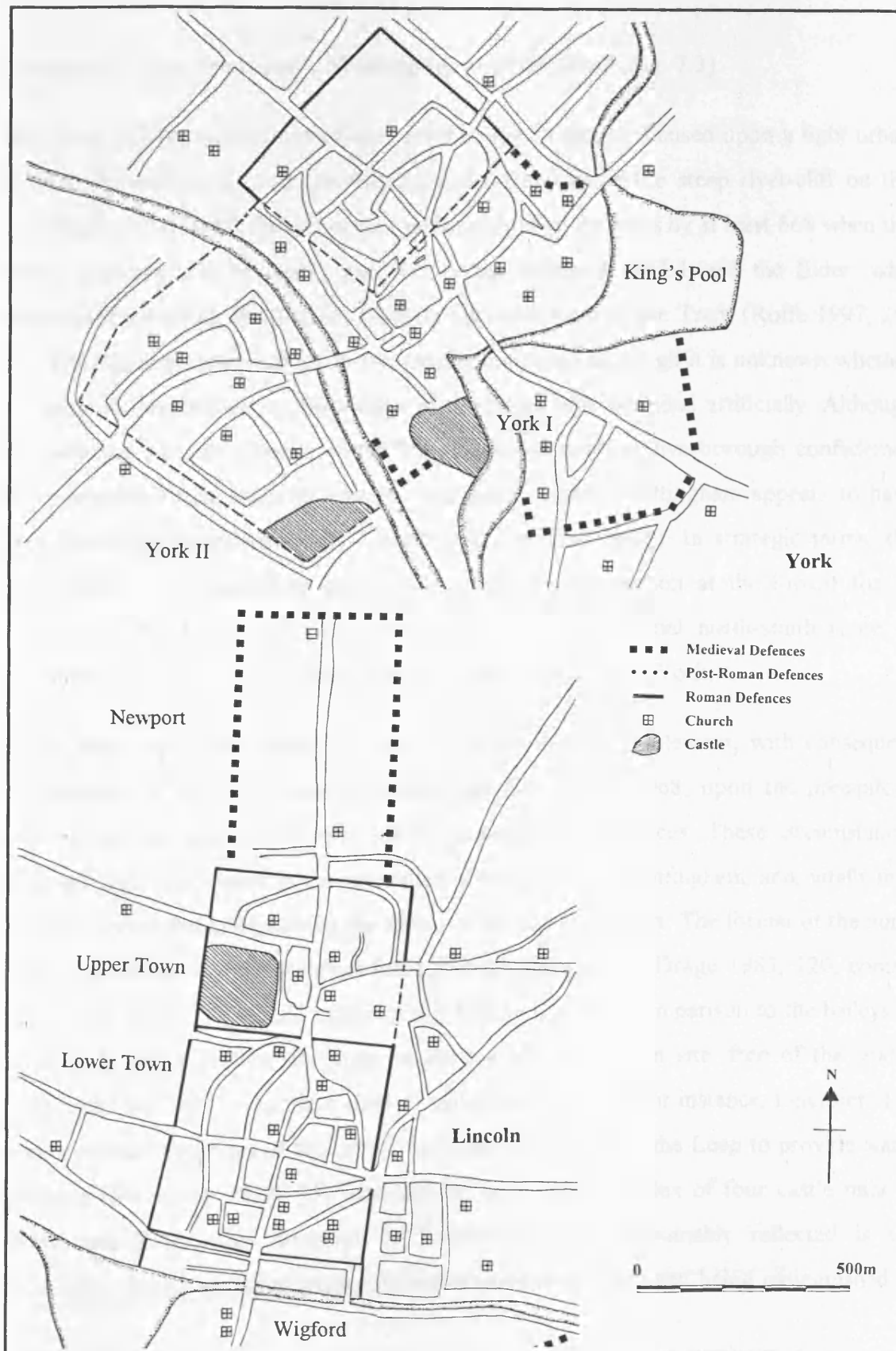


Fig. 7.2: Urban castles and medieval town plans: Lincoln and York

Castles and 'New Boroughs': Nottingham and Stamford (Fig. 7.3)

Settlement in *Nottingham* immediately prior to the Conquest focused upon a tight urban nucleus representing a probable Anglian *burh*, lying above the steep river-cliff on the north bank of the Leen. The settlement possessed urban defences by at least 868 when the Danish garrison was besieged, and 921, when captured by Edward the Elder, who constructed a second, short-lived, *burh* on the south bank of the Trent (Roffe 1997, 25-31). The defences described a sub-rectangular perimeter, although it is unknown whether the naturally precipitous southern edge of the circuit was defended artificially. Although the *burh* had been an element within the Anglo-Scandinavian five borough confederacy and possessed a mint from at least the mid tenth century, Nottingham appears to have been dominated economically by Lincoln and Stamford (*ibid.*). In strategic terms, the importance of Nottingham is attributable largely to its position at the lowest forded crossing of the Trent, and consequent position on the arterial north-south route of communication between Leicester/Northampton and Doncaster/York.

Rather than imposition within the core of the pre-existing settlement, with consequent displacement of property, here the castle was founded, in 1068, upon the precipitous rocky sandstone crag c. 550 west of the pre-Conquest defences. These circumstances assumed great importance in the subsequent development of Nottingham, and, vitally may go some way towards explaining the extent of the castle precinct. The format of the outer ward now seems to be an original feature of the early castle (Drage 1983, 120; contra. Renn 1968, 226). The spatial extent of this feature is vast in comparison to the baileys of other early urban castles, and may be attributable to a virgin site, free of the spatial restrictions that influenced the format of bailey enclosures at, for instance, Leicester. The immediate consequences of this action included a diversion of the Leen to provide water defences (Stevenson 1918, 73), and later to power the complex of four castle mills at Brewhouse Yard. This diversion of water courses is presumably reflected in the Domesday record of fishing rights for the population in the Leen being extinguished (i, 280).

Moreover, the siting of the castle probably dictated both the form and process of subsequent urban growth: specifically, a Norman borough, subsequently known as the French borough, was founded *de novo* between the castle and pre-Conquest nucleus (subsequently known as the 'English' borough). A seigneurial deer park, occupying the land north of the Leen to the west of the castle, completed a classic seigneurial triumvirate including castle and *de novo* borough, in a manner reminiscent of Devizes, Wilts. (Haslam 1976, 19-20) - the key difference being that the Norman unit at Nottingham was placed in the immediate vicinity of a pre-Conquest urban nucleus (see Fig. 7.3). The topographical division between the 'English' and 'French' boroughs in Nottingham has been long recognised, and its implications for later medieval administration noted; specifically, different customs of inheritance, and provision of two sheriffs and bailiffs were maintained until the fifteenth century (Owen 1945; 1946).

Domesday mentions that Nottingham was granted to William Peveril with the city boundary (*ad faciendum pomerium*: i, 280). The land of the borough belonged to an unspecified Earl in 1066, probably the Saxon magnate Morcar (Drage 1989, 19), whilst further documentary evidence suggests that Peveril's estates were largely comital land, held by successive earls in the pre-Conquest period (Roffe 1990, 73-74; Williams 1995, 26). That castle and new borough were founded upon a confiscated English estate already independent from the earlier borough, implies the administrative division between English borough and area later to be occupied by the French borough to have been already in place by 1066. The zone to be occupied by the new borough, in topographical terms a gentle valley between the defensible eminences of Castle Hill and St. Mary's Hill, notably has no evidence for permanent occupation before the Conquest (Roffe 1997, 31). It is probable that the French borough grew from an initially planted market at the castle gate, where the lines of Castle Gate, Hounds Gate and Park Street converge; this close physical relationship is perhaps suggestive of planning as an integrated unit from the outset (Drage 1989, 19; Marshall and Foulds 1997, 53). Ecclesiastical provisioning of the new borough is reflected in the Norman foundation of St. Nicholas, the profile of its associated parish

indicating it to have been carved from a pre-existing entity, presumably the former parish of St. Mary's, focussed upon the *burh*.

Clearly the transformation of Nottingham's topography was rapid, Domesday making specific mention of the 13 houses erected by Hugh, son of Baldric *in novo burgo* (i, 280). Significantly, the creation of the new borough appears explicitly associated with the provisioning and garrisoning of the castle; the event was apparently concurrent with the creation of urban fees intended to provide for the garrisoning of the Peveril's castle, whilst 48 houses for knights were within the French borough in 1086 (Roffe 1997, 37-38). The rapidity of development may be attributable to seigneurial economic policy; for example, favourable judicial terms were designed to attract Norman colonists to the castle borough at Hereford (Williams 1995, 202), making it tenable that similar conditions may have applied at Nottingham.

Furthermore, the growth of the castle borough conditioned a radical transformation of urban defences. The western defences of the pre-Conquest borough were rendered immediately superfluous by the French borough; indeed the mention in Domesday of '17 houses and 6 other houses in the borough ditch' (*fossatum burgi*: i, 280) may provide vivid testimony of a settlement re-oriented and expanding towards a new administrative and commercial focus. Ultimately, a new defensive perimeter was in place, probably by the mid twelfth century, to encompass the expanded urban area. In economic as well as defensive terms, the growth of the French borough thus marked a gravitational shift in Nottingham's topography. The economic and ecclesiastical core of the pre-Conquest borough may have been marked by a small market at the hub of the *burh*, immediately north of St. Mary's, which was almost certainly a pre-Conquest Minster with endowments of borough land in Domesday. That this focus was usurped rapidly by the growth of the castle-gate market in the French borough is clear (Barley 1969, 2), yet the location of another market in the south-west corner of the *burh* may again reflect the shift in the economic focus of the town to the west, this being an unconventional site for an original market.

Subsequent developments, however, tend to reflect a gradual breakdown of the castle-borough nexus. Clearly the main market at the junction of the old and new boroughs (Saturday Market) is a later addition, reflecting the sharing of commerce between the two boroughs (Foulds 1997, 57). Furthermore, it has been suggested that the present crossing of the Trent on the West Bridgford road relates to a period of mid-twelfth-century renewed stimulus to urban growth, probably coinciding with the extended provision of urban defences (Haslam 1987, 49-50) - an implication being a movement of communications routes away from the castle.

Outwardly, the disposition of castle, borough and market place at *Stamford* parallels the arrangement at Nottingham (Mahany 1977, 223); but the key difference is of scale. Whilst a morphogenetic explanation would argue for the development of *Stamford* and Nottingham along parallel trajectories, detailed scrutiny of archaeological, documentary and topographical evidence recommends that an entirely different sequence gave rise to superficially similar town plans.

Immediately prior to the Conquest, *Stamford* fulfilled an administrative rôle as a quasi-county town (formerly one of the five boroughs), in addition to occupying a specialised economic niche as a regional centre for pottery production lying at an important junction of agricultural resources. The settlement was further anomalous amongst the five boroughs in the lack of significant Roman occupation on or near the site (Mahany 1978, 6; Mahany *et al.* 1882, 2-4); instead *Stamford* emerged as an economic successor to nearby Great Casterton, but with no evidence to suggest a settlement of any importance, nor defences, before the ninth century.

Three distinct zones came to define *Stamford*'s urban topography by *c.* 1100: the enclosed borough, castle site and market-place (Mahany 1978, 6-14; Mahany *et al.* 1982, 6-10). The dominant of these was the sub-rectangular, gridded settlement on the low spur east of the castle, commonly accepted as the pre-Conquest *burh*, and known to have been enclosed with earthen ramparts (RCHM 1977, 2-3). A second borough or fort, south of the Welland was founded south of the river following English conquest in 918, although

this remained peripheral, and the nucleus north of the river pre-eminent (*ibid.*). The slightly more elevated spur to the west on which the castle was sited appears to have been a distinct, perhaps secondary, urban entity at this time. Although archaeology has shown the area to have been a primarily industrial zone in 1066, the area seems to have high-status connections: excavations on the castle site have revealed an earlier double ditched and ramparted enclosure defining the circular knoll, and what was, in all probability, a substantial high status defended Saxon residence (Mahany 1977, 232-33; Mahany and Roffe 1982, 204). In administrative terms this area was further distinct as the hub of an extensive royal multiple estate and part of the liberty of Rutland, held in 1066 by Queen Edith, wife of the Confessor, when it contained 70 *mansiones* (Roffe and Mahany 1986, 7-8)

The immediate impact of castle construction is, however, unclear. Domesday mentions that five *mansiones* were laid waste due to the construction of the castle (i, 336b), a minimal figure compared to the destruction wrought at Lincoln and York (see above). This may be explicable in terms of the poor nature of a sloping site (RCHM 1977, xli), yet given the quazi-legal as opposed to physical implications of the terms *mansiones* and *wastum* it becomes clear that the Domesday entry may give a false impression of the level of urban displacement attributable to castle foundation. Indeed, this area of the town - as part of a royal estate - may have lain beyond the custom-paying boundaries of the Anglo-Scandinavian borough, perhaps resulting in an under-representation of displaced Domesday population (Roffe and Mahany 1986, 6).

The origins of the market-place are essential for understanding the interplay between castle and townscape. Hoskins (1967) argued that the area occupied by the market place, immediately north-east of the castle, must be equated with the Northamptonshire Domesday entry for Portland ('land associated with the market'), and was a Norman foundation. This thesis hinges largely upon the association made in Domesday between the apparently newly-built churches of All Saints and St. Peter, and Portland (*ibid.*, 25). Roffe, however, contends that the formula of the Domesday entry demonstrates there to have been no *physical* relationship between the churches and the market (Mahany and

Roffe 1986, 6-7); instead, the churches may have merely held rights within the market, which thus presumably antedated the Norman intrusion into Stamford. Under this interpretation, the church of St. Peter may well have originated as an *Eigenkirche* of the presumed Saxon manor, the church lying within the conjectured perimeter of the enclosure.

In physical terms, the castle overlooked and dominated not only the borough, but also arterial routes of communication from the west, in addition to the crossing of the Welland to the south. Other than the Norman motives of dominating an important urban centre, the act of re-occupying the knoll, with its regal connotations, may have held a certain symbolic resonance. Furthermore, the coming of the Conquest appears to have conditioned somewhat of an economic and administrative renaissance for Stamford. Having initially 'exploded' into existence as an Anglo-Scandinavian centre in the ninth century (Roffe and Mahany 1982, 197; 1986, 5), by 1066 Stamford was being eclipsed economically by Lincoln; the occupation of the castle site ensured the re-emergence of a military rôle for the town.

Furthermore, the construction of the castle appears catalytic in a radical re-orientation of Stamford's wider administrative context. Analysis of Stamford's pre-Conquest form has always been problematic due to the multiple Domesday entries within Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire Domesday. Nonetheless, Roffe and Mahany (1986, 8) have argued that the form of the Domesday entry demonstrates a transferral of 70 *mansiones* from *Roteland* (Rutland) to Stamford in the period 1066-86; prior to this, the town had existed as two essentially independent administrative entities. The Conquest thus brought the area formerly recognised as Queen Edith's fee (and subsequently occupied by the castle), within the bounds of Stamford in order that the town might be governed more centrally, and ultimately from Lincoln, having been appended to that shire (see Roffe 1986, 116). This sequence of events serves adequately to explain the later medieval administrative and legal distinction between the western zone of the town formerly within the royal estate, and the area of the former Anglo-Scandinavian borough (Roffe 1988, 43).

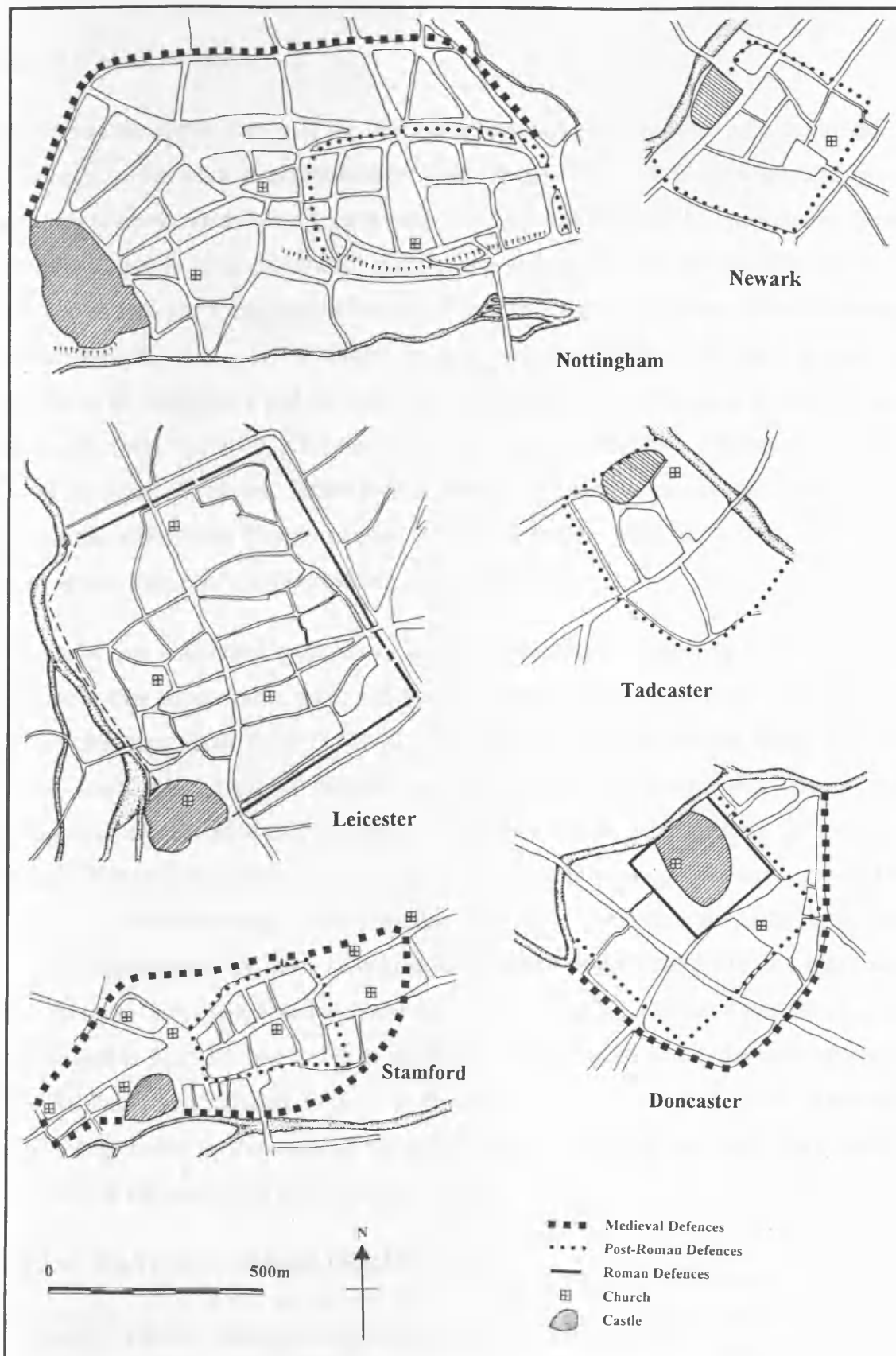


Fig. 7.3: Urban castles and medieval town plans: Doncaster, Leicester, Newark, Nottingham, Stamford and Tadcaster

Minor Castles: Derby

Of the five boroughs, *Derby* is the only centre lacking good evidence of a major castle foundation in the years immediately after 1066 (Drage 1987, 118-19). Although marginal evidence exists for an earthwork castle, this may have been of humble, impermanent form, certainly failing to enter the twelfth century as a seat of regional Norman administration (see Gazetteer). The topographical setting of the castle site, overlooking an early crossing of the Derwent, and c. 0.5km distant from the probable focus of the *burh* around the Minster of St. Alkmund's and the other early ecclesiastical foundations of St. Michael and All Saints (Steer 1988, 12; Tranter 1989, 23), seems to indicate a minor fortification raised for tactical reasons, rather than a strategically sited urban castle. Certainly the place-name *Copecastle* ('castle of the market': Williamson 1942, 6) is likely to recall a later aspect of the site's position within urban topography.

Yet Derby was undoubtedly the site of an Anglo-Scandinavian *burh*, by the late eleventh century a shire town with a mint, and by 1066 with a Domesday a population on a par with Nottingham (Hall 1974-75, 19-22). The Norman rationale behind failing to site a major castle here remains unclear, yet it may be significant that Derby was administratively paired with Nottingham in the late Saxon period. Derby is a notable anomaly within Domesday in that the entry relating to the borough follows as opposed to precedes the folios relating to the remainder of the shire, and is thus associated in the text with the Nottinghamshire, with which it shared a sheriff (Martin 1987, 56). A major castle foundation at Derby may thus have been superfluous in political terms; a parallel situation with regard to Norwich and Ipswich - the former with an early castle, the latter without - may be illuminating (Barley 1976, 70). Given these preconditions, a minor castle site, overlooking rather than overawing the pre-Conquest population may have been deemed expedient in the immediate post-Conquest years.

URBAN CASTLES: MINOR URBAN FOCI

Defended Centres: Doncaster, Tadcaster and Newark (Fig. 7.3)

Doncaster, S. Yorks. is not identified as a conventional urban castle by Drage (1987); here evidence is blurred both by the undocumented nature of the castle, and by uncertainty surrounding the status of the pre-Conquest settlement. Although two phases of the Roman fort and *vicus* of *Danum* have been identified archaeologically, traditionally, Doncaster is not recognised as a medieval urban centre until the grant of a royal charter of 1194, when Richard I granted to his burgesses their soke, apparently confirming existing privileges (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 190). Nevertheless, excavations in 1970-72 identified the cutting of twin defensive ditches circumvallating the Roman fort to the west, dated loosely to the Anglo-Scandinavian period and conjectured to have defined the defensive perimeter of a *burh*-type settlement (Magilton 1977, 34). Parker has also argued on the basis of documentary data that Doncaster functioned as an administrative and commercial centre from the Anglo-Saxon period (1987, 31-33), and the settlement is viewed increasingly as a pre-Conquest urban nucleus (cf. Perrin 1997). Parker (1987, 34-35) further suggests that Doncaster is one of the 'seven boroughs' mentioned in a Latin rendering of Florence of Wendover's Chronicle (the remaining borough presumably being York). This argument undoubtedly strengthens that for the motte and bailey being raised as an element within the systematic policy of urban castle building in 1068-69, a contention that Doncaster's position on the main Leicester-York route would obviously support.

The castle, however, appears anomalous relative to other urban foundations in the degree of physical imposition on an extant townscape. Whilst Drage constructs a general model of Norman intrusion into the peripheries of extant urban centres (1987, 119), here the castle builders seem to have dominated the very core of an earlier settlement. Colchester appears the nearest parallel, with its the castle occupying the former podium of the Temple of Claudius - although here too the outer defences stretch to the edge of the urban zone (Drury 1982). At Doncaster, the castle site is further restricted by the low-lying area known as the Marsh to the north, uninhabitable until drained by Franciscan monks in the thirteenth century (Hey 1986, 54). In order to fulfil the twin aims of dominating population and communications routes, the motte and bailey was thus raised

so as to overlook the vital point at which the Great North Road crossed the Cheswold, linked to the Don at its lowest navigable point, whilst dominating the *burh* which presumably lay in the immediate area of the castle and to the south, although the nature and extent of its occupation remains obscure. The re-occupation of the fort is thus more than solely a case of military expediency, but a reflection that the Roman road still constituted an arterial route of north-south communication in the mid eleventh century.

Together, the evidence is suggestive of an initial royal foundation, although the site was subsequently occupied by the Fossard family who held the manor, concealed within the compound entry for Hexthorpe, as tenants at Domesday (i, 307d: Hey 1986, 31, 42), and abandoned at a relatively early date due to its constricted site (see Gazetteer). Whilst short-lived, the Fossard occupation of the castle was associated with a massive re-orientation of the urban area, remodelled with obvious reference to the seigneurial core. This took the form of a grid plan moulded by the town ditch, fed by water from the Cheswold, and associated rampart, which was in existence by c. 1215; burgage plots are identifiable along Frenchgate, High Street, St Sepulchre Gate, Baxter Gate and Scot Lane. An substantial market place stood in the south-east corner of the town, near the Wharf, and formed an extension of the churchyard, although is likely to have originated before the granting of a fair in 1199 (Buckland and Dolby 1972, 277).

The ecclesiastical topography of Doncaster can also only be understood within the context of the castle. St. Mary Magdalene seems to have been founded, or at least rebuilt radically at the time of renewed stimulus to urban development represented by the laying out of the market place, as a five-bay Norman structure was found during nineteenth-redevelopment (Magilton 1977, 34). St. George's Church, emerging into the later Middle Ages as the parish church, seems to have superseded St. Mary, and was built directly over the motte and bailey, presumably after the site had become redundant, but almost certainly on the site of a former castle chapel (*ibid.*).

To these more minor urban castles we may add *Tadcaster, N. Yorks.* A large sub-rectangular defensive earthwork backing on to the River Wharfe was recognised by

Speight (1902, 259-60) as entrenchments associated with the Battle of Tadcaster Bridge in 1642, although is more likely to have early-medieval origins. This interpretation is strengthened by the physical relationship between castle and defences. The early motte and bailey was presumably built under the orders of William de Percy, as the manor headed his list of Yorkshire holdings, and was one of only a handful to increase in value 1066-86 (from 40s-100s: i, 321c). Morphological interpretation recommends that the castle was imposed on a pre-existing defensive perimeter, utilising a broad (water-filled?) ditch as the northern bailey defences (see Gazetteer). The ditch may not have survived the post-Conquest period well: excavations at Chapel Street (on the western edge of the defences) demonstrate traces of earthfast twelfth-/thirteenth-century structures indicating a new phase of building following the collapse of the civil ditch system (WYAS 1995).

The settlement was certainly of some importance in the early-medieval period, Bede recording the foundation of a monastery here in the seventh century, whilst the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that the English fleet retired up the Wharfe to Tadcaster in retreat from Hadrada's forces in 1066. In addition, the volume of Roman material discovered within the motte (Yorks. Arch. Reg. 1967-70, 563) reveals it to have been raised on an area of former Roman occupation, presumably associated with the Roman town of *Calcaria*. A concentration of stray finds and limited excavation further demonstrates the Roman settlement to have lain in this area (Whyman 1989, 3-4; WYAS 1996a). The focus of settlement appears to have migrated southwards in the early-medieval period as indicated by the defences (although some Anglian pottery and potential *grubenhäuser* have been located immediately south of the castle at Westgate: Whyman 1989, 4), with the motte and bailey thus sited on its northern fringe, overlooking the point where the Roman road to York crossed the Wharfe immediately to the north. The parish church of St. Mary's adjacent to the motte is largely fifteenth century, but contains elements of early-Norman fabric, and would appear to represent the rebuilding of an extant structure under Percy lordship, as fragments of a tenth-century cross are incorporated in the south aisle (OS Antiq. Mod. No. SE 44 SE 9). The castle was presumably deserted when the present river crossing was established c. 1273, superseding

the crossing that the motte dominated, and probably associated with the planning of a small market place on the new east-west route; limited excavation has shown a relative absence of Roman occupation and the heart of the medieval town to have lain here (WYAS 1993a; 1993b).

The origins of *Newark, Notts.* as an urban centre are usually ascribed to the post-Conquest period, on account largely of the place-name ('new work': Beresford 1967, 476). The castle is accepted conventionally as one of a small group of twelfth-century Episcopal castles (Renn 1968, 252-53). However, a series of recent archaeological excavations and watching briefs on the town defences and castle site have demonstrated earlier origins for both, thus demanding a re-appraisal of their interrelationship (Kinsley 1993; Marshall and Samuels 1994). Indeed, until recently, little was known about Saxon Newark; excavations of the town defences offering no indication of pre-medieval phases (Todd 1974; 1977). But excavations in Slaughter House Lane have now provided clear evidence of the rampart and ditch of an undocumented *burh*, either of the ninth-century Danish settlement or tenth-century English re-conquest, on the same alignment as the medieval town defences (Kinsley 1993). Also, the existence of an early castle, datable to at least the second-half of the eleventh century, and obliterated by the twelfth century Bishop's castle, is now confirmed (see Gazetteer).

More remarkable is antecedent activity, including a late Saxon cemetery, and contemporary curved ditch, apparently enclosing the zone of the town later occupied by the castle (Marshall and Samuels 1994, 53-54). When viewed in tandem with evidence of a probable late Saxon church in the vicinity of Bar Gate (to the north of the castle), this might indicate an early medieval monastic, or more probably high status, residential site (see Kinsley 1993, 57-58). In addition, if earlier excavations of the castle rampart were investigating the early castle defences rather than twelfth century phases, as the recent work suggests, the evidence of a 'peasant hut' sealed by the defences becomes more significant, being perhaps a product of undocumented Norman displacement (see Barley and Waters 1956, 30). We must remain otherwise unsure as to the state of Newark's development by the eleventh century, as aside from the town defences and castle site, the

only evidence of occupation comprises stray-finds of late Saxon pottery in the market place (Notts. SMR: No. 03171a); however, an extensive Saxon cemetery is known from c. 0.5m south-west along the Fosse Way (Kinsley 1989).

The topographical position of Newark is again instructive in any explanation of Norman reaction to extant urban topography. Both *burh* and castle overlook the junction of the Fosse Way and Great North Road, and a vital crossing of the Fosse Way over the Trent, c. 1km to the south-west. Whereas the early castle at Doncaster could effectively dominate both urban centre and communications lines, a choice of location adjacent to the river crossing here would have been overlooked by the *burh*. In addition, the castle builders evidently commandeered, indeed usurped, a possible high status zone within the town. The precise motives of this action must, however, remain unknown. Although a perceived continuity of high-status function seems likely, the site also occupies a prime defensible location adjacent to the river cliff, whilst it is possible that settlement was simply not as dense, and land availability not at such a premium, in this area.

There is no evidence to suggest that the crossing of the Trent immediately north of Newark castle was active before the mid twelfth century (see Rigold 1976, 153). Instead, this development seems related to the seigneurially-led re-organisation of the townscape under Bishop Alexander in the early twelfth century. Indeed, the origins of the new two-ward Bishop's castle, the fair, and the new road crossing of the Trent adjacent to the castle can be dated to three closely-spaced charters of Henry I in the 1130s (Barley 1956, xix). The grant of a five-day fair specifically 'in the castle' may indicate that the present triangular market place represents a slightly later development, (archaeology shows no evidence of pre-thirteenth-century levels: Barley 1964a, 77). The construction, or at least rebuilding, of the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene is likely to have formed an element in the same grandiose scheme of archiepiscopal planning and economic promotion (Pevsner 1979, 183-4). As such, the early-twelfth-century planning of Newark's townscape parallels closely similarly ambitious archiepiscopal projects elsewhere, such as the foundation of a network of planted towns in Wiltshire and Hampshire by the bishops of Winchester (Beresford 1959); the key difference is that

Newark represents *re-modelling* of an *extant* urban core. Thus two clear phases of castle-town relationship are apparent: an early, perhaps royal, urban castle imposed within the high status/monastic/ecclesiastical focus of a *burh* and overlooking the Trent, and a secondary phase of settlement re-planning involving re-orientation of communications routes and ecclesiastical provisioning, all in a manner commensurate with the status of the twelfth-century Bishop, as manifested in a radical rebuilding of the castle.

Other Centres: Scarborough and Pontefract

The chronological relationship between castle siting and urban origins at *Scarborough* presents a notable anomaly within the study area. The sequence of urban development is clear after the mid twelfth century only, when the 'Old Borough', a grid-plan town occupying the peninsula immediately west of the castle, clearly came into existence as a result of seigneurial promotion following foundation of the castle by William de Gros in the mid twelfth century (Pearson 1995, 178). In a wider sense, however, the growth of what appears outwardly a classic castle borough in reality represented an urban renaissance following a period of intense socio-economic dislocation.

The location of 'Scarthi's *burh*', founded c. 966 is unknown, and its function - military, commercial or otherwise - remains a matter for speculation (*ibid.*; Farmer 1988, 124). Yet Scarborough is documented unambiguously as a town in 1066, when it resisted Harald Hardrada before destruction (Binns 1966). The impact of these events, and the harrying of 1069-70 have been suggested to account for Scarborough's absence from Domesday (Le Patourel 1976, 6-8). Although a re-appraisal of the Domesday evidence, suggests that data relating to a settlement at Scarborough may be subsumed within those relating to the nearby manor of Falsgrave (Farmer 1988, 124), neither this, nor archaeological evidence of late-eleventh-century occupation in the Eastborough/West Sandgate area of the town (*ibid.*, 146) is sufficient to suggest a true urban community in existence at the time of castle foundation. Rather than a true urban castle, the foundation of le Gros's cliff-top fortress appears to have been founded in the vicinity of a community with renewed and growing urban potential, combined with obvious geographical

advantages at the head of an extensive hinterland in the process of early-twelfth-century recovery and increasing agricultural productivity.

The impact of castle siting on the urban centre of *Pontefract*, W. Yorks. also defies classification under Drage's model (1987). Although commonly listed as a new town (Beresford 1967, 525-26; Beresford and Finberg 1973, 191), the label fails to reflect the dynamic transformation of pre-Conquest settlement which gave rise to the town's later medieval form. Although the topographical development of the centre is problematic due to post-Conquest changes in place-name, the settlement subsequently known as Pontefract appears to have been a pre-Conquest urban or quazi-urban centre subsequently re-cast as, or displaced by, a castle borough, and is fully discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 6). Another possible exception could be *Tickhill*, S. Yorks. Although the sequence is again confused by place-name changes either side of the Conquest, suggestions have been made that the 31 Domesday burgesses of Dadesley lay in the vicinity of Dadesley Well, a settlement subsequently displaced by the castle borough of Tickhill in a manner analogous to Pontefract (Magilton 1971-77, 344; 1977, 80). However, analysis of documentary and topographical data makes it more likely that the castle borough had formed by 1086 but retained its pre-Conquest name (Beresford 1968, 526; Magilton 1977, 47). The settlement is hence dealt with more fully elsewhere (see Chapter 8).

Here we must also mention two problematic sites close to pre-Conquest urban centres. Despite claims that the Domesday borough of Torskey, Lincs. contained a castle (Darby and Terrett 1952, 6), and the recognition by Leland of an artificial mound interpreted as a castle mound (Smith 1910 i, 32), excavations on the site ('Windmill Hill') show the supposedly fortified site to be of alternative origin, whilst the 'Torksey Castle' recorded on OS maps is an undefended Elizabethan manor (Barley 1964b, 168). In addition, the fortification at *Thornes*, W. Yorks., overlooking the pre-Conquest proto-urban nucleus of Wakefield was both sufficiently remote from the confines of the town not to constitute an urban castle - despite being recorded as 'Wakefield Castle' - and seems to have had mid-twelfth-century origins as opposed to being an eleventh-century royal foundation (Hope-Taylor 1953, 13; contra. Mayes and Butler 1983, 27: see Chapter 3 for full discussion).

URBAN CASTLES AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST

It is instructive to view the siting of castles and their immediate impact upon contemporary townscapes within the wider context of the development of urban fortification up to 1066. Armitage's (1912) initial identification of the Saxon *burh* as a spatially extensive site, both socially and functionally distinct from the early Norman castle, constituted perhaps *the* defining point within modern castle studies (Brown 1987, 71). Although Richardson's provocative suggestion that the early Norman castle and *burh* may not have been fundamentally dissimilar (1965, 553-56) has been dismissed by Pounds on the basis of misunderstanding the rôle of the castle (1990, 10), essentially similar, although somewhat refined, views are presently gaining academic currency. This is especially so given the character of the last generation of tenth-century English *burh* building, where *burhs* were employed and built aggressively as instruments of conquest within offensive campaigns, as distinct from the classic conception of the Wessex *burh*. In particular, Strickland has demonstrated parallels in terms of military function and effectiveness between the castles of the Conquest and *burhs* built during the early tenth-century re-conquest of the Danelaw (Strickland 1996, 370).

The urban castles of Yorkshire and the East Midlands largely support this contention in terms of the wider relationship between newly built fortifications and urban topography. The key point is that the *burhs* of Edward the Elder and Ethelflaed, such as those at Stamford and Nottingham, were raised as elements within a similarly aggressive and systematic, royal campaign of Conquest (see Stenton 1932, 335). As such, these sites generally took the form of fortified enclosures sited with the aim of dominating population centres and controlling communications routes, rather than enclosing populations and centralising the means of production in the manner of Alfredian antecedents.

In detail, the manner in which the twin castles of York straddle the essential river-borne route of communication is reminiscent of the 'double *burhs*' of the pre-Conquest period (Brooks 1971, 72). Furthermore, the suggestion has also been made that the first

generation of Norman castles essentially formed fortified enclosures for the containment of squadrons of cavalry (Pounds 1990, 7-9). Although this thesis awaits adequate archaeological consideration (see Stocker 1992, 417), the suggestion hints at another potential parallel between the early royal castle and the last generation of Saxon *burhs* as spatially extensive fortified centres for the containment of garrisons. In particular, such an initial rôle for Nottingham castle, well positioned relative to arterial communications routes and with ready access to the surrounding hinterland has been discussed; the garrisoning arrangements at York, and the conversion of the Upper City at Lincoln into a dedicated unit may be indicative of similar functions. Aside from the early form of Nottingham castle, the rapid creation of the 'French' borough, serving initially as a mechanism facilitating the supply and provisioning of the castle garrison, echoes the suggestion of an early and distinct period of borough foundation when the creation of a castle-gate borough did not necessarily imply the foundation of a truly urban community, rather a specialist settlement geared towards the effective maintenance of the castle (Miller 1968, 196). Here, the growth of nascent *vici* at the gates of Roman forts may an illuminating parallel.

Finally, in the years immediately following the Conquest, urban castles were in no sense seigneurial residences. Built under royal control the sites were, without exception entrusted to castellans such as William Peveril (Nottingham), and William Malet (the first castle at York); it is only later that sites emerged at the head of feudal baronies (e.g. Leicester), or as archiepiscopal seats (e.g. Newark). Here emerges a central paradox: this unique generation of early urban castles - constructed under the express orders of the Conqueror as an instrument of Conquest, and in a sense the most 'Norman' castles of all - owe the most to Anglo-Saxon ancestry in terms of their military function as well as social and landscape contexts. On a wider scale still, the first generation of urban castles reflect not only the Norman acceptance and perpetuation of an *extant* system of shrieval administration, but administrative distinctions *between* existing late Saxon centres. This is displayed most obviously in the appropriation of the five boroughs, where two administratively pre-eminent centres (Nottingham and Lincoln) were occupied by major

early castles, whilst the respectively dependent boroughs (Derby and Stamford) were occupied by administratively secondary castles.

The evidence has thus suggested that Drage's model must be refined in a number of ways. The need to integrate the imposition of an urban castle within a wider settlement history, rather than viewing it as a single event has been stressed. In this sense archaeology must have a vital rôle to play in pinpointing pre-Conquest activity, particularly in the sense of high status administrative and ecclesiastical sites underlying later castles. Furthermore, beyond the initial act of castle imposition, the majority of sites discussed are associated with subsequent re-planning or re-orientation of settlement, from the creation of dedicated suburbs for displaced settlement, to the wholesale laying out of castle boroughs over, or in the immediate vicinity of, earlier urban cores.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CASTLES AND CASTLE BOROUGHES

CASTLES AND THE MEDIEVAL URBAN LANDSCAPE

The distinction between medieval boroughs and market-based settlements is a notoriously grey area. Often, intermediate settlements have 'urban' functions, yet in physical terms are no larger than villages, whilst contemporary sources are both inconsistent and hesitant in their definitions (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 36). The situation is further complicated when later or post-medieval changes lead to shrinkage or contraction to more 'rural' proportions. What is clear is that urban/rural definitions are less clear-cut when examining 'castle-dependent' settlement, or settlement which in some way owes its origins to the existence of a castle (Barley 1976, 59). Here, the functions of a settlement, at least initially, tend to be specialist in nature, not reflecting the full range of functions and services defining a 'typical' urban institution.

Overall, few castle boroughs are *de novo* foundations in the strict sense, implying a plantation on a fresh site hitherto unoccupied by settlement, whether urban or rural. The work of Beresford (1967) has done much to create a false dichotomy between the 'new town' and an extant village upgraded or transformed into an urban settlement as an act of seigneurial economic policy. Indeed, there is nothing to suggest a fundamentally different intention behind either act; the crucial issue is of the suitability and economic potential of a site in terms of access to resources, communications patterns, etc.

This study recommends that the reality of castle borough origins is more complex, with a spectrum of potential scenarios evident, attributable to variables including the character of settlement development in the local landscape and the changing rôles of castles with wider patterns of estate management. At one end of the spectrum is the *de novo* borough, often

characterised by foundation at the boundaries of extant parishes, by Norman nomenclature and the absence of the place-name in Domesday (e.g. *Belvoir, Leics.*). Even in these cases, however, the planted borough might have a serious impact on nearby settlement. More common is the creation of a castle borough in the vicinity of a pre-existing rural settlement; in certain cases the castle borough will remain morphologically distinct from the pre-existing core (e.g. *Thirsk, N. Yorks.*), but elsewhere the borough is appended physically (e.g. *Sleaford, Lincs.*). More problematic are examples where antecedent settlement is apparently re-planned wholesale (e.g. *Skipton, N. Yorks.*). We must therefore distinguish between antecedent occupation either surviving in the form of observable plan units, and that effectively removed from the townscape through the creation of a new morphological frame for settlement. Throughout, however, we are hampered by weak documentation, limited archaeology and often blurred/decayed plans. Nonetheless, as seen, integrated analysis offers a way to explore the influence of the medieval castle on not only the foundation and growth of new towns, but the seignorial manipulation of existing villages.

CASTLES AND TOWN PLANS

The morphological analysis of town plan evolution has been pioneered by historical geographers, most notably Conzen (1960). Yet a morphogenetic approach suffers from inherent limitations, in particular an unwillingness to fully integrate other data sources, whilst the study of typology should not remain an aim in itself (Austin 1985). Accordingly, this study aims to incorporate a wider variety of topographical, historical and archaeological data sources in order to provide a more balanced view of the rôle of castles and castle seigneurs in urban settlement change.

Furthermore, a rigid classificatory approach overlooks castle towns as representing more than a collection of forms and physical relationships; rather, castle-town relationships invariably encapsulate the purposeful manipulation and design of urban space in response to the changing needs and motives of an aristocratic elite. In the socio-political context of eleventh- and twelfth-century England, the coupling of castle and town was a key tool in

the establishment, perpetuation and enhancement of social and political control. Vitrally, links between castle and towns must be related not only to the estate networks of individual magnates, but to the more general process of territorial expansion in Anglo-Norman England. Whereas historians have been willing to view the Norman expansion into Wales and Ireland as an essentially colonial enterprise at the fringes of a wider Anglo-Norman realm (Davies 1974; Frame 1981), comparable insights into England are somewhat lacking.

THE *DE NOVO* BOROUGH

Seven *de novo* castle boroughs are recognised in the study area: of these, the two case-studies (*Mountsorrel, Leics.* and *Tickhill, S. Yorks.*) provide in-depth analysis of the circumstances of borough plantation, whilst the sites at *Thorne, S. Yorks.*, *Bolsover, Derbys.* and *Castleton, Derbys.* are dealt with in more summary fashion; the final two sites (*Belvoir, Leics.* and *Almondbury, W. Yorks.*) are covered in subsequent sections.

Case-Study: Mountsorrel, Leics. (Fig. 8.1)

Mountsorrel demonstrates the value of even spatially limited excavation, when integrated effectively with documentary data, for examining the origins of castle towns. Here, evidence combines to suggest that the town of Mountsorrel was a Norman foundation on a virgin site, whilst the topographical circumstances of the site imply that the nucleation was 'forced', presumably as an act of seigneurial policy.

Mountsorrel is absent from Domesday, but is presumably subsumed within the great estate of Barrow (upon Soar), held by Harold Godwinson before 1066, and the site of the mother church (i, 236d-237a). Kelley (1985, 17) argues that the absence of a Domesday market at Barrow may point to the market of this large multiple estate being at Mountsorrel - hence the siting of the castle so as to overlook an active site of commercial importance. Nonetheless, this explanation appears specious in the light of the topographical position of the town: the settlement takes a linear form, lying on a narrow gravel river terrace capped with Keuper marl, curving between the granite outcrop

forming the easternmost outcrop of Charnwood on which the castle lies, to the west, and the floodplain of the Soar to the east. Notably, excavations at 13 The Market Place, and 1 and 3 Leicester Road have demonstrated how medieval settlement was artificially raised and traversed by a network of drainage gulleys indicative of an unfavourable and poorly drained site, attributable both to the volume of surface run-off from Castle Hill and the proximity of the Soar floodplain (Lucas 1987).

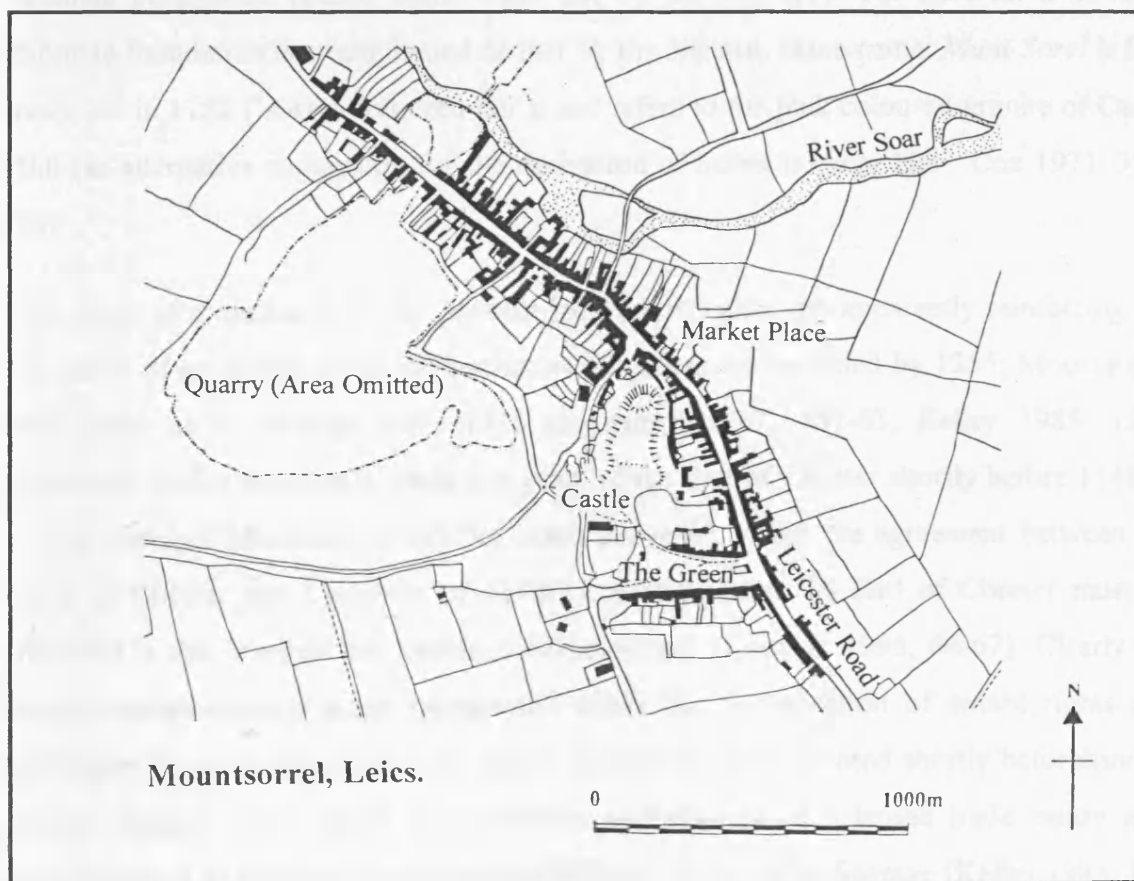


Fig. 8.1: Town plan of Mountsorrel, Leics. (Based on OS First Ed.)

The likely sequence is thus of a castle sited primarily to overlook the key route of communication between Leicester and Derby within the extensive estates of the earls of Leicester (Hoskins 1949, 84). On topographical evidence alone the intervening terrace between Castle Hill and the Soar was likely to have been unoccupied before the castle; indeed, other than the stray finds of two Anglo-Saxon loomweights and an early medieval pot from the general vicinity of the town, there is no archaeological indication of pre-Norman occupation (Leics. SMR: Nos. SK 51 SE AL, BT). The case for a *de novo* Norman foundation is strengthened further by the Norman place-name: *Munt Sorel* is first recorded in 1152 ('sorrel-coloured hill'), and refers to the pink coloured granite of Castle Hill (an alternative suggestion for the derivation of Sorrel is 'Soar Hill': Cox 1971, 385-86).

The grant of a market with fair is recorded in 1292, although apparently reinforcing the existence of an extant urban institution, as burgesses are recorded by 1255; Mountsorrel was taxed as a borough from 1315 (Beresford 1967, 462-63; Kelley 1985, 135). However, earlier mention is made in a grant of the Earl of Chester shortly before 1148 of '...the town of Mountsorrel and the castle above it', whilst the agreement between the earls of Chester and Leicester of 1148-53 mentions that the Earl of Chester must be received in the '*burgus* and bailies of Mountsorrel' (Coulson 1995, 66-67). Clearly the late-thirteenth-century grant represented either the formalisation of extant rights and privileges or, given that licence to hold a market had been granted shortly beforehand at nearby Rothley, more likely the economic revitalisation of a lapsed trade centre as a calculated act of economic policy by the landlord, Nicholas de Segrave (Kelley 1985, 17). This is instructive given the apparent wholesale destruction of the castle c. 1217 - although the site itself may have continued to be occupied at a reduced level (see Gazetteer).

Topographically, two distinct zones of burgage plots can be identified within the town plan, although variously decayed and amalgamated in part (Fig. 8.1). One apparently

planned block is recognisable immediately east of, and below the castle in the area of The Green, whilst a second regular zone of plots lies to the north, where a marked widening of Leicester Road north of the castle is known as the Market Place, and where Sileby Road crosses the Soar to join the Leicester Road. Here, the street name Bond Lane to the north presumably marks the limit of the area of free tenure. Excavation has provided a notable supplement to morphological analysis of the town plan; to the rear of the plots fronting the Market Place, although structures fronting onto the medieval road were obscured by the present footpath and road, ceramic assemblages from a series of pits and gulleys reveal signs of occupation from c. 1150, whilst the Leicester Road plots show no signs of activity prior to the thirteenth century and are of more industrial character (Lucas 1987, 4-6). A likely sequence is that the Market Place represents the area of the original *de novo* castle borough, whilst the Leicester Road burgage plots represent a later planned extension, perhaps associated with a second market place ('The Green') - presumably the result of the 1292 grant. It is also near here that a market cross stood before being moved to Swithland in 1793 (Leics. SMR: No. SK 51 NE G).

The ecclesiastical provision of Mountsorrel supports this hypothesis. Characteristically for a new town, the settlement was founded at the junction of two parishes, Barrow to the north and Rothley to the south - hence the unusual provision of two chapels: St. John (now St. Peter) being a chapelry of Barrow (Mountsorrel Superior) and St. Nicholas of Rothley (Mountsorrel Inferior). The chapel of St. Peter's, lying near the northern market place and with a medieval west tower, was clearly earlier than St. Nicholas's (documented in 1552 but gone by 1622: Nichols III 1800, 85, 1130) which was presumably associated with the planned expansion. It thus emerges that the block of settlement most physically associated with the castle was actually planned following its disuse, whilst the plan unit further north was the original borough conceived contemporary with/shortly after the castle.

Case-Study: Tickhill, S. Yorks. (Fig. 8.2)

Settlement activity at Tickhill in the immediate pre-Conquest period was concentrated around the nucleus of *Dadesley*, c. 1.5km to the north of the present town, apparently in the vicinity of Dadesley Lane and Dadesley Well Farm, as indicated in the field-name 'Eastfield', recorded first in the fourteenth century (Smith 1953, 55). This hypothesis is supported further by analysis of the road network, with Doncaster Road making two changes in direction to align with Northgate, to the north of the present town, indicating the borough was inserted within a pre-existing framework of communications. This community was apparently served by All Hallows Church, whose site is marked by stone footings and a rectangular enclosure surmounting All Hallows Knoll north-east of the town (Hey 1980a, 420); nonetheless extensive fieldwalking in the area has revealed no medieval pottery (Magilton 1977, 345).

The Domesday manor of *Dadesley* formed one of a composite entry (including Stainton and Hellaby) in the hands of Roger de Busli, with a total recorded population of 54 villeins, 12 bordars, 31 burgesses and a priest; three mills and a church are also mentioned (i, 319a). The whereabouts of the Domesday burgesses is, however, debatable. Some authorities argue that they may have lain within the earlier nucleus of *Dadesley*, with the foundation of Tickhill marking a shift in urban or proto-urban focus (e.g. Magilton 1971-77, 346; 1977, 80). Yet it seems more credible that the burgesses were situated within the present settlement of Tickhill, in 1086 still known by its pre-Conquest name (Beresford 1967, 526). The place-name Tickhill is itself first recorded in the Nostell Priory cartulary of 1109-19 (Hey 1980b, 418). There seems little doubt that the basis of the transplanted settlement had already been sited half a mile to the south of pre-Conquest *Dadesley* on the edge of Castle Green by 1086 as the appendage of the honorial castle (see Chapter 5).

The topography of the town is essentially L-shaped, with Northgate forming the north-south axis and Westgate the east-west route. The castle is sited on the right angle, with a market place indicated by a marked widening of Northgate midway between the castle and northernmost boundary of the settlement, where a market cross is situated; an

additional road (Sunderland Street) heads eastwards from here. Butler suggests that Tickhill represents a sub-regular plan with no evidence of back lanes (1975, 47), yet morphological analysis of the street pattern reveals St. Mary's Road as a back lane to Northgate on the west side, and a broad public footpath may fossilise a similar feature to the east. Similarly, Pinfold Lane represents the northern back lane of Westgate, whilst to the south the absence of a back lane can be attributed to the Mill Dyke forming the limit of property boundaries (Magilton 1977, 354). The plan thus seems likely to reflect a version of a linear plan where space was not at a premium, rather than an unfulfilled skeleton grid (Butler 1975, 47).

The church of St. Mary, founded in the thirteenth century, was set within the right angle of the settlement, on the opposite side of the junction between Northgate and Westgate to the castle. Outwardly, its position between the two probable back lanes is suggestive of secondary imposition within an extant morphological frame, and may indicate that the community initially continued to be served by All Hallows church in *Dadesley*. It is thus tempting to propose a model of a piecemeal southwards migration of settlement from the vicinity of All Hallows to the present site of Tickhill in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with the church being eventually relocated. In this model, the castle appears the sole stimulus behind the migration, although, if one or more of the three mills mentioned in the combined Domesday combined entry was located in Lindrick, immediately west of the castle (Magilton 1977, 346), then a picture emerges of a castle-mill cell being the essential magnet. A possible topographical argument against this model of migration is the location of St. Leonard's leper hospital adjacent to the postulated market place; this would surely imply that this area formed the periphery of the town, at least in 1225 when it is first recorded (*ibid.*, 75); nonetheless, some doubt exists over the identification of the site, and whether the name can more appropriately be linked with the documented, fourteenth-century medieval hospital on the eastern fringes of the town at Tickhill Spital (*ibid.*, 80).

Recent, though limited, archaeological information has raised additional questions about the early topography of the town. In 1973, the excavation of two burgage plots between church and castle provided no evidence of occupation before the fourteenth century, and

demonstrated that the southern part of the area was cobbled in the late medieval period (Magilton 1971-77, 346). This implies that these plots represent a late or post-medieval allotment of land, and that the true core of Tickhill lies in the tenement blocks surrounding the former Market Place; alternatively, the arc outside the castle remained dedicated to another function until the later medieval period.

Rescue work west of the Market Place in 1975 produced the first medieval pottery assemblage from the town, and revealed the stone burgage plots in this area to be of seventeenth-century date. Furthermore, the discovery of a steep-sided V-shaped ditch (c. 2.5m deep and 4m wide), oriented east-west, and with a stone revetted bank to its south, was shown to pre-date burgage plots in the area and to have silted up entirely during the medieval period, suggesting a former defensive enclosure (DOE 1975, 120). Magilton further proposes that the semi-circular line represented by Church Lane, St. Mary's Gate, and the southern boundaries of the properties along Sunderland Street represent the perimeter of early defences associated with the planned town (1971-77, 346-47) - a suggestion further strengthened by the street name Sunderland ('land set aside for a special purpose': Smith 1953, 53).

A possible scenario is thus the initial nucleation of a proto-urban settlement within a horse-shoe shaped enclosure at the castle gate, as fossilised partially in the town plan; perhaps a social and physical equivalent to the *bourgs ruraux* of Normandy (see Kissock 1997, 132). The linear arrangement of burgage plots to the north may indicate a later period of expansion and re-planning in line with seigneurial economic policy and a decline in perceived military threat. This explanation accounts both for the peripheral (and uncommon) position of the market-place relative to the castle, and interrupted profile of the burgage plots both north and south of the proposed enclosure, suggesting the southern block (within the enclosure) to be the result of later infilling. Although the town plan at the *Skipton, N. Yorks.* is more decayed, the curvilinear profile of routeways immediately south of the castle, again embracing the parish church, may similarly fossilise the perimeter of an enclosed focus of proto-urban growth antedating the formalised linear plan.

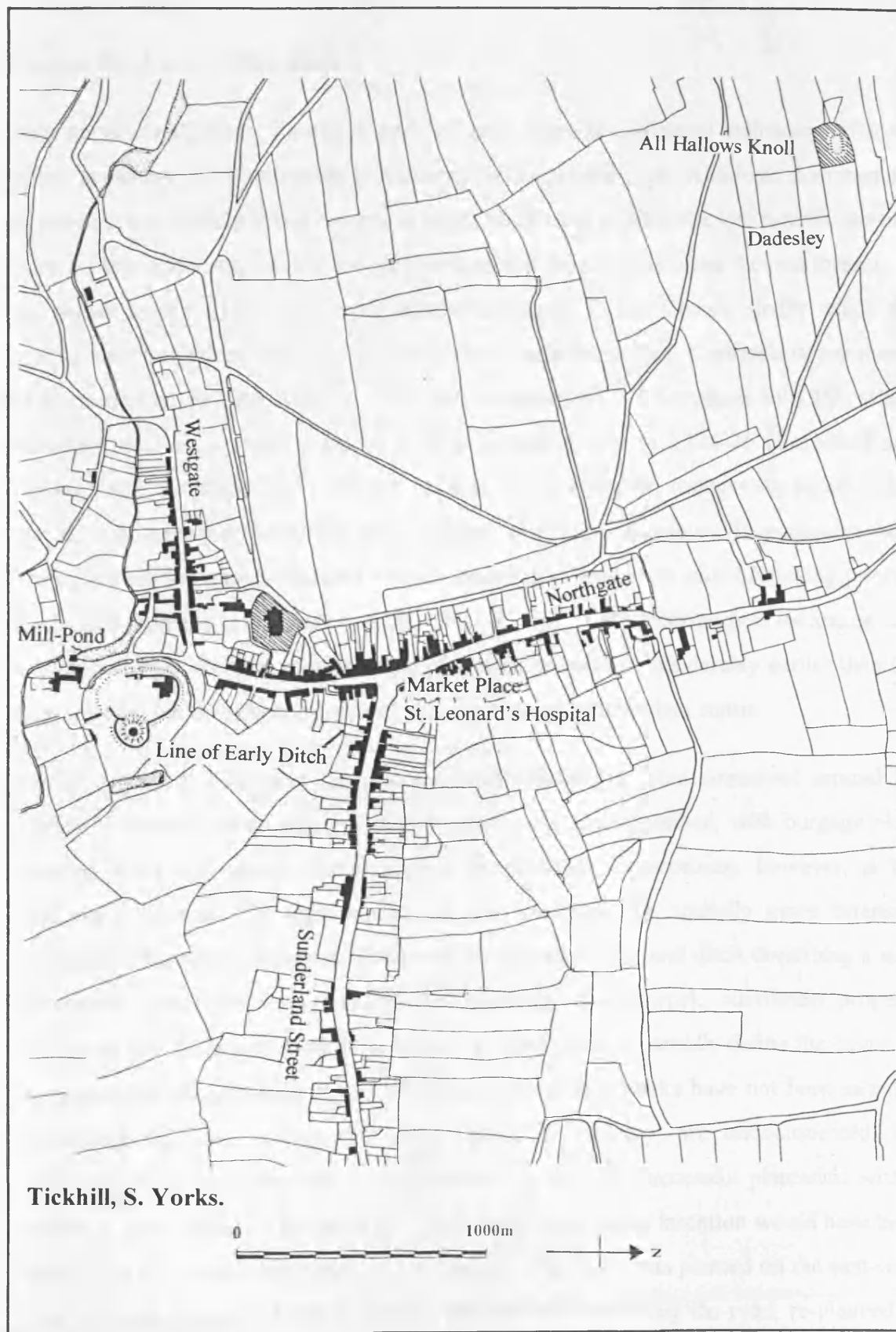


Fig. 8.2: Town plan of Tickhill, S. Yorks. (Based on OS First Ed.)

Further Evidence: Other Sites

Two sites in Derbyshire, *Castleton* and *Bolsover*, provide additional indications of some of the problems and possibilities in studying the castle borough. Although documentary sources do not confirm urban centres at either place until at least the late twelfth century, there is little doubt that both were early seigneurial foundations under Peveril lordship in the period before 1155 when their estates escheated to the Crown, under which the centres were promoted further and their urban status formalised. Castleton is mentioned as a borough in the Pipe Rolls of 1196 and contained 43 5/8 burgesses by 1255, whilst Bolsover received a royal order to hold a market charter in 1225-26 (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 85; Hart 1981, 139-40); in both cases, however, topography recommends that such documentary evidence must confirm earlier urban origins. In particular, both town plans feature parish churches with demonstrably Norman origins occupying primary positions within the grid (Derbys. SMR: Nos. 11216, 3337) - this a good indication that in both cases the essence of each town plan was conceived considerably earlier than the date at which the documentary record signals urban or proto-urban status.

The town plan at Castleton comprises a monocellular grid plan conceived around St. Edmund's church and an adjacent market place, now largely infilled, with burgage plots radiating from the central church/market focus. What is surprising, however, is the relationship between the tight nucleus of the town and the spatially more extensive perimeter of the urban defences. The latter comprised a bank and ditch describing a sub-rectangular circuit indicated variously by fragments of earthwork, curvilinear property boundaries and the line of Peakshole Water, diverted so as to partially define the circuit to the north-west (Brooksbank 1929, 47). Although the earthworks have not been sampled archaeologically, and, having not being rebuilt in masonry, are undocumented, the relationship with the town plan is suggestive of a partially successful plantation with a number of plots failing to be taken up; conceivably the original intention would have been the addition of another unit of the grid to the east. The town was planted on the east-west route between Chapel-le-Frith and Hope, the defences embracing the road, re-planned as

a dog-leg to form the basis of the grid. However, in many ways the appearance of a 'castle-gate' town is illusory: constraints of site dictated that vehicular access to the castle was via the Earl's Road, entering the castle from the west and linked to the western break in the defences, whilst a steeply ascending, winding track suitable for pedestrian access immediately linked castle and town (see Gazetteer).

Bolsover was planned an essentially similar, although slightly more ambitious form as a linear grid plan along the spine of the Magnesian Limestone ridge on which the castle lay. The same spatial relationship of castle, infilled market place and church is in evidence, although in more elongated, linear form in response to limitations of site. Recent archaeological evidence that the church of St. Mary and St. Lawrence has eleventh-century origins may therefore relate the church to the planning of the urban core in its present form (Hart 1981, 139-40; Foster 1992).

In contrast to Castleton, a zone of secondary urban expansion is evident to the north of the primary market place focus, where the profile of a row of regular elongated plots denotes expansion over a former area of open field cultivation. The key problem at Bolsover, however, remains the chronology of the undocumented earthen urban defences, the former alignment of which is known in three zones: a long curving bank and ditch defining the perimeter to the north ('The Dykes'); a length immediately east of the church ('The Hornscroft'); and an outlying section on a different alignment to the east. The likely sequence is of secondary expansion from an original defended core settlement including castle, church and market place (Symonds *et al.* 1995). However, residual Anglo-Saxon artefacts have been recovered from the eastern rampart (Derbys. SMR: No. 11205). Whilst the present town plan is undoubtedly a planned creation related to the castle, this raises the question that the settlement may have earlier pre-urban origins obscured by wholesale re-planning. Feasibly, multiple extended inhumations recovered from the area of the castle, although of indeterminate date, may relate to the graveyard of an earlier church (Webster and Cherry 1978, 168). The same could be true of Castleton, both places being mentioned in Domesday, although the relationship between the Domesday manors and the presence of nucleated settlement remains a matter for speculation only.

Thorne, S. Yorks. was a small manor in the extensive jurisdiction of William de Warenne's holding of Conisbrough at Domesday (i, 321b). The castle was formerly set in marshy surroundings, judging from the place-name evidence implying meres, dykes and marshland in the locality (Smith 1961, 2-3); it was almost certainly a satellite of Conisbrough, as demonstrated through architectural parallels between the sites (see Gazetteer), and may have originated as a specialised hunting seat. Thorne became a market centre serving a fairly wide area by the later medieval period, although the earliest known reference to a market is in 1586 (a petition for another market and fair, suggesting pre-existing privileges). Whilst present settlement topography apparently reflects two market places (the sub-rectangular 'Market Place' to the south and 'The Green' forming a triangular open area to the north), it seems more likely that these two areas instead represent the vestiges of an extensive rectangular open zone, founded immediately adjacent to the church-castle cell, the church of St. Nicholas developing from a castle chapel to become the parish church (Magilton 1977, 71-73).

CASTLE BOROUGHES AND ANTECEDENT SETTLEMENT

In a large number of instances, it appears that a castle was originally raised in the vicinity of a rural settlement which ultimately grew to assume urban functions. The crucial matter here is the need to assess the rôle of the castle, and more specifically the castle seignury, in the transformation of settlement topography.

Case-Study: Richmond, N. Yorks. (Fig. 8.3)

Richmond is oft-quoted as a classic example of Norman settlement (cf. Brown 1989, 197-98). Superficial plan-analysis demonstrates the neat arrangement of burgage plots to mirror and reflect the location of the castle, emphasising the position of the seigneurial focus as the pivotal factor in the growth of the borough. Along with Devizes, Wilts. and Pleshey, Essex, Richmond is one of a small yet important corpus of town plans characterised by a similar semi-circular configuration of burgesses around castle (Aston and Bond 1976, 87; Beresford 1967, 155).

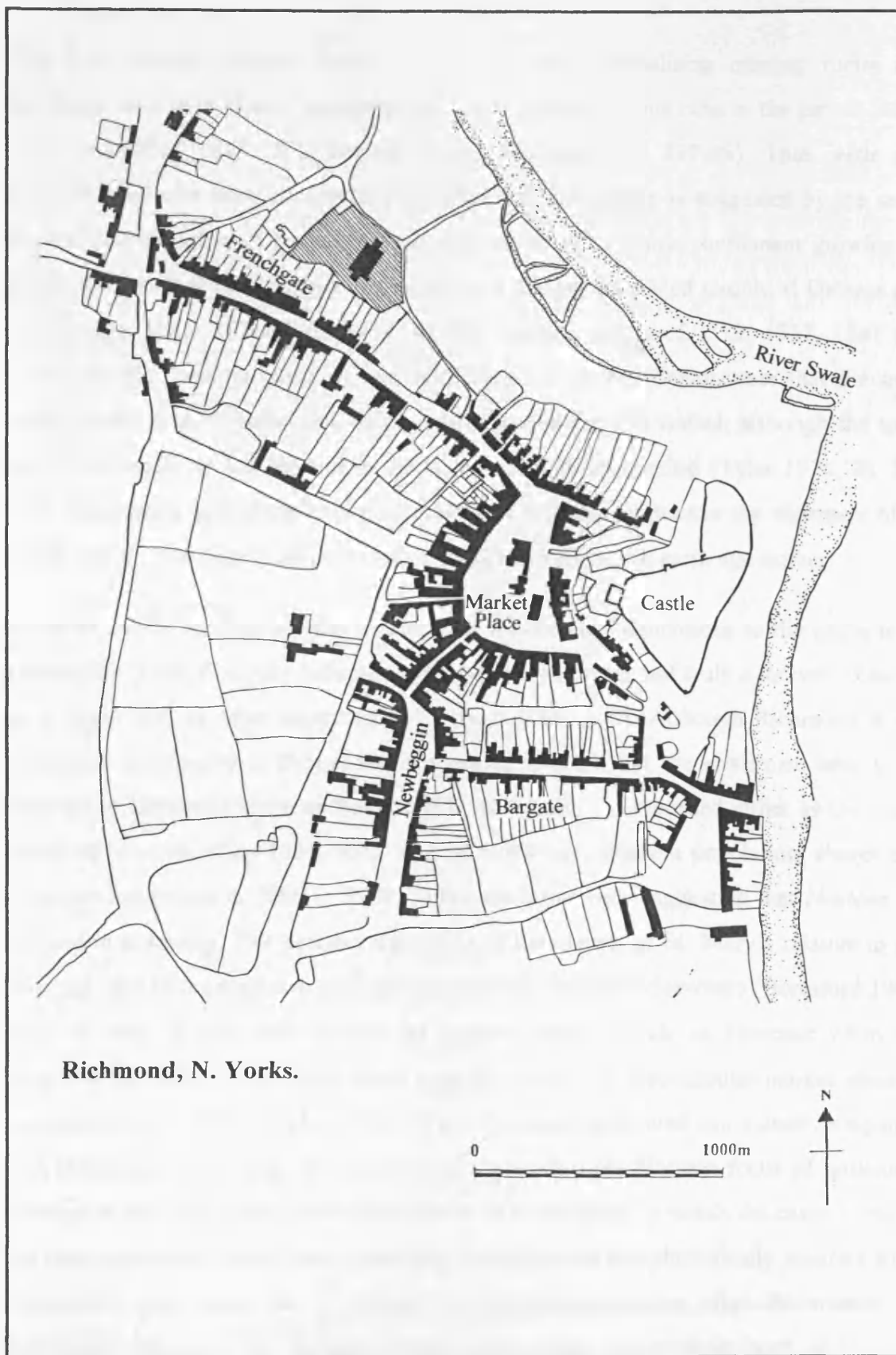


Fig. 8.3: Town plan of Richmond, N. Yorks. (Based on estate plan of 1775)

The first borough charter dates to 1109-14, likely formalising existing rights and privileges, as a later charter attributes the first liberties to some time in the period 1089-1136 (Beresford 1967, 518; Beresford and Finberg 1973, 187-88). That castle and borough may have been conceived and planned in partnership is suggested by the semi-circular configuration of burgage plots, attributable to the initial settlement growing up within the confines of a dependent precinct in a manner paralleled closely at Devizes and Trowbridge, Wilts. (Creighton 1994, 41-42). Murage grants of 1313, 1337, 1341 and 1400, and the standing fabric of two portions of town wall demonstrate that the small semi-circular zone of settlement at the castle gate alone was walled, although the town had undoubtedly grown beyond its initial confines by this period (Tyler 1976, 9). The likely explanation is that the later medieval town defences perpetuate the alignment of an earlier circuit, presumably an outer bailey initially fortified with earth and timber.

However, closer scrutiny reveals a number of less obvious dimensions to the castle-town relationship. First, there are indications that the borough was not truly a *de novo* creation on a virgin site, as often supposed (cf. Brown 1989, 198). Although Richmond is not mentioned specifically in Domesday, authorities suggest that the settlement later to be renamed in Norman-French as Richmond ('Strong Hill') is recorded either as the waste manor of *Neutone* (Clay 1935, 62-3, 83), or *Hindrelog*, where a population, church and priest are mentioned in 1086 (i, 309c, 311a); the latter view suggesting that *Neutone* lay in Scorton township. The peripheral position of the church of St. Mary's relative to the enclosed core of the medieval borough has received comment elsewhere (Beresford 1967, 175): St. Mary's was undoubtedly the original parish church, in existence when the Chapel of the Holy Trinity was raised centrally within the semi-circular market place at the castle gate c. 1135-36 (*ibid.*, 518). If pre-Conquest Richmond can indeed be equated with Domesday *Hindrelog*, the church may represent a pre-Norman focus of settlement centring on the zone of the town later known as Frenchgate, to which the castle borough has been appended. Indeed, as a plan unit, Frenchgate is morphologically separate from Richmond's core, and not a product of suburban expansion after the manner of Newbiggen, Bargate and Bargate Green to the west. Nonetheless, such speculation

cannot be supported in the absence of detailed archaeological scrutiny; with the exception of a substantial Roman hoard dating to *c.* AD 370-400 there is no physical evidence of pre-Norman occupation in Richmond, and the earliest fabric of St. Mary's comprises a pair of early-twelfth-century pillars (Tyler 1976, 10, 17). However, limited excavation in unoccupied property boundaries within the enclosed borough at 2-4 Finkle Street and 15-16 Market Place, does nothing to counter these arguments in the recovery of ceramic assemblages dating no earlier than the twelfth century (Finney 1989; 1991).

Yet Richmond castle was not a primarily military site in the classic sense, having minimal involvement with military affairs as its almost total lack of importance in following centuries demonstrates. This was not due to the deterrent effect of a powerful site; instead the castle site was situated away from arterial routes of military significance, in the strategic *cul de sac* of Swaledale. Instead, we must understand the unified plantation of castle and borough in wider terms: the unit was founded at the interface of two essential recourse types, the arable lowlands of the vale of York and the pastoral uplands of Swaledale. This relationship underlay Richmond's emergence in the early Middle Ages as a marketing centre for wool and corn, and a centre for industries such as tanning and lead and copper mining. Whilst tempting to see the growth of the borough as a purely secondary, nascent process, the success of Richmond as a commercial centre is due to the selection of a favourable site as a direct result of seigneurial economic policy as much as the presence of the castle *per se* as a magnet for trade and economic activity. Indeed, the unusual design of the castle site - a spatially extensive masonry enclosure rather than motte/ringwork and bailey - may reflect status as a centre for the collection of tribute and location for the control and possible containment of other economic functions as opposed to a primarily defensible citadel; the peakland parallel of *Pevenil, Derbys*. (similarly a masonry *enciente* from the outset and sited with obvious reference to the late-eleventh-century lordship of William Peveril) may be instructive.

As Chapter 5 has demonstrated, the creation of a *castelry* based on Richmond was plainly a deliberate strategic/military settlement in opposition to the Scots and a quazi-independent Northumbria. Equally, at the level of local physical geography, the exact

choice of castle site on a rocky escarpment above the Swale was obviously a defensive measure. Nonetheless, the choice of site for the castle-borough unit within Count Alan's Honour - at the intermediate meso-scale - is informed by an economic as opposed to military imperative. Whilst the Honour as a whole was thus 'organised for war' (Pounds 1989, 41), economic sustainability was inwardly of equal, even greater, importance in securing Norman control of the north. Whereas the Honour as a whole was designed to act as a buffer against threats from the north, the *caput* of the fief was selected with entirely different objectives in mind. As such, decisions of site at Richmond marks an intimate coupling of military and economic considerations, representing the antithesis of *Pontefract, W. Yorks*, where Honorial *capita* and borough were explicitly located so as to control the key invasion route of the Aire gap. Other choices of estate centre may show a similar favouring of sites with economic potential at the interface of recourses: analysis of the landscape context of Barnard Castle, Co. Durham has highlighted a similar situation (Austin 1984, 75), whilst *Pickering* and *Helmsley, N. Yorks* may be additional cases in point.

Case-Study: Sleaford, Lincs. (Fig. 8.4: top)

The town of Sleaford has a grid-type plan based on four cardinal axes, with a small square market place and the adjacent parish church of St. Denys, which contains re-used twelfth-century masonry, marking the point of intersection. However, whereas Northgate, Southgate and Eastgate are also important routes of communication, leading respectively to Lincoln, Bourne and Ruskington, the development of Westgate is explicitly associated with the castle site. Westgate continues west from the market before deviating in a right-angle south, and linking with the Grantham road. The castle lies within the line of Westgate, sited on a naturally defensible island between two minor branches of the Slea, the major point of access being from the west via a causeway over marshy ground.

The topography of the Sleaford area is dominated by the present town of New Sleaford, although the DMV known as Old Sleaford lies c. 1.2km to the east, in the vicinity of the important early ford where the Roman road known as King Street crosses the Slea. Old

Sleaford contained the former church of St. Giles/All Saints, known through excavation to be a stone structure associated with a west tower and a considerable volume of Saxo-Norman wares (Mahany and Roffe 1979, 10). The traditional explanation of Sleaford's evolution saw the re-location of settlement from Old to New Sleaford as a deliberate act of archiepiscopal urban planning associated with the construction of Sleaford castle by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln c. 1124-39 and resulting in the abandonment of Old Sleaford (Beresford 1967, 466; Hosford 1968; cf. Swavesey, Cambs.: Maekawa 1997, 251). This argument is also supported by analysis of the road network, demonstrating the previous axis of north-south communication along the Roman road to be diverted in order to link with Southgate, thus implying a major reorganisation of communications patterns and construction of a bridge to accompany the foundation of the new town in an attempt to encourage commerce (Beresford 1967, 118-19). Whilst burgesses are not recorded until 1258, when a total of 116 are documented (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 137), this explanation seems initially credible, although based largely on topographical likelihood and place-name evidence. This implies New Sleaford to be a classic castle-town plantation, characteristically sited as the geographical junction of fen and upland in the manner of Lynn and New Winchelsea, with the secondary implication of an earlier focus of settlement being abandoned in favour of the *de novo* thirteenth-century borough and isolated by changes in the road network. Closer scrutiny of documentary data and emerging archaeological evidence, however, suggests a more complex sequence.

First, archaeological excavation in Sleaford Market Place in 1978 revealed slight evidence of pagan and early Saxon pottery, in addition to a larger volume of late Saxon wares associated with a series of pits and timber structures (Mahany and Roffe 1979, 10). A number of stray finds further indicate earlier Saxon activity, including fragments of a late Anglo-Saxon interlace cross built into the Girls High School, between Southgate and the castle (Lincs. SMR: No. 60411), whilst an extensive early/middle Saxon cemetery lay towards the south end of Southgate, located in 1824 and containing c. 600 burials, with outlying burials recognised in 1916 (Lincs. SMR: Nos. 60373, 60374).

Second, documentary analysis demonstrates the place-names 'Old' and 'New' Sleaford to date no earlier than the early thirteenth century (Mahany and Roffe 1979, 11), thus removing much of the circumstantial evidence for Sleaford being a castle-town. The key problem in examining the origins of the settlement is rather in relating the Domesday entries for Sleaford to the present landscape. Two holdings in *Eslaforde* (Sleaford) are recorded (i, 344d; 346c): the more major holding, with eight mills, a church, and no less than 46 tenants, was in the hands of Bishop Remigus; a second holding, sokeland of Quarrington, was in the hands of the abbot of Ramsey. Recent authorities, assuming New Sleaford to be a twelfth-century plantation, have assumed that both entries must relate to Old Sleaford, although Yerburch (1825, 91-92) suggested in the nineteenth century that both entries could not be related to the hamlet-sized settlement of Old Sleaford. Roffe, however, demonstrates convincingly that Old and New Sleaford were distinct from one another from an early date, perhaps lying respectively in the separate Wapentakes of Flaxwell and Aswardhurn, and recognises Sleaford as the gravitational centre of a large multiple estate covering much of the Wapentake of Aswardhurn in 1066 and the site of a Domesday church concealed within the Quarrington entry (Mahany and Roffe n.d., 64; 1979, 13-14).

As such, the Bishop's castle was sited on the periphery of an extant settlement. It may be significant that the clearest evidence of urban planning is the zone of regular burgage plots with back lanes immediately north of the castle, giving the impression of a planned extension to an organic core. The functions of the castle also merit close scrutiny in light of its peripheral position to the town. The only known manorial extent mentioning the castle, of 1324, makes specific mention of a *grangia* (barn) lying within the outer defences of the site whilst a sixteenth-century document mentions a similar feature with a suggested capacity of 300 loads of corn or hay (Pawley 1988, 37). This is of immense significance given not only the administrative position of the castle at the head of an extensive archiepiscopal estate, but its topographical setting relative to the local river network. The castle occupied an island surrounded by tributaries of the Slea, lying immediately south of the 'double' mill known as Dam Mill (set within the causeway

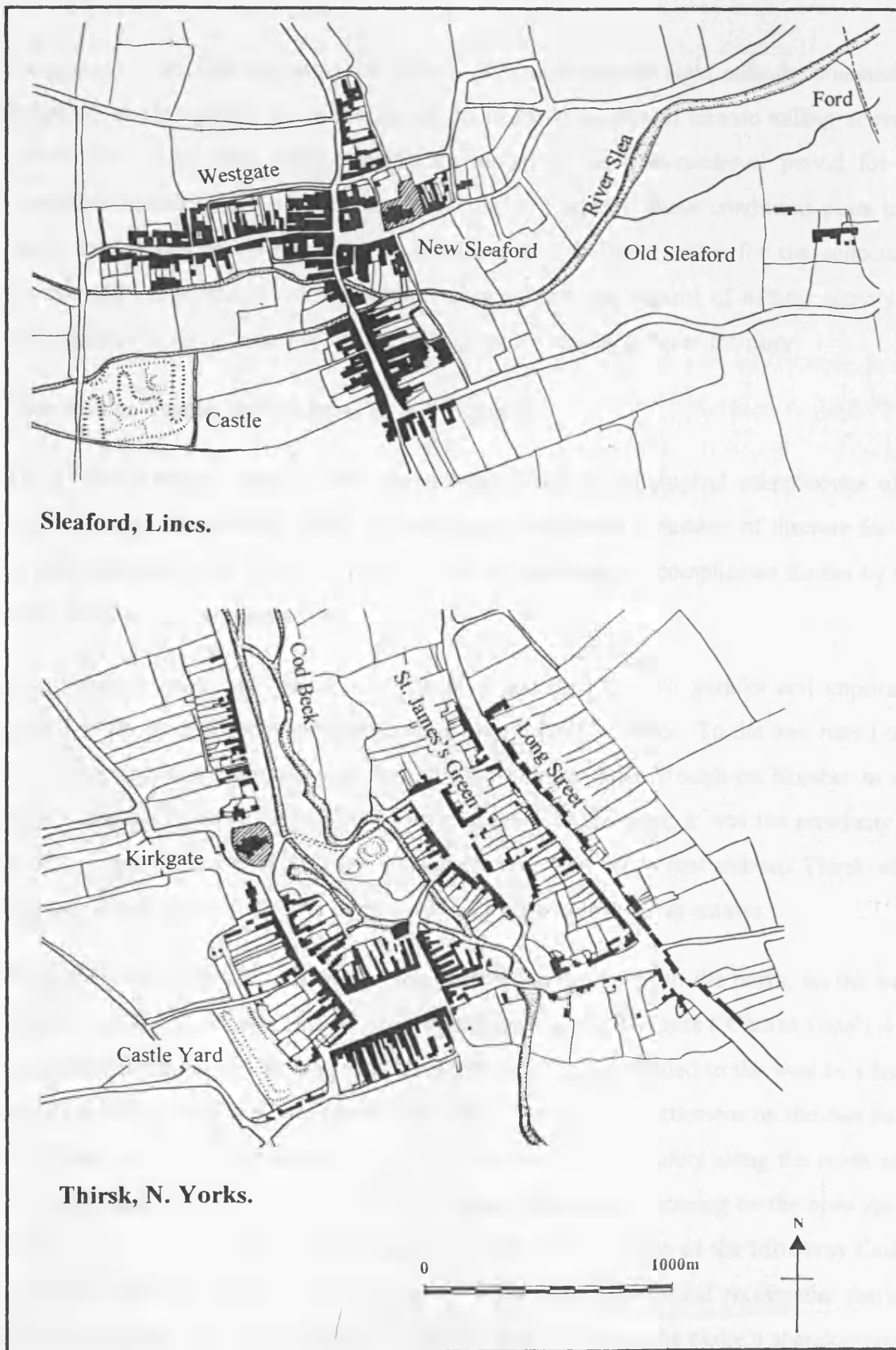


Fig. 8.4: Town plans of Sleaford, Lincs. (Based on OS First Ed.), and Thirsk, N. Yorks. (Based on tithe map of 1843)

constructed to provide access to the castle). With an additional eight mills documented in *Eslaforde* at Domesday, the castle lies at the heart of an area of intense milling activity, this stretch of the Slea being consistently noted in the post-medieval period for its favourable current and flow for watermills (*ibid.*). Together, these conditions point to a castle sited with explicit reference to functions as a fortified centre for the collection, storage and redistribution of agricultural surplus, and the control of milling activity in what appears to have been a specialist milling centre serving a wider territory.

Case-Study: Thirsk, N. Yorks. (Fig. 8.4: bottom)

Thirsk demonstrates many of the chronological and morphological complexities of a castle-borough relationship. Here, the settlement comprised a number of discrete foci in its later medieval form, while the evolution of the townscape is complicated further by the likely presence of two castle sites.

The frame for medieval Thirsk's evolution is provided by two parallel and important routeways, both oriented north-south, on either side of Cod Beck. To the east runs Long Street, perpetuating the course of Roman road running from Brough-on Humber to the Tees, while Boroughbridge-Northallerton route runs to the west; it was the proximity of these two routes and their linkage via a ford over Cod Beck that imbued Thirsk with strategic significance within the context of the Yorkshire Mowbray estates.

Three clear elements are clear within the medieval topography: to the north, on the west bank of Cod Beck, a single regular row of settlement in the Kirkgate ('Church Gate') area is associated with the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, bounded to the west by a back lane; this clearly represents a coherent plan unit. The focus of settlement on the east bank comprises two sub-units: a zone of regular elongated burgage plots along the north side of Long Street, and a second area of agglomerated settlement focusing on the open space of St. James's Green. The third zone of settlement in the vicinity of the Mowbray Castle retains its medieval plan to a lesser degree, a formerly symmetrical rectangular market place at the castle gate having been encroached upon following the castle's abandonment.

While the Mowbray castle is well documented, a second potential castle site in a bend of Cod Beck, apparently a small motte and bailey, is unknown to history (see Gazetteer). The siting of this feature, overlooking the pivotal crossing of the river constituting the linking point between two major routes is suggestive of the site being a precursor to the Mowbray castle, sited for reasons of tactical significance whilst its successor occupies more level ground to the south-west, suggestive of a closer integration of castle and community. At Domesday (i, 300d; 327b), Thirsk comprised two distinct manors, one in the ownership of Tor in 1066 (by 1086 in the hands of Hugh son of Baldric), and a smaller manor in the hands of Orm (held by the King by 1086). Although the pitfalls of correlating Domesday manors with nucleated settlement are well known, it is reasonable to assume that the two manors can be respectively equated with the Long Street and Kirkgate foci of settlement, the early castle being raised on the early ford that linked them.

A distinct focus of settlement appears to have grown up at the gate of the Mowbray castle, conceived in regular form in the area of the rectangular market place. L'Anson suggested, on the basis of topographical evidence that this area of settlement may have been enclosed (1913, 393). Recent excavations provide corroboratory evidence: the linear earthwork to the west of Castle Yard known as 'Town Bank' was observed to have formerly deviated to the east in the area of Calvert's Yard, thus appearing to represent the south-west corner of a rectangular circuit around the Market Place, while signs of an associated ditch were also observed (Clarke 1991, 3). Thus the present alignments of back lanes around the Market Place seem not to be original features of planning, but rather perpetuate the alignment of an earlier defensive circuit or large outer bailey/*burgus* enclosure. The case for the castle and this unit of settlement post-dating other settlement foci in the locality is strengthened by excavation demonstrating the bank associated with the castle to stratigraphically seal broad ridge and furrow earthworks, indicative of its construction in the midst of an open field system (Clarke 1995, 4); the recovery of six pagan Saxon skeletons from the area of Castle Garth may further indicate a peripheral position (N. Yorks. SMR: 0015102000).

What is surprising is that the zone of settlement immediately east of the castle appears never to have enjoyed urban status, and the plots fronting onto the market-place exhibit none of the classic features of burgage plots. However, (East) Thirsk was undoubtedly a borough in 1145 when its chapel (St. James - now lost) was granted to Newburgh Priory (Beresford 1967, 519; Beresford and Finberg 1973, 189). The long, curvilinear pattern of burgage plots in this area are suggestive of expansion over ridge and furrow cultivation, and it is possible that the borough was encouraged here in order to take advantage of commerce generated by traffic on the York-Northallerton road. Thirsk thus shows a physical and teneurial distinction between the enclosed manorial vill associated with the castle and a commercial borough on the opposite bank of the river. Taking this hypothesis further, the crossing between Old and New Thirsk may well date to the period immediately following the erection of the castle and cognate development of the associated focus of settlement on the west bank, thus isolating the original parish church. This could have been a direct result of seigneurial economic policy, as the construction of a bridge linking Mowbray holdings at Kirkby with Boroughbridge follows a similar pattern (Beresford 1967, 519). Certainly the early twelfth century was a period signalling intensified economic exploitation of other key estates under Mowbray ownership (cf. *Kirkby Malzeard, N. Yorks.*: see Chapter 9). What is remarkable is how a re-ordering of Thirsk's townscape in the shadow of the castle occurred in a relatively limited time period, the castle being slighted as early as 1176 (although occupation may have continued at a different level as the site was re-organised as a Mowbray manorial site: see Gazetteer).

Other Evidence/Sites

The morphological relationship between borough, castle and church at *Knaresborough, N. Yorks.* resembles that at Richmond, and suggests parallel, although slightly later origins. The castle at Knaresborough was founded c. 1100 in a defensible position overlooking a bend and crossing of the Nidd by Serlo de Burgh as the *caput* of the Honour of Knaresborough, the settlement emerging as the key medieval commercial market centre within the region's iron-working industry, based on mines within the forest

of Knaresborough, and again located at the key interface of highland and lowland economic recourses. The linear grid of the town, conceived around a substantial sub-rectangular castle-gate market-place (now largely infilled) was formerly embraced by an earthen defensive work, focusing on the castle as a plan dominant. The close temporal link between the foundation of the castle and first appearance of burgesses c. 1169 and mention of a market from c. 1206 are also suggestive of a castle-gate plantation (Jennings 1970, 86).

Nonetheless, the Norman parish church of St. John the Baptist occupies a peripheral position beyond the defensive circuit - below the ridge which castle and borough occupied and within what was to become the separate parish of Beechill. Whilst not mentioned at Domesday, it is highly likely that the church recalls an earlier pre-urban focus, suggesting a subsequent post-Conquest re-orientation of settlement topography (*ibid.*, 87). Knaresborough was clearly an important centre in 1066, then in the hands of the King with a series of associated berwicks, although it had declined to one sixth of its earlier value by 1086 and with no documented population (i, 300a), making it likely that the foundation of the castle effectively represented *renewed* stimulus to a collapsed local economy and settlement. The Domesday place-name *Chearesburg* ('Cenheard's fortification') provides an additional tentative glimpse that the castle itself may perpetuate an earlier fortified site, it being unlikely that the *urban* defences have pre-Conquest origins.

Northallerton, N. Yorks., demonstrates an essentially similar sequence: its medieval town plan comprises an extensive linear zone of burgage plots appended to an earlier core plan unit in the area of The Green, an open space around the parish church of All Saints, which contains Anglian sculpture (OS Antiq. Mod. No. SE 39 SE 5), and was presumably the focus of the pre-Conquest settlement. Significantly, the motte and bailey known as the Bishop's Palace lies immediately west of the junction between the two units, representing a shift in lordship from an earlier, more isolated ringwork. We may suspect the castle seignury as the key agent of urban change, as Northallerton was in the hands of the Bishops of Durham from Domesday, having been a valuable manor with extensive

sokelands in the hands of Earl Edwin in 1066, but reduced to waste (and yielding nothing) in 1086 (i, 299a). Although the commercialisation and repopulation of the manor is likely to have been initiated in the late eleventh or twelfth century, renewed stimulus to urban growth is only documented from c. 1200 when two fairs are recorded; Northallerton was first recorded formally as a borough in 1298 (Davison Ingledew 1858, 127). A similar topographical relationship, of a fortified site at the junction of two distinct foci, is evident within the settlement plans of *Cawood, N. Yorks.* and *Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leics.* Integrated analysis of the former suggests the coalescence of two units as a coherent piece of twelfth-century archiepiscopal planning (Blood and Taylor 1992, 98-102), whilst at the latter the extensive precinct around the fortified Hastings manor linked two previously discrete units which merged and prospered following seigneurial promotion (Hillier 1984, 13-14).

CASTLE AND MONASTERY

The castle was but one key element dictating the fortunes of an urban community through time. Another was the monastery, in the majority of cases sharing common patronage with the castle seignury. As these linkages have been studied in detail, both at the national and regional level (n.b. Thompson 1986; Speight 1993), here it is sufficient to demonstrate two dimensions to the castle-monastery-town relationship supported by case-studies; first, where castle and monastery form a unified cell acting as a stimulus to urban growth, and second, where the institutions are spatially separate units.

‘Unified’ Castles and Monasteries in Town Plans

Clearly there were benefits to be accrued through the juxtaposition of castle and monastery, in terms of perceived spiritual benefit for the patron and the conspicuous consumption of wealth through patronage as a means of social expression and control, in addition to more practical benefits including the availability of additional accommodation for visiting retinues (Speight 1995, 68). The status of Belvoir as a *de novo* castle borough is beyond doubt, due to topographical and place-name evidence. *Belvar* (‘beautiful view’) is first recorded c.1130 and is a classic example of Norman nomenclature (Cox 1971,

138-39). The medieval topography of Belvoir embodied the three-fold association of early castle, borough and priory, and circumstantial evidence points towards all three institutions being promoted by the same lord, Robert de Toden, as integral elements within a seigneurial strategy; St. Mary's Priory, 200m north of the castle, was founded c.1076-88 as a Benedictine cell of St. Albans and dissolved in 1539 (Beresford 1967, 461-62; Kelley 1985, 14).

The grant of a fair of eight days in a document dated c. 1101-05 is associated explicitly with St Mary's Priory as opposed to the castle; in the same charter mention is made of the *burgus* of Belvoir (*ibid.*, 16, 72). By 1261, on the acquisition of Belvoir by Robert de Ros, the grant of a market on Tuesday and a three-day fair is recorded (*ibid.*), although it is unclear whether the granting of a second fair (also in Midsummer), reflects a new institution, or more likely, links to the change in lordship.

Present landscape evidence for the borough is entirely lacking, as the laying-out of a succession of formal gardens within the environs of Belvoir castle has effectively eradicated any traces of settlement. However, thirteenth-century deeds of enfeoffment granting "a toft in the vill of Beuvor in burgage lying between the gate of the castle and the toft of Walter the Shepherd" indicate that this was a castle-gate foundation (*ibid.* 72). If the contrast between the lower, terraced zone on the north-east flank of the hillside and steeper knoll to the west is a genuine reflection of the medieval topography as opposed to a post-medieval remodelling, it seems likely that the borough lay in the level area to the east of the hillside.

The circumstances of the borough's failure are somewhat of an anomaly within the study area. Desertion appears a rapid, single phase process as a result of destruction associated with the siege of the castle in the Civil War c. 1645-46 (Nichols II 1795, 23). Nonetheless, the topographical position of the borough on the steep-sided isolated hill-top that provided an ideal site for Robert de Toden's early castle makes it likely that the foundation was not as secure and sustainable as others in more favourable topographical positions. Situated on a spur of the Leicestershire Wolds overlooking the Trent valley to

the north, castle and borough were remote from routes of communication, although situated at the heart of a compact block of Domesday estates (see Chapter 5).

Similar relationships between castle, monastery and town are apparent elsewhere. At *Bourne, Lincs.* (Fig. 8.5: top) the foundation of a monastery adjacent to a castle conditioned a major re-orientation of urban topography (Hayes and Lane 1992, 140). Together the precincts of castle and the Abbey of St. Peter and Paul, a house of Arrouasian canons founded in 1138 in the former parish church, form a planned, unified unit on the southern edge of the town. Civilian settlement certainly antedated the castle, with occupation demonstrated archaeologically from the Roman period (*ibid.*, 135-42), reflecting its position at the junction of important routes of communication. Topographically, the precinct of the abbey intrudes upon the projected route of King Street, a Roman road connecting Ancaster and *Durobrivae* via Bourne. This resulted in the diversion of the route so as to run between castle and Abbey, and a marked deviation in the line of North Road to the north of the planned town demonstrates the former alignment. The foundation of the castle-abbey complex thus conditioned the planning of the medieval town, the morphological frame formed by a right-angled dog-leg diversion of the Roman road, presumably coincident with the laying out of the market place at the newly created cross-roads north of the military/ecclesiastical focus.

At *Hinckley, Leics.*, castle and monastery again form a unified cell, the Benedictine Priory founded c. 1209 lying immediately south of Castle Street, a curvilinear road deviating around the castle in a manner suggestive of diversion or re-planning, on the north side of which a regular block of burgage plots can be identified (Kelley 1985, 18; Liddle 1982, 21). Although the foundation date of the castle is unknown, it is beyond doubt that castle, monastery and town emerged under the unified patronage of the earls of Leicester (Thompson 1986, 313).

The relationship between castle and ecclesiastical topography at *Pontefract, W. Yorks.* is discussed fully elsewhere (see Chapter 6); essentially, the foundation of a collegiate chapel within the castle bailey by Ilbert de Lacy pre-1085 and subsequent patronage of St.

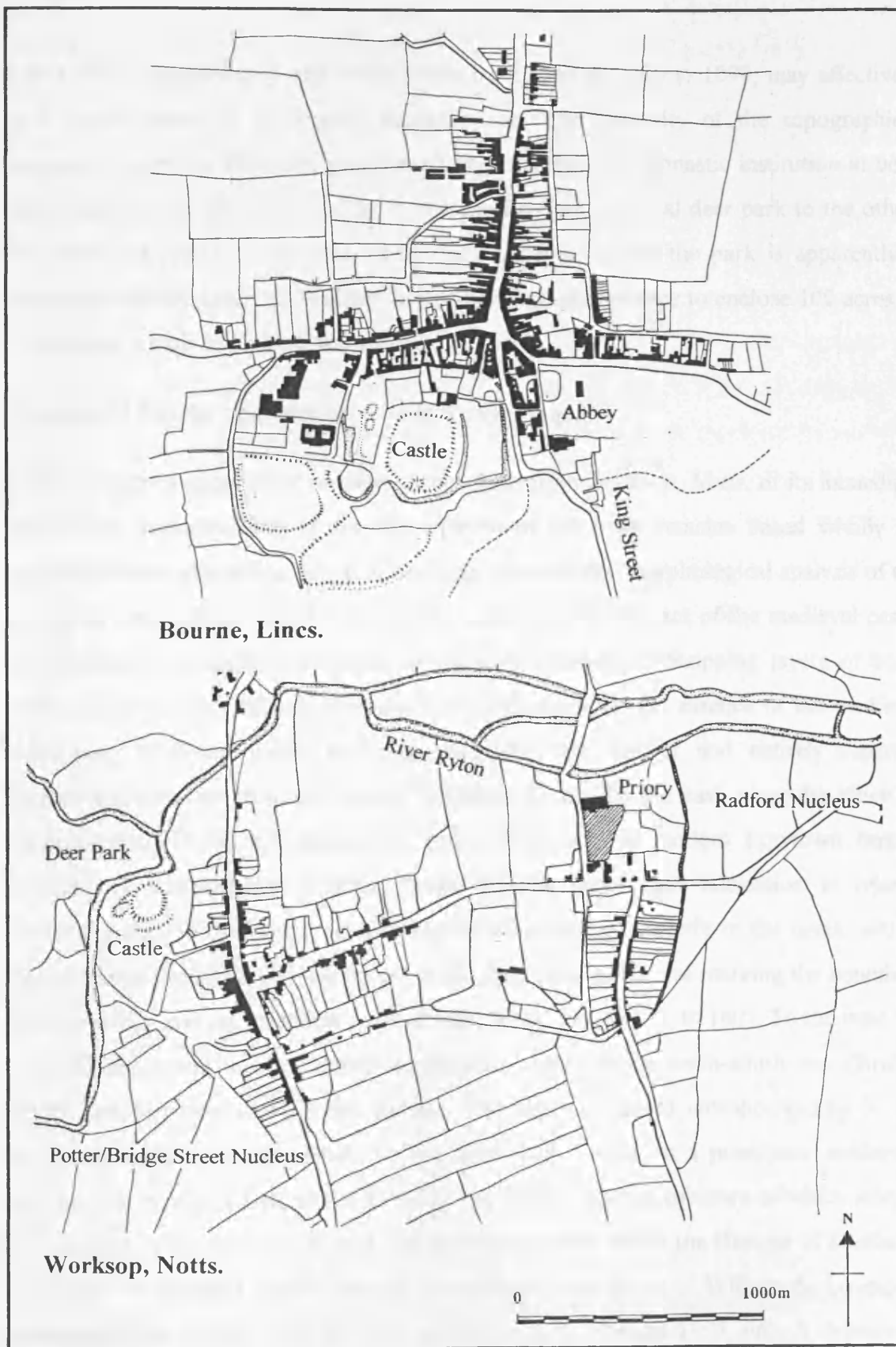


Fig. 8.5: Town plans of Worksop, Notts. (Based on estate plan of 1775), and Bourne, Lincs. (Based on OS First Ed.)

John's Priory, immediately east of the castle by Robert de Lacy c. 1090, may effectively be a re-foundation of a (Saxon) monastic site. The similarity of the topographical relationship between Hinckley and Pontefract is notable, the monastic institution in both cases bracketed by the castle and town on one side, and manorial deer park to the other. This does not appear to be true of Belvoir, however, where the park is apparently a fourteenth-century creation, William de Ros being granted licence to enclose 100 acres of a spinney as a park in 1306 (Cantor 1970-71).

'Separated' Castles and Monasteries in Town Plans

In the absence of excavation, or even chance finds from *Worksop, Notts.* or its immediate environs, a reconstruction of the development of the town remains based wholly on topographical evidence (see Fig. 8.5: bottom). Nonetheless, morphological analysis of the town plan demonstrates clearly the need to understand the impact of the medieval castle on townscapes alongside the impact of monastic institutions. Stripping layers of post-medieval growth and infilling from the townscape to reveal the essence of the medieval town plan, Worksop seems to have comprised two distinct and entirely separate nucleations, both on the south bank of the River Ryton. To the east, a regular block of burgage plots of planned appearance occur either side of modern Lowtown Street, bounded by a back lane (Abbey Street) to the west. This nucleation is related morphologically to the Priory, the precinct of which adjoins directly to the north, with a former market cross, infilled market place and the Priory gatehouse marking the boundary between public and ecclesiastical zones (Notts. SMR: No. 04372, 05160). To the west lay a second nucleation of less regular appearance, comprising a north-south row (Bridge Street) and east-west row (Potter Street). This focus is related morphologically to the castle site, which lay immediately to the north-west, raised on a prominent sandstone outcrop overlooking a ford of the Ryton to the north, a former tributary of which skirted its west flank. The castle functioned as a subsidiary centre within the Honour of Sheffield, an outliner of Sheffield Castle, sited as the administrative focus of William de Lovetot's Nottinghamshire estates from the early twelfth century (Speight 1995, 66). A dependent

enclosed deer park lay further to the west, in existence by 1161 when the monks were granted the right to gather wood from its bounds, and in possession of the castle lord Richard de Lovetot (Holland 1826, 158). As such, the deer park constitutes a further element within the seigneurial geography of Worksop, influencing the axis of settlement expansion by forming a western buffer zone to growth.

The position of the Priory church of St. Cuthbert at the northern end of the Lowtown Street nucleus indicates that this focus of settlement is perhaps the primary nucleation, forming at the fording place over Ryton to the north. The church is first documented in 1103 (Brooke 1989, 30), a date which saw the foundation of the Augustinian priory by de Lovetot on the site of St. Cuthbert's - in effect a private promotion by the castle lord, concurrent with the creation of a separate manor (Speight 1995, 68). Notably, the compact Longtown Street nucleation was enclosed by a 'great ditch unto the meadow of Bersebrigg' (Holland 1826, 64), which apparently surrounded the monastery and associated settlement on three sides, the northern perimeter being formed by the River Ryton. This feature is partly in evidence on a Norfolk estate map of 1775 as an artificial watercourse defining the eastern limit of the block of burgage plots (Fig. 8.5: bottom). The right to hold a weekly market in Worksop was granted by Edward I in 1295, and was presumably held in the vicinity of the cross outside the Priory gatehouse (*ibid.*). Evidence thus combines to suggest the settlement to have been planned in its present form in the twelfth or thirteenth century, perhaps in association with the foundation of the Priory or grant of a market.

The market place visible at the junction of Potter Street and Bridge Street seems, rather, to have been an entirely post-medieval addition to the townscape, planned following the dissolution of the Priory in 1538 and superseding the Radford nucleus as the centre for commerce (Scurfield 1986, 52-53). At Worksop we thus see a separation of castle and urban settlement during the medieval period, commercial activity rather focusing on the monastic foundation promoted by the castle lord. Here seigneurial policy clearly favoured a separation of functions; clearly administrative/defensive and ecclesiastical/commercial considerations demanded different optimal sites.

At *Helmsley, N. Yorks.*, Speight has described castle and monastery as 'religious rivals', although both were promoted under the lordship of Walter Espec, lord of Helmsley 1120-54 (1993, 67). Here the castle town was in existence by the time of a borough charter of c. 1186 (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 187); it formed around a market place immediately east of the castle. The settlement was in time eclipsed by Rievaulx, c. 2.5km to the east, emerging at the heart of an extensive network of communications patterns as the key economic institution within its hinterland.

Malton, N. Yorks. exhibits a similar separation of castle and monastery under unified lordship. The Gilbertine priory was founded c. 1150 by Eustace fitz John, who had earlier received the castle from the Crown. This monastery was set within the pre-existing parish church of St. Mary in Old Malton, c. 1.2km to the north of the castle, following a re-orientation of Malton's topography involving the plantation of New Malton and associated construction of the chapels of St. Michael and St. Leonard (Robinson 1978, 13-14, 32); this left the monastery in a settlement being eclipsed economically by a castle town.

TOWNS AND PERIPHERAL CASTLES

Although a number of early castles lie within the same parish as a recognised medieval town, and in the immediate vicinity of the urban zone, they cannot be recognised as integrated elements within urban morphology. Rather than representing anomalies, they form a relatively coherent group demanding in their own right explanation of the choice of castle site. We can, however, exclude from such an analysis castle sites disused by the time a nearby settlement either emerged as an urban plantation or was elevated to urban or proto-urban status. For instance, the earthwork site at *Bakewell, Derbys.* was a temporary fortification abandoned well before 1254, when the village that it overlooked from a site c. 0.6km away was recognised as a local market centre and contained burgesses (Riden 1997, 12). The inherent limitations of such sites ensured they were unsuitable as centres for estate management by period of intensified local commerce and granting of prescriptive market charters characteristic of the thirteenth century.

Other sites, though presently enveloped by settlement of urban character, lay significantly beyond the confines of medieval towns. For instance, *Armley, W. Yorks.* presently lies within the parish of Leeds (recognised as a medieval town from at least 1207: Perring 1997), yet formerly lay within Armley township and was a purely rural foundation, overlooking a ford of the Aire and forming a centre for the administration of the Reinville estates - a compact block of holdings sub-infeuded from the Honour of Pontefract in the twelfth century (Smith 1983, 7; Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 737). We may also exclude alleged castle sites on urban peripheries that are rather mis-identified landscape features of alternative origin such (e.g. *Ripon I, N. Yorks.*: see Chapter 4). The ringwork and bailey at William's Hill lying south of the medieval town of Middleham (*Middleham II, N. Yorks.*) is the predecessor of the large masonry enclosure of *Middleham I*. Here, the peripheral position is explained by the re-location of castle site in the mid/late twelfth century from an isolated work dating to the initial fortification of the Honour of Richmond, to a less defensible site associated with the foundation of Middleham as a castle town (Brown 1989, 156).

Elsewhere, 'peripheral' castles were probably impermanent fortifications raised for short-term needs in periods of instability - an explanation supported by the minor, usually bailey-less nature of the surviving earthworks. At *Melton Mowbray, Leics.*, a small motte was sited to the south of, and overlooking a crossing of the Eye on one of the main southern approaches to the town, presumably as an act of property protection in a time of uncertain political geography (Liddle 1989, 119). Although documented as *castrum de Chestrefelde*, the motte at Tapton (*Chesterfield, Derbys.*) lay c. 0.9km north-east of the town that it overlooked from an elevated position on the opposite bank of the Rother. Chesterfield had emerged as an urban centre by the mid twelfth century and possessed defences known only through excavation and filled, at least in part, by the fourteenth century (Riden 1977, 5; DOE 1975, 86; 1976, 112); here the likely scenario is of a minor castle raised against a (defended?) urban centre at an unspecified time of crisis. A similar explanation is likely at *Aldborough, N. Yorks.*, a former Roman fort and *civitas* re-emerging as a commercial centre in the immediate post-Conquest period prior to the

plantation of Boroughbridge c. 1169. A small ringwork was raised less than 150m beyond the south-east corner of the Roman defensive circuit before c. 1205-06 when it is recorded as disused (*vetus burgus*: Myres *et al.* 1959, 5).

The difficulty in providing a 'landscape explanation' for such earthworks is two-fold: first, in defining whether such a work was constructed in opposition to, or to guard access to, an urban centre, for both scenarios demand similar sites; and second, in supplying an historical context for their erection. Many possibilities exist, for instance with the Anarchy, Barons Revolt (1215) and baronial risings against Henry III providing likely documented contexts for the Chesterfield earthwork alone. In addition, an undocumented, localised dispute resulting in adulterine fortification cannot be dismissed; the danger is of course of attempting to correlate such an enigmatic early castle uncritically with a documented event in the absence of detailed archaeological data.

CONCLUSIONS: CASTLE-TOWNS AND URBAN POWER POLITICS

Two major conclusions can be drawn from the above examination of castle-borough relationships:

First, we must draw a distinction between a castle-gate borough of the immediate post-Conquest period, and the fully developed urban institution that constituted a castle town in the period of intensified economic expansion during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The essential point here is the intention of the castle seignury as the key agent of urban change: the late-eleventh-century castle borough was rather a proto-urban institution with a specialised economy tied explicitly to supporting the castle and its garrison, seignury and retinue through the provision of goods and services. This is demonstrated most clearly by failed boroughs, where the settlement was created to serve a specialised niche relating solely to the presence of the castle as a mother economic cell (see Chapter 10). Such urban growth may well be *unplanned*, with settlement nucleating around the castle gate as a focus of informal trade and exchange. Echoes of such specialist settlement may be found in Conzen's suggestion (1960, 21) that Bailiffgate at Alnwick, Northumbria, was a specialised plan unit accommodating militia or officials

associated with the baronial administration. In these cases, castle and town were unified as an instrument of political conquest geared towards the consolidation of an essentially colonial settlement.

The key methodological problem, however, is that the urban status of such institutions tend to remain undocumented in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with later market charters merely serving to make *de jure* what was already *de facto*. The initial seigneurial intention at, for instance, *Tickhill*, may thus *not* have been to create a flourishing commercial community in any way approximating the final phase of the medieval town. With respect to this particular class of late-eleventh-century castle borough, it may be significant that scholars of castle boroughs in Normandy have suggested that dependent settlements here may have been essentially rural entities, representing a deliberate centralisation of population as a mechanism for the support of garrisons through the exploitation of a hinterland, despite eleventh-century documentation of these settlements with the terms *bourgs*, *burgus* and *burgensis* (Miller 1968, citing Latouche 1966). As Musset (1960; 1966) has demonstrated, the burgess in late-twelfth-century Normandy could be an agriculturalist, settled deliberately within a settlement having a primarily rural base.

The emergence of genuine urban communities associated with castles is usually associated with the granting of market charters, the maximisation of urban space through formal town planning, and often commensurate with major changes in communications patterns, including the diversion of road systems and construction of bridges (e.g. *Sleaford*). The granting of such charters formalised and legalised a symbiotic socio-economic relationship between seigneur and community, ensuring guaranteed income through rents for the former and a level of teneurial freedom for the latter.

Isolating what are essentially separate processes is, however, complex, as the evolution of many centres may embody both, either through urban settlement expanding from an initial castle-gate core (e.g. *Richmond*), or through earlier, nascent castle-gate settlement being eroded wholesale from the townscape by subsequent episodes of re-planning.

Furthermore, the economic promotion of late Saxon urban centres by castle lords at *Tadcaster*, *Newark* and *Nottingham* (Chapter 7) demonstrate that essentially similar processes could occur within, or in the immediate vicinity of, pre-Conquest boroughs which were re-planned in line with seigneurial policy linked to the existence of castles.

Second, the importance of viewing the emergence of castle-towns within the context of pre-existing settlement patterns must be stressed; in this chapter a spectrum of possible scenarios has been underlined, highlighting that castle boroughs did not emerge in a social and administrative vacuum. Whether a borough was planted relative to an extant pattern of parochial geography (e.g. *Mountsorrel*), whether superseding and promoting the depopulation of an existing focus of settlement (e.g. *Tickhill*), or involving the transformation of a rural nucleus through the addition of a planned, urban appendage (e.g. *Sleaford*), the impact of the castle on urban fortunes must be always be related to a wider settlement history.

CHAPTER NINE

THE RURAL CASTLE

CASTLES AND RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

To say that a castle was isolated is erroneous, as all but the most temporary were entwined within a manorial economy as administrative centres interconnected with estates. Yet social and economic demands could dictate that a castle could carry out these functions in a position physically remote from other forms of medieval settlement. Despite Brown's assertion (1989, 24) that there "could be few if any castles devoid of closely associated settlement", it is important to emphasise that castles themselves can be seen as functioning elements of settlement in non-nucleated or mixed settlement landscapes. Castles themselves were forms of settlement. That this has been neglected within academic research is indicated clearly by the convergent research interests of the Moated Sites Research Group and Medieval Village Research Group in recognition of the need to study rural landscapes more holistically (Wrathmell 1994, 180), whilst fortified sites remain beyond the horizons of the merged society. Figs. 9.1-9.3 provide an overall indication of the topographical positions of 'early', 'possible early', and 'later' castle sites relative to medieval settlement (fortified ecclesiastical sites are excluded from the analysis). Comparing these distribution maps to an overall picture of medieval rural settlement types across the study area (Fig. 9.4), what is abundantly clear is that castles can be conceptualised as part and parcel of broader regional settlement trends.

CASTLES AS SETTLEMENT

Within the study area we may define two essential ways in which castles were dispersed elements of medieval settlement: (i) where castles act as specialised centres for the management of hunting recourses; or (ii) as isolated forms of settlement within dispersed

Early Castles and Rural Settlement

- Isolated castle site
- Castle associated with hamlet/farmstead
- Castle associated with regular village
- Castle associated with irregular village
- ▲ Castle associated with town

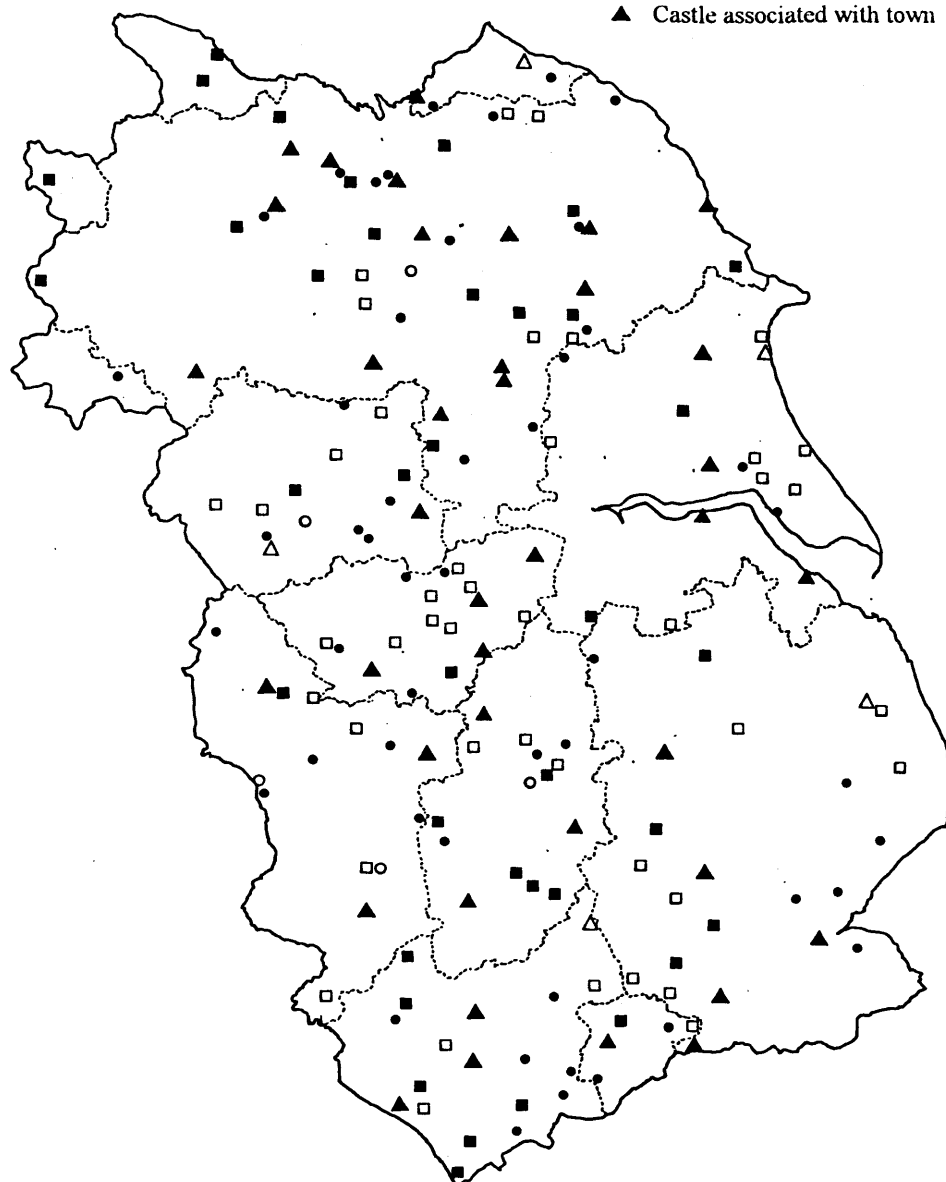


Fig. 9.1: Distribution of key categories of spatial relationship between early castles and rural settlement

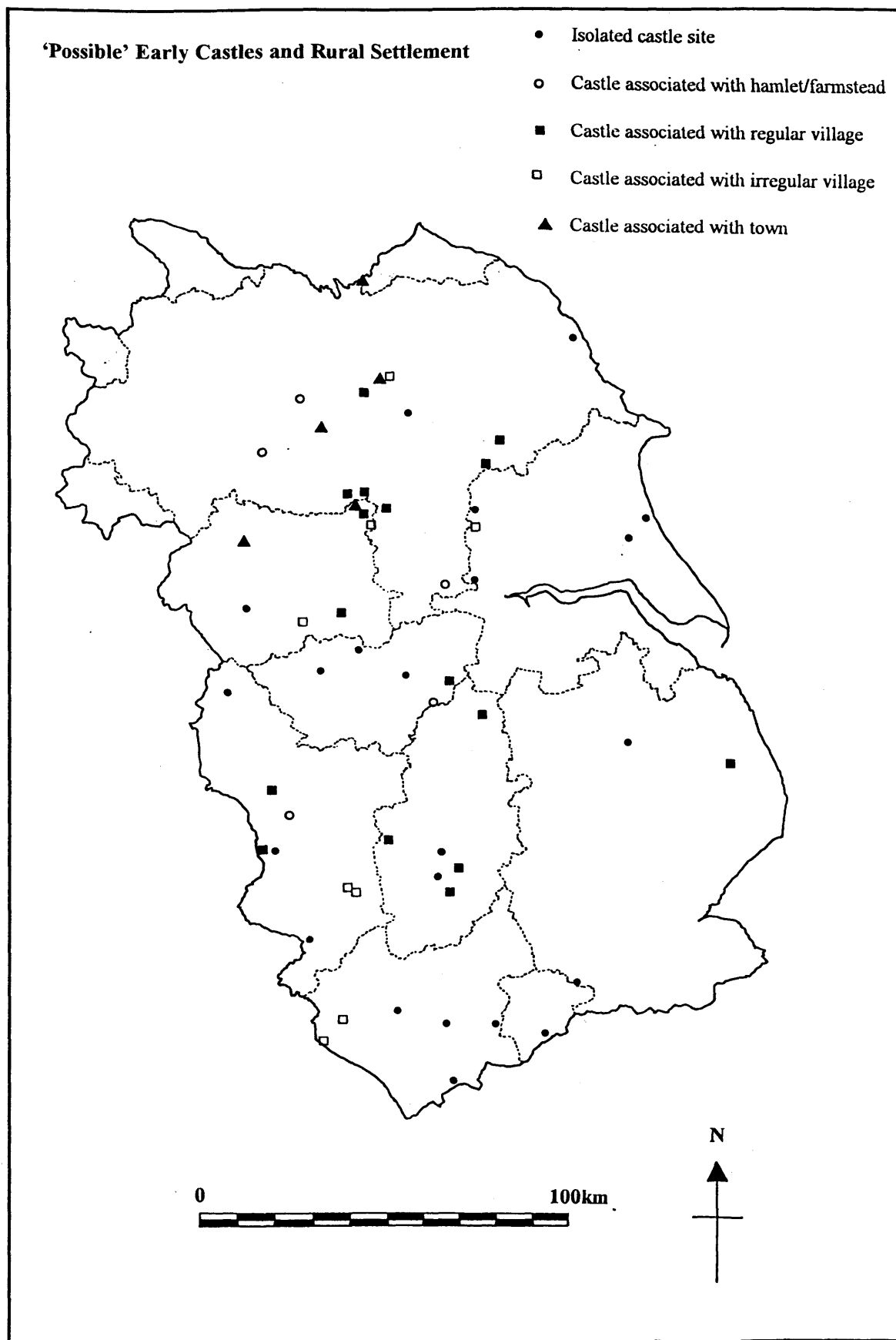


Fig. 9.2: Distribution of key categories of spatial relationship between 'possible' early castles and rural settlement

'Later' Castles and Rural Settlement

- Isolated castle site
- Castle associated with hamlet/farmstead
- Castle associated with regular village
- Castle associated with irregular village
- ▲ Castle associated with town

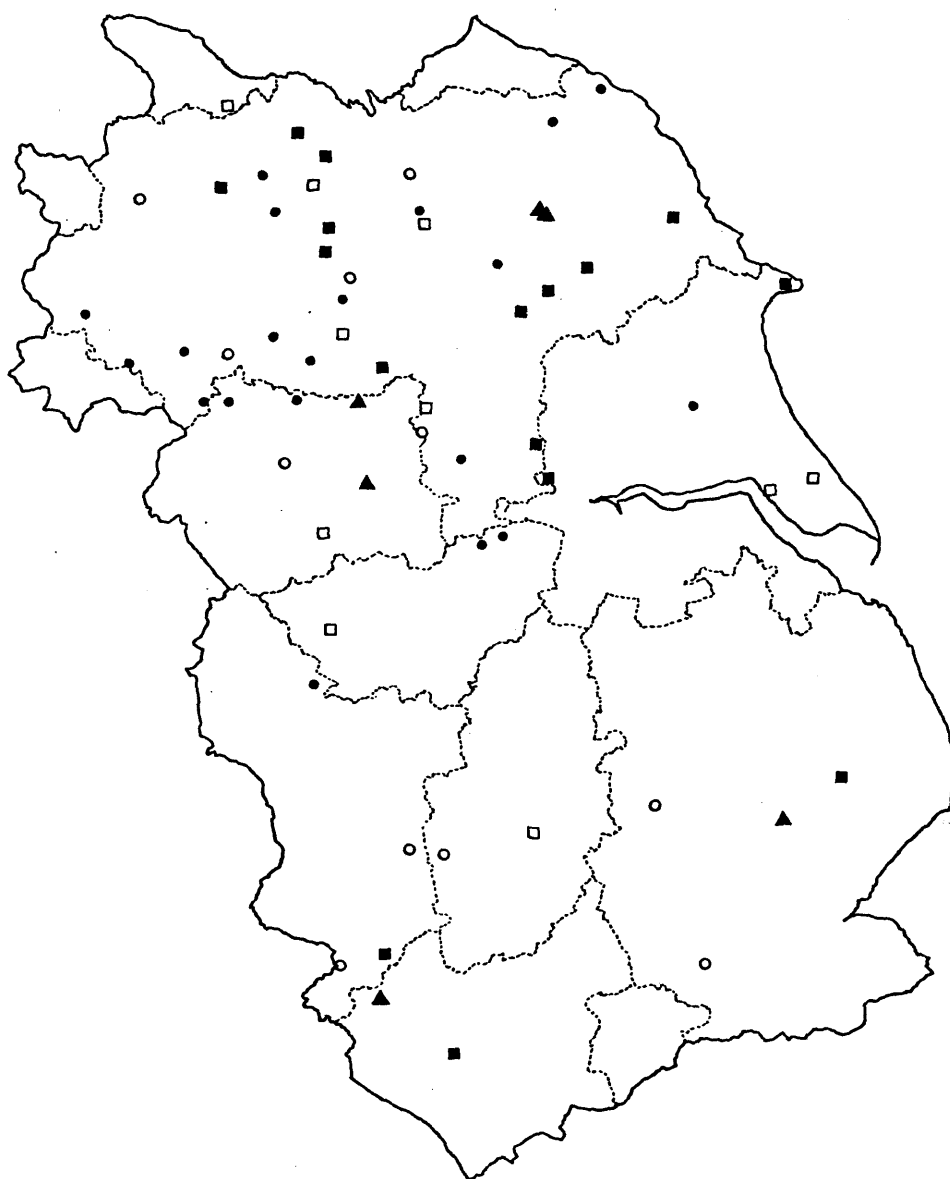









Fig. 9.3: Distribution of key categories of spatial relationship between 'later' castles and rural settlement

Distribution of Medieval Rural Settlement Types

- | | |
|--|--|
|  Hamlets with many scattered farmsteads and occasional villages |  Zone of village formation through hamlet aggregation |
|  Scattered farmsteads with occasional villages and hamlets |  Zone of devastation, 1086 |
|  Wood pasture zone |  Southern limit of regular 'planned' villages |
|  Zone of village formation through hamlet agglomeration | |

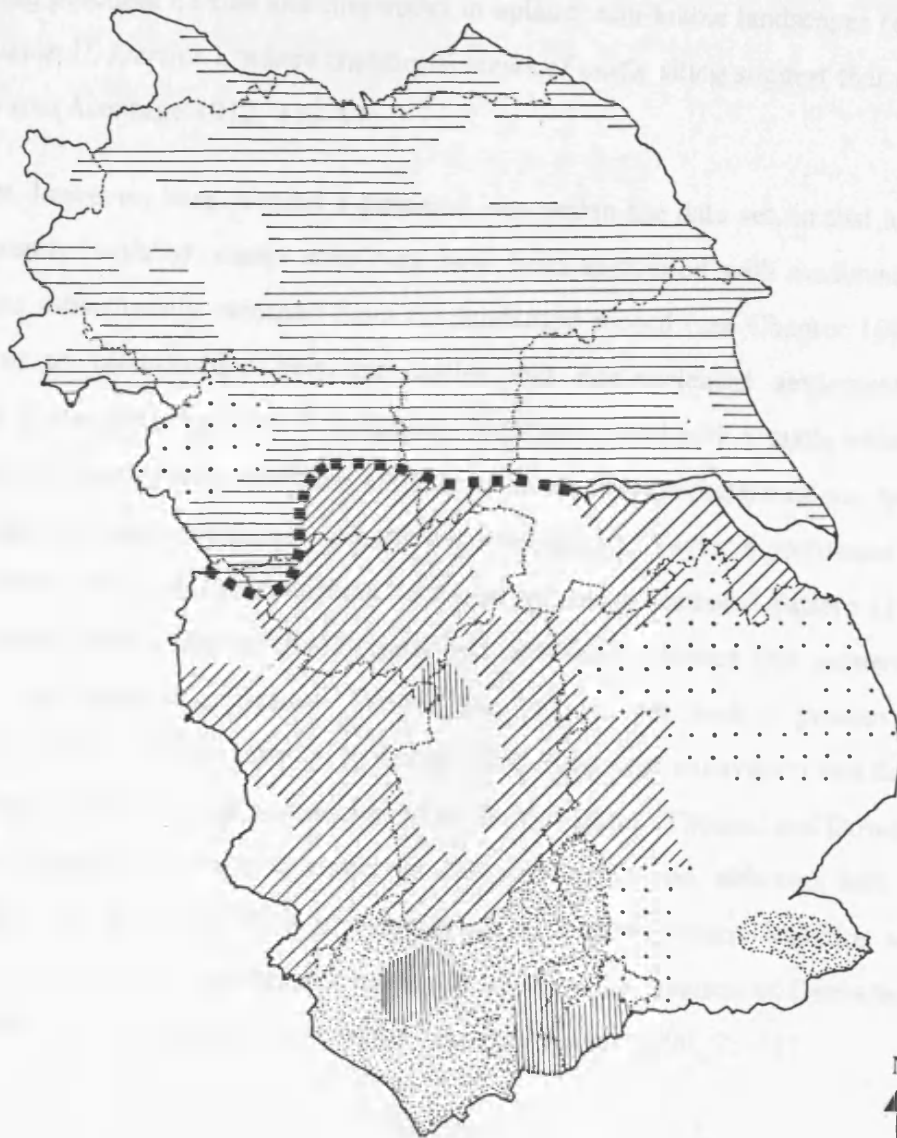


Fig. 9.4: Regional patterns of medieval rural settlement within the study area

landscapes. In addition, regarding Fig. 9.2, we may note the disproportionate number of 'possible' early castles which are isolated from other forms of settlement; two explanations for this pattern may be offered. First, Chapter 4 has underlined the extreme likelihood that a significant number of these sites may be isolated landscape features of alternative origin. Second, severe methodological difficulties exist in identifying potential mottes and ringworks in upland, non-arable landscapes (e.g. *Harthill* and *Glossop II, Derbys.*), where traditional views of castle siting suggest that early castles will be rare (Armitage 1912, 183-84).

We must, however, bear in mind a potential bias within the data set, in that a proportion of apparently 'isolated' castle sites may have been associated with medieval settlement which has subsequently vanished from the landscape record (see Chapter 10). A further dimension to relationships between castles and non-nucleated settlement requiring emphasis is that the plantation of a regular village associated with a castle which is forced by seigneurial agency may imply the collapse of an antecedent pattern of non-nucleated or loosely agglomerated settlement, in a manner analogous to Taylor's postulated scheme of village formation via the relinquishing of an earlier, more scattered pattern (1983, 131). Due to insufficiently clear archaeological and historical evidence this sequence usually remains conjectural (e.g. *Laxton, Notts.*: see below), yet such a process has been identified in Barry, Glams. through systematic and integrated excavation and fieldwalking of abandoned nucleated and non-nucleated settlement forms (Thomas and Dowdell 1987). A parallel process may be in evidence at Okehampton, Devon, although here the likely catalyst for the desertion of a non-nucleated settlement pattern was the scheme of conspicuous seigneurial aggrandisement represented by the creation of Okehampton Park as opposed to the foundation of the castle borough (Austin 1990, 73-74).

Castles and Non-Nucleated Settlement

(i) Castles and Hunting Resources

We must not forget that, as well as moated sites, early castles were cultural forms of construction, providing a flexible physical template readily adapted to a variety of teneurial, social and physical geographical circumstances and landscapes. This is reflected by a small yet important corpus of early castles sited to fulfil a highly specialised functional requirement as centres for the management of hunting resources. Here we must, however recognise social and legal differences between castle sites associated with the management of royal forest resources as opposed to private seigneurial chases and parks (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 71). Sites associated with the former fulfilled specialised rôles as centres for the administration of forests through the settlement of forest officials within castles, whilst providing convenient stopping-over points for hunting parties, and are usually found in isolated positions. The landscape context of such sites contrasts with far more numerous examples of sites to which dependent seigneurial deer-parks were appended physically in the rural landscape (e.g. *Essendine, Rutland*: VCH Rutland II 1935, 250), and more rarely in the urban context (e.g. *Sheffield*: Fine 1993, 81),

Some castles clearly fulfilled functions as centres associated with extensive chases from sites associated with villages, sometimes resulting in radical processes of settlement re-organisation (e.g. *Laxton, Notts.*: see below). At a wider scale still, sites ringing Leicester Forest and associated with nucleated settlements illustrate this well. At *Groby* and *Earl Shilton*, manors in the hands of Hugh de Grantmesnil in 1086 formed part of an extensive fee centring on *Leicester*, constituting the basis of an eleventh-century castelry and later barony (Sanders 1960, 61-61; Phythian-Adams 1988, 25-26). Both sites, associated with ridge-top nucleated settlements and equidistant from Leicester, bracket the afforested zone of boulder clay known as *Hereswood* at Domesday, and were fortified with early motte and baileys. As opposed to a defensive rationale behind castle siting, these sites appear as elements within a wider seigneurial strategy securing access to the hunting

resource of the chase, which probably included the early castle at *Sapcote*, also a Grantmesnil holding in 1086 (Fox and Russell 1955, 59; Liddle 1982, 20).

Sauvey, Leics. (Fig. 9.5), is one example of the castle as a specialist form of settlement within a mixed medieval settlement pattern. The castle lay in the north-west corner of the forest of Leafield, a northern extension of the Forests of Rockingham, on the Leicester/Rutland border, representing the only area within medieval Leicestershire under Forest Law (Cantor 1970-71, 10). As such, Sauvey functioned as the principal centre for forest administration and was consistently in the hands of an appointed royal forester for much of the thirteenth century (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 289). The particular functions of Sauvey as a royal hunting seat dictated that seclusion was a premium aim (as reflected in the place-name *Salveé* - 'dark island' - Cox 1971, 198-99), and defensive needs less vital. Hence, the site is overlooked from its immediate surroundings, and relies on the skilful adaptation of water defences: two curvilinear banks which lie to the south-east of the site, interpreted as defensive ramparts (VCH Leics. II 1907, 250), rather represent a remarkable water management feature containing a shallow lake which entirely surrounded the site (cf. *Ravensworth, N. Yorks.*). However, although Sauvey occupied a 'remote' position, it was linked administratively, if not physically, with the manor of Withcote (the deserted settlement around Withcote Hall lies c. 1km to the north-east). What is significant is that Withcote manor is granted as an appendage to the castle under the reigns of John and Henry III, whilst the situation is reversed by the time of Henry IV (*ibid.*), reflecting the declining importance of a site in the wake of the removal of all of Leicestershire with the exception of Withcote from Forest Law (Farnham and Thompson 1921). As the example of Okehampton, Devon, demonstrates, what is essential is that in certain landscape types a castle could still be *functionally* associated with a nucleated borough or planned settlement even if the two were not integrated *morphologically*; here, the castle was spatially remote from the seigneurial borough, due to the castle's occupation of an isolated ridge-top position (Higham 1982b, 110-111).

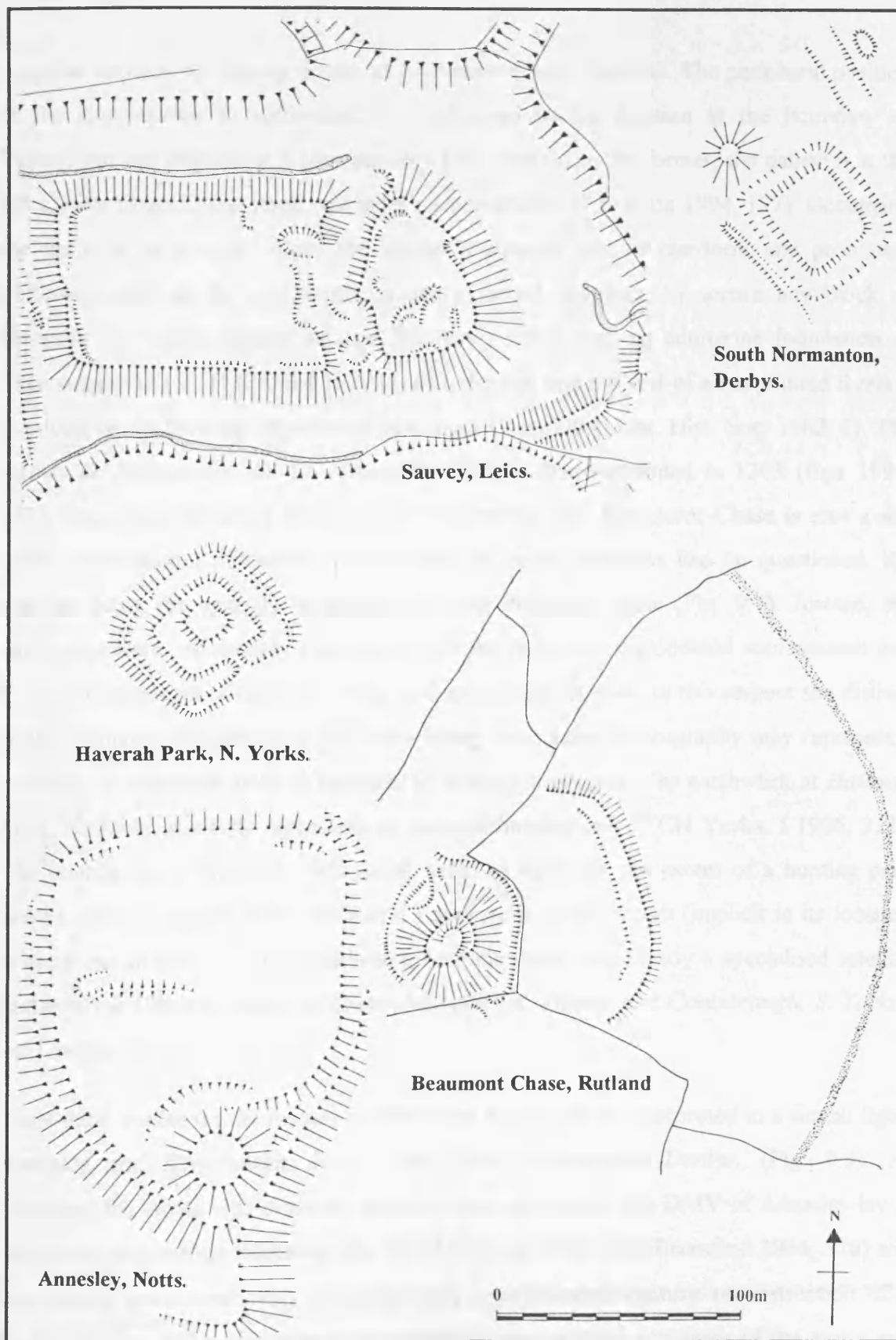


Fig. 9.5: Examples of castles as non-nucleated forms of settlement

A similar scenario to Sauvey occurs at *Beaumont Chase, Rutland*. The peripheral position of the site relative to settlement is emphasised by its position at the boundary of Uppingham and Beaumont Chase parishes (the motte is in the former, the bailey(s) in the latter); Beaumont Chase itself was extra parochial until 1799 (Cox 1994, 177). Occupying the tip of a prominent ridge, the motte is situated not to overlook any prominent routeways nor, as far as the documentary record suggests, to secure any block of eleventh- or twelfth-century estates. However, rather than an adulterine foundation as often suggested (VCH Rutland II 1935, 61), the site was the seat of an appointed forester overlooking the hunting resource of Beaumont Chase (Rut. Loc. Hist. Soc. 1982, 2). The *foresta de Bellamonte* (O. Fr. 'Beautiful Hill') is first mentioned in 1203 (Cox 1994, 177), suggesting the prior existence of the fortified site. Beaumont Chase is also a site where conventional militaristic explanations of bailey functions can be questioned, the features being too spatially extensive to make defensive sense (Fig. 9.5). Instead, the enclosures were presumably associated with the demands of woodland management and the accommodation of hunting parties and associated retinues; in this respect the distinct linear anomalies recognised in the outer bailey from aerial photography may represent a complex of dedicated fields as opposed to military structures. The earthwork at *Haverah Park, N. Yorks.* similarly represents an isolated hunting seat (VCH Yorks. I 1906, 312). The boundaries of Haverah Park parish seem to represent the extent of a hunting park carved, post-Conquest, from the Royal Forest of Knaresborough (implicit in its location at the focus of five conjoined parishes); here the castle was clearly a specialised satellite castle of the Honorial *caput* at *Knaresborough* (cf. *Thorne* and *Conisbrough, S. Yorks.*: see Chapter 3).

Three early castles on the fringes of Sherwood Forest can be interpreted in a similar light: *Annesley and Kingshaugh, Notts.*, and *South Normanton, Derbys.* (Fig. 9.5). At Annesley, the motte was evidently isolated from settlement: the DMV of Annesley lay c. 1km north-west of the ridge-top site (VCH Notts. I 1906, 312; Beresford 1954, 376) and was closely associated with Annesley Hall, a seventeenth-century reconstruction of a medieval aisled hall which was in all probability the manorial successor of the motte and

bailey, and documented as built c. 1220 by Reginald de Annesley (Barley 1983). Set on the fringes of Sherwood Forest, and mentioned in perambulations of the Forest Bounds as a deserted site from 1232 (Stevenson 1918-19, 84), the castle site was clearly an early centre for forest administration. The early castle at South Normanton similarly stood on the fringes of Sherwood Forest; located c. 2km east of the village of South Normanton and lying within an extra-parochial district, the site is unlikely to have been an early fortification on William Peveril's 1086 sub-infeued manor (see Chapter 5); rather, the site was always an isolated feature within its landscape. Extensive fieldwalking and trail excavation in its immediate environs in advance of development has demonstrated no evidence of associated settlement (Sheppard and Brown 1994, 1). Perambulations of Sherwood Forest demonstrate the motte and bailey to have lain within Fulwood, a Derbyshire extension of the royal Forest of Sherwood, where it was presumably the seat of a local officer (Crook 1990, 94-95; Stevenson 1918-19, 78-81). As such, the earthwork has likely twelfth-century origins, and a capitol recovered from the site dates to c. 1150 (Monk 1951-52, 69). However, the present form of the field monument indicates a subsequent episode of remodelling; the bailey adapted as a manorial residence or hunting lodge, with the addition of a series of fishponds (see Gazetteer). The earthwork at Kingshaugh ('King's enclosure': Chadwick 1922, 99) similarly occupies an isolated position, and lay within the royal estate of Darlton, an extension of Sherwood known as 'Le Clay' in the medieval period enclosed by King John (Chadwick 1922, 99; Speight 1994, 68). The site is consequently interpreted commonly as a twelfth/thirteenth-century hunting lodge, yet the work here recorded under John is evidently a re-building of an extant ringwork and bailey, held against him in 1193-94 (see Gazetteer). Furthermore, the site's rôle as a hunting lodge was only transient, as the area was disafforested c. 1217 (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 970).

(ii) Isolated Castles and Dispersed Medieval Settlement Patterns

In areas such as Devon where castles are generally remote, or associated with isolated hamlets or farmsteads, their distribution can be viewed as part and parcel of the characteristically dispersed regional settlement pattern and its related economy (Higham

1980, 70-80; 1982, 106) and as functioning elements within the workings of regional economies dominated by mixed or pastoral agricultural practices. A valuable study of this link between castles and dispersed rural patterning comes from the Vale of Montgomery, where a group of castles are elements within a seigneurially planned re-settlement scheme executed under the authority of Earl Roger between 1086-1102 (King and Spurgeon 1965). Set within the context of a volatile border region, a group of similar earthwork castles, with associated non-nucleated farmsteads or hamlets, were laid out as a unified scheme, probably over a devastated area of marginal landscape. Whilst the scheme is perhaps unique in its scale and ambition, due to extreme socio-political circumstances, the example does demonstrate an essential point: that planned settlement need not necessarily take the form of nucleated villages. These themes can be explored in two sub-regions within the study area.

South-east Lincolnshire offers comparable data: in particular, we may note the landscape context of four early castles in South Holland and Boston: *Fleet*, *Swineshead*, *Wrangle* and *Wyberton* (Fig. 9.6). The low, flat morphology of mottes in the former three cases is notable (Healey and Roffe n.d., 10), and represents a hybrid motte/moated site. More significantly, the manner in which all four lordship sites are isolated from loosely agglomerated villages or are isolated forms of settlement in their own right, mirrors exactly the landscape context of moated manorial sites in the surrounding lowland district, contrasting notably with the greater integration of sites of lordship (both castles and moats) in Kesteven to the west (Healey 1977, 28). These early castles are thus integral components of a regional economy dominated by split manors and a relatively free social structure; here castles clearly follow an extant settlement pattern and economy where church, settlement and manor were not necessarily conjoined.

In the case of *Kilton*, *Cleve*., *Yorks.*, located on the fringe of the moors, a combination of fieldwork, map and historical evidence has suggested that the seigneurial planning of individual farmsteads and the road network linking them was an enduring feature of the landscape (Daniels 1990, 46-47). Daniels further suggests that the farmsteads of Stank House, Buck Rush and Greenhills were laid out in conjunction with the construction of

the nearby castle in 1265, and parallel other schemes of seigneurially-led assarting in the region (Harrison 1990, 25-28). Although all lie within 2 km of the castle, there is no obvious morphological link, whilst the (failed) two-row planned village of Kilton was similarly not spatially associated with the cliff-side seigneurial residence. In the Highland zone, it can be suggested that many similar planning schemes could have existed, associated with or not associated with castles. It is only that such schemes do carry that obvious hallmark of planning - regularity - that has resulted in the under-representation of such processes in the literature.

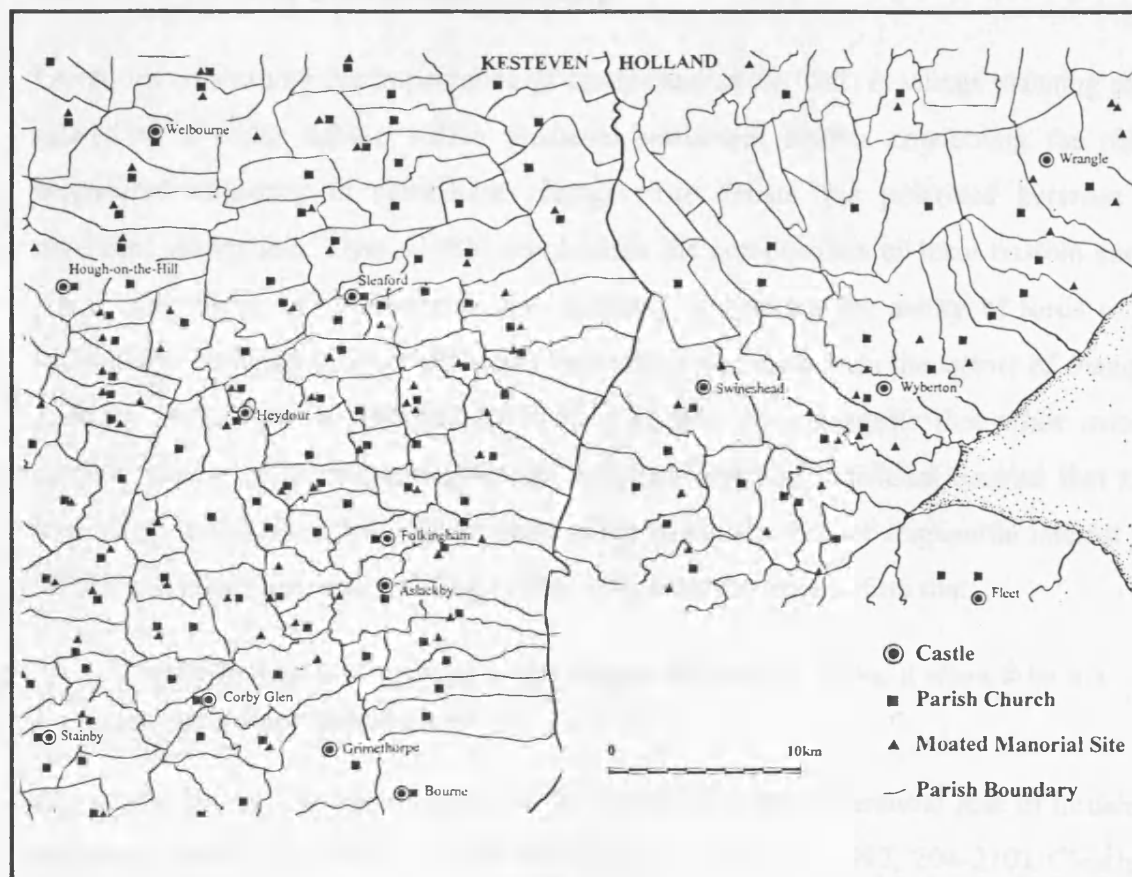


Fig. 9.6: Relationships between castles, churches and moated sites in southern Lincolnshire

CASTLES AND NUCLEATED SETTLEMENT

Published case-study material highlights the castle as a dual factor in the fortunes of villages. From one perspective we can see the castle as a magnet, attracting settlement either from an antecedent non-nucleated pattern, or by re-location of an earlier nucleated focus. Yet we can also view the castle in more negative light as displacing settlement in a limited number of cases, or by attracting the disruptions of contemporary warfare.

Castles, Settlement Change and Lordship

Questions concerning the importance of castles and castle lords in village planning can be related to a wider debate within medieval settlement studies concerning the rôle of seigneurial authority in settlement change. The debate has polarised between two divergent viewpoints. Dyer (1985) emphasises the complexities of local custom and the social remoteness of landlords as key mechanisms limiting the ability of lords to plan settlements, implying that communities themselves may have been the agents of change. A contrary perspective is afforded by Harvey (1989), who suggests that while manorial custom may be important in negotiation between lords and individual tenants, that at the level of entire communities, the vill was powerless in the face of seigneurial interest. The debate is summarised well by King (1986, 426) with the observation that:

"....while lordship now seems to be at a discount in historical circles, it seems to be at a premium amongst archaeologists".

The debate has recently been added to by emphasis of the differential rôle of lordship in nucleated, mixed and non-nucleated landscapes (Lewis *et al.* 1997, 204-210). Clearly the key issue is epistemological: archaeologists, looking fundamentally at long and medium-term processes of change, have seen the extreme regularity of field systems and villages as the manifestation of lordship on the landscape, whilst historians, examining temporally cross-sectional data sources, emphasise the complexity of everyday social relations between lord and community.

The study of castles within medieval settlement landscapes can have two essential contributions to this dialogue. First, many castle-villages provide extreme examples of the operation of atypically powerful lordship in association with key seigneurial centres at the heart of wider estate networks. Second, the presence of a castle within a settlement provides an approximately datable element of village topography, which may, in association with other data, inform of a wider sequence of development.

Castles and Village Morphology

Whilst research addressing the relationships between castles and rural settlement has advanced little, a small body of literature, founded upon an important recent synthesis (Morris 1989) has begun to investigate the potential input of churches studies. This is reflected most notably in attempts to provide an approximate *terminus ante quem* for a compartment of properties containing a church, the architectural features of which can be dated typologically (Roberts 1990, 120). The methodology for dating village plans through the existence of a castle, by analysing the position of the castle relative to the village combined with architectural, archaeological or historical data relating to the date of the castle is, however, insufficiently explored. General views on castle-settlement relationships are based overwhelmingly on a limited volume of case-study material, the analysis of which is duplicated in several works. The limited evidence available in fact constitutes a highly skewed and non-representative sample of the processes occurring over much of England. Furthermore, too many authors simplify what are complex multi-phase settlement processes into a single event, usually relating in a monocausal way to the plantation or abandonment of a castle.

Nonetheless, fundamental problems remain, most notably in that in using a castle (in conjunction with a church) as a means of dating a village, one tends to conceptualise settlement evolution through a limited number of time slices. Additionally, it remains highly possible that antecedent plan forms could significantly pre-date the dated horizon(s) provided. Nonetheless, the topographical positions of castles within settlements provides an additional key which must be explored to the maximum, as

otherwise the dearth of datable elements within settlement plans will remain a fundamental stumbling block.

Within the study area, only exceptionally does unambiguous evidence exist for the formation of a regular village that entirely post-dates a castle. The clearest case in point is *Bowes, Durham, Yorks.* (Fig. 9.7); here the absence of any Domesday manor, in conjunction with topographical data, demonstrates the linear street-village to post-date the Norman castle. The linear village is presumably a twelfth-century creation, probably planned in association with the programme of royal castle-building here from 1171, or an earlier (and undocumented) satellite fortification within the Honour of Richmond (VCH NR Yorks. I 1914, 43; Colvin *et al.* 1963, 574). The strategic value of the site is clear, as it straddles a major east-west route (and former Roman road) between Stainmore and Dere Street. The form of the settlement, fully conditioned by the castle's presence, forms a single, regular row, backed by a regular block of long tofts, oriented east-west along the Roman road. A broadening of the street immediately north of the church had contracted by the time of the OS First Edition, but was originally *c.* 25m wide, as indicated by the encroachment of gardens which have enclosed the base of an *in situ* market cross (OS Antiq. Mod. No. NY NY 91 SE 7); this almost certainly represents a market place appended to the castle-church cell. This pattern of long tofts is not replicated to the south, where ridge and furrow extends south from Back Lane down to the edge of the Greta valley. The presently isolated nature of the Norman keep fails to reflect its former association with the parish church of St. Giles. Together they occupy a central position to the south of the row, and were formerly enclosed within an extensive rectangular close based upon the perimeter defences of the Roman fort of *Lavatrae*, as indicated by witnesses supporting the claim that the church was the royal free chapel of the castle in 1325, who make it clear that the two institutions were embraced by a masonry *enciente* (Saunders 1976, 100-01). Back Lane appears never to have extended along the entire length of the settlement in the medieval period, as the re-cut Roman ditch associated with the castle blocks its route; instead it may have provided access to the castle's outer ward, whilst a hollow way leads south from the junction between Back Lane and the castle to the mill at Chapel

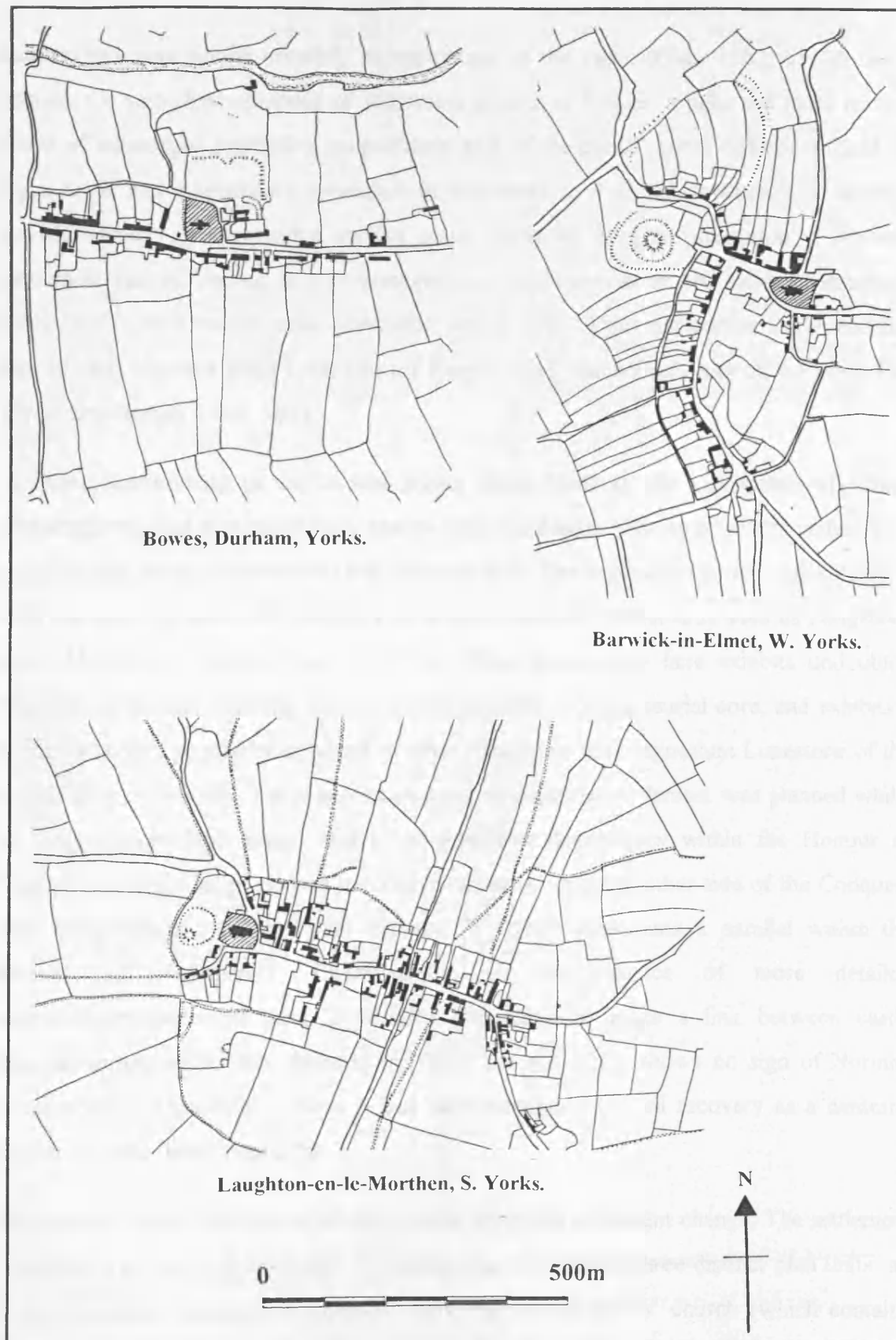


Fig. 9.7: Morphological relationships between castles and regular villages in the study area

bank, which was almost certainly an appendage of the castle (Clark 1882, 85). A likely sequence is two clear episodes of settlement growth at Bowes: a tight and more mature focus of messuages appending immediately east of the castle-church cell and backed by Back Lane, and a secondary expansion of settlement to form the northern row, perhaps associated with an unrecorded market grant. However, here the plantation of Norman settlement can be viewed as a *re*-emergence of settlement given the castle's imposition within the Roman station once associated with a *vicus*, which excavation shows to have lain, in part, between Back Lane and the Roman road, immediately east of the castle/fort (Frere and Hartley 1968, 180).

A major shortcoming in any model seeing castle lords as the key agents of village planning is the fact that many early castles were sited in the vicinity of estate centres with regal or high status connections (see Chapters 4-6). The implication is that castle building may not have represented a sudden rise in importance for settlements such as *Laughton-en-le Morthen, S. Yorks.* (Fig. 9.7). The village topography here exhibits undoubted evidence settlement planning related morphologically to a seigneurial core, and exhibits a higher degree of regularity opposed to other villages on the Magnesian Limestone of the region (Hey 1979, 39). Yet it is a moot point whether the settlement was planned whilst an Anglo-Saxon high status centre, or a satellite dependency within the Honour of Tickhill; notably, Laughton was marked by absentee lordship either side of the Conquest (the castle-village relationship at *Kippax, W. Yorks.* represents a parallel within the Honour of Pontefract). Consequently, in the absence of more detailed archaeological/historical data, it remains impossible to make a link between castle foundation and settlement planning: certainly the settlement shows no sign of Norman devastation at Domesday, unless it had been managed to, a full recovery as a demesne manor by 1086 (see Chapter 5).

Elsewhere a firmer link exists between castle siting and settlement change. The settlement topography at *Barwick-in-Elmet, W. Yorks.* (Fig. 9.7) shows three distinct plan units: an irregular eastern nucleus of tenements focusing on All Saints' church (which contains

fragments of Anglo-Saxon work: Collingwood 1914-18, 135-39), the extensive hillfort remodelled as a motte and bailey, and a regular, linear unit characterised by long toft plots appending to the south - seemingly an expansion over open field agriculture, as indicated by the curvilinear profile of the plots. A medieval market cross occupies a widening of the T-shaped road network at the junction of these three units (OS Antiq. Mod. No. SE 33 NE 5). Documents reveal the sudden administrative importance bestowed on Barwick in the mid eleventh century, and imply that the planned extension may correlate with this rise in fortunes commensurate with surrounding townships being returned to demesne (see Chapters 4 and 5); before this date the Barwick was a berwick of Kippax of little apparent significance. The sequence may be more complicated as the outer bailey appears to contain a series of relict toft-plots. Whilst these may represent the encroachment of settlement into the bailey following castle disuse (cf. Middleton Stoney, Oxon.: Rahtz and Rowley 1984, 13), the evidence may equally reflect the enclosure of dependent settlement shortly after the castle's construction in the Anarchy (cf. Therfield, Herts.: Biddle 1964), and prior to the laying out of the new focus of settlement.

Kirkby Malzeard, N. Yorks. is similarly a place of little administrative significance until the erection of the Mowbray castle, commensurate with the receipt of considerable local estates from the Crown, elevated the manor to the status of Honorial centre at the heart of a dependent territory stretching from Great Whernside in the west to the fringes of Ripon in the east and incorporating the chase of Nidderdale (Gowland 1936-38, 351-52). Roberts (1987, 40, Fig. 3.3) has suggested on the basis of morphological analysis that the regular double-row settlement expanded from an initial church core, yet the Mowbray castle - surely in Robert's own view a 'plan dominant' (*ibid.*, 151) - is omitted from analysis. This is clearly inappropriate when documentary analysis shows Nigel d'Aubigny to have been actively engaged in the economic development of Mowbray estates in the period c. 1107-18 (Greenway 1972, xxx), as demonstrated through the promotion of a castle-gate market at *Thirsk* (see Chapter 8). Although we must suspect d'Aubigny or his immediate successors as the agents of settlement change (the castle was slighted by c. 1175), the existence of early-medieval hogback sculpture within St. Andrew's church, and

the evidence from recent earthwork and geophysical survey that the castle overlies extensive ridge and furrow oriented east-west, suggests the remodelling of an antecedent settlement form (WYAS 1996b, 9-10).

Case-Study: Sheriff Hutton, N. Yorks. (Fig. 9.8: bottom)

The village topography at Sheriff Hutton, N. Yorks. is unique within the study area in the duplication of castle sites within the same settlement. That an early earth and timber fortification of the immediate post-Conquest generation was replaced, under unified lordship, by a palatial quadrangular castle, is relatively well understood (Illingworth 1938, 142-43); what are less well acknowledged, however, are the episodes of settlement change related to this sequence.

The first castle, a much denuded motte surmounted with a substantial breastwork as opposed to a ringwork and bailey (*contra*. King and Alcock 1969, 95), lies at the east end of the village, raised at the eastern extremity of a low natural spur marking the limit of a lowland plain on the eastern fringe of the Vale of York. The site is commonly held to be a foundation of the Anarchy, being first documented when besieged c. 1140 whilst in the hands of Bertram de Bulmer (King 1983, 525, 528). However, it may have earlier origins as an early estate centre of Aschetil de Bulmer, who received the manor before c. 1100 from the Domesday subtenant (L'Anson 1913, 378). Aschetil was Sheriff of Yorkshire from c. 1115, and as such, Sheriff Hutton may have emerged as an administrative centre within a small yet relatively compact, Yorkshire-based estate with satellites in Durham. The manor passed to the Neville family through marriage before 1194 (*ibid.*), and it was under their (uninterrupted) lordship that the second castle was built.

The motte lies adjacent to the parish church of St. Helen and the Holy Cross; unity of patronage is likely given the early-twelfth-century dating of the lower parts of the tower and a blocked Norman arch in the nave (Pevsner 1966b, 338), although this may represent rebuilding of an extant structure. We can demonstrate clearly that this earthwork post-dates the zone of ridge and furrow in the fields immediately south and east, into which it evidently intrudes; these earthworks run parallel to the bailey to the

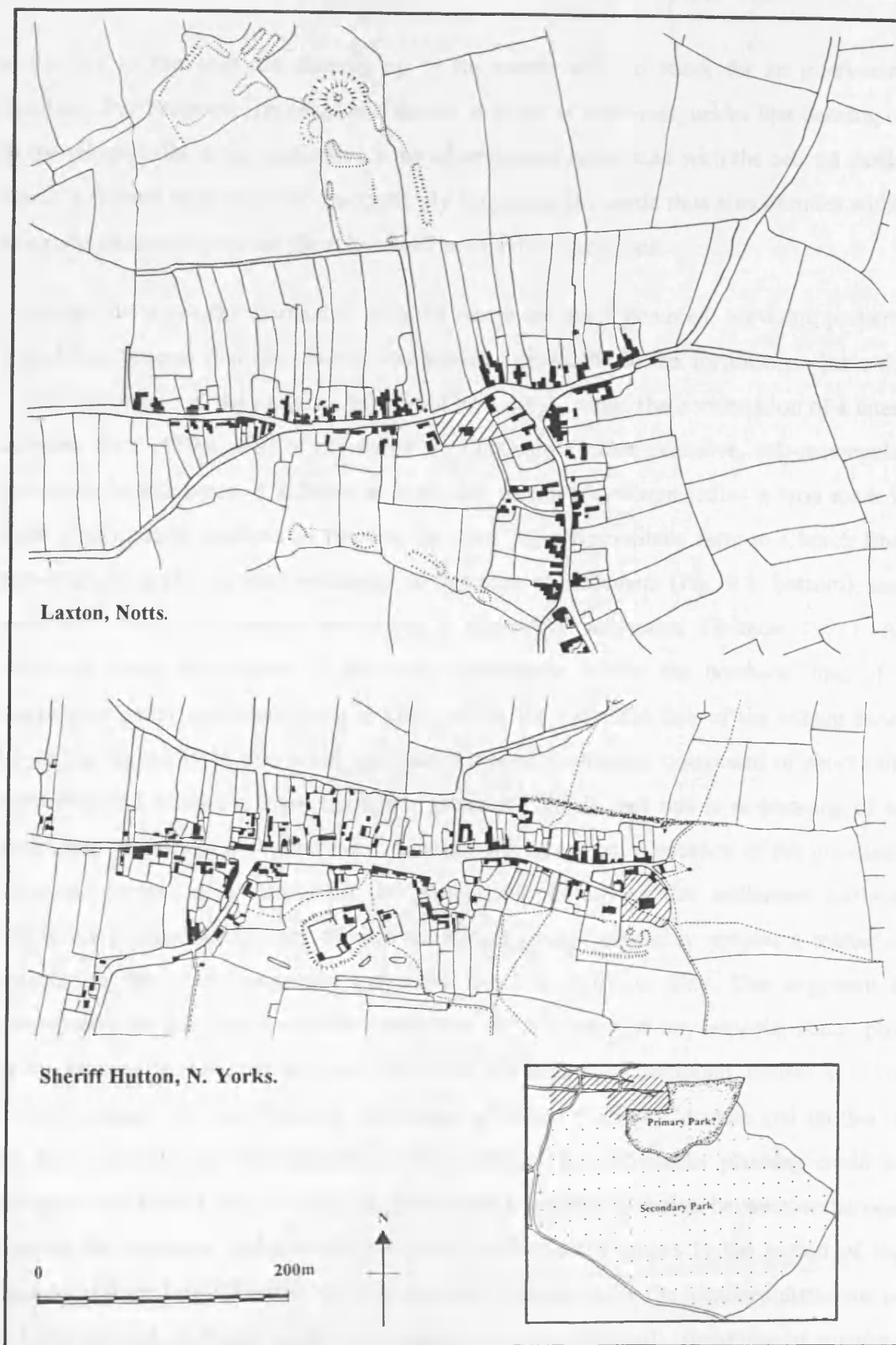


Fig. 9.8: Castle-village relationships at Laxton, Notts. (top), and Sheriff Hutton, N. Yorks. (bottom)

south, but to the east run directly up to the motte with no room for an intervening headland. Furthermore, this ridge and furrow is oriented east-west, unlike that backing on to the village tofts in the distinctive zone of settlement associated with the second castle, which is aligned exclusively north-south. By extension, the castle thus also intrudes within an extant settlement, whose church it in all probability dominates.

Although the outworks associated with the motte are much denuded, surviving property boundaries suggest that the church was annexed physically to the fortification (note the curvilinear profile of the eastern churchyard boundary), whilst the continuation of a linear outwork for *c.* 150m west of the motte may indicate a more extensive, sub-rectangular enclosure. In this sense, a substantial boundary earthwork recognised as a crop mark in aerial photographic analysis as running for over 200m from Glebe farm to Church End, east-west along the northern perimeter of this zone of settlement (Fig. 9.8: bottom), may indicate a *burgus* enclosure embracing a dependent settlement (Winton 1993). An additional scarp north-west of the motte apparently defines the northern limit of a rectangular bailey enclosure lying entirely within the projected line of the village bank. Given the regularity of this small, compact focus of settlement, composed of short toft-plots disposed around a small triangular green, it is likely that this is re-planning of an antecedent settlement in regular form; certainly the east-west orientation of the pre-castle ridge and furrow is at odds with the present morphology of this settlement nucleus. Whilst the precise chronology of such settlement change inevitably remains a matter of speculation, the castle seignury may have had a key rôle to play. This argument is strengthened in that the settlement seems not to have enjoyed any especial status pre-1100: 'Hutton' is recorded as a split manor in two separate, compound, entries in 1086, one in the hands of Nigel Fossard, sub-tenant of Robert Count of Mortain and another in the hands of the crown (Domesday i, 300c; 306a). The motives for planning could be complex, but Aston (1985, 93-95) has postulated a spatial correlation between settlement planning in Somerset and castles that were the foci of or sieges in the period of the Anarchy. Given Sheriff Hutton's documented involvement with the localised disturbances of 1140 focused on Ripon, such a link remains possible, although attempting to correlate

an observable episode of settlement change with a single documented event remains hazardous.

However, subsequent seigneurial policy seems to have conditioned a massive re-orientation of settlement. The original ridge-top motte and bailey was sufficiently restricted not to allow redevelopment in stone commensurate with the status of the Neville household, and the resultant re-siting went hand in hand with a massive programme of landscape change. In the fourteenth century, the upward mobility of Neville lordship ensured a seigneurial policy of residential aggrandisement, concurrent with a major reorganisation of the settlement. In 1382 licence was granted for John, Lord Neville to construct a stone castle on a newly enclosed plot (Beresford 1957, 221-22); this was located only a few hundred metres west of the original motte and bailey, on a less-restricted site. The castle certainly occupied a more extensive zone than present field evidence suggests; one or more outer wards can be postulated on the basis of manorial documents (BHWP 1995, 1-2), and signs of an artificial medieval surface have been noted in a watching brief immediately north-east of the structure, in a zone encroached upon by post-medieval settlement, that might indicate the interior of such a feature (BHWP 1996, 6). Certainly the moated earthworks to the south indicate that the palatial site lay within a wider, designed precinct. Within the space of four years a market charter was granted to Lord Neville (VCH NR Yorks. II 1923, 172-97); this event can be correlated confidently with the addition to the village plan of a square market green to the north-east of the second castle (now substantially infilled), representing the second green within the settlement. A second major plan unit, characterised by longer, more regular plots than the primary nucleus, and framed to the north by a back lane, was almost certainly closely associated with this development.

Concomitant with the development of settlement came the planning of a new castle park; this had its origins in 1335 when Ralph de Neville obtained licence for free warren, and then to enclose a park (Beresford 1957, 221-22). In subsequent decades Sheriff Hutton is noted as a hunting seat as well as regional administrative centre, especially following its acquisition by the crown from the Nevilles in 1471 (Beresford and St. Joseph 1979, 155).

The foundation of the new castle ensured the extension of the park, in doing so embracing a significant proportion of the open fields of the DMV of East Lilling, so that the park pale as depicted on John Norden's survey of 1624 embraced part of the settlement (Beresford 1954, 30). Originally, however, the primary park seems to have appended to the east of the first castle: recent aerial photographic analysis has indicated a substantial medieval boundary earthwork to the east of the early motte and bailey, traceable for c. 700m and deviating to describe a rectangular unit of land annexed to the motte (Winton 1993). This, in association with the probable eastern extension on the boundary earthwork to the north of the village nucleus discussed above, may indicate a parcel of dependent parkland carved from ridge and furrow associated with the postulated antecedent settlement. A possible parallel feature has been identified at *Ravensworth, N. Yorks.*, where an embankment, ditched to either side and lying c. 300m south of the early castle, formed part of a rectangular enclosure delimiting an estimated eight acres of parkland antedating the documented late-fourteenth-century emparkment (Ryder 1979, 99).

The resultant pattern sees the park embracing the village for more than half of its total perimeter, in a manner analogous to *Laxton, Notts.* (see below), but on a far greater scale. In doing so, the castle park was in effect a seigneurial green-belt; predetermining and limiting the axis of settlement expansion. This is paralleled on an even larger scale at Sheffield, where a seigneurial park appending de Lovetot's castle and lying between the Don, Sheaf and Meersbrook persisted as a landscape feature preventing urban expansion east of the Sheaf well into the post-medieval era (Fine 1993, 31).

Case-Study: Laxton, Notts. (Fig. 9.8: top)

Laxton may well be the most famous medieval village in Britain. Laxton's substantially unenclosed open fields have ensured its position within landscape studies as the quintessential medieval village, used as the classic case-study of medieval open field agriculture (Orwin and Orwin 1967; Beresford and St. Joseph 1979, 40-42). However, due to the specific character of Laxton's lordship, as manifested in the development of the

castle and surrounding demesne, the development of the village itself was, paradoxically, atypical (Rowley 1978, 110-11). Indeed, the status of the field system has deflected academic interest away from understanding of the village itself, particularly its evolution and social structure (Challis 1994, 24).

The survival of Mark Pierce's well known estate map of 1635 represents the essential starting point for retrogressive analysis. This shows the village as somewhat contracted from its original form, with a number of vacant tofts and crofts. The powerful motte and bailey lay on the northern fringe of the settlement, embraced on the remaining three sides by the demesne, estimated at 650 acres in 1635 and running along the entire northern edge of the settlement (Chambers 1964, 12). In terms of village topography, the regularity of the northern (east-west) row is striking. Here, long tofts of remarkably similar width reach back to Hall Lane which forms a back lane and morphological: 'seam' defining the boundary between the fabric of the village and the seigneurial zone, denoted on early OS maps by a substantial linear embankment. In addition to the seigneurial pleasure park recorded from the thirteenth century, the castle was associated with an extensive complex of fishponds to the north-west, first mentioned in a charter of 1232, whilst field-names within the zone are variously indicative of rabbit warrens, enclosures for horses and perhaps jousting activity (Orwin and Orwin 1967, 81, 89; Cameron 1980, 224). Together, the evidence suggests a block of demesne between West Field and East Park Wood enclosed from an early date and dedicated to the support and amusement of the castle seignury and visiting dignitaries, as opposed to agricultural usage, as thirteenth-century documentation indicates clearly the scattered disposition of additional demesne resources within the open fields (Orwin and Orwin 1967, 76-80).

Superficially, the southern (north-south) block of settlement appears morphologically distinct; the messuage plots to the east are set further back from the street, and in 1635 appear disrupted by another north-south route, this surviving as a relict feature by the mid nineteenth century (Fig. 9.8: top). A tentative suggestion has been made by Cameron (1980, 222), that this formed the axis of the original settlement; the primary settlement

lying between this and East Field, whilst the skeleton of the present village is a planned conception.

Cameron's hypothesis is founded upon three criteria: the morphological argument that the road is earlier than the crofts; that East Field was the first to be opened up; and that the presence of glebe-land to the west of the feature indicates the secondary addition of the parish church to an extant core (*ibid.*). We may take issue with all three points. First, the route appears to cut pre-existing croft boundaries; indeed the field numbers on Pierce's map are identical in parcels to the east and west (Chambers 1964, 9), whilst the road was certainly not the original route to Moorhouse, as Cameron suggests, as this emanated from the present village core. Second, the notion that the church is secondary is based upon the unsustainable argument that none was mentioned in Domesday, although such negative evidence is clearly not reliable (Morris 1985, 51). Third, analysis of field-names has contradicted the long-held assumption that East (or 'Town') Field was the first to be opened up, as this area shows a concentration of names denoting poor quality land which is unique within the parish (Foulds 1989, 4, 9).

At the hub of the village plan, a triangular widening of the street at Cross Hill, juxtaposed with the parish church of St. Michael's may reflect a green, or more likely the market place of what was, in all probability, a substantial market village. The parallels of Long Buckby and Culworth, Northants., where Taylor (1982) has demonstrated a link between castle foundation and radical reorganisations of village topography via the seigneurial promotion of rural markets, may be instructive. Significantly, architectural and documentary analysis of the church shows clear signs of seigneurial patronage; the church being in existence by the late twelfth century when it was given as part of the endowment of Robert de Caux's Priory at Shelford (Gill 1925, 97). Within the study area, similar castle-gate markets, undocumented and encroached-upon, are in evidence in otherwise irregular nineteenth-century settlement plans at *Castleton, N. Yorks.* and *Whitwick, Leics.* (see Gazetteer).

Excavations within two abandoned plots at Top Lane reinforce the sequence suggested above in the recovery of a substantial bulk of *in situ* twelfth to fourteenth-century pottery, whilst a lesser volume of residual middle to late Saxon wares provide limited evidence of antecedent occupation predating the planned village (Challis 1994, 30). While the physical character of such antecedent settlement remains conjectural, we may further point towards the place-name *tunstall*, recorded on the east side of South Field, which, along with other place-names may be indicative of “scattered settlement and isolated pockets of land clearance at a very early period” (Foulds 1989, 10). Further evidence of pre-Conquest Laxton is lacking, although substantial finds of Roman pottery and *tesserae* in the area known as Fiddler’s Bank, West Field, traditionally thought to represent a villa, may be instructive (OS Antiquity Models Nos. SK 76 NW 3/8). Whereas previous authorities have envisaged the late-eleventh-century settlement as a nucleated entity (Beckett 1989, 8; Orwin and Orwin 1967, 74), current opinion is moving towards the acceptance that even a relatively well populated Domesday vill need not have been a nucleated village (Austin 1987, 48; Sawyer 1985, 5); there is no fundamental reason why Laxton may be any different.

Limited excavation at Laxton has demonstrated the immense and much under-valued potential of archaeology for understanding the evolution of extant villages by excavating abandoned medieval plots where they become threatened by development (Challis 1995a, 23). Despite assertions that the village plan seems to have been conceived in L-shaped form, comprising a single east-west and north-south from the outset (Challis 1994, 30), excavation on a similarly open site at the Vicarage, south of the main east-west row has recovered evidence of medieval boundary features, perhaps echoing the formalised arrangement of North Row (Challis 1995a, 21-22). The potential of such sites is underscored by subsequent excavations within the inhabited core of the village at the old infant’s school, where medieval deposits were severely disturbed by continuous occupation and of little archaeological value (Challis 1995b, 131). Morphological analysis recommends the creation of the east-west unit as a single episode, perhaps supplemented by the addition of accretion of a secondary, north-south unit, although this less-regular

zone may, less likely, perpetuate an antecedent area of settlement. Certainly, natural topography ensured that the more usual plan of a castle-village, that of the castle at the head of a linear settlement (cf. *Castle Bolton, N. Yorks.*), was not an option here, due to the marshy area of ground to the south of the east-west row, occupied by a linear series of fish ponds.

As a settlement, Laxton displays the unmistakable hall-mark of planning. Elsewhere, historical geographers have accepted that a correlation between the *process* of planning regulated settlements and the *mechanism* of lordship can only be made circumstantially. The key point here is that the developing administrative history of Laxton ensures that we can bridge this gap more confidently.

Essentially, the documentary record shows that Laxton only gained status as a key estate centre from the period around the foundation of the castle, when it became the *caput* of de Caux family, hereditary foresters of Sherwood, and the centre of a local barony (Colvin *et al.* 1963, 979-80; Crook 1980, 18). Ultimately, the manor remained in the hands of descendants until 1618, save a brief episode of early-thirteenth-century royal ownership (*ibid.*). Although the manor was in the hands of Geoffrey Alselin at Domesday, and the Saxon Toki before 1066 (i, 289b), Laxton only appears to have gained any true administrative importance under de Caux lordship when it emerged as the administrative centre of all of Nottinghamshire north of the Trent and part of Derbyshire (Beckett 1989, 9). What is vital is that whilst Laxton was a minor concern within Alselin's and Toki's holdings, who held substantial estates elsewhere, under de Caux ownership the *relative* status of the manor was greatly enhanced, despite overall reduction of the fee of Laxton post 1086 (Speight 1994, 59; *contra*. Stenton 1961, 200). Even if the site was originally a foundation of Alselin or the Domesday sub-tenant Walter (cf. *Hallaton, Leics.*: see Chapter 5), the size of the castle, with multiple baileys, must demonstrate a process of extension.

In support of the thesis that the foundation of the castle and the status its seignury acted as the catalyst for settlement change, we can note Laxton's position at the gravitational

centre of an extensive forest and extensive estate network, acting as a magnet to trade and settlement. It would be fitting for the resultant settlement to be oriented in regular form rather than growing up haphazardly - just as an eighteenth-century aristocrat may move, re-orient or re-plan an estate village in line with personal preference or fashion. With the coming of the de Caux family, Laxton emerged not only as a fortified centre but a venue for forest courts, whilst documentary evidence suggests that Laxton became a favoured stopping point on royal itineraries from Henry II to Edward I (Cameron 1980, 223-25; Beckett 1989, 11), and must have served and accommodated huge retinues and hunting parties requiring accommodation, sustenance and generating revenue. This would certainly have meant the presence of salaried officials operating outside the agricultural workings of the village, and the presence of individuals of such status within the settlement is reflected in tax returns. Furthermore, the village economy was marked by considerable cash-flow, in 1208 raising a substantial sum of £100 to prevent the settlement being burned down under royal orders (*ibid.*).

In addition, whilst the decline of Laxton as a market centre, as indicated by the abandoned plots on Pierce's map, may be part of a more general process of fourteenth-century economic decline, these conditions may have had a disproportionately severe effect on Laxton due to the decline of seigneurial authority. Thus, the castle was downgraded significantly to a site of manorial status only by the late thirteenth century, in line with a reduction of the area under Forest Law in 1227 to exclude Laxton (Beckett 1989, 11). We may also note Robert de Everingham's ultimate loss of the keepership of Sherwood Forest in 1286 and relocation of the family seat to an undefended site at Everingham, Yorkshire (*ibid.*, 14; Speight 1994, 59), which put an end to the castle as a focus of economic activity. Indeed, limited excavation within Laxton demonstrates vacant plots within the present village to be deserted well before the fifteenth century (Challis 1994, 31).

However, the relationship between this sequence of settlement change and the documented population benchmarks of 1086 (c. 35 adult males), and 1332 (42 tax payers), must indicate an intervening, and in documentary terms unattested, population

maximum (Cameron 1980, 220). Specialist status thus ensured that Laxton developed rapidly into an atypical settlement; the exceptional status being linked explicitly to the sudden increase in significance bestowed upon the settlement by the construction of the castle and the influence of its seigneurie, and thus bridges the conceptual gap between socio-economic pre-eminence and the physical planning of settlement.

CASTLES AND SETTLEMENT SHIFT

Settlement Shift: The National Picture

Where settlement can be seen to have migrated from an earlier focus to become more closely associated with a castle, further credence is given to the thesis of the castle as a magnet to settlement, especially if the migration is independent of other socio-economic or communications-related variables. Hence a category exists where castles are planted close to extant settlement which subsequently expands in a manner related morphologically to the seigneurial cell.

The constant problem is the uncertainty of proving that such a process was contemporaneous with the functional lifetime of the castle. A number of published examples demonstrate this well. At Braybrooke, Northants., field evidence suggests that the shift of settlement to the north of the castle site can be dated relatively (Roberts 1987, 94; RCHM Northants. II 1979, 11-14). Similarly, at Mileham, Norfolk, Wade-Martins's analysis of field-walked data isolates the process to a probable eleventh-century context, thereby broadly associating it with a likely time of castle occupation (Wade-Martins 1975, 147-49). Yet the case of Mileham again underlines the essential difficulty of linking such change to the influence of the castle, as the settlement shift was to a new east-west axis associated with the castle, but also an emerging route of communication. In other cases the correlation of settlement change with castle occupation is based on likelihood, although the dangers of circularity are obvious, with the evidence of the castle being a factor which would tend to link settlement shift to its existence in the first instance. At Segenhoe, Beds. present earthwork evidence suggests that the village migrated uphill to a new position adjacent to the castle (Taylor 1983, 162-165), whilst at Holwell, Devon, a

similar process of migration from original core to a position below the castle also seems to have occurred (Higham 1979, 310-11). On the basis of this albeit limited number of examples it is worth pausing to question whether it is the exceptional clarity of earthwork evidence at such sites which has led researchers to postulate processes of settlement migration rather than single-stage nucleation. Indeed, in many cases of apparent nucleations associated with castles one is in fact in the presence of migration or at least re-orientation from a nucleated foci of greater antiquity as opposed to an antecedent pattern of scattered settlement. At Lilbourne, Northants., it appears that settlement agglomerated outside the early-twelfth-century castle was re-planned around a much decayed green approximately 400m uphill from the castle (RCHM Northants. III 1981, 125-128; Taylor 1983, 160). Finally, the example of Long Buckby, Northants. provides a warning of the way that present landscape evidence can be deceptive. Although at present seemingly associated with the present village of Long Buckby, the castle's odd position in relation to the present village's market place, and the morphology of earthworks to the south-east combine to suggest that the site was formerly associated with a now abandoned area of settlement pre-dating the present village which reflected its location (RCHM Northants. III 1981, 131-35).

In all such cases one must beware postulating that the castle's influence alone caused such change; there is generally no proof positive of the castle lord planning settlement growth, and although it may appear obvious, an increase in prosperity could be attributable to other independent or semi-independent socio-economic factors besides the castle's existence.

Settlement Shift: The Study Area

A number of rural settlements containing castles exhibit the dislocation of a castle-church cell from the main body of the village. Due to a total lack of archaeology in these settlements, we must rely on the church and castle as plan elements that are approximately datable, combined with morphological analysis, in order to formulate suggested sequences of development.

At *Lowdham, Notts.* (Fig. 9.9), the motte is closely juxtaposed with the medieval parish church of St. Mary's and forms part of a tight nucleus of irregular, apparently agglomerated settlement within the north-east angle of Cocker Beck. The main village is of attenuated, linear form, stretching along main Street, c. 400m to the east. A likely sequence here is a process of migration from a primary focus, in line with a change in communications patterns, as the linear settlement sits astride a major north-south routeway north of the crossing of the Trent at Gunthorpe/East Bridgford. Notably, earthwork plans of 1937 illustrate not only evidence of settlement shrinkage immediately north of the motte, but mention a deep hollow way running between motte and church, continuing south to link with Bridgford Street and thence the former ferry crossing over the Trent (Groves 1987, 63-64; Notts. SMR: No. 01991).

At *Lockington, Humbs., Yorks.* (Fig. 9.9), the remodelled motte and bailey, immediately south of the parish church of St. Mary's, can be identified as one (shrunk) focus within a polyfocal settlement including a major east-west linear plan unit to the north (Front Street), and a daughter between this and the motte (Thorpe). What is significant is that the castle-church focus seems to have been of some antiquity: although the church is architecturally no earlier than the twelfth century, structural modification of the burial vault c. 1893 demonstrated Norman foundations to overlie directly part of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery comprising a minimum of 12 skeletons (Pevsner 1972, 305; Humbs. SMR: Nos. 7520, 3724). Although the precise chronology and reasons behind this development remain obscure, communication patterns may be of key importance; the settlement expanding to embrace a more major east-west route from an initial focus to the south.

The motte at *Shawell, Leics.* (Fig. 9.9) lies at the southern extremity of an attenuated linear settlement that has contracted substantially to isolate the castle on a prominent ridge-top overlooking Watling Street and the former Roman settlement of *Tripontium*

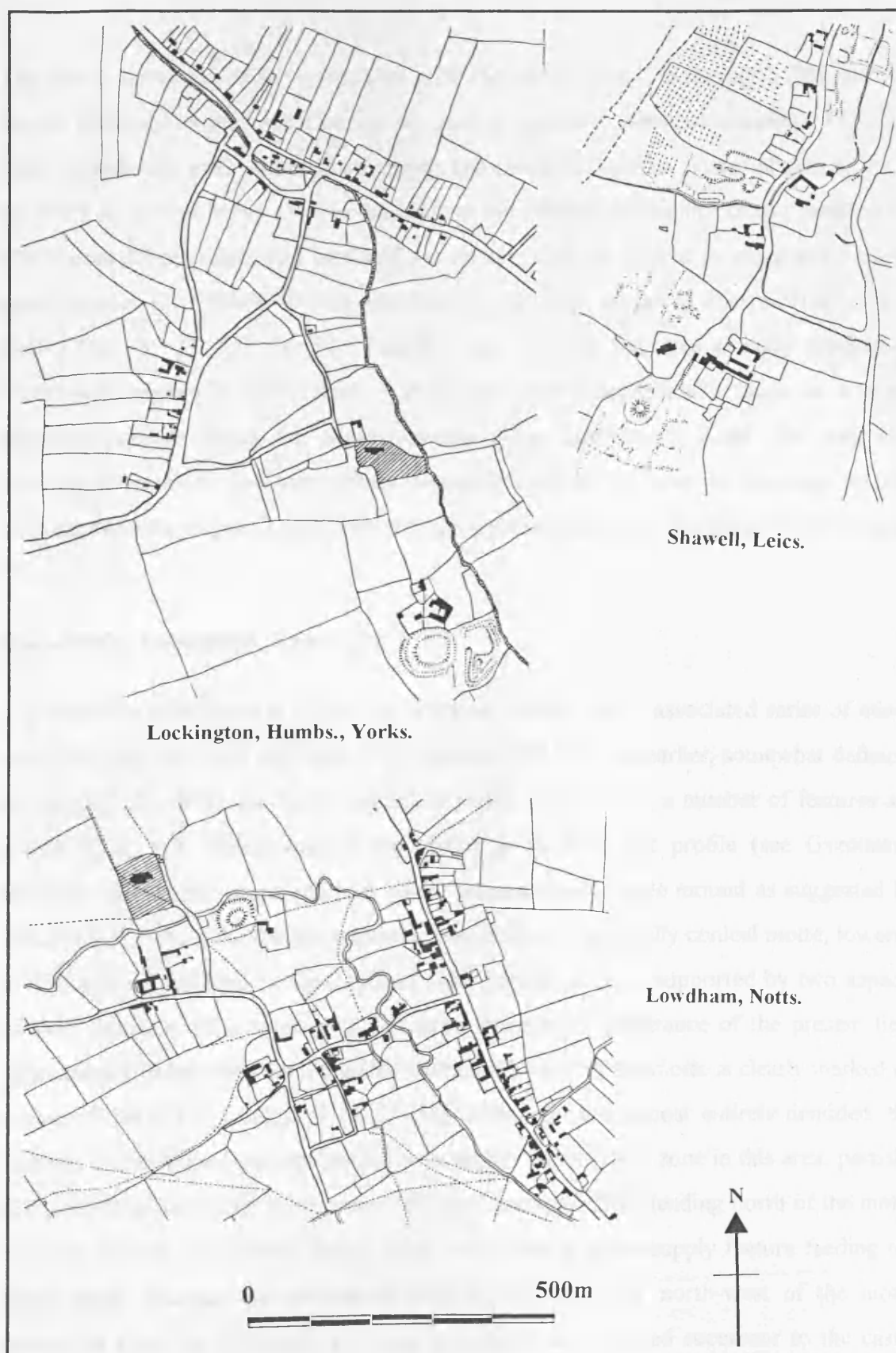


Fig. 9.9: Morphological relationships between castles and shrunken/shifted villages in the study area

The site is, however, closely associated with the parish church to the north (the two are almost certainly linked: see Chapter 6), and its probable manorial successor (Shawell Hall) immediately east. Aerial photography has demonstrated this cluster of sites to lie at the heart of a zone linear of close boundaries represented as cropmarks and parchmarks which extend both north and south of the feature, and are backed by ridge and furrow; splashed ware (c. 1100-1250) has also been found in the garden of Shawell Hall. (Leics. SMR: Nos. SP 57 NW M, N). Together the evidence indicates a likely process of northwards migration away from a ridge-top (castle dependent?) focus to a more sheltered position along the stream running along Lutterworth Road. We may also mention *Essendine, Rutland*, where settlement seems to have in response to the construction of a ringwork and a re-orientation of ecclesiastical topography (see Chapter 6).

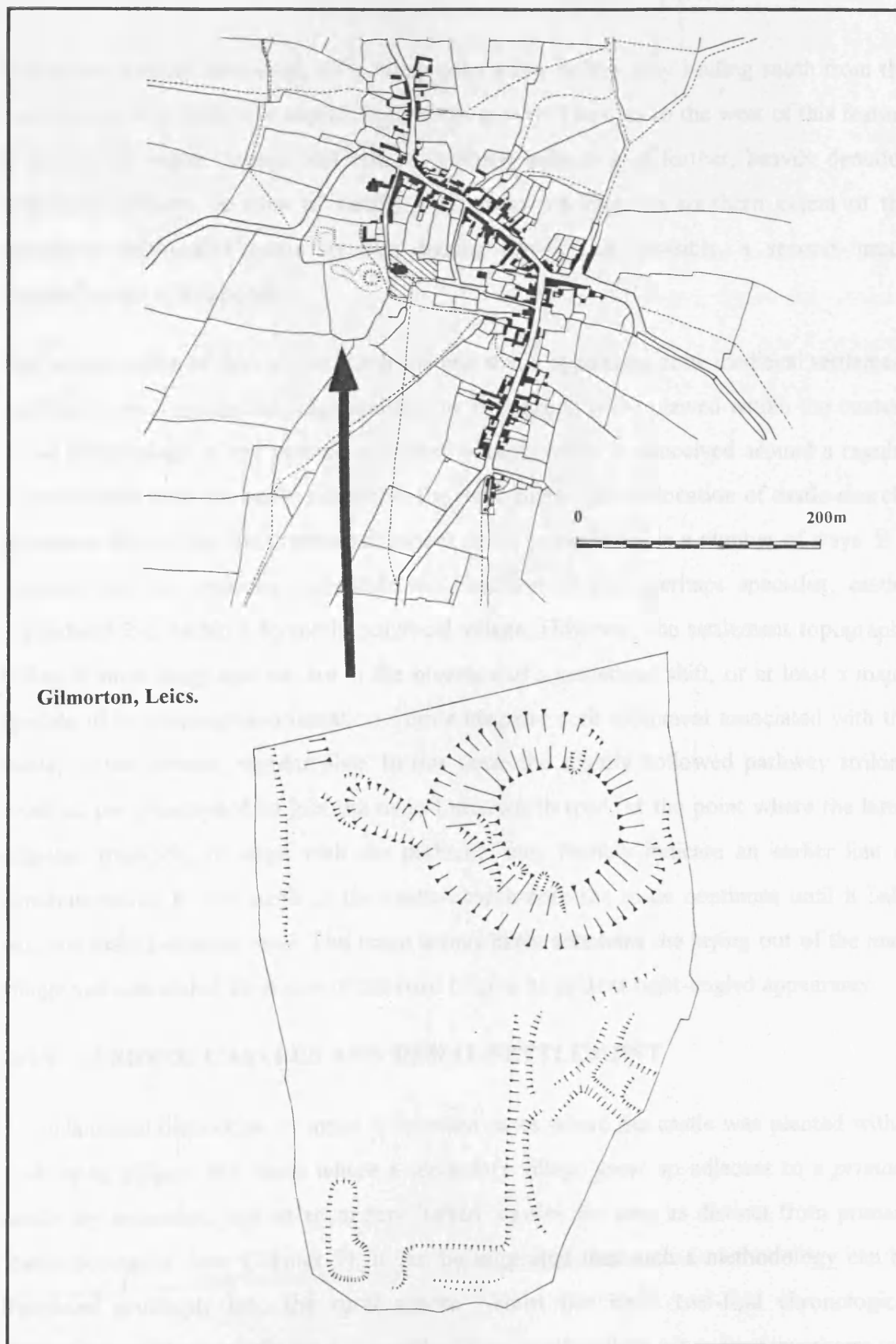
Case-Study: Gilmorton, Leics. (Fig. 9.10)

The existence of a motte at Gilmorton is well-recorded, yet an associated series of minor earthworks are less well understood (Creighton 1997, 25). An earlier, somewhat deficient survey (Winter 1978) has been updated by recent field survey; a number of features are notable (Fig. 9.9). The motte is remarkable in its low, flat profile (see Gazetteer); however, rather than representing a hybrid moated manor/castle mound as suggested by Hoskins (1970, 52), the feature appears to have been an originally conical motte, lowered in a scheme of manorial re-development. This interpretation is supported by two aspects of field evidence. First, despite the apparent bailey-less appearance of the present field monument, a horse-shoe shaped bailey to the north-west of the motte is clearly marked on a plan of 1907 (VCH Leics. II 1907, 258). Although now almost entirely denuded, the vestiges of the feature are represented by a slightly raised, level zone in this area, partially delimited by a curvilinear scarp, whilst the low, marshy hollow leading north of the motte seems to be part of a former bailey ditch rather than a water-supply feature feeding the motte ditch. Second, the rectangular moated feature to the north-west of the motte marked as *Moat* on OS maps, has been interpreted as a moated successor to the castle

(King 1983, 253; Mc Whirr and Winter 1978-79, 55). However, reinterpretation suggests rather a series of manorial fish-stews associated with the castle site. The motte provides a typical example of the difficulties of providing a historical context for an early castle that was evidently more than a short-lived foundation. There is nothing in the manorial descent to suggest that it was ever a major estate centre; in 1086 it was one of nine Leicestershire manors in the hands of Robert de Vessey and sub-infeuded to Godfrey (i, 234a). However, the mention of four 'Frenchmen' (*francigenae*) on the manor, and a further one Frenchman at Kibworth (another Vessey manor held in demesne featuring a motte of similar form) may indicate the early presence imported communities serving the castle and demesne (see Chapter 5 for full discussion).

Seeing this earthwork complex within the context of the adjacent parish church - immediately east of the motte - we have a striking case of manorial continuity on a castle site, allowing the formulation of a tentative two-phase sequence; the fishponds are a secondary addition to an early motte and bailey retained and adapted as a manorial residence through the lowering of a once higher motte and associated disruption of the bailey defences in order to create the fishponds and ensure their water supply. The action would certainly have compromised defensive needs, and is a sequence mirrored locally at *Oakham, Rutland* (Hartley 1983, 30-32). In the absence of excavation or detailed documentary data the church can be dated no earlier than c. 1300 on architectural grounds (Pevsner 1966a, 162). Nonetheless, we may be sure that motte and church coexisted, and the extreme proximity of the two makes it likely that church, and possibly a focus of settlement, pre-dates the motte (cf. *Laughton en le Morthen, S. Yorks.*: see Chapter 6). Indeed, the present church structure is no more than c. 2-3m outside the projected line of the motte ditch, and the alignment of field boundaries north of motte and church may fossilise an outer enclosure or precinct, as depicted on the enclosure map of 1778, showing the churchyard without the present rectangular eastward extension (Leics. PRO: Map No. DG/28/MA/1).

The additional earthworks to the south of the motte seem to represent a series of regular house platforms and denuded croft enclosures backed to the east by ridge and furrow



Gilmorton, Leics.

Fig. 9.10: Castle-village relationship at Gilmorton, Leics. (top), and detail of motte and associated earthworks (bottom)

cultivation oriented east-west, all fronting onto a low hollow way leading south from the castle site, which links to a second linear hollow-way. The area to the west of this feature is marked by vague 'humps and bumps' perhaps indicative of further, heavily denuded settlement remains. A zone of further earthworks marking the southern extent of the settlement earthworks relate to later mining activity, or, possibly, a second, much denuded series of fishponds.

This juxtaposition of the castle-church cell and small, appending zone medieval settlement earthworks with associated ridge and furrow is puzzling when viewed within the context of the morphology of the present nucleated village, which is conceived around a regular L-shaped plan with the castle site within the right-angle. This dislocation of castle-church-settlement focus from the present settlement could be explained in a number of ways. It is possible that the evidence represents the desertion of one (perhaps specialist, castle-dependent) foci within a formerly polyfocal village. However, the settlement topography makes it more likely that we are in the presence of a settlement shift, or at least a major episode of re-planning/re-orientation from a magnate core settlement associated with the castle, to the present, regular plan. In this sense the slightly hollowed pathway striking south of the churchyard to join the main Lutterworth road, at the point where the latter dog-legs markedly to align with the pathway, may feasibly indicate an earlier line of communication; to the north of the castle-church core the route continues until it links with the main Leicester road. The route is thus likely antedates the laying out of the main village and associated diversion of the road to give its present right-angled appearance.

CONCLUSIONS: CASTLES AND RURAL SETTLEMENT

A fundamental distinction to make is between cases where the castle was planted within an *existing* village, and cases where a *secondary* village grew up adjacent to a *primary* castle. By extension, just as secondary 'urban' castles are seen as distinct from primary 'castle-boroughs' (see Chapter 7), it can be suggested that such a methodology can be translated profitably into the rural sphere. Whilst this basic two-fold chronological distinction can theoretically be distinguished from castle-village plans in many cases, one

must also beware of chronologically oversimplifying the relationship. For instance, where a settlement appears to have been planted contemporary or later than the castle, this could represent the re-orientation of *earlier* settlement which may not be apparent within present landscape topography.

Overall, we may note a dynamic continuum between categories of castle-settlement relationship. As demonstrated, an originally isolated castle acting as a functioning element within a non-nucleated landscape could subsequently attract an appendant settlement, after which a myriad of potential courses of development offer themselves (e.g. re-organisation in planned or enclosed form, re-organisation in planned form and then subsequent enclosure, etc.). In reality, therefore, a castle-settlement relationship through time may thus embody *both* chronological dimensions: castle imposition on extant settlement and settlement accretion and growth (whether planned or unplanned).

CHAPTER TEN

CASTLES AND DESERTED SETTLEMENT

CASTLES AND SETTLEMENT DESERTION

The study of interrelationships between castles and deserted medieval settlement has two essential contributions to our wider understanding of the rôle of castles in the development of rural landscapes. First, morphological plan-analysis may amplify our understanding of the physical *pattern* of castle-settlement relationships, in the absence of the post-medieval alteration to village plans that blur the picture elsewhere. Second, we can seek to assess whether these settlements were atypical in any way, and in particular, whether the abandonment of the castle, as a manorial centre and in some cases a mother economic cell, was a causal, contributory or independent factor in the *process* of settlement decline.

This chapter deals exclusively with deserted or very shrunken settlement, and follows the distinction proposed by the Medieval Settlement Research Group (MSRG 1997), between slightly shrunken sites (where settlement earthworks constitute a fraction of the total area of medieval settlement: see Chapter 9), and very shrunken sites (where six properties or fewer are presently occupied, in association with documentary or fieldwork evidence that the settlement was formerly more extensive).

A total of 25 castle sites in the study area are associated with deserted or very shrunken medieval settlements. The relevant data, compiled from the MSRG Archive, are summarised in Figs. 10.1 and 10.2. Here, however, it is important to raise an essential methodological issue: how can we judge whether a castle site constituting an isolated element in the present landscape was similarly isolated from settlement during its functional lifetime? In the case of two important sites discussed below (*Great Casterton*,

County	Site	Relationship	Date of Desertion/Shrinkage
Derbys.	Pilsbury	A small settlement appended to the east of the motte and bailey on the valley floor has contracted to the present three farmsteads	The settlement may have contracted in the wake of the conversion of the manorial economy to large-scale sheep farming by the Duchy of Lancaster in the mid/late 14th century (III)
Leics.	Garthorpe	Motte closely associated with medieval mill site, both lying on the eastern fringe of an extensive, zone of irregular SMV earthworks	Unknown, although local parallels suggest desertion due to enclosure (IV?)
Leics.	Ingarsby	Motte overlooks large, agglomerated DMV containing the moated manorial site of Ingarsby Old Hall, from the opposite side of the valley.	Desertion precipitated by enclosure in 1469 (IV)
Lincs.	Goltho	Manor/castle and chapel on periphery of large, regular DMV	14th to 15th century decline and desertion (III)
Lincs.	Hanby	Motte on periphery of DMV of uncertain form associated with medieval moated manorial site of Hanby Hall	Unknown
Lincs.	Kingerby	A moated manorial site adapted from an early motte/ringwork and bailey is morphologically integrated with large, regular DMV of complex (and planned?) form	Desertion by 17th century attributable to conversion to pasture (IV)
Lincs.	Somerton	The location of Somerton has not been defined through fieldwork, although is traditionally associated with the castle site of the same name	Last documented in 14th-century taxation returns (II-IV?)
Lincs.	Thonock?	The location of Thonock, first mentioned in 1086, has not been traced by fieldwork	Last documented in 16th-century taxation returns (IV)
Lincs.	Tothill	Small (enclosed?) DMV of uncertain plan, but incorporating parish church, appended to the north of motte and baileys	Last documented in 14th-century taxation returns (III-IV?)
Notts.	Greasley	Greasley DMV not located by fieldwork, although is likely to lie within the vicinity of the castle and adjacent parish church of St. Mary	Last documented in an <i>inquisition post mortem</i> of 1260-61 (II)
Notts.	Wellow	Location of Grimston DMV uncertain, although it probably lay in the vicinity of Grimston Hill, c. 1km south of the ringwork	Grimston may be supplanted/superseded by the market village of Wellow, planted on the edge of the parish (II-III?)
Rutland	Burley	Motte and bailey inserted into regular DMV earthworks, possible secondary/late focus of settlement at 'Chapel Farm' (see text)	Desertion precipitated by enclosure in 1642 (IV)
Rutland	Great Casterton	Small zone of dependent settlement earthworks appended to east of the early ringwork and bailey	Deserted by the late 17th century (IV)

Fig. 10.1: Castles and associated deserted medieval settlement in the East Midlands.
(Note: Period of Desertion, indicating the presumed date for the depopulation of the village: I. In Domesday but no further notice; II. c. 1125-1350; III. c. 1350-1450; IV. c. 1450-1700; V. post-1700)

County	Site	Relationship	Date of Desertion/Shrinkage
Humbs. Yorks.	Burstwick	It is possible that a small DMV documented as 'Bond Burstwick' administratively distinct from Burstwick, lay within the immediate vicinity of the castle/manorial site	Last documented in the 13th century, thence merged with Burstwick (II-III?)
Humbs., Yorks.	Fraisthorpe	The motte lies on the fringe of an extensive and irregular zone of SMV earthworks	Desertion precipitated by progressive enclosure by Bridlington Priory from 13th to 18th century (IV)
S. Yorks.	Langthwaite	Substantial DMV of uncertain plan lay between motte and baileys and medieval moated manorial site of Radcliffe Moat.	Last mentioned in 13th-century taxation returns (III-IV)
N. Yorks.	Bossall	DMV of uncertain plan formerly surrounded the castle site, presumably near the associated parish church of St. Botolph's	Last documented in 14th-century taxation returns (II-III)
N. Yorks.	Castle Howard	17th-century maps show castle lying in the north row of the regular street village of <i>Hinderskelfe</i>	Desertion precipitated by re-design of Castle Howard Estate from the late 17th century (V)
N. Yorks.	Givendale	Small DMV of uncertain plan appended to the south of the motte	Last documented in 13th-century taxation returns (II-III)
N. Yorks.	Hornby	DMV of uncertain plan formerly lay immediately south-west of the castle site, presumably near the associated church of St. Mary's	Desertion precipitated by emparkment in 1517 (V)
N. Yorks.	Sigston	Small zone of settlement earthworks and associated ridge and furrow identified from aerial photography	Unknown
N. Yorks.	Whorlton	DMV contained, with parish church, in defended enclosure appending the castle	Depopulation from 14th/15th century (II-III)
W. Yorks.	Barwick-in-Elmet	Large outer enclosure formed from iron-age defences may have contained medieval settlement	Unknown
W. Yorks.	East Folifoot	Enclosed DMV of uncertain plan appended to east of motte	Unknown
W. Yorks.	Harewood II	Large outer enclosure appended to the north of the ringwork may have contained medieval settlement	Presumably superseded by the foundation of Harewood I in the 14th century or earlier (II-III?)
Cleve., Yorks.	Skelton	Large outer enclosure may have contained medieval settlement	Unknown

Fig. 10.2: Castles and associated deserted medieval settlement in Yorkshire. (Note: Period of Desertion, indicating the presumed date for the depopulation of the village: I. In Domesday but no further notice; II. c. 1125-1350; III. c. 1350-1450; IV. c. 1450-1700; V. post-1700)

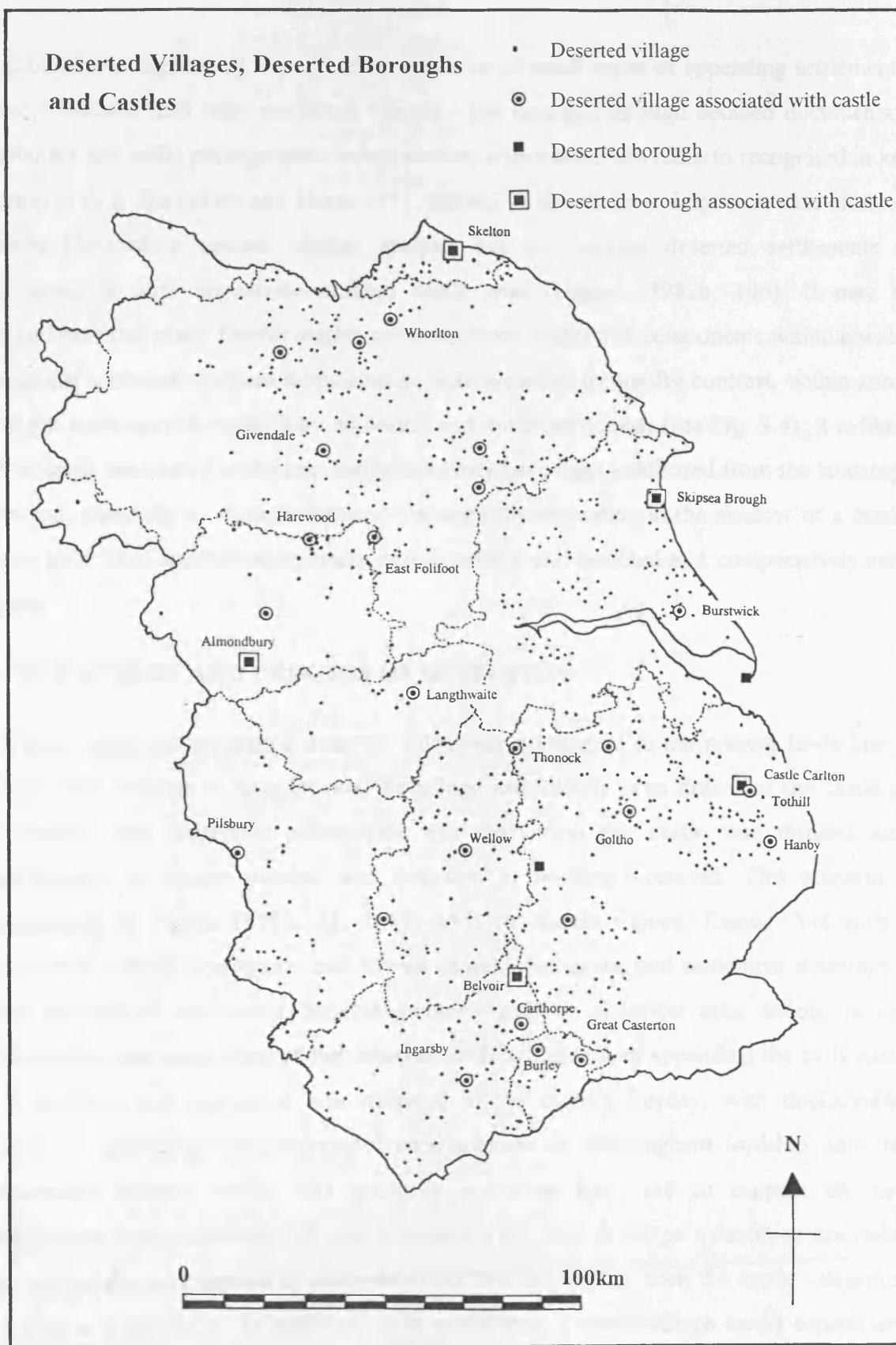


Fig. 10.3: Distribution of deserted villages and boroughs in the study area, indicating the distribution of associated castles. Key sites mentioned in the text are labelled

Rutland and Sigston, N. Yorks.), clear evidence of small zones of appending settlement - more hamlets than truly nucleated villages - has emerged through detailed documentary analysis and aerial photographic interpretation, where none was hitherto recognised in key sources (e.g. Beresford and Hurst 1971; MSRG Archive). In an important case-study of early Devonshire castles, similar analysis has not located deserted settlements in conjunction with apparently isolated castle sites (Higham 1982b, 106). It may be significant that many Devon castles were, however, integrated components within a wider regional settlement pattern dominated by non-nucleated forms. By contrast, within zones of the study area dominated by nucleated and mixed settlement (see Fig. 9.4), it is likely that some associated settlement earthworks may have been eradicated from the landscape record, especially as these settlements, where truly nucleating in the shadow of a castle, may have been specialised, spatially non-extensive, and deserted at a comparatively early date.

THE PATTERN AND PROCESS OF DESERTION

Where castle and appending deserted village are juxtaposed in the present landscape, it may seem obvious to suggest that the village had initially been drawn to the castle by economic and protective advantages, and that when the castle was disused such advantages no longer existed, and desertion or re-siting occurred. This scenario is suggested by Taylor (1973, 41; 1983, 146) for Castle Camps, Cambs. Yet such a deduction may be premature: one cannot causally link castle and settlement desertion in the absence of sufficiently detailed archaeological or historical data; indeed in one illustrative case study, that of the deserted medieval settlement appending the early castle of Stafford, the settlement was deserted in the castle's heyday, with documentary evidence indicating the progressive encroachment of Buckingham lordship onto the associated *burgus*, which was gradually converted into land to support the new seigneurial stable facilities (Hill and Klemperer 1985, 21). A village's desertion can rather be attributable to a myriad of socio-economic factors, within which the castle's desertion is only a single facet. In addition, once established, a castle-village could expand and

develop along an economic trajectory making it increasingly less dependant on the castle. Nonetheless, where village desertion has occurred, it generally takes place subsequent to the disuse of a castle; the exceptions are places such as Burwell, Cambs., where castles can be seen to have displaced antecedent settlement (see below).

Within the study area, it is difficult to relate causally the abandonment of a castle to the process of desertion. Overwhelmingly, documentary evidence of settlement decline and castle abandonment lacks sufficient temporal resolution to isolate this single factor. In parallel with failed boroughs, we may draw upon circumstantial evidence such as an apparently symbiotic physical relationship (e.g. *Skelton, Cleve., Yorks.*), or topographical circumstances of site (e.g. *Pilsbury, Derbys.*), as indicating a nucleation forced by seigneurial agency, but it remains difficult to make the conceptual link to proving causality. It is informative, however, to turn to the wider distribution of settlement desertion across the study area (Fig. 10.3); as here we can see plainly that the desertion of settlements physically associated with castles can be related to a wider pattern.

We may also indicate a number of sites where desertion was an entirely post-medieval process attributable to the remodelling of estates into formal gardens or landscape parks. The key point is that the castle, or a site nearby, retained its position as a focus of high status residence and estate administration; *Castle Howard, N. Yorks.* is the clearest example. Here, the regular (planned?) street village of *Hinderskelfe*, in which castle and church occupied a central position within the northern row, as indicated in a plan of 1694 (Beresford 1951-55, 300), was swept away wholesale in a radical programme of estate transformation commensurate with the replacement of the quadrangular castle with a mansion from c. 1683 (Barley 1978). *Hornby, N. Yorks.* shows a parallel process yet on a smaller scale; in 1517 William, Lord Conyers 'caste down forty husbandries' in order to remodel the environs of Hornby castle as a formal garden (VCH NR Yorks. I 1914, 313); the core of the displaced settlement lay c. 300m east of the castle in the vicinity of the eleventh-century parish church of St. Mary's (Beresford 1948-51, 352).

Whilst the changing aesthetics of medieval and post-medieval landscape design lie beyond the scope of this thesis, it should be noted that whereas the creation of a medieval planned village in close physical association with a seigneurial residence may have embodied an element of fashion and prestige, it is an anachronism that the demands of post-medieval taste dictated that such physical association was undesirable centuries later; the apparent ease with which settlement was moulded by seigneurial agency is, however, the common thread linking both scenarios.

Small-Scale Dependent Settlement Foci (Fig. 10.4: top)

Two sites underscore the methodological problems of identifying small-scale settlement associated with a castle. *Sigston, N. Yorks.* is depicted on the First Edition OS map as an isolated site (see Gazetteer). The recognised DMV of Kirkby Sigston, although lying just c. 0.6km south around the church of St. Lawrence, is located in a separate township, the boundary of which curves around the south of the castle earthworks; the DMV of Winton lies in the same parish as the castle, c. 1.3km to the north. Yet aerial photographic analysis reveals a series of rectangular closes fronting onto a hollow way leading north-west from the castle gate. Furthermore, the hollow way and closes are backed by distinct blocks of ridge and furrow, defining the perimeter of what must have been a small dependent zone of settlement (N. Yorks. SMR: No. 0019502000). The castle was licensed as *Beresende* in 1336 following acquisition of the land by John de Sigston in 1313 (VCH Yorks. II 1912, 51; NR Yorks. I 1914, 407). The form of the settlement puts it beyond doubt that it grew up as a nascent community dependent upon a castle that was itself situated within a seigneurial assart on the fringes of a parish, and is apparently subsumed within the taxation returns of Winton in 1327, 1334 and 1377 (Beresford 1951-55, 308). The settlement may also be partially obscured by the buildings associated with the farm now known as Sigston Castle, presumably the manorial successor to the castle.

The deserted settlement appending the ringwork and bailey of Woodhead Castle, *Great Casterton, Rutland* is similar in scale and lack of recognition. The early ringwork and bailey, later adapted as a manorial residence, occupies what is otherwise an isolated ridge-

top position overlooking the Stamford-York Roman road and abutting a zone of woodland to the north; the place-name *Wodehead* ('headland or eminence with a wood') is recorded as early as 1263 (Cox 1994), indicating a topographical relationship of some antiquity. A settlement at Woodhead was deserted by the seventeenth century, as observed by the antiquarian Wright c. 1684: "Within the parish of Brig Casterton lies Woodhead, formerly a village and chapelry, now only one house, and that in ruins" (Brown 1975, 12). The chapel is referred to from the thirteenth to fifteenth century, and was certainly in existence by 1286, when an endowment includes a croft and toft (Irons 1917, 50-51).

Earthwork evidence suggests that the chapel lay within the small squarish bailey appended to the east of the ringwork, where stone foundations are evident. Yet as the manors of Woodhead and Great Casterton were apparently coterminous for much of the medieval period (VCH Rutland II 1935, 232-33), records of medieval population levels are of little help, as they presumably subsume the population within taxation returns for Great Casterton.

The relationship between the castle site and the zone of ridge and furrow to the south and west is of interest, indicating the settlement mentioned by Wright to have lain in the broken ground east of the castle, bracketed by the area of ridge and furrow and woodland (Brown 1975, 12). The location of the settlement is confirmed by the recovery of medieval pottery (Leics. SMR: No. SK 91 SE H), and by the field-name 'Woodhead Closes' on an estate map of 1798 (Northants. PRO: Map No. 4134/2). The status of the castle, and occasional visitation of important personnel, presumably with sizeable retinues (Edward I visited in 1290 when the site may have become a hunting seat), would further imply that an appending community was an essential aspect of the castle's function, and the apparent form of settlement at Woodhead (a short row of plots aligned on one side of the main route towards the castle, as indicated on the estate map) would fit. Although the desertion of the settlement can be dated no earlier than Wright's late-seventeenth-century reference, the castle was certainly ruinous by 1543 (VCH Rutland II 1935, 232), and

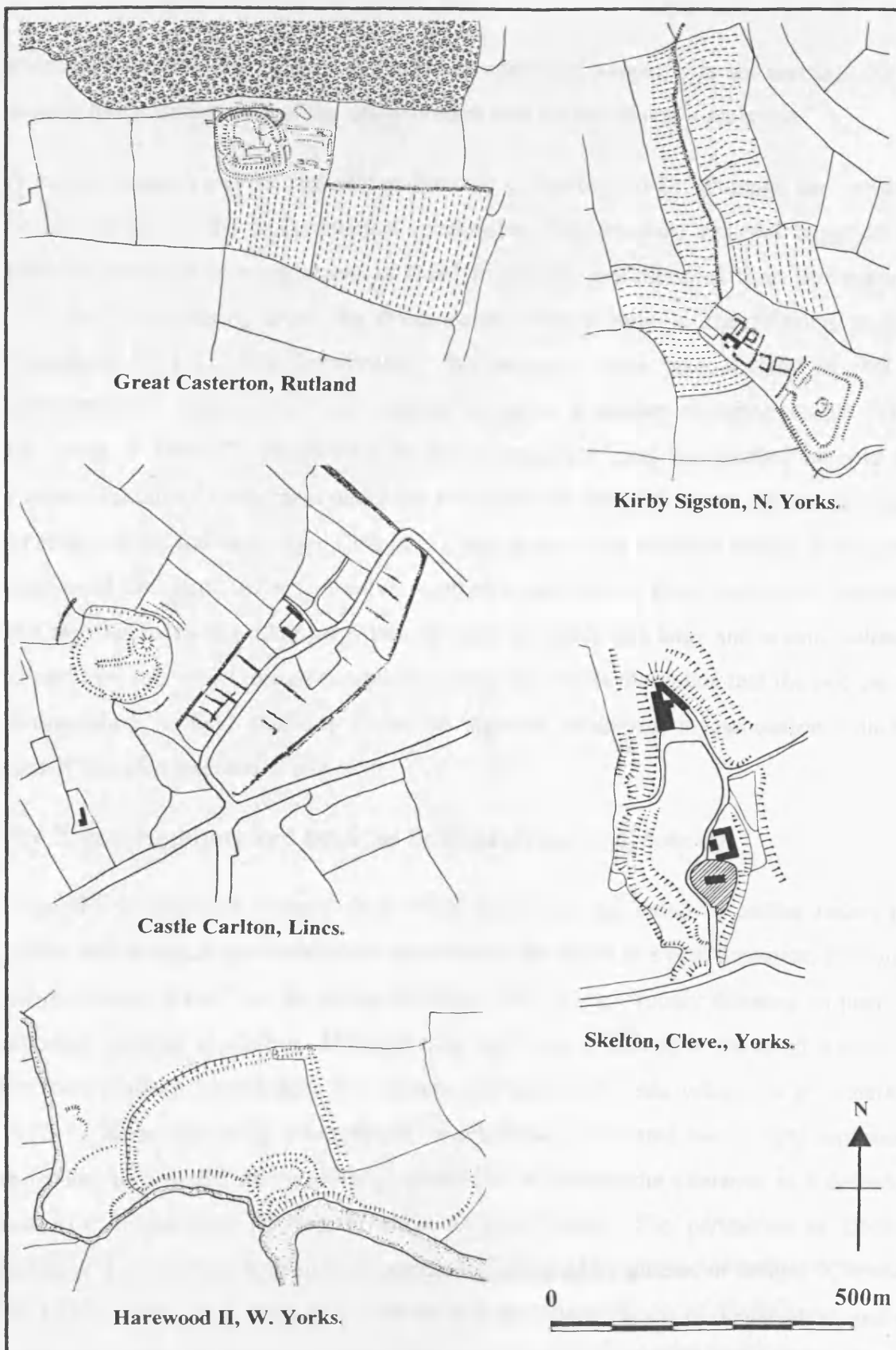


Fig. 10.4: Examples of deserted small-scale castle-dependent settlement foci (top), and castles associated with *burgus* enclosures likely to have contained medieval settlement (bottom)

given the topographical relationship between castle and hamlet, it is not unreasonable to assume that abandonment of the castle precipitated the settlement's desertion.

A similar scenario may be apparent at *Burstwick, Humbs., Yorks.*, although here we may be less certain of the morphological relationship. Documentary evidence suggests the separate existence of a settlement of Bond Burstwick, distinguished from Burstwick in 1259 but disappearing from the documentary record early in the fifteenth century (Beresford 1951-55, 58). Significantly, this seems to have been socially as well as administratively distinct, the bond element indicating a number of unfree tenants (VCH ER Yorks. V 1984, 7). These were no doubt dependent upon the fortified *caput* of the Aumale Honour of Holderness which lay here from the early thirteenth century, replacing an earlier motte and bailey (see Chapter 5), and lying on the southern fringes of the great seigneurial deer park. As with the two examples cited above, Bond Burstwick coexisted as a separate focus of settlement within the same township as a large and extant nucleated village; here it is only through exceptional clarity of documentary data that the two can be distinguished, as field evidence shows no signs of settlement in association with the heavily denuded seigneurial site.

The *Burgus* Enclosure and Deserted Settlement (Fig. 10.4: bottom)

Examples of nucleated villages sited within enclosures appended to castles reflect the closest way in which rural settlement can relate to the castle as a plan dominant, forming a 'morphological frame' for the village (Roberts 1987, 151), strongly dictating its plan yet ultimately limiting expansion. Although only very loosely defined in the small volume of literature which acknowledges the existence of defended castle villages (e.g. Armitage 1912, 85; King 1983, xix), a *burgus* can be defined as a nucleated unit of rural settlement appending to a castle, and physically annexed to it through the existence of a defended enclosure or precinct, forming in effect an outer bailey. The perimeters of DMVs, particularly in Midland England are commonly delimited by ditches or hedges (Chapelot and Fossier 1985, 133), both as a symbolic and quazi-legal means of demarcation, and as a practical means of separating open field agriculture and stock from the public sphere.

Nonetheless, the dual characteristics of the strength and usually regular plan of an enclosure, combined, vitally, with seigneurial influence, mark a *burgus* out functionally and morphologically as a distinct entity.

An extremely limited corpus of defended villages not associated with castles is so far known. At Burwell, Cambs. the alignment of the road around the church may reflect early communal defences (RCHM Cambs. II 1972, 18), whilst similar defences are presumed for Keyston, Beds. (Bigmore 1979), and Clunbury and Alberbury, Shrops. (Rowley 1972, 58). We may also mention that few medieval towns possessed defences without the presence of a castle, although Kingston-upon-Hull and Coventry are notable exceptions. The implication is of seigneurial ambition being the driving force behind the decision to enclose a settlement, reflecting a desire for increased local control and economic efficiency, and even an element of 'fashion' and display. More conventionally, the enclosure is a defensive measure, although as a castle lord would be protecting his own economic interests as much as the interests of the community itself, we can question whether this constitutes private or public defence.

Examples of *burgus* enclosures have no evident common geographical factor. Instead it can be suggested that their survival in the present landscape record, and indeed their actual *recognition*, is a process underlain by a multitude of geographically biasing factors, and in particular the lack of bailey excavation in castle studies (see Chapter 3). This is frustrating, since, as an essential component of the castle's manorial function, and as the zone of the castle where "men and animals could come together" (Chapelot and Fossier 1985, 147), understanding the functions of baileys is essential for the study of the castle and the landscape. Furthermore, it seems that baileys themselves are disproportionately poorly represented in the landscape record relative to other castle earthworks due to agricultural destructive processes and settlement expansion. It is thus worth speculating that the number of defended *burgi* attached to castles is underrepresented in the landscape record, and in the absence of a perfectly preserved house plots (whether or not still occupied) existing within an extant enclosure, the researcher may interpret a spatially extensive enclosure in other ways, perhaps as a stock enclosure or zone of secure pasture,

an area for the barracking or assembly of a military garrison, or for stables. In terms of the survival of *burgus* enclosures within the present landscape record, three possibilities exist:

(i) Although earthworks of an enclosure may survive, less obvious settlement earthworks inside may have been obliterated; for instance at Glascwm, Radnor and Moat, Llandinam, Powys, the size alone of the outer baileys gives a possible indication of settlement (Barker and Higham 1992, 226-27, 238)

(ii) Examples such as Anstey and Therfield, Herts., revealing only denuded fragments of probable outer *burgus* enclosures (Renn 1971, 13, 25), indicate how both medieval settlement earthworks and enclosure could be totally eradicated. In such cases only the existence and position of a church may provide evidence of settlement.

(iii) Finally (and chiefly at sites where occupation has been continuous), whilst castle earthworks may be integrated elements within extant village topography, the more spatially extensive and less substantial earthworks of a *burgus* enclosure may have been wholly destroyed. This raises the additional question of whether apparently non-enclosed deserted villages commonly associated with castles could have been defended. Although the enclosure may be swamped by development, its profile can be potentially detected in the alignments of property boundaries and roads, as at Ludgershall, Wilts. (Creighton 1994, 51-52), and possibly Weedon, Northants. (RCHM Northants III 1981, 163-67).

Here we may mention three sites within the study area. The size of the outer bailey at *Barwick-in-Elmet*, *W. Yorks.*, adapted from iron age defences, is suggestive (Fig. 10.4); here, a series of elongated, parallel property boundaries within may indicate a failed settlement. Given the troubled socio-political context of the site's foundation in the mid twelfth century (see Chapter 4), the enclosure may, have been intended as a refuge or temporary stock enclosure. *Harewood II*, *W. Yorks.* may be a parallel site, the enormous lunate bailey enclosure appending the ringwork of the De L'Isle Lords of Harewood being of otherwise unknown function. Internal earthworks overlain by ridge and furrow have been identified in the western part of the enclosure, now obscured by dense vegetation (*W. Yorks. SMR: No. 6*); by the fourteenth century the castle was superseded

by a masonry castle (*Harewood I*), c. 2.5km distant, this associated with a small seigneurial borough or planned village emerging as the main settlement and administrative centre within the manor, having 140 inhabitants paying poll-tax in 1377 (Butler 1986, 85; WYAS 1992, 14). Elsewhere, we may be sure that the settlement enclosed within the outer defences of *Skelton, Cleve., Yorks.* was of rural character; here an attempt was made to found a borough in the thirteenth century beyond the defences, where a market-place and medieval market cross can be identified (Cleve. SMR: Nos. 0360, 0941). A rural core settlement lay within the great trapezoidal promontory enclosure between the seigneurial core, at the northern extremity of the promontory, and Norman church, at the southern limit (L'Anson 1913, 387), although the *burgus* settlement was subsequently abandoned in favour of the present village of Skelton. Skelton thus shows an interesting spatial division between castle and borough, the parish church effectively forming a 'bridge between lord and people' (Daniels 1995, 89).

In some instances, the *burgus* appears as a failed borough, with the associated implications of economic benefit for the castle lord through mechanisms such as rents, taxes and levies, although such settlements could be no larger than an average DMV (e.g. *Castle Carlton, Lincs., Almondbury, W. Yorks.*: see below). It is equally possible that a *burgus* could grow beyond its confines to assume urban or proto-urban functions, perhaps with the granting of a market charter. In effect, the *burgus* may be a blurred area between urban and rural settlement, and a number of examples can more appropriately be seen as 'market villages'. However, in the absence of adequate documentation, it would be wrong to speculate over whether the initial seigneurial intention in any of these cases was to found a borough. What is clear is that other urban settlements grew from proto-urban cores embraced by curvilinear outer defences annexed physically to the castle (cf. *Tickhill, S. Yorks.; Richmond, N. Yorks.*: see Chapter 8); undoubtedly, if such settlements had failed it is likely that we would classify them as rural in character. Furthermore, the nurturing of small units of settlement annexed physically to the castle by a bailey or outer bailey raises fundamental questions over whether this constituted seigneurial or civil

defence; most probably, the social conditions of the late eleventh century ensured that the two were indivisible.

Deserted Nucleated Villages (Figs. 10.5 and 10.6)

The DMV earthworks at *Kingerby, Lincs.* are exceptional in revealing the chronological relationship between castle and settlement. Although now entirely ploughed out, the settlement earthworks have been fully surveyed and plotted (Everson *et al.* 1991, 148). The morphological frame of the settlement is provided by an east-west route, diverting markedly from its former course to skirt the northern perimeter of the castle where it partially fossilises the alignment of a bailey enclosure, and forming a dog-leg at the western end of the settlement. This relationship can only indicate re-orientation of the local communications network following castle imposition. The position of the church of St. Peter's is thus instructive: lying opposite the castle site, yet within the line of the re-aligned road, it is likely to be secondary to the castle, as can the two regular - and presumably planned - blocks of settlement earthworks lying respectively north and west of a right-angle in the road. Given the excavation of a considerable assemblage of ninth-century pottery within the ornamental lake immediately west of the castle site (Field and George 1995, 45), and a substantial manor at Domesday in the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln (i, 345a) - although this in itself need not indicate a necessarily *nucleated* settlement - it is further likely that this episode represents a *re*-orientation of settlement. This evidence further strengthens the argument that the original core of the settlement may have lain in the vicinity of the castle, where a series of less regular earthworks can be identified between the castle and right-angle in the road, seemingly bisected by an east-west hollow way which may have been the original course of the road prior to castle construction (Everson *et al.* 1991, 147-49). Vitally, at Kingerby we can firmly link settlement planning to seigneurial agency: the castle was in the hands of the Amundeville family, who held the manor of the Bishop of Lincoln. Clearly, if the imposition of the castle resulted in such drastic alterations to the road network, it is likely that the settlement was re-planned contemporary with or shortly after, certainly before the castle was remodelled as a moated manorial site following slighting *c.* 1216 (*ibid.*, 146-47).

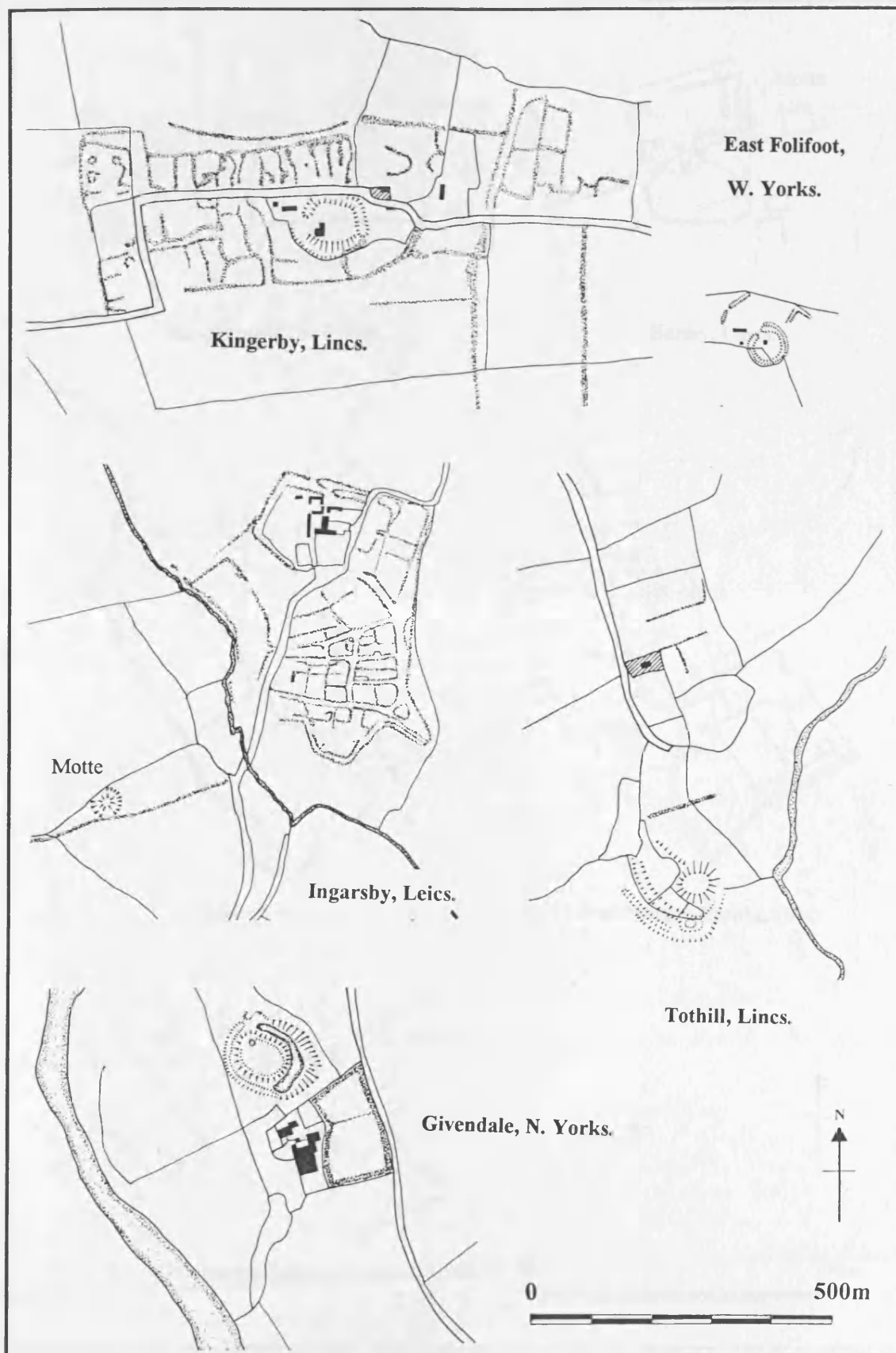


Fig. 10.5: Relationships between castles and nucleated DMVs

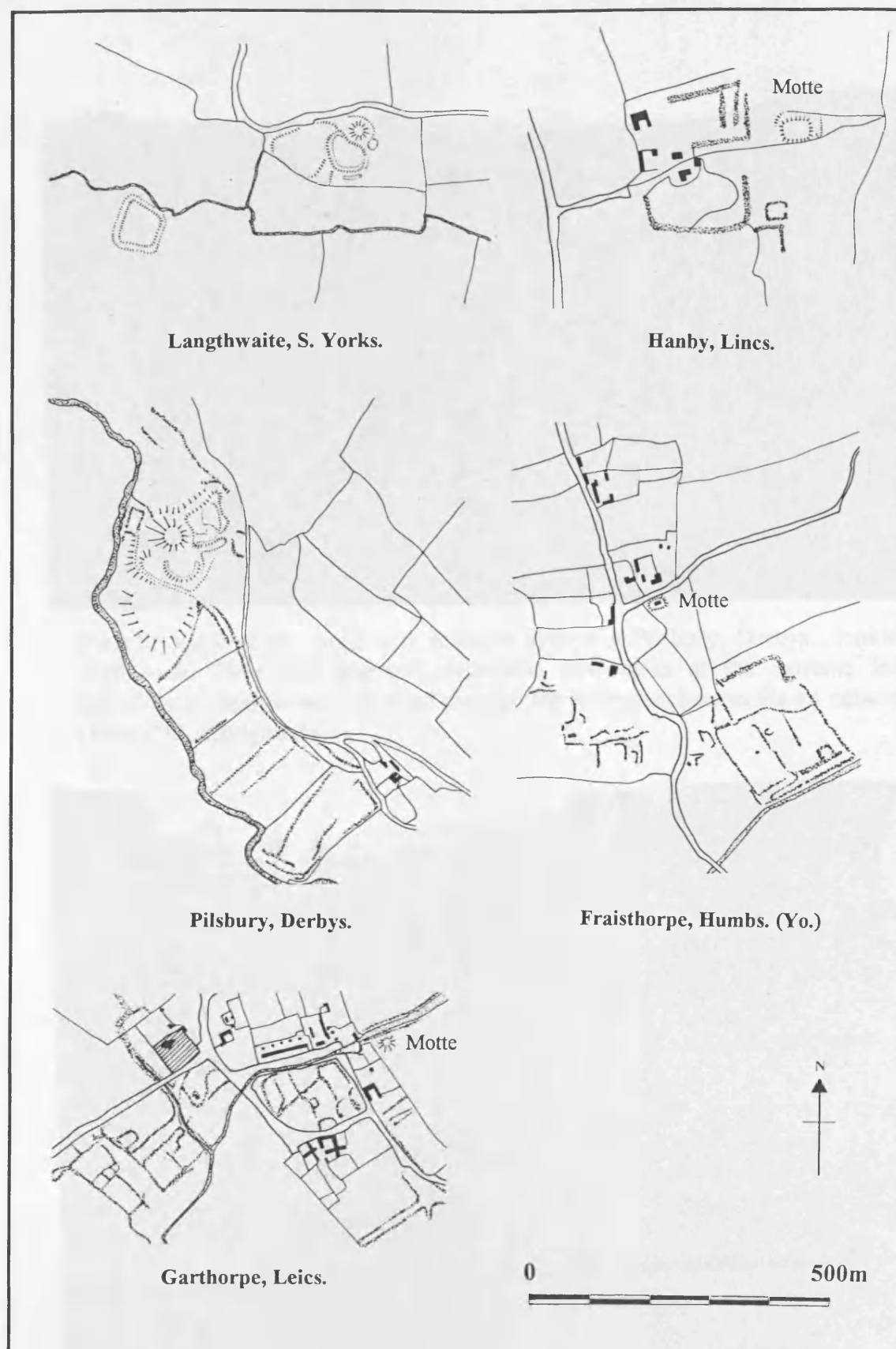


Fig. 10.6: Relationships between castles and DMVs containing another medieval manorial site (Langthwaite and Hanby), and castles and SMVs (other sites)



Plate 5: View of the motte with multiple baileys at Pilsbury, Derbys., looking north-west. Note the deserted settlement earthworks at the extreme left, including an hollow way diverted through the bailey enclosures via an outwork (Photo: O. Creighton)



Plate 6: View of the village enclosure earthwork associated with the DMV of Whorlton, N. Yorks., looking east (Photo: O. Creighton)

In other cases we remain less sure as to the detail of DMV-castle relationship; at *Langthwaite, S. Yorks.* and *Hanby, Lincs.* the earthworks of early castles are found closely juxtaposed with moated manorial sites, yet field evidence of associated, documented DMVs is lacking. In both cases the juxtaposition is clearly not coincidental, and most likely indicates a process of succession, the moat being the later foundation (Le Patourel 1973, 17): however, given the less manorial appearance of the bailey-less motte at Hanby, adulterine origins as a means of seigneurial property protection cannot be ruled out (cf. Knapwell, Cambs.: RCHM Cambs. I 1968, 160-63). The motte at Hanby lay external to the DMV which, alongside the manorial site perpetuated by Hanby Hall, was formerly enclosed by a shallow moat, in which vague settlement earthworks have been noted and medieval pottery including Toynston ware recovered (Lincs. SMR: No. 42176). Langthwaite was previously recorded as a separate township (Beresford 1951-55, 239; Smith 1961, 69), and indistinct settlement earthworks have been noted between the castle and manorial site (Addy 1914, 362). Langthwaite was held from the Count of Mortain by Nigel Fossard, who held the Hexthorpe (Doncaster) and probably erected the castle as a northern outpost within his compact fee (i, 307d; 308b). Although the naming of Langthwaite in Domesday should not be equated uncritically with the existence of a *nucleated* settlement, the recovery of an assemblage of Anglian pottery immediately east of the castle site (S. Yorks. SMR: No. 439) renders the existence of some form of settlement in this area prior to castle construction likely.

The small bailey-less motte of Monk's Grave at *Ingarsby, Leics.* is rare in its peripheral position relative to the village, whose plan is fully integrated with a substantial medieval manorial residence on the site of Ingarsby Old Hall. The feature is seemingly positioned so as to overlook a stream crossing constituting the main route of approach from the east. Whilst possible that it represents a policy of short-term seigneurial property protection, mottes raised in such circumstances typically lay in the vicinity of an extant manorial site (cf. *Hanby, Lincs.*: see above), and the circumstantial evidence for a castle here at Domesday (see Chapter 5), suggests that it may be a castle of the post-Conquest generation, overlooking a Domesday vill, as paralleled locally at *Hallaton*.

A village at *Tothill, Lincs.* is documented in 1334, but despite claims that there is no field evidence of settlement earthworks (Beresford and Hurst 1971, 195), here the castle-DMV relationship takes the more typical form of a sub-rectangular appendage to the castle earthworks, aerial photographs revealing a series of property boundaries indicative of a skeleton grid (NMP Lincs., Sheet No. TF 48 SW). Similar relationships are apparent at *Givendale, Yorks.* and *East Folifoot, W. Yorks.*, although earthwork evidence is less instructive. Elsewhere, the physical remains of a DMV documented within the same parish as a castle site is lacking, although topographical likelihood points towards a physical association of seigneurial residence and settlement, as at *Somerton, Lincs.* (Beresford 1964, 364) and *Bossall, N. Yorks.* (VCH NR Yorks. II 1923, 91). At *Wellow, Notts.*, Richard Foliot was granted licence to crenellate the pre-existing ringwork in 1252, documented as the manor house of Grimston (VCH Notts. I 1906, 250); here the lost settlement lay c. 1km to the south, where the place-name Grimston Green is documented in the nineteenth century (Barley 1957, 75). Jordan's Castle was always an isolated site of lordship situated on the southern fringes of the seigneurial park of Wellow Park, although the seignury was actively engaged in the economic promotion of the twelfth-century planted and enclosed village of Wellow, for which Foliot secured a market grant in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and situated on the western fringes of Grimston parish, may have effectively superseded Grimston (*ibid.*, 83). Similarly, the site of the powerful ringwork at *Thonock, Lincs.*, selected initially as an overtly military stronghold, dominating a crossing of the Trent and embracing the associated road to Morton within an outer enclosure (cf. Mileham, Norfolk: Wade-Martins 1975, 147-49), and by 1226 lying within an extensive deer park, must always have been remote from the now lost settlement of Thonock (Everson *et al.* 1991, 193-94).

Settlement Shrinkage (Fig. 10.6: bottom)

The small motte at *Garthorpe, Leics.* lies on the fringes of a substantially shrunken settlement. As with the similarly peripheral motte at Ingarsby, Leics., the earthwork is less a manorial centre as a short-term fortification; here the motte was apparently raised to dominate the adjacent medieval mill site (Hartley 1987, 9; Mc Whirr and Winter 1978-79,

75). In the absence of excavation we must remain unsure whether this constituted an act of twelfth-century seigneurial property protection or a Norman appropriation of manorial resources. The earthwork is undoubtedly a motte as opposed to an alternative landscape feature as sometimes claimed, being of excessive size for a windmill mound and lying in 'Castle Close' in the eighteenth century (Nichols II 1795, 190).

The motte on the northern fringes of the shrunken settlement of *Fraisthorpe, Humbs, Yorks.* was similarly a non-manorial, transient feature within village topography as it is surmounted by a medieval chapel, evidently constructed after disuse/abandonment. The main medieval manorial site within the village lay c. 200m south of the motte at Hall Close, adjacent to the deserted earthworks known as Town Green, together constituting the core of the former settlement (VCH ER Yorks. II 1974, 201-02). Although the present chapel is largely nineteenth century, it incorporates a thirteenth-century pier and font (Pevsner 1972, 232); furthermore, a chapel at Fraisthorpe is documented in a grant to Bridlington Priory as early as c. 1148-53 (VCH ER Yorks. II 1974, 207), effectively providing a *terminus ante quem* for the abandonment of the motte.

The former settlement of *Pilsbury, Derbys.* (Plate 5) now comprises three farmsteads. Earthwork evidence demonstrates the settlement to have formerly extended up to the large motte and bailey scarped from a natural knoll, forming a 'ladder'-type plan bracketed by the Dove to the west and hollow way running along the base of an escarpment to the east (Barnatt 1991). The castle was evidently imposed on an existing route of communication, the hollow way linking settlement and castle diverting between the castle bailey and a hornwork before continuing north, in a deliberate attempt to control the major north-south route of communication of the narrow Dove valley (cf. *Thonock, Lincs.*: see Gazetteer). Given that the manor was entirely waste in 1086 when in the hands of Henry de Ferrers (i, 274b), the settlement earthworks conceivably represent a *re-planning*.

CASE-STUDIES

Four case-studies serve to reinforce these arguments, indicating the morphological and chronological variety of castle-deserted settlement relationships. Two examples of association between castles and DMVs draw a contrast between imposition within an extant settlement (*Burley, Rutland*) and the nascent, castle-dependant *burgus* (*Whorlton, N. Yorks.*), whilst we may draw a physical distinction between the desertion of small castle-dependant boroughs in the highland zone (*Almondbury, W. Yorks.*), and a coastal plantation (*Skipsea, Humbs., Yorks.*)

Burley, Rutland (Fig. 10.7)

The series of earthworks centring on the motte known as Alstoe Mount at Burley are a unique and diachronic piece of field evidence. The earthworks raise three essential questions: the origins of the motte, its chronological and functional relationship with the associated earthworks, and the connection between this complex and the documented DMV of Alsthorpe.

That Domesday records Alstoe as a Hundred indicates a place of some significance (Dunning 1936, 402); however, the suggestion that the mount is a Saxon moot as opposed to a motte (Cox 1994, 4), finds little support from archaeological evidence. The motte (a on Fig. 10.7) is certainly unconventional, being relatively low, and encompassed entirely by a weak sub-rectangular bailey, adjoined by a number of enclosures. Whilst cited as an example of a motte which excavation has shown not to have been crowned with timber defences (Kenyon 1990, 13), post-occupational processes could have eradicated structural evidence, whilst the limitations of excavation techniques in 1935 must be considered. The dimensions of the ditch, with signs that this was water-filled, should confirm a defensive rôle (see Gazetteer); more importantly, the mound was constructed, in classic motte-like fashion, as a series of compressed, alternate horizontal layers (Dunning 1936, 399-400). Whilst the motte was thus raised within the vicinity of a place of local administrative significance, there is little solid evidence to suggest it was raised from a moot mound.

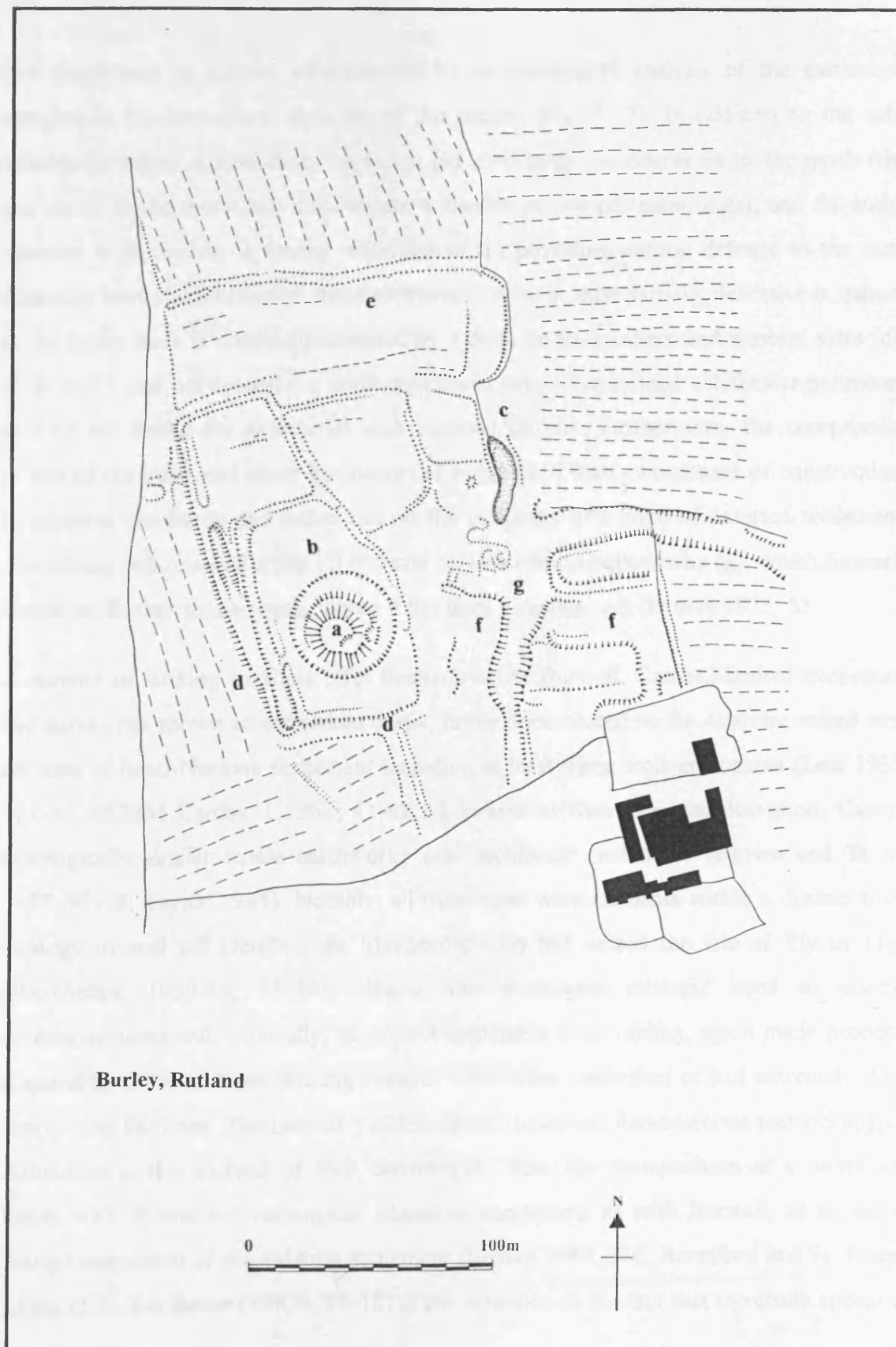


Fig. 10.7: Motte and bailey with associated settlement earthworks, Burley, Rutland. See text for key to lettering

This hypothesis is further substantiated by morphological analysis of the earthwork complex in the immediate environs of the mount (Fig. 10.7). In addition to the sub-rectangular bailey surrounding the motte (b), two large enclosures lie to the north (the one closer to the motte sub-divided into a number of compartment units), and the entire complex is flanked by a former watercourse (c) providing natural defence to the east. Although now much denuded, these earthworks were at least partially defensive in nature, as the bailey bank is only supplemented by a ditch on its southern and western sides (d); to the north and north-west the outer enclosures must have formed a defensive perimeter, as here the banks are associated with external ditches. Furthermore, the comparative profile of the inner and outer enclosure (e) suggests at least two phases of construction. In addition, the motte and bailey lies on the periphery of a zone of deserted settlement, comprising two rows of crofts (f) fronting on to a central hollow way (g), which formerly continued further to the south, where it has been ploughed out (Brown 1975, 5).

A number of striking parallels offer themselves. At Burwell, Cambs., limited excavation and survey has shown an unfinished castle, firmly documented to the Anarchy, raised over an zone of Saxo-Norman settlement including at least three croft enclosures (Leaf 1936, 121-33; RCHM Cambs. I 1968, 41-42). Likewise at Swavesey and Rampton, Cambs. typologically similar castle earthworks seal rectilinear enclosures (Brown and Taylor 1977, 97-99; Taylor 1983). Notably, all these sites were elements within a distinct royal strategy to seal off Geoffrey de Mandeville who had seized the Isle of Ely in 1142 (Ravensdale 1982-83, 55-59); clearly, the short-term strategic need to control communications and, ironically, to protect settlement from raiding, again made property disposable, while all these fen-edge castles were either unfinished or had extremely short functioning lifetimes. The case of Yilden, Beds., however, demonstrates methodological difficulties in the analysis of such earthworks. Here, the juxtaposition of a motte and bailey with several sub-rectangular closes is interpreted, as with Burwell, as an act of martial imposition of pre-existing settlement (Brown 1989, 236; Beresford and St. Joseph 1979, 157). Yet Baker (1982b, 15-18) draws attention to the fact that the crofts appear to

about the castle earthworks, and represent a secondary phase of manorial development after castle disuse.

Comparison between Burley and the corpus of examples cited above is suggestive of a combination of processes giving rise to the earthworks. The comparative profile of the motte and bailey relative to the tofts and crofts to the south-east is undoubtedly suggestive of secondary imposition within an extant community; the enclosures to the north clearly represent at least two phases of dependent manorial enclosures rather than the "fortified settlement" postulated by the excavator (Dunning 1936, 399). We can also note the primary nature of ridge and furrow earthworks, with traces in the northern enclosures, which were certainly of insufficient size to turn a plough, whilst a hollow way which leads to the bailey from the south, and may have been the principal point of access, clearly blocks a zone of ridge and furrow with no space for an intervening headland.

The documentary evidence of a medieval settlement at Alsthorpe is of interest; although combined with Burley in taxation returns, Alsthorpe was formerly a separate hamlet, and land is documented as being granted to a chapel here by Nicholas de Segrave in 1312 (Beresford 1954, 383). Identification of the site of Alsthorpe is complicated by the place-name Chapel Farm, c. 300m north-west of the castle, usually interpreted as the site of the hamlet (MSRG Archive, Site No. 1007). Here, a pair of thirteenth-/fourteenth-century windows are incorporated into farm buildings in the vicinity of Chapel Farm (Leics. SMR: No. SK 81 SE H) - although this is no firm guarantee that the chapel and associated settlement lay within this immediate area, whilst an ecclesiastical building is depicted clearly at *Aulthort*, between Burley and Cottesmore on Jansson's 1646 map of Rutland. Although often suggested that this area was formerly covered by ridge and furrow cultivation and formed part of open field cultivation, rather than the hamlet itself (Brown 1975, 5), systematic mapping of ridge and furrow suggests that this is not the case (Hartley 1983, 52, Map 3).

The identification of two probable foci of medieval settlement - one clearly earlier than the motte and bailey and another at Chapel Farm - may recommend that Alsthorpe

straddled both sides of the road (Rut. Loc. Hist. Soc. 1979), although the settlement was never more than a hamlet and the local settlement pattern was based on tight nucleations. Alternatively, we may see a successive occupation of sites. The field evidence of castle imposition and representation of the chapel on seventeenth-century maps indeed suggests the likely scenario is of the abandonment/displacement of the Alstoe focus of settlement upon or shortly after the imposition of the castle. The Chapel Farm nucleus, meanwhile, was deserted in the seventeenth century as a result of enclosure (Cain 1987, 21). The castle itself was a relatively transitory feature of settlement topography, presumably raised under the orders of Geoffrey, the Norman sub-tenant holding the manor from Gilbert de Gant, or his immediate successors, the Wake family, and in disuse by c. 1207 when a 'green ditch' next to *Altiechestouwe* is mentioned (Dunning 1936, 402).

Whorlton, N. Yorks. (Fig. 10.8; Plate 6)

Although the earthworks at Whorlton have been dismissed as a castle and associated *burgus* enclosure (Illingworth 1938, 114), recent fieldwork recommends identification of a multi-phase complex of military, ornamental and settlement earthworks (RCHM 1992). Whorlton castle evidently originated as an estate centre of the immediate post-Conquest era, constructed at the heart of a small yet compact block of estates on the Cleveland Hills, occupying the lower north-facing slopes of the North Yorkshire Moors. At Domesday (i, 305d), Whorlton was a subsidiary component within a composite holding dependent upon the manor of Hutton Rudby, held in chief by the Count of Mortain; yet within the manor and seven appurtenant sokeland, Whorlton was, significantly, the only holding not waste in 1086. The castle may however have being founded, or extended following the acquisition of these estates by the former sub-tenant, Nigel Fossard and their subsequent grant to Robert de Meynall by Nigel's successor, Robert Fossard; the Meynell family retained Whorlton in demesne until the sixteenth century (L'Anson 1913, 396). As such, Whorlton, and the surrounding estates formed a significant and valuable part of the more localised Fossard and Meynell fees, as opposed the Count of Mortain's widely flung and poorly developed Domesday holdings (Dalton 1994, 49). Small-scale excavations in the vicinity of the parish church of Holy Cross took place in the late 1970s

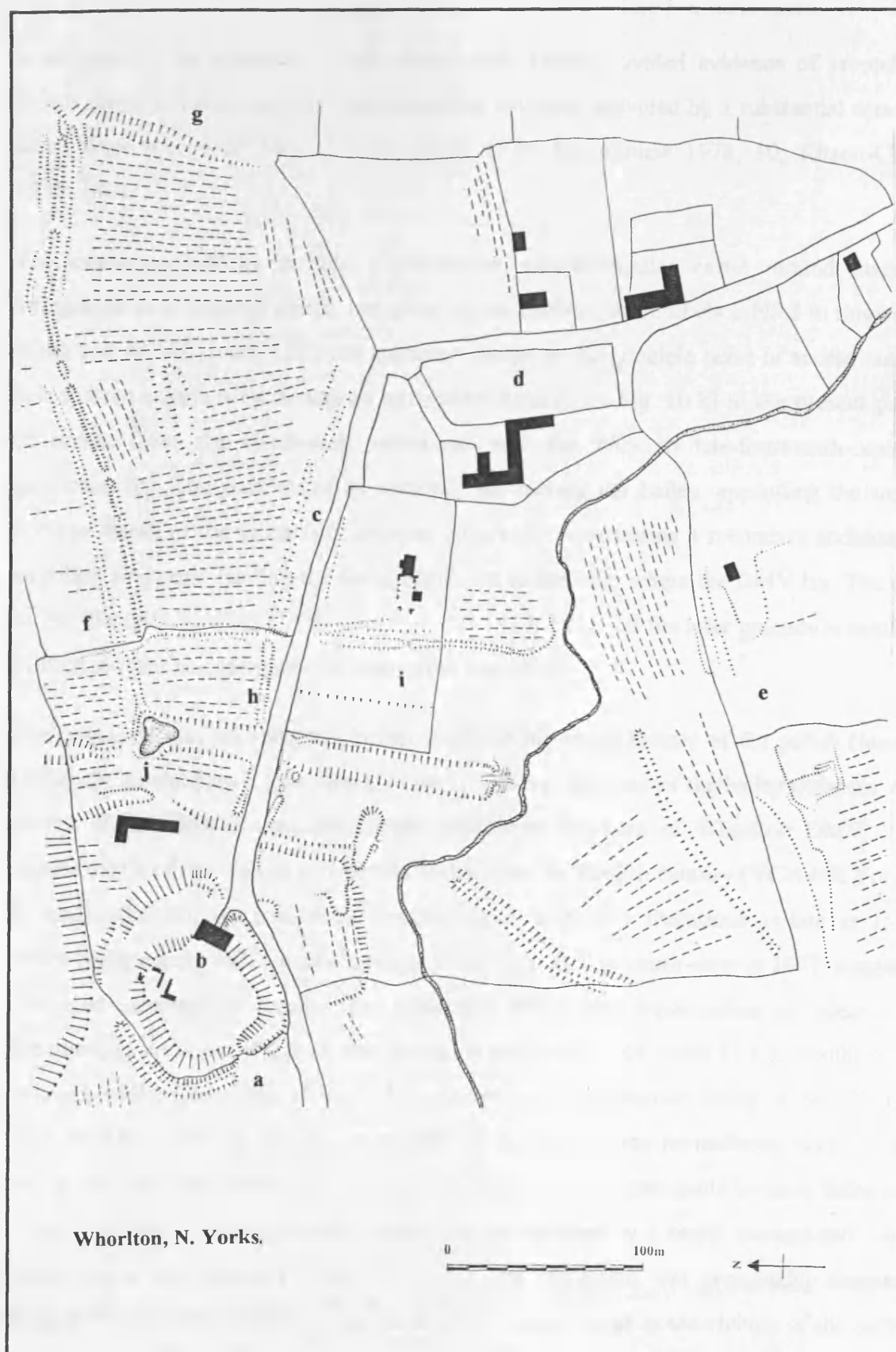


Fig. 10.8: Motte and bailey with associated settlement earthworks, Whorlton, N. Yorks. See text for key to lettering

in advance of the extension of the churchyard. These provided evidence of second to fourth century Roman activity, supplementing evidence provided by a substantial ceramic assemblage recovered here in 1907 (DOE 1976; Moorhouse 1978, 10; Kitson-Clark 1935, 140).

The castle earthworks include a substantial sub-rectangular castle mound, usually interpreted as a lowered motte, but given its dimensions, more likely a filled-in ringwork (King and Alcock 1969, 123). An apparent change in the principle point of access can be noted, from a narrow causeway on its western flank (a on Fig. 10.8) to the present point of access from the south-east, associated with the mid- to late-fourteenth-century gatehouse (b). The position of an abraded, sub-rectangular bailey, appending the south and east flanks of the motte is of interest, apparently representing a secondary addition to an extant ringwork, turning the focus of the site to the east, where the DMV lay. The site was in disrepair by 1343 (VCH NR Yorks. II 1923, 311), yet the later gatehouse testifies to a subsequent re-emergence of seigneurial presence.

This sequence may be reflected further in the architectural history of the parish church. Facing the castle from a low natural knoll, *c.* 130m to the east of the bailey defences, the church of the Holy Cross undoubtedly represents the core of Whorlton DMV. The present fabric of the church is dated no earlier than the twelfth century (VCH NR Yorks. II, 1923, 315-16), yet substantial remodelling *c.* 1400 and alterations as late as 1593 before replacement with a new church at Swainby, *c.* 0.5km south-west in 1877, suggests continued patronage in parallel with settlement decline and depopulation as reflected in documentary sources. Whorlton was already in decline by 1301 when 17 households were re-taxed, whilst fewer than 10 were documented in the last known listing of Whorlton in 1428 (RCHM 1990, 1). Indeed, excavation of the hollow way immediately north of the church indicates the sunken, cobbled lane striking east from the castle to have fallen out of use, probably by the fourteenth century, to be replaced by a newly constructed route linking castle and church (DOE 1976, 151). The settlement was presumably disposed along the hollow way slightly to the north of the modern road in the vicinity of the parish

church (c) - although presently obscured by ridge and furrow cultivation. Certainly, the properties depicted on the 1628 map in the area of Church House Farm (d), and small zone of settlement earthworks fronting on to a hollow way south-east of the castle (e) likely reflect the post-medieval focus of settlement and a secondary area of occupation respectively, rather than the core of the *burgus* village.

The DMV of Whorlton was undoubtedly embraced within a *burgus* enclosure (Plate 6), surviving vestiges of which comprise a boundary earthwork, double-banked in places, striking east from the castle complex (f). Although the southern termination of this feature cannot be determined, this may have been marked by the line of the Potto Beck (f). Similarly, no evidence of an enclosure can be identified on the eastern side, yet the enclosure backed onto a steep-sided stream-cut ravine here (g), constituting a natural line of demarcation; alternatively, the earthwork may be eroded. Presently little over c. 0.5m in height, these boundary earthworks are substantially denuded by agriculture. Although it remains unclear whether they were defensive or symbolic, it may be significant that these earthworks divided the dependent settlement from the seigneurial deer park. The date of emparkment is not documented, although the Great Park was certainly in existence in the thirteenth century (RCHM 1990, 1); its bounds, describing an area of 443 acres, are indicated on an estate map of 1628 (N. Yorks. CRO Jervaulx Archive: Map ZJX 10/1/15). The feature entirely enveloped both castle and village, forming a seigneurial 'green belt' around the complex and serving to constrict settlement expansion.

The large north-south ditch in front of the castle is also of interest. Cutting across two east-west banks that are evidently part of the hollow way linking castle and settlement (h), it is demonstrably a late feature, and with a shallow, flat-bottomed profile certainly not defensive, as postulated by L'Anson (1913, 397). Supplied with water at its southern end from the Potto Beck via an elaborate sluice and dam system, it is, however unlikely to be a large fish pond; the profile of the hollow, in addition to what appears to be a low artificial terrace between it and the church (i), suggesting rather the creation of formal garden earthworks. This feature also provides a remarkable insight into the relative chronology of associated earthworks: the north of the pond feature overlies a substantial

zone of ridge and furrow (j), which itself demonstrably post-dates the boundary earthwork. In all probability these developments took place at the same time as the construction of the gatehouse (Corbett 1994). The implication is of fourteenth-century remodelling of a settlement in decline, with arable cultivation extending over the area of the former village. Reid (1987, 47) has correctly identified Whorlton as a clear example of seigneurial forces dictating the eventual abandonment of the village: "...Whorlton's status was artificial, being mainly the creation of the Meynells, and that their decline was matched by that of the settlement". However, morphological analysis substantially modifies this picture, illustrating a continuation of, even renewed impetus to, seigneurially-driven landscape modelling *following* settlement desertion.

CASTLES AND FAILED BOROUGHES

The term 'failed castle-borough' describes a small yet significant corpus of seigneurial plantations with urban pretensions, but of failed, abandoned or still-born status. The field evidence of such sites ranges from clusters of properties marking the former position of a borough (e.g. *Skipsea, Humbs., Yorks., Skelton, Cleve, Yorks.* and *Almondbury, W. Yorks.*), to completely deserted sites where the settlement plan is indicated by earthworks, property boundaries and road alignments (*Castle Carlton, Lincs.*), or is completely lost (*Belvoir, Leics.*). In addition, as several failed castle-dependent boroughs are not formally recognised as such in grants or charters (the identification of urban or proto-urban status usually resting on the presence of burgesses in other documentary sources), it is highly likely that other similar schemes remain to be recognised. Thus, in physical terms there is little to differentiate such plantations from deserted villages. As with DMVs, plan analysis of such sites serves to inform about the morphology of successful plantations; in addition, as the presence of a castle is often the central reason for such a settlement coming into existence, the subsequent abandonment of the seigneurial site, in addition to the typically specialised nature of these plantations and often adverse geographical circumstances, is, paradoxically, the key reason for their ultimate failure. The failure rate of castle boroughs within the study area is markedly higher than the rate of failure for other plantations.

At *Castle Carlton, Lincs.*, a zone of enclosed deserted settlement earthworks lie immediately east of the powerful motte and bailey (Fig. 10.4). The site is not traditionally recognised as a borough and generally classified as the DMV of Domesday Carlton (e.g. Beresford and Hurst 1971, 193). However, the parochial topography of Castle Carlton, a relatively small area of c. 500 acres, with the appearance of having been carved from the larger and pre-existing entities of Great Carlton and South Reston parishes, suggests the parish and settlement to be relatively late creations. In addition to the widely recognised royal grant of an annual fair at Castle Carlton in 1201, Owen has drawn on the Wigston manuscript, a fifteenth century document containing references to earlier manorial documents, to suggest that Castle Carlton contained burgesses and enjoyed commercial privileges indicative of borough status by c. 1157-58 (1992, 19). Although the foundation date of the castle is unknown, it was seemingly contemporary with the adjacent settlement, being documented in 1205 and, given the form of the substantial earthwork, had presumably been in existence as an estate centre for some time. Indeed, given the magnitude of the earthwork - again arguing against adulterine status - it is likely that the site was founded under the orders of Ansgot of Burwell, at the junction of the manors of South Reston and (Great) Carlton, both of which he held in demesne as a compact late-eleventh-century estate (Owen 1992, 18).

Owen speculated that the defences of the borough (Plate 7) were formed from the earthworks of an existing Roman fort (1992, 21). A close analysis of the property boundaries and defensive work enclosing the settlement as revealed in aerial photographs argues against the town being sited within a pre-existing morphological frame (NMP Lincs. Sheet No. TF 38 SE). The rectangular enclosed area has dimensions of c. 510 x 140m, clearly inappropriate for a Roman military work; the argument being discredited further by the fact that the motte and bailey is situated beyond the perimeter of the projected enclosure. Instead, the defended settlement would appear to be appended to the castle which undoubtedly represents the primary work. Fieldwalking has recovered a background scatter of Romano-British wares, but the key period of occupation within the enclosure is from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, (Everson, n.d.). The picture is thus

of a regular, double-row settlement incorporating the (now deserted) parochial chapel of the Holy Rood in its northern row founded on an essentially greenfield site. Although the occasion for the enclosure of the settlement is unknown, the elongated profile of the defences, linear plan of the settlement (grid-plans are more economical to enclose), and fact that the defences of castle and settlement are unintegrated may argue that a pre-existing castle-dependent settlement was enclosed as an act of seignorial property protection. In this sense it may be significant that this zone of eastern Lincolnshire was a focus of military tension in the Anarchy. Here, it may be significant that the nearby site of *Tothill, Lincs.*, lying within the soke of Greetham, was at this time in the hands of the earls of Chester, whilst Carlton's owner, Ralph de la Haye was a known supporter of Stephen (Owen 1992, 18). Indeed the documentary evidence does nothing to refute this hypothesis, the settlement emerging into history during the more settled period following the Anarchy.

Case-Study: Skipsea, Humbs., Yorks. (Fig. 10.9; Plate 8)

As *Skipsea* is not mentioned by name in Domesday, the area on which the castle and borough were subsequently founded presumably lay within Drogo de la Bevière's demesne manor of Cleeton (i, 323d). Here the castle borough is reduced to a cluster of properties either side of a single route leading from the castle gate (Bail Gate), known as Skipsea Brough, the First Edition OS 6" sheet showing a decayed row of three burgage plots bracketed by the bailey defences and Beeford Road. The dog-leg of Beeford road in this area seems to be a diversion of a pre-existing route, and presumably intended as the morphological frame for the castle borough. The position of the castle within Dringhoe township, a soke of Cleeton at Domesday, and location of Skipsea Brough over the boundary within what was formerly Cleeton township is instructive, confirming the status of the borough as a latecomer to the landscape.

The borough, undoubtedly a castle-dependent settlement founded by the counts of Aumâle, is first recorded c. 1160-75 as *burgo castelli de Skipse* (English 1979, 210-11). Its incipient status is charted by the fact that a mere three burgesses were recorded in an

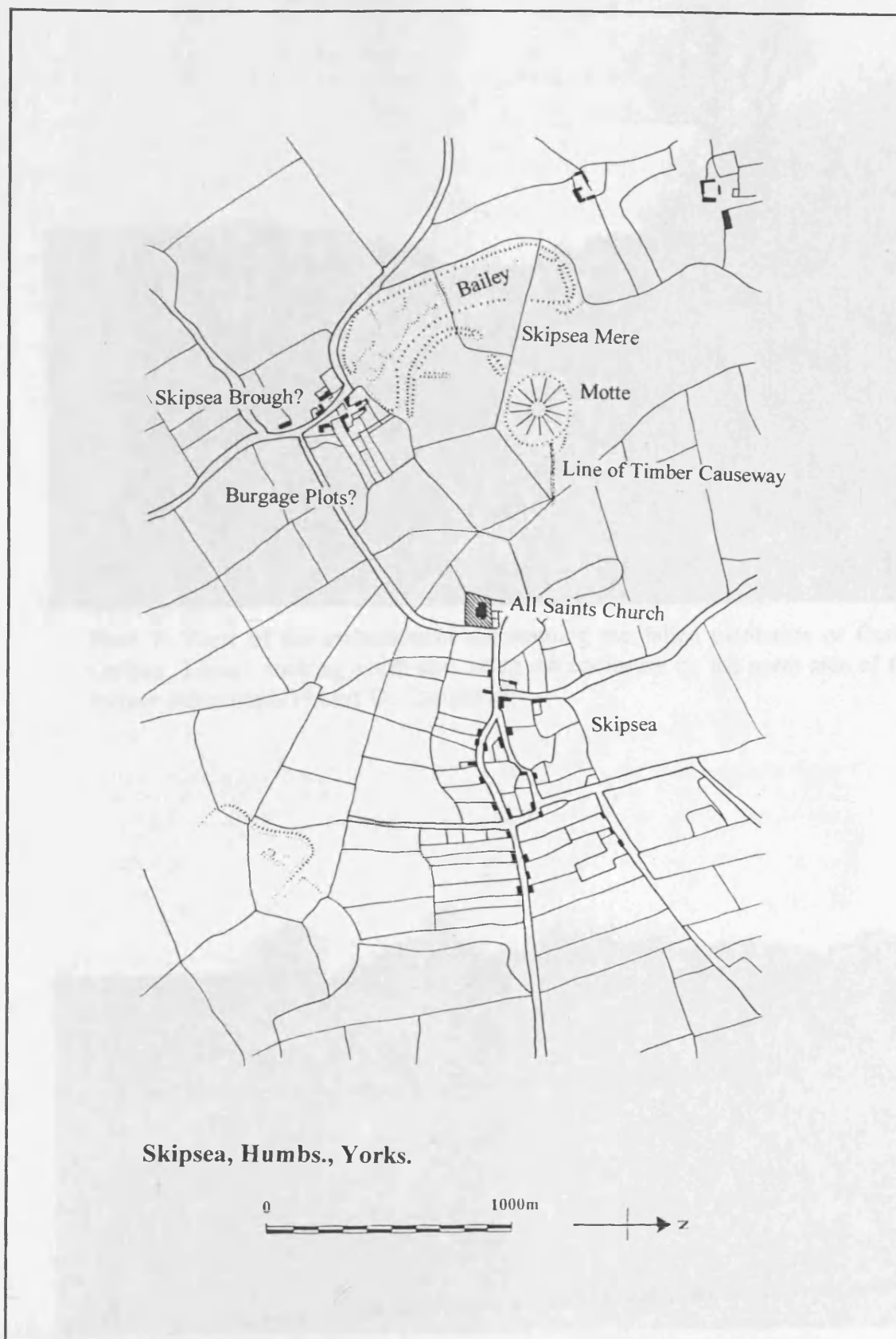


Fig. 10.9: Plan of Skipsea village, castle and deserted borough



Plate 7: View of the embankment surrounding the failed plantation of Castle Carlton, Lincs., looking north-east along the enclosure on the north side of the former settlement (Photo: O. Creighton)



Plate 8: View of earthworks identified as harbour facilities associated with the motte and bailey at Skipsea, Humbs., Yorks., looking north-west. The raised area to the extreme left is a bailey enclosure, separated from the motte by a former mere (foreground), and curvilinear embankment (right) (Photo: O. Creighton)

extent of 1260, which makes additional reference to a further ten plots which apparently yielded nothing (and therefore probably empty) at the *Newhithe* ('new landing place': Beresford 1967, 514). The latter reference is interesting given the evidence that a small dependent harbour was created within the mere between motte and bailey (now drained), served by a series of associated structures within the vast horseshoe shaped outer bailey. The place-name Skipsea ('isle of the ships') is suggestive of such a function, and artificial terraces indicative of building platforms have been recognised within the vast enclosure (Atkins 1988; Youngs *et al.* 1988, 259). Whilst possible that the hythe documented in 1260 may have lain at the coast (and thus now eroded), the presence of the harbour within the castle defences further argues for the presence of dependant settlement within the outer defences of the castle (Beresford 1967, 180), although this zone of potential settlement is not to be confused with the burgage plots, which undoubtedly lay beyond the castle defences (contra. Pounds 1990, 219).

Skipsea Castle (Plate 8) occupied a key point within Holderness, not only as the baronial *caput* of the fee of Holderness, but in physical geographical terms controlling the main landward approach to the peninsula (otherwise blocked by the then undrained marshes of the River Hull), in addition to regional sea-bourne trade, as castle and harbour were linked to the coast via a formerly navigable watercourse leading east to the vicinity of Barmston. In strategic terms the castle was a fortification against the Danish threat - a valid military statement in the immediate post-Conquest years yet unsustainable economically by the turn of the twelfth century. That the borough was intended to thrive on water-bourne trade is clear in the decision to locate it to the south of the bailey with immediate access to the mere rather than to the east in the vicinity of the parish church. The borough was thus clearly sited to take advantage of the commerce generated by the castle's position at this intersection of routes.

The desertion of the borough is plainly related to the fate of the neighbouring castle. This was abandoned c. 1221 following destruction under royal order, and the consequent transfer of the administrative centre of Holderness to Burstwick seems to have spelled

disaster for the plantation. Despite the absence of a rival urban plantation in the vicinity, the castle borough was clearly not sustainable. Of the three seigneurial boroughs founded in Holderness, the contraction of Hedon is related to the emergence of Kingston-upon-Hull as a competitor, whilst Ravenser Odd was inundated by the sea in the fourteenth century (see Beresford 1967, 510-14); Skipsea owes its decline rather to an inherently limited and specialised economic rôle as a child of the castle.

The position of the parish church of All Saints to the east of the motte raises further questions. Herringbone masonry dates the present structure to the eleventh century (Fowler 1886, 397; Pevsner 1972, 340) and church and castle were clearly linked via unified patronage, as All Saints was documented as the 'castle of the church' in the late eleventh century (L'Anson 1897, 258). The likely scenario is that the foundation of the borough represents a shift in the focus of settlement from an initial core around the parish church. In this sense it may be significant that in 1889 a line of wooden piles was discovered linking the motte to the eastern shore (RCHM 1992, 2). As access to the castle from the east makes no defensive sense given the present arrangement of motte and bailey and the earthen causeway across the mere from the south, it is possible that the wooden piling represents an earlier phase of development at the castle, an interpretation aided by suggestions from recent re-survey that the bailey defences may have been unfinished (*ibid.*, 5). It is thus entirely likely that the plantation of the borough closely followed a major re-orientation of the castle's defences, turning attention away from the focus of settlement around the church to the east.

The present village of Skipsea seems to have lain largely within the open fields of Cleeton, which by 1260 was in the process of being eroded by the sea, as 53 of its documented population were living in Skipsea (Beresford 1967, 514). The nucleation of Skipsea must thus incorporate the transplanted (re-nucleated) settlement of Cleeton, reflected further in the place name 'Cleeton Lands' within Skipsea village (Sheppard 1912, 188-89). This hypothesis gathers additional support from analysis of the settlement plan; this comprises two distinct units; a (primary?) nucleation around the church contained within a curvilinear boundary, and a zone of (secondary?) growth/addition to the east. It is notable

that Skipsea village and Skipsea Brough were thus entirely separate entities; what is surprising is that during the period of the borough's decline in the wake of the castle's abandonment, Skipsea village was apparently expanding, thus emphasising the forced and artificial nature of the plantation.

Case-Study: Almondbury, W. Yorks. (Fig. 4.3: Bottom)

At Almondbury we see a castle-borough relationship outwardly reminiscent of southern European examples of *incastellamento*, the settlement (re)planned in regular form as a tight nucleus contained within a dependent enclosure annexed to the castle; the essential difference is that here the evidence survives in earthwork form only. The close physical link between castle and borough is emphasised further by the topographical setting of both on a distinctive plateau of Grenoside sandstone dominating the countryside. Here, documentary evidence is of immense importance in illuminating a castle-borough relationship which may appear intelligible superficially, yet which is more complex than morphological analysis recommends. In particular, the logical sequence of a defended borough founded shortly after the foundation of the military site is not borne out by detailed scrutiny of available data.

Administratively, Almondbury formed the key high status centre within the western portion of the Honour of Pontefract from the mid eleventh century, probably the residence of a bailiff. The castle was built in the period c. 1142-54, probably by Henry de Lacy against Gilbert of Ghent; it was redundant 200 years later, being ruinous by c. 1340, although an infamous reference to a body within the castle in 1307 may hint at a degree of disuse by this earlier date (Ahier 1946, 24-31; Manby 1968, 354). No formal recognition is made of a borough, yet licence for a market and fair at Almondbury 'in the vill' was granted to Henry de Lacy II in 1298, although it is not impossible that this lay in the present village, and the phrasing of the document seems to confirm existing arrangements. Burgesses at Almondbury are recorded in 1341, although again it is possible that some may have been in the present village, where Northgate shows a number of regular plots. Nonetheless grave's accounts in 1322, 1338 and 1420-21 record burgesses specifically 'in

the castle' (Moorhouse 1981; RCHM 1996, 2). Corroboratory evidence of a borough on Castle Hill is provided by the local place-name Bumroyd ('borough man's clearing'), and a map extract of 1634 (the map by William Senior), remembering *the scite of the Towne* within the outer bailey (Redmonds 1983, 17-19). The overall sequence thus seems to be of a mid-eleventh-century origin for the castle and mid- to late-thirteenth-century origin for the borough.

Moorhouse (1981) has identified earthworks within the outer bailey as burgage plots, comprising a series of low banks running transversely across the enclosure to describe two rows of rectangular closes fronting on to a low central hollow way. Although this zone lay within the area sampled by Varley's excavations, archaeological interpretation was severely blurred by the excavator's patent period-based bias towards prehistoric occupation and features relating to the medieval town were accordingly not formally recognised (WYAS 1994). Nonetheless, detailed analysis of the results demonstrates trenches to have cut at least two tenement boundaries, near the northern rampart, and it is tenable that a well preserved post-hole building and associated cess-pit, in conjunction with an assemblage of fourteenth-century pottery, represents a town-house (Varley, n.d.). In addition, Varley claimed combined archaeological evidence pointed towards a major reorientation in the function of the outer bailey towards the end of the thirteenth century (1973b, 34). More recently, elements of the earthworks within the bailey interpreted as burgage plots have been demonstrated through aerial photographic evidence to represent elements of ridge and furrow cultivation (RCHM 1996, 17-18), and Rumsby has suggested that the outer bailey may have been given over to agriculture towards the end of the thirteenth century (1992, 7). Nonetheless, the ridge and furrow appear contained within the parameters of a framework of linear earthworks forming a loose 'ladder-type' arrangement within the outer bailey. This is perhaps suggestive of late or post-medieval ploughing within the confines of extant, but deserted, burgage plots. This recognition thus does not diminish the argument that a borough once existed within the outer enclosure; rather, it demonstrates present landscape evidence for an institution known through documentary evidence to be lacking.

Opinion now favours the thesis that a series of obscure outer ramparts circumscribing Castle Hill are wholly medieval in date (Avery 1993, 6), or were at least refurbished from prehistoric form during the medieval period (Varley 1973b, 23-25, 29) - arguments founded largely upon constructional similarities with the bailey defences. Recent detailed re-survey of these features has emphasised the discontinuous and non-defensive nature of the earthworks (RCHM 1996, 4, *contra*. Challis and Harding 1975 I, 108). These suggestions lend a new credence to the thesis that the outworks enclosed a secure area of pasture (Cunliffe 1971, 62). Feasibly, such a scheme would seem a logical seigneurial response to the protection of assets on the de Lacy estates at the troubled time of the castle's foundation.

Two essential points emerge from an integrated analysis of the castle-borough relationship at Almondbury.

First, the borough was explicitly a specialised institution as opposed to an urban settlement in its own right. The settlement was certainly distinct in possessing limited urban rights and privileges, yet being in physical terms little more than a village. Morphologically, the settlement was spatially restricted and remote from both routes of communication and the parish church, which lay in Almondbury village. The origin and status of the settlement were attributable to the changing geographical circumstances of Almondbury within the administrative geography of the Honour of Pontefract, serving as a convenient stopping-over point on the route between the *caput* at Pontefract and the detached hunting grounds of Marsden to the west, over which Edward de Lacy was granted free warren in 1251 and which an extent of 1340 demonstrates to be a prominent hunting ground (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 302). These developments were closely linked to changes in the administrative context of Almondbury; between 1193-1211 a large number of de Lacy demesne manors, including Slaithwaite and Huddersfield, were sub-infeuded by Roger de Lacy, while Almondbury township remained in demesne (*ibid.*, 302, 255). The net result effectively divorced the castle from the dependent estates that were its original *râison d'être*, prompting both downgrading of the castle site to a hunting lodge and economic diversification in the form of the borough's promotion. These

circumstances help explain some of oddities in the socio-economic of profile of the burgesses at Almondbury, including exceptionally low rents, the apparently local origin of the majority of burgesses and the fact that the tenants appeared to have held substantial tracts of agricultural land in addition to the plot. Clearly exceptional arrangements were necessary to sustain the nucleation of a community in such a location and to fulfil a specialised economic rôle largely as a subsidiary centre to a hunting seat.

Second, the borough seems to have flourished just as the military functions of the castle were coming to an end. Economic expansion occurred as the castle was converted into a hunting lodge towards the end of the thirteenth century (indicated by the volume of red deer bones excavated from the blocked well in the upper ward: Varley, n.d.). Consequently, it was no longer occupied as a residential seat but a place where hunting parties were occasionally accommodated and entertained. Notably, the fact that the borough was founded within the perimeter of an extant defensive circuit was purely coincidental, the morphological unity of castle and town a product of the setting of both within a pre-existing defensive circuit. An illuminating parallel is Ludgershall, Wilts.; here the growth of an adjacent, enclosed borough can be linked firmly to the conversion of a military/administrative centre to a hunting lodge - circumstances which explain why it never grew beyond village proportions: Creighton 1994, 52; Stevenson 1992, 72.

The importance of seigneurial decision-making as the key agency in the development of Castle Hill is thus evident not only in the decision to create a compact, specialised settlement, but also in the subsequent and wholesale desertion of the borough. Just as symbiosis underlay the original association between seigneurial site and borough, so as the castle site was deserted, the nexus was broken and the settlement lost its economic niche and was likewise deserted, its functions transferred to Almondbury village.

CONCLUSIONS

A number of particular issues have emerged from this analysis as worthy of especial emphasis. Within the study area, the association between castles and failed boroughs has been shown to represent specialised nucleations forced by seigneurial agency in

topographical positions where economic growth was non-sustainable and settlement truly castle-dependent. By contrast, the desertion of nucleated DMVs spatially associated with castle sites can overwhelmingly be viewed as part and parcel of a wider process of regional settlement decline.

Many of the examples cited above demonstrate the urgent need to record minor earthworks associated with castle sites. The insubstantial nature of such evidence relative to the powerful earthworks of motte and baileys has ensured their early destruction through agriculture in a number of cases, leaving the castles as sterile and isolated lumps of the medieval past, divorced from their landscape context. This situation is particularly acute for small, dependent zones of settlement (e.g. *Great Casterton, Rutland*) as opposed to major DMVs including castles (e.g. *Whorlton, N. Yorks.*). Vitally, the presence of the former type of settlement, where a secondary or subsidiary focus within a parish or township centring upon a nucleated village, will be difficult to detect, as the population may not be recorded separately in taxation returns. It thus falls to archaeology, and in particular aerial photography, to demonstrate the presence of these settlements and to resolve often complex issue of chronologies and forms.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this thesis has been to re-integrate the medieval castle within contemporary landscapes, both social and physical. The study has been regionally-based, combining analysis of Yorkshire, an example of strategic Norman settlement in the strict sense, with the East Midlands, where the Norman impact was less pronounced militarily, physically and teneurially, yet no less significant. The approach has been interdisciplinary, combining historical, archaeological and topographical data to achieve a more holistic understanding of the rôle of the castle in the evolution of rural landscapes and urban townscapes.

However, two sobering conclusions can be drawn from the case-studies discussed. First, many of the sequences suggested can only be offered as tentative hypotheses with necessarily limited shelf-lives, underlain and informed by current academic trends and personal perspectives. Studies of medieval settlement landscapes have always been marked by constant re-appraisal (Taylor 1992, 5), and there is no reason why this study can be any different. Second, all case-studies, without exception, can and must be related to more general debates in medieval archaeology, both general and specific. If nothing else, this provides a further reminder of the sheer interconnectedness of medieval landscapes: no single element is explicable without reference to wider issues of lordship, power, community, economy and environment.

CASTLES, LORDSHIP AND THE LANDSCAPE

(i) Castle as Icon: Early Castles and Seigneurial Authority

The study has shown that academic failure to integrate early castles into their contemporary landscapes is based on a fundamental misreading of the functions of these sites. Unambiguously, the early castle was first and foremost a highly visible, physical manifestation of seigneurial power. In an "imitative age" (Lewis *et al.* 1997, 231), when lordship was reinforced by mechanisms of patronage and display, even the most humble earth and timber castle represented a means of conspicuous consumption as much as a military strongpoint. The particular functions of any site could vary, from squalid garrison block and bolt-hole to quazi-palatial residence; what is consistent is that the castle always represented the administrative, economic and coercive apparatus of effective land management and territorial control.

Architectural studies of symbolism and the usage/manipulation of social space within castle designs are currently fashionable, and demonstrate one major mode of enquiry through which castle studies can be revitalised and made accessible to a wider archaeological audience. Yet such discourse desperately needs to be framed within a broader understanding of the significance of the sites themselves within wider landscapes, which can be similarly conceptualised as an expression of medieval social values.

Clearly, like DMVs, moated sites or churches, academic study of early castles impinges upon far wider issues. Whilst an understanding of the early castle is not severable from wider issues of lordship, community and economy, this study has provided a means of redressing an imbalance resulting from narrowly-focused, primarily militaristic discourse. Whereas an 'archaeology of medieval lordship' for a particular physical region or territorial unit remains a conceptual goal, emphasising the complementary rôle of the castle within a wider seigneurial panoply including church, borough, castle, deer-park and monastery, here the focus has, paradoxically, been the castle as an institution and cultural icon of the medieval period.

Thus whilst Thompson (1994, 444) states that "...we have to bear in mind that the prime consideration of the [castle] builder was to make the site defensible, and if we overlook that we lose sight of the reasons for the castle's existence", it is the word *site* that we may take issue with. Although the earthworks of the first generation of Norman castles are overtly military in character, their *sites* were typically chosen to dominate centres of urban and rural population, areas of arable cultivation, and more importantly, extant sites of seigneurial and ecclesiastical power.

(ii) Conquest and Colonisation: Castles and the Normanisation of England

Studies of the Anglo-Norman impact on areas of Ireland, Scotland and Wales have tended to stress that castles were introduced in tandem with a fundamentally different mode of manorial structure, lordship and agricultural system, often associated with quintessentially 'Norman' forms of settlement, the planned nucleated village and castle-borough (Edwards 1997, 6; McNeill 1997, 75-78). This study has stressed, rather, the manner in which early castles were overwhelmingly situated with explicit reference to a well-established pattern of settlement, teneurial geography, administrative sub-division and ecclesiastical topography. Although the precise form and siting of particular castle sites varied depending upon the specific demands of lordship, early castles can and must be related to the landscape of late Saxon England.

Topographical analysis of the positions of castles within late-eleventh-century honours has suggested the systematic siting of castles within the vicinity of sites of pre-Conquest secular and religious importance, both as an appropriation of the machinery of manorial administration for utilitarian reasons and a statement, with symbolic connotations, to a wider community. It was singularly rare for honorial *capita* to occupy virgin sites, and all were suspended within a wider web of early castles fulfilling a variety of functions. Overall, the creation and organisation of new lordships in Yorkshire and the East Midlands appears to have been a policy geared towards inward economic stability and sustainability as opposed to external threat.

The siting of early castles within late Saxon towns has highlighted that these early fortifications, in their siting and systematic usage as tools of conquest, owe, paradoxically, to an extant tradition of *burh* building. Furthermore, early sites such as *Nottingham* and *Richmond, N. Yorks.*, coupled with extensive *encientes* dedicated to the provision of associated communities, whether military, civilian, rural or urban, explode the false dichotomy of pre-Conquest tradition of communal defence in opposition to a post-Conquest tradition of private defence. Detailed plan analysis of castle towns, coupled with archaeological excavation has suggested an earlier yet still rather obscure phase of the attraction of settlers to proto-urban communities nestling at castle gates, and a later trend of formal town planning associated with the granting of market charters and more sophisticated and economically-inspired plan forms.

Analysis of the rôles of castles within rural landscapes has emphasised the sheer variety of ways in which castles were part of wider settlement patterns. Certainly no simple causal link can be postulated between castle lords and settlement planning, yet evidence combines to suggest the active involvement of seigneurie within settlement change in certain cases. In examples such as *Laxton, Notts.*, *Barwick-in-Elmet, W. Yorks.* and *Kirkby Malzeard, N. Yorks.*, the planning of settlement by castle lords is likely given the specific circumstances of lordship, and in particular the siting of a castle in a place of little former importance, yet elsewhere such a link remains elusive. The keynote remains that castles must be related, first and foremost, to regional landscape types and settlement patterns, both nucleated and non-nucleated.

CASTLES AND CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPES

(i) *Castle Earthworks*

The vast majority of castle earthworks within the study area are scheduled and relatively well protected from destruction through agriculture or rebuilding that has removed some sites entirely (e.g. *Armley, W. Yorks.*), or reduced others to fragmentary, amorphous earthworks (e.g. *East Bridgford, Notts.*). A real challenge that remains is the adequate protection of earthworks of less certain form, such as the likely motte at *Whitwood, W.*

Yorks.; despite the recovery of medieval pottery from the mound and despite a likely administrative context as an outlying, early fortification on the fringes of the Honour of Pontefract, it has interpreted by English Heritage as a recent feature and hence de-scheduled (see Gazetteer).

(ii) Associated Settlement

Less well preserved and inadequately protected are less pronounced earthworks in the immediate environs of castle sites, whether outworks of manorial character (e.g. *Sapcote, Leics.*), settlement earthworks (e.g. *East Folifoot, W. Yorks.*), or water management features (e.g. *Storwood, Humbs., Yorks.*). Re-scheduling policy incorporating castle sites and such earthworks within a single scheduled zone (e.g. *Gilmorton, Leics.*) is to be welcomed, although elsewhere spatially extensive earthworks representing less of an obstacle to the bulldozer or plough are being progressively eroded with little protection (e.g. *Beaumont Chase, Rutland*).

Redevelopment of townscapes further ensures that castles are effectively divorced from their medieval contexts. The motte and bailey at *Kimberworth, S. Yorks.*, marks an extreme, where the earthwork survives as an amorphous and effectively meaningless feature, its perimeter entirely encompassed by housing development describing an oval circuit fossilising the profile of the motte but divorcing it entirely from its landscape context.

FUTURE RESEARCH PRIORITIES

(i) Excavation of Baileys

The open area excavation of castle baileys is a clear priority. Barker and Higham's recent survey of early castle excavations (1992, 244-325) demonstrates a comparative wealth of archaeological information concerning the superstructures of mottes and interior buildings of ringworks relative to the dearth of data concerning the functions of baileys, and even more problematically, outer baileys. We are desperately in need of a broader data set,

including sites from different regional and social settings, with which to supplement the remarkable findings from Hen Domen (Barker and Higham 1982). Indeed, in terms of its socio-political context, this site may be anomalous relative to contemporary sites in Yorkshire and the East Midlands in its overtly military character - the bailey of the first castle being a crowded garrison block rather than a seat of permanent seigneurial power and administration (Barker 1987, 54).

Elsewhere, the judicious excavation of castle baileys represents potentially the most fruitful method of re-integrating castles with landscapes through archaeology. Certainly a myriad of social, spatial and temporal variations in the functions of baileys and outer baileys remain to be tested archaeologically (whether enclosures containing troops, stables, domestic buildings and the facilities for their maintenance; for impounding stock in times of crisis and demarcating grazing areas; as centres for the storage, processing and redistribution of agricultural surplus; or housing civilian retainers and their kin groups). Here a further point requires emphasis: even if militaristic explanations of bailey function - as courtyards for the containment of cavalry squadrons that could be commanded by a small number of archers within a motte superstructure - are true, the longevity of motte and bailey sites, both minor (e.g. *Lowdham, Notts.*) and major (e.g. *Nottingham*), suggests that whereas military imperative may have dictated the original morphology of these sites, that bailey enclosures would soon be utilised as highly flexible zones for the containment of manorial activities.

(ii) Data Sources

British castle studies can only advance if the recommendations of the Society for Medieval Archaeology concerning the excavation of fortified sites are heeded in future research designs:

"All such sites need to be studied within their contemporary setting, and the most useful will be those that reveal a place's interaction with its hinterland" (Hinton 1987, 6).

Lying behind the majority of case-studies addressed within this thesis is a major issue which needs to be addressed directly; namely, the need to integrate effectively a wide range of sources. The widespread failure of archaeology to contextualise medieval castles within contemporary landscapes is largely a reflection of a failure to exploit fully the variety of data sources available. For instance, we have noted a reluctance to integrate the findings of environmental contributions within excavation reports, the under-exploited potential of combined fieldwork and excavation, but most importantly the need to synthesise historical and archaeological data. The key issue is that truly multifaceted, interdisciplinary research into medieval landscapes must cross-fertilise between data sources rather than subsuming one mode of enquiry within an inflexible interpretative framework provided by another.

In this sense, castle studies can be best served through long-term interdisciplinary research projects involving archaeologists, historians, historical geographers and environmentalists, among others. The benefits of reflection, re-assessment, and flexibility facilitated through this mode of enquiry are exemplified within medieval settlement studies (Aston 1993b; Beresford and Hurst 1990) and provide a conceptual goal.

(iii) Towards an Archaeology of Medieval Lordship

The traditional field of castellology, enclosed within a narrow historical paradigm, has provided fertile grazing for a herd of scholars. Military-architectural studies of castle function, bereft of the necessary context of land tenure, urban and rural settlement patterns and ecclesiastical patronage, overlook that the presence of a castle was not only an important concomitant of manorialisation, but an iconic element of complex design within physical and social landscapes. Re-integration of castles within wider landscapes requires, in turn, a fundamental re-integration of the increasingly isolated discipline of castle studies within medieval archaeology.

**CASTLES AND LANDSCAPES:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF YORKSHIRE AND
THE EAST MIDLANDS**

VOLUME II

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester**

by

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GUIDE TO GAZETTEER

FORMAT OF APPENDIX

Appendix I forms a site gazetteer, composed of individual entries relating to castle or castle-like sites and arranged alphabetically within post-1974 county groups. The counties are grouped respectively within two sections: the East Midlands (Derbyshire, Humberside (Lincs.), Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland), and Yorkshire (Cleveland, Cumbria, County Durham, Humberside (Yorks.), Lancashire, North Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire). The following conditions apply:

(i) The modern county of Humberside is sub-divided into 'Lincolnshire' and 'Yorkshire' components on the lines of pre-1974 county boundaries, these groupings of sites being included respectively within the Yorkshire and East Midlands volumes; the creation of a separate county of East Yorkshire from 1997 has been ignored as the SMR remains unintegrated.

(ii) Sites in the modern counties of Cleveland, Cumbria, County Durham and Lancashire are only included where they fall within the pre-1974 county boundaries of Yorkshire.

(ii) Rutland is included as a county in its own right, having regained its pre-1974 status from 1997.

Throughout the gazetteer, where a site appears in small capitals (e.g. HALLATON), this highlights that a full entry regarding that site is included elsewhere within the gazetteer. Where the name is followed by a county abbreviation, this indicates that the site lies beyond the county covered in the respective section.

BASIC SITE DETAILS

The following headings are employed in order:

Site Name: The appropriate place-name with which the site is most closely associated. In the case of two or more sites lying within the same parish boundaries, the designations 'I', 'II', etc. are used (Middleham I and Middleham II), with the more major of the sites being referred to as 'I'. Where an additional name/names are given in brackets, this refers to any local place-names relating explicitly to the site in question. Where the symbol '†' is given next to the site name, this denotes that no map is included (see below).

Parish: The modern civil parish in which the site lies. If the site falls outside the boundaries of a recognised parish and within a Metropolitan area this is indicated with the initials NPA (non-parish area), e.g. Leeds (NPA).

Site Type: This is a brief classification of the site from the following categories: motte; motte and bailey; ringwork; ringwork and bailey; early castle; stone castle; tower-house; fortified manor; fortified ecclesiastical site; vanished site. These categories can be prefaced

with 'possible', indicating a lesser degree of certainty with which the site can be identified (i.e. more marginal archaeological, structural/morphological or documentary evidence, or a combination thereof, makes it plausible that the site represents a castle). In addition, where a site clearly undergoes a transition from one form to another, or doubt surrounds the inclusion of the site in one category as opposed to another, the categories are separated by a forward-slash (e.g. Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle).

Grid Reference: The 100km grid square in which the site lies, combined with a unique six-figure grid reference. Where a grid reference is necessarily approximate (i.e. the site is known from historical map evidence only), the abbreviation '(Approx.)' is used.

TEXTUAL INFORMATION:

The general format of the accompanying text is as follows:

Situation: The location of the site relative to the pattern of human settlement and natural topography.

Preservation: Summary of the condition of the monument and any circumstances threatening its status.

Description: Description of the physical remains of the site as exists at present, or as is known to have existed. Where sufficient data allow, the evolution of the site is described phase by phase.

Excavation: Archaeological activities relating to the site are listed, ranging from the casual recovery of artefacts, to full-scale modern excavation programmes. Where data allow, the archaeological sequence is described phase by phase.

Documentation: Medieval documentation relating directly to the site is summarised, and post-medieval description relating to the condition of the castle is noted where appropriate. Nb. the data are compiled from secondary texts noted within the bibliography, with key references to primary texts given where most appropriate.

Sources: Key sources for the individual sites are listed alphabetically. Fuller details of each work cited are contained within the main bibliography.

The basic format of the gazetteer is uniform for all sites other than tower houses, where the basic details, description and sources suffice. It should be noted that whilst the fullest practical descriptive and bibliographical details are provided for the more minor sites, it has been deemed unnecessary to provide all-encompassing descriptions and historical bibliographies for the more major and better-studied sites (e.g. Leicester, Lincoln, Newark, Nottingham, Pontefract, Richmond, Scarborough, York I and II); these entries are consequently more summary in nature.

MAPS

Following entries for individual counties, a series of map extracts are included for the purpose of illustrating sites and as a source for topographical reference. Where possible First Edition OS maps are used, although where this has proven impossible Second Edition extracts are included. Multiple sheets have been used where appropriate and possible.

DERBYSHIRE

ASHFORD

Possible Motte and Bailey
Ashford in the Water
SK 195698

Situation: The site occupies a central high point within Ashford village.

Preservation: The moat was infilled by the Rural District Council in the 1960s, and the site is presently utilised as a football pitch; nothing survives above ground.

Description: The site survives only in the form of a right-angled cropmark of an enclosing ditch, *c.* 6m wide. No plans of the site exist, and whilst suggested that the feature was little more than a moated site, the tradition of a castle at this grid reference persists - it being tenable that the ditch and bank system previously formed part of bailey. Reports that the 14th-century rebuild of Ashford church employed masonry from the site cannot be supported.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Although often quoted as being a 14th-century fortified site of Edmund Plantaganet, there is no positive documentation of the site's ownership history.

Sources:

Brushfield 1900, 283
Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 421
Hart 1981, 149-50
King 1983, 110
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 375-76

BAKEWELL (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Bakewell
SK 221687

Situation: Castle Hill overlooks Bakewell town and the crossing of the Wye from a natural spur rising from the east bank of the river.

Preservation: The site is moderately well preserved under pasture, although its environs are much built over.

Description: The site comprises a small conical motte, artificially raised *c.* 3.5m, and with a flat summit *c.* 10m in diameter and base diameter of *c.* 28m. It is partially surrounded by a ditch to the east, whilst immediately to the west the feature is flanked by an artificial scarp, this continuing along the natural contours of the spur to the south and east to define the perimeter of a single, almost triangular bailey. A further scarp of artificial appearance runs east-west across the bailey for a distance of *c.* 36m to divide it into northern and southern sub-units. A small semi-circular scarped platform immediately to the north of the bailey may have formed a defensive hornwork flanking the single identifiable point of access into the site from this direction.

Excavation: Partial excavation by M. Swanton in 1969-71 confirmed a late-12th/early-13th-century date for the motte on the basis of pottery within the fill of the surrounding ditch and suggested the site to have been a watch-tower rather than a continually occupied area. The motte was further demonstrated to be constructed in a series of sand, rubble, clay and loam layers, sloping from the centre outwards, whilst the inner face of the surrounding ditch was shown to have been revetted with limestone boulders. Some slight evidence was recovered to suggest that a squarish counterscarp bank around the motte - of clay-capped limestone construction - antedated the motte, although the length of the intervening period was not determined.

Documentation: There is no contemporary mention of a castle at Bakewell; the reference to *le Castlehill* in 1439 is likely to imply that the site was disused by this time. There is no evidence to support the notion that the earthworks are in any way related to the 10th-century Edwardian *burh*.

Sources:

Armitage 1912, 47

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 820

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23304

Hart 1981, 143, 145

King 1983, 108

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 26 NW 12

Renn 1968, 97

Swanton 1972-73

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 376

Wilson and Hurst 1970, 175

BOLSOVER

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle

Old Bolsover

SK 470706

Situation: Bolsover castle lies on the crest of a Magnesian Limestone ridge, at the head of the planned castle-town.

Preservation: The present standing masonry entirely relates to the 17th-century mansion erected on the site, although survey by M. Brann in 1994 recognised fragments of 12th-century Romanesque and 13th-century Gothic architecture within the later structure. The inner bailey is occupied by the Fountain Garden and the outer bailey area has been obliterated by the terrace range of the mansion.

Description: Topographical evidence suggests two essential phases to the development of the castle. The first consisted of a sub-circular motte lying at the highest point of the natural promontory and estimated to have a base diameter of *c.* 30-35m, with an appending trapezoidal bailey to the south-east; this having maximum dimensions of *c.* 80m x 60m. Evidence further suggests the existence of a larger rectangular outer bailey on the same alignment as the inner enclosure, this with maximum dimensions of *c.* 280m x 200m. The second phase comprised the addition of a keep and fortification of the bailey in stone, the related remains having only been examined archaeologically. It is, however, tenable that the position of the castle on a limestone ridge is suggestive of stone perimeter defences from the outset (cf. PEVERIL). The present keep ('Little Keep') - built in 1612-21 - is a product of extensive post-military remodelling, although in all probability stands on the approximate foundations of its predecessor; the lines of associated outbuildings may similarly perpetuate the line of the inner bailey.

Excavation: The footings of the curtain wall were noted during repairs in 1946, but not fully recorded. Excavations by G. Pratt and T. Akister in 1977 exposed a section of the inner bailey curtain wall, this surviving one course above ground level and *c.* 5m in width. The wall was demonstrated to have subsided markedly into the associated ditch to the south-east, *c.* 6.2m wide at this point and incorporating the vestiges of unfaced stonework on its lip. The ditch disturbed a series of burials within the bailey, although these were of indeterminate date; further inhumations have also been noted during tree-planting and pipe-laying within the inner and outer baileys.

Documentation: The site came under Royal ownership in 1155, when forfeited by William Peverel. The keep may have been built *c.* 1173-1174 when the Pipe Rolls show £116 to have been spent on Bolsover and Peak (PEVERIL), while small repairs were made to the tower in 1194-126, and £134 was spent on Bolsover and HORSTON in 1208-1209. The site was taken on at least three occasions: 1217, 1264 and 1644. It passed in and out of Royal ownership throughout the 15th and 16th centuries until passing to George Talbot, later earl of Shrewsbury in 1533, following which the major rebuildings were carried out under Sir Charles Cavendish and his heir in the period 1608-40.

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 11213

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13270

Gregory 1947

Hart 1981, 145, 148

King 1983, 108, 112

Nenk *et al.* 1995, 194

Pevsner 1978, 92-94

Renn 1968, 112

Symonds *et al.* 1995

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 376-78

Webster and Cherry 1978, 168

BRETBY

Stone Castle/Fortified Manor

Bretby

SK 293231

Situation: The earthworks of Bretby castle occupy an extensive, slightly raised zone immediately south-west of Bretby church, partially contained within a right-angled deviation of Mount Road and overlooked by rising terrain to the north and west.

Preservation: The site survives in earthwork form only; any interior features have been rendered illegible by extensive surface quarrying.

Description: The present field evidence seems to indicate the former existence of a stone castle or fortified manor of uncertain format. A much denuded ditch, *c.* 2m in depth and *c.* 20m wide flanks the north and west of an extensive area of earthworks covering an area of *c.* 110 x 160m. Although fragments of grass-covered building foundations can be identified in various zones of the interior, no coherent plan can be recognised. A minimum of three rectangular fishponds lie on the southern edge of the site.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Licence to crenellate Bretby was granted by Edward I. The site is further mentioned in an *inquisition post mortem* of 1353, and passed to the Stanhope family in 1585.

Sources:

King 1983, 109, 112

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 22 SE 20

RCHM: NMP (National Forest), Sheet No. SK 22 SE

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 378-79

CASTLE GRESLEY (Castle Hill/Castle Knob)

Motte and Bailey

Gresley

SK 279179

Situation: Castle Knob occupies a natural eminence on the southern side of the village.

Preservation: The site is relatively poorly preserved as a denuded series of earthworks under grass.

Description: The site comprises a steep-sided conical motte artificially raised *c.* 4m and with a flat summit *c.* 12m in diameter. The motte top is characterised by a slightly raised 'lip' around its circular perimeter and a circular platform on the north-east edge seems likely to represent the location of a former tower. The motte was formerly enclosed on all sides by a surrounding ditch *c.* 10m wide and *c.* 2m deep, and lay within the largest of one of three bailey enclosures, all clearly delimited by artificial scarping. The motte lies within the northern quarter of the large central bailey, the two small oval outer baileys lie respectively to the north and south.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle site is mentioned in *Inquisition post mortems* of 1371 and 1375; presumably when disused.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23288

King 1983, 109, 112

RCHM: NMP (National Forest), Sheet No. SK 21 NE

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 379

CHESTERFIELD (Castle Hill)

Motte

Chesterfield

SK 391721

Situation: The site lies in the grounds of Tapton Park, on the east side of Chesterfield, occupying an elevated position commanding extensive views over the Rother valley.

Preservation: The site is generally well preserved, although the northern side of the mound has been mutilated by minor quarrying and tipping.

Description: Castle Hill is an artificial mound, approximately hemispherical in plan, with a maximum base diameter of *c.* 35m and height of *c.* 2m. The summit of the feature is slightly sunken, although the site is certainly not a ringwork as has been claimed, and has maximum external dimensions of *c.* 20m

east-west x c. 25m north-south. Other than the suggestion that the feature is an early castle site, alternative origins such as a formal garden feature or windmill mound cannot be dismissed, especially given the formal garden context of the feature and alternative site name 'Windmill-Hill'.

Excavation: None

Documentation: In 1266 it is recorded that Robert de Ferrers was taken prisoner at the *castrum de Chestrefelde*, which may relate to Tapton as no other site in the vicinity of Chesterfield presents itself. The field name *castulfurlong* is recorded in 1339, and further references to *le Castell Hyll* and 'Tapton Castle' are made respectively in 1468 and 1502.

Sources:

Cameron 1959, 312

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 3931

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23289

Hart 1981, 145-46

King 1983, 111

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 37 SE 10

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 375

DERBY (Cockpit/Castle Hill)

Motte

Derby (NPA)

SK 355361 (Approx.)

Situation: The site formerly lay in the centre of Derby, south of the Market Place in the angle between Albion Street and East Street.

Preservation: The site was levelled as early as the 18th century, and has been utterly lost to urban development.

Description: Castle Hill appears to have been a motte and bailey castle which disappeared at an early date. Speed's map features an artificial mound at this location which is presumably a motte, depicted in a pseudo-Bayeux style.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle is recorded as *copecastel* ('the castle near the market') in 1085. The *Cock Pitt* first appears in 1610 on Speed's map, and *Cockepitt Close* and *Cockpitt Hill* were recorded respectively in 1648 and 1670.

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 32004

Cameron 1959, 451

Williamson 1942, 6

DUFFIELD

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle

Duffield

SK 343440

Situation: The site surmounts a steep natural rise marking the west bank of the Derwent, north of Duffield village.

Preservation: The keep foundations, surviving to a height of c. 0.4-1.2m have been capped with concrete as a conservation measure; no legible earthworks survive.

Description: When first excavated in 1886, the site was said to comprise a motte with a double-ditched bailey to the west, although modern development has obscured all evidence other than the motte and exposed foundations of the Norman keep as defined by excavation.

Excavation: The site was partially excavated in 1886 by J. Cox, exposing for the first time the keep foundations. A considerable quantity of 'Roman' pottery was recovered, whilst further pottery of similar date is reported from the garden of 4 Avenue Road west of the motte and from a small excavation in the garden of 1 Avenue Road to the north-west - the latter assemblage including a Derbyshire ware waster. Further excavation by T. Manby in 1957 demonstrated the castle to have been raised on a natural knoll, stripped to the bedrock and artificially scarped. Two clear phases were revealed:

Phase I: The first castle was demonstrated to have had a motte scarped from natural bedrock, with a number of post-holes indicative of a timber tower, and a dry moat. The plan of this phase remains, however obscure.

Phase II: The site was remodelled in the late-12th century when a massive stone keep was erected. The structure was of sandstone construction with diagonal point-dressing and a single, thick buttress on the west wall. It featured spiral staircases in the north-west and south-east corners and was divided - on the lower storey at least - north-south into three chambers. The silted ditch contained a number of residual Roman sherds in addition to medieval ceramics. Within the keep a small well in the south-west corner yielded a wooden spade and bucket, whilst finds from the keep area itself included an extensive charcoal spread, Stamford ware, a prick spur and bridle bit.

Documentation: The castle was captured by Henry II in 1173 and possibly demolished thereafter, having been held against the king by Earl Ferrers.

Sources:

Cox 1887

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 19401

King 1983, 109, 112

Manby 1959-60

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 34 SW 4

Renn 1968, 174-76

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 380-83

Williamson 1933

Wilson and Hurst 1958, 195

GLOSSOP I (Mouselow Castle)

Motte and Bailey

High Peak

SK 027954

Situation: The motte occupies an exceptionally strong natural site, surmounting a steep natural knoll *c.* 600m south of the village of Padfield and commanding extensive views over Peak Forest. GLOSSOP II lies *c.* 4.75km to the north-east.

Preservation: The motte, ditch and counterscarp clearly survive as earthwork features, although the motte summit and area to the south-west have been severely disturbed by quarrying; the site is presently obscured by undergrowth.

Description: The site comprises an oval motte, enclosed on all sides other than to the south-west by an encircling ditch and external counterscarp bank; the ditch being *c.* 1.7m deep and *c.* 10m wide, and the rampart of variable width, but up to *c.* 1.9m in maximum height. The sub-rectangular summit of the motte, oriented south-west - north-east has a maximum width of *c.* 23m, and length of *c.* 30m, and is raised artificially *c.* 4m above the level of its surrounding ditch. The mutilated zone to the south-west of the motte may conceivably conceal an associated bailey, but the present state of field evidence makes positive identification impossible. Although a late-18th-century account mentions traces of a building on the motte summit there is presently no positive evidence to confirm this. A tradition persists that a chapel was constructed on the motte top by the Duke of Norfolk *c.* 1780, which may explain finds of building material in the area.

Excavation: A series of minor excavations, none fully published, have taken place on the motte. In 1963-64 trenches into the north face of the motte ditch and west face of the motte were sunk, although the findings are not reported. The trench was re-excavated by pupils of Glossop Grammar School across the north side of the motte ditch in 1984, revealing to be up to *c.* 2.3m in depth, V-shaped in profile and to contain flag-stones, quernstones, and dressed stone, alleged to have been derived from a motte-top structure. A single worked flint was also found immediately west of the trench. Further excavations by the same party on the motte top took place in 1985, failing to locate any major structures but revealing the body of the mound to comprise a series of compact shale layers, in addition to recovering minor finds of post-medieval date. A number of casual finds have been recovered in the immediate vicinity of Castle Hill: worked building stones, recovered in the 1840s; a 'British' spearhead early this century; and a small glass bead in the 1970s, alleged to be of Romano-British or early Saxon origin.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Hart 1981, 145-46

King 1983, 109

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 09 NW 3

Reeve 1985

Reeve 1986

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 384-85

GLOSSOP II (Torside Castle)

Possible Ringwork

High Peak

SK 076965

Situation: The site occupies a marshy site on the north-facing flank of Sykes Moor, high above Glossop. GLOSSOP I lies *c.* 4.75km to the south-west.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as a moorland earthwork.

Description: The site comprises a large ditched and embanked enclosure of almost triangular plan; having maximum external dimensions of *c.* 90 x 65m. Whilst suggested to be a possible ringwork, the extremely elevated position of this site is unconventional for an early castle, and such an identification must remain very doubtful.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources

Hodges 1980, 32

King 1983, 110

King and Alcock 1969, 112

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 370-71

HARTHILL (Castle Hill/Castle Ring)

Possible Ringwork

Harthill

SK 220628

Situation: The site occupies the summit of a steep and prominent oval hillock, immediately north-west of Harthill Moor Farm.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as an earthwork feature under permanent pasture.

Description: Castle Hill is a single-banked enclosure with an interior area *c.* 45m in diameter. Although what was alleged to be a small *tumulus* was previously noted as adjoining to the west side of the site, there is presently no evidence of this. The site has conventionally been interpreted as iron age in date, although the lack of iron age material from the region in general has prompted the suggestion by Hodges that the site originated as a medieval defensive work, possibly a ringwork.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources

Hodges 1980, 32

HARTINGTON† (Banktop)

Motte

Hartington Town Quarter

SK 126615

Situation: Banktop is a motte is sited at the top of a steep natural slope marking the east bank of the River Dove, approximately 1km north of Hartington Town. The motte and bailey at PILSBURY lies *c.* 2.4km north-west, the two overlooking intervisible zones of the narrow Dove valley.

Preservation: The motte is generally well preserved, the discontinuous ditch being attributable to the site's adaptation to natural topography rather than subsequent infilling.

Description: The site comprises a motte, formed by artificially scarping and modification of the natural river terrace into a platform with a flat summit *c.* 20m in diameter - the feature is certainly not a ringwork as has been claimed. The natural position of the motte ensures that it rises *c.* 4.5m above the surrounding land surface to the north and east, but an average of 3m to the south and west. A semi-circular V-shaped ditch *c.* 2.5m deep and *c.* 11m in width flanks the motte on its southern side only; this being rendered unnecessary on the northern side by the steep natural terrace. The north side of the motte shows vestigial signs of what may have been the platform for a bridge providing access.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 7035

Hart 1981, 146-47

Hodges 1980, 32

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 16 SW 18

HATHERSAGE (Camp Green)

Ringwork

Hathersage

SK 234819

Situation: The ringwork is raised on the south-western extremity of a natural shale outcrop, lying adjacent to the church on the north-east side of the settlement and overlooking a substantial tract of the Hope valley.

Preservation: Only a semicircular earthwork - representing the northern half of the ringwork survives - the remainder of the rampart having being removed and mutilated by gardening, although its former alignment to the south-east is visible as a terrace feature running for a length of *c.* 45m. The interior of the site has been further disturbed by building activity, although the road which enters the enclosure from the north-east appears to pass through an original entrance. Antiquarian accounts from the 18th and 19th centuries, however, describe three separate entrances, implying two further points of access in the levelled areas of the enclosure.

Description: The Camp Green earthwork represents the vestiges of a roughly circular ringwork, defined by a rampart and external ditch, together enclosing a central zone with maximum dimensions of *c.* 55m east-west x *c.* 56m north-south. The rampart survives to a maximum width of *c.* 12m in places, and is raised up to *c.* 2m above the level of the interior, whilst the ditch in its surviving sections is *c.* 8m wide and *c.* 1.5m deep. The entrance appears to have lain to the north-east, where a *c.* 15m wide gap in the rampart appears an original feature. There is no evidence to support the specious notion of a motte on the north-east side of the enclosure, as depicted in the VCH plan.

Excavation: Excavations in 1976-77 by R. Hodges sampled two areas of the site: an area in the west of the ringwork interior, and a trench across the north side of the defences. Internally, the foundations of a 19th-century house extension had removed any traces of structural evidence in the excavated zone, but the section through the rampart and ditch demonstrated the rampart to be of 'dump' construction, and composed of thin layers of shale. It was surmounted with the stub of a dry-stone wall (containing a fragment of gritstone quern), and revetted by a second dry-stone wall to its rear. Two phases of ditch construction were identified; the first phase characterised by a shallow V-shaped profile, this being re-cut

to form a deeper V-shaped profile with a single step in the side. Although the excavation failed to recover any conclusive dating evidence, a single sherd of 13th-century Brackenfield ware was found in association with the silting of the re-cut ditch and subsequent phases of cobbling and the laying of a gritstone slab drain in the ditch appear likely to have post-dated the site's occupation as a castle. An archaeological watching brief in 1992 recorded the position of the rampart and ditch in three further locations, confirming the defences' circular plan, whilst the boundary of the present churchyard was shown to be modern, the ringwork defences formerly running into the present graveyard.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23292

Gething 1992

Hart 1981, 146-47

Hodges 1980

King 1983, 109

King and Alcock 1969, 112

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 28 SW 12

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 372

Webster and Cherry 1978, 186

HOLMESFIELD (Castle Hill)

Motte

Holmesfield

SK 318776

Situation: Castle Hill lies on a slight natural eminence at the westernmost extremity of Holmesfield village.

Preservation: The site is poorly preserved, its southern half having been obliterated by the Sunday School and Castle Bank Cottage and their associated gardens. The terraced feature to the south-west is also much disturbed by tipping, and it is unclear whether the motte ditch has been similarly disturbed, or whether its semicircular extent was an original feature.

Description: The earthworks represent the remains of a circular motte artificially raised *c.* 3.2m above ground level. The motte is *c.* 32m in diameter, and characterised by a slightly concave summit *c.* 20m across - the low profile perhaps indicative of a collapsed crowning structure. The vestiges of a surrounding ditch survive as a crescentic depression *c.* 15m wide and *c.* 1.5m deep to the north of the motte only. A curvilinear terraced feature running for *c.* 45m to the south-west of the motte may reflect an artificial exentuation of natural slopes marking the former perimeter of a bailey, although the feature is too indistinct for positive identification,

Excavation: A medieval stone door lintel, claimed as derived from a motte-top structure, has been recovered from a field adjacent to the site.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 8009

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23290

Hart 1981, 145-46

King 1983, 109
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 37 NW 3
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 374

HOPE

Ringwork
Hope
SK 171834

Situation: The ringwork presently lies on the north bank of Peakshole Water which has changed its course considerably since the earthwork's construction, located immediately west of the parish church, on the southern fringes of Hope village.

Preservation: The site lies within a private garden, its poor condition attributable to a combination of landscaping and undercutting by the adjacent river.

Description: The site comprises the remains of a once circular ringwork, *c.* 45m in diameter and defined by a rampart surviving to a maximum height of *c.* 3m, and external ditch *c.* 7m wide and *c.* 1.5m deep flanking the site on its north-west side only. There is presently no evidence of a bailey, although this may have been eroded by the river or perpetuated in the alignment of the adjacent, curvilinear, churchyard.

Excavation: None.

Documentation: A deed of Edward I (1272-1307) mentions a castle at Hope, although the site may have been disused by this time.

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 8111
Hart 1981, 145-46
Hodges 1980, 32
King 1983, 110
King and Alcock 1969, 112
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 18 SE 4
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 375

HORSLEY (Harestan Castle)

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Horsley
SK 376431

Situation: Harestan Castle occupies a locally prominent promontory *c.* 1.5km south of Horsley village.

Preservation: Interpretation can only be minimal in view of the extensive quarrying activity across the site, giving the surviving earthworks an amorphous appearance. Only fragments of the north wall of the keep remain, standing to a maximum height of *c.* 3m.

Description: The site comprises the remains of what appears to have been a polygonal, buttressed and cellared keep raised on a natural rock outcrop, with evidence suggesting the former existence of a

(triangular?) ward to the north defended by a curtain wall and external ditch; further analysis is rendered impossible due to destruction.

Excavation: Minor excavations at Harestan took place in 1852; some elements of the upstanding masonry may have been cleared at this, or slightly later date. Finds recovered from the excavation included a capital in the form of a wolf's head, a 'boar's tusk', antlers, a small bell and what were alleged to be fragments of 'beams'.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in 1199, although a possible reference to the sometime lord of the castle is recorded *temp.* Stephen. Royal expenditure on the site is recorded in the Pipe Rolls of 1199-1203, the tower being crenellated in 1205; it was taken in 1264 by Robert, Earl Ferrers, although apparently not destroyed.

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 21110

King 1983, 109, 112-13

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 34 SE 19

Renn 1968, 206-07

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 383-84

MELBOURNE

Stone Castle

Melbourne

SK 388252

Situation: The castle site lies centrally within Melbourne village.

Preservation: The castle has almost totally dismantled - only fragments of masonry and a confused series of minor earthworks survive. A large volume of masonry derived from the castle has been re-incorporated into Castle Farm House and its outbuildings.

Description: The plan and appearance of Melbourne castle can only be imperfectly understood from an engraving of 1733, in which it is depicted as a large and multi-towered complex of structures. The present field monument comprises a fragment of ruined (curtain?) walling surviving to a height of *c.* 5.5m and the semi-circular footings of a turret at Castle Farm surviving in vestigial form. A series of extremely weak earthworks have been identified at the site, yet form no coherent plan.

Excavation: In 1989 a watching brief at Castle Mills - the area covering the southern area of the castle site - identified two massive sections of medieval walling in contractor's trenches; the first *c.* 3.5m long and running east-west for *c.* 50m, and a second, shorter stretch of walling on a north-south alignment; a shallow ditch was also recorded and suggested to have been associated with the castle complex.

Documentation: Licence to crenellate Melbourne Castle was granted to Robert of Holland in 1311, and it is mentioned as a castle in an *inquisition post mortem* of 1361. The site was partially dismantled in 1460, although extensively repaired in 1483-85; Leland describing it as being in good repair *c.* 1540.

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, [No SMR identifier given]

Gaimster *et al.* 1990

King 1983, 110, 113

Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 21

Pevsner 1978, 279-80
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 384

MORLEY I

Possible Motte
Morley
SK 391409

Situation: The site lies on a low natural rise *c.* 300m west of Morley village. Another possible motte (MORLEY II) lies *c.* 450m to the east at the centre of the settlement.

Preservation: The site is generally well preserved and its steep-sided appearance maintained, although presently threatened by erosion due to the passage of animals and people.

Description: The site comprises a steeply-sided conical mound, artificially raised *c.* 4-5 m above the surrounding ground level, with a base diameter of *c.* 15m, and flat summit *c.* 5m across. The feature is surrounded by a wet ditch *c.* 6-9m in width on all sides other than to the south-east, where an apparently original earthen causeway marks the point of access. There is no trace of an associated bailey in the adjacent ploughed fields, which, in addition to the small size of the feature, might signify that the mound is an ornamental garden feature.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 23409
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23301
King 1983, 110
Pevsner 1953, 188
Pritchard 1998
Tudor 1935, 83
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 375

MORLEY II

Possible Motte
Morley
SK 396409

Situation: The site lies immediately north-east of the parish church at the east end of Morley village. Another possible motte (MORLEY I) lies beyond the village, *c.* 450m to the west.

Preservation: The site is preserved under grass in the private grounds of Morley Manor.

Description: The site comprises a large earthen mound only; its dimensions are not recorded and no outworks or associated enclosures have been identified. The feature may be an eroded motte, although its location - in a formal garden context - does not rule out the possibility that it originated as a prospect mound.

Excavation: The mound was archaeologically investigated by T. Bateman in the 1860s, apparently proving the feature not to be a barrow, although the full findings are not recorded.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 23419

King 1983, 110

Pritchard 1998, 141

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 375

OUTSEATS (North Lees Hall)

Tower House

Outseats

SK 235834

Description: North Lees Hall, occupying a mid-slope position *c.* 1.5km north of Hathersage village is a farmhouse building with adjoining tower-house. The farm building is structurally later; the fabric of the tower consistent with a 16th-century date and an internal inscription dates the building to 1594. The tower comprises three storeys over a basement, and features stone-mullioned windows and an embattled parapet, whilst the interior retains vestiges of elaborate plaster decoration and panelling. A taller stair tower is incorporated within the north-east corner of the structure and a domestic two-storey range has been subsequently added to the site - although this may perpetuate an earlier range on the same position. Downslope of the hall to the south-west can be identified an extensive zone of terraced gardens, presumably laid out in association with the building.

Sources:

Barnatt 1981

Pevsner 1978, 291

PARWICH

Possible Ringwork and Bailey

Parwich

SK 190538

Situation: The alleged ringwork lies on the north-east slope of a natural promontory, *c.* 600m south of Parwich village.

Preservation: The site comprises a poorly preserved earthwork under pasture.

Description: This obscure earthwork, approximating a 'figure of eight' plan has been alleged to be a medieval ringwork and bailey. The site comprises an oval ringwork with maximum dimensions of *c.* 60m north-south x 40m north-south, featuring traces of a possible entrance on the north side, and a smaller lunate ramparted enclosure *c.* 25m east-west x 20m north-south appending to its east side. The smaller enclosure appears partially overlain by the larger unit, and both appear to be cut by a reversed S-shaped field boundary marking the edge of a medieval strip. The sighting is certainly unconventional for a ringwork - constructed on the natural slope, so that the upper enclosure overlooks the lower unit - and the presence of known prehistoric earthworks, including several *tumuli* in the vicinity of Sitterlow farm to the south and Blanchmeadow to the north, cast considerable doubt on its status as a medieval fortified site.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 11526

Hart 1981, 145-46

PEVERIL (Peveril Castle/Castle of the Peak)

Early Castle/Stone Castle

Castleton

SK 149826

Situation: The castle occupies a precipitous cliff-edge position immediately south of Castleton, commanding spectacular and extensive views across a huge tract of the Hope valley.

Preservation: The site is essentially well preserved; its 12th-century form not compromised by subsequent residential remodelling. The keep survives to virtually its original height and substantial remains survive of the curtain wall.

Description: The key element to the site is the rectangular tower keep of 12th-century date. Essentially a simple structure, it was entered a first-floor level and comprised a single storey above the entrance level, and basement below; the entire structure is marked by a lack of domestic trappings, containing no permanent fireplace and few openings. The keep lies at the southern apex of a triangular outer enclosure to the north; this measuring *c.* 100m east-west x *c.* 60m north-south, and defined by a curtain wall on the northern and western sides. The wall contains vestiges of 11th-century masonry, indicating probable fortification in stone from the outset, but is essentially contemporaneous with the keep. The keep was positioned so as to overlook vehicular access into the castle via a small triangular inner ward and arched opening in the curtain. This smaller ward occupied a natural rocky eminence to the south-west of the tower, and was formerly linked to the inner ward via a bridge over the intervening gorge. The western side of the inner ward was defined by a rock-cut ditch *c.* 1m deep and associated rampart surviving to a height of *c.* 2.3m above the level of the ditch. A central causeway across this feature marks the previous course of the 'Earls Road' providing the main means of access to the site; the winding terraced path leading up the outer bailey on the north side being apparently for pedestrian use. The footings of a series of rectangular structures have been noted on the southern side of the inner ward, and similar traces can be identified in the north-west and south-east areas of the outer enclosure, although neither zone has been sampled archaeologically.

Excavation: Abutments for the bridge linking the small inner ward with the main ward were cleared in the 1970s, although the results were not fully published.

Documentation: The castle was founded by 1086 (Domesday i, 276a, 2), remaining in the hands of the Peveril family until 1155, when it came under Royal ownership. Expenditure of £116 on BOLSOVER and Peveril castles is recorded in the Pipe Rolls of 1173-74, and a further £200 on the *castelli de Pech* in 1175-76 when the keep seems to have been built. The castle was taken in 1217 and subsequently granted to John of Gaunt by Edward III, remaining in use until at least 1400.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13268

Hart 1981, 145, 148

King 1983, 110, 113
O'Neil and White 1979
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 18 SW 15
Renn 1968, 277, 279
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 379-80
White 1996, 245

PILSBURY†

Motte and Bailey
Hartington Town Quarter
SK 114638

Situation: The site occupies a natural spur on the east bank of the River Dove. A small motte at HARTINGTON is sited *c.* 2.4km to the south-east; both sites overlook intervisible tracts of the Dove valley.

Preservation: Earthworks of exceptional clarity survive under permanent pasture.

Description: The site comprises an oval motte, *c.* 65 in diameter, and with a flat summit *c.* 25m in across; its position on a natural slope ensuring that it rises *c.* 24m above the ground to the west, but only *c.* 5m above the ground surface on the east side. The footings of a squarish structure *c.* 6m across has been identified on the north side of the summit. Appended to the motte are a minimum of two bailey enclosures, each defined by a bank and ditch system. A smaller, semi-circular bailey lies to the south of the motte, having a maximum width of *c.* 50m. The apparent symmetry of this feature and its relationship with the motte could be taken as evidence that it was the earliest element of the site; forming an initial ringwork on the edge of which a motte was subsequently raised. A second, squarish bailey enclosure stands immediately east of the motte, this having approximate dimensions of *c.* 55 x 55m, and incorporating a natural rocky outcrop which is incorporated into the defences on the east side. The ramparts survive to a height of *c.* 5m and similar width, and two earthwork platforms on the north-east and south-east corners of the enclosure may denote former towers. An earthwork causeway leading into the bailey interior on the south-east corner seems to indicate the main point of access. A complex series of earthwork scarps and banks to the south-west of the motte indicate an outwork of the southern bailey which encompasses the course of the Pilsbury to Crowdicote road - this feature preserved as a hollow way.

Excavation: A number of 'medieval artefacts' are reported as having been recovered from a cave below the castle *c.* 1880, although the finds are not fully recorded.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Barnatt 1991
Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 6857
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23291
Hart 1981, 145-47
Hodges 1980, 32
King 1983, 110
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 16 SW 7
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 385-86

REPTON (The Buries)

Possible Motte and Bailey
Repton
SK 299278

Situation: The earthwork known as 'The Buries' lies c. 200m south of the Trent, situated within the flood plain, but overlooking the crossing of the river south of Willington.

Preservation: The exceptional clarity of the earthworks would tend to argue against a medieval, and rather for a post-medieval origin for the site.

Description: The site comprises an unconventional and complex series of earthworks of indeterminate origin and function. The dominant feature is a large conical mound, c. 11m wide, artificially raised c. 1m above the surrounding ground level, with a flat summit c. 5m in diameter and entirely circumvallated by a ditch. A smaller, subsidiary mound with a base diameter of c. 9m lies to the east, approximately at the centre of the surrounding enclosure. This feature comprises a rectangular earthwork enclosure with rounded corners, defined on all sides by a low bank and shallow external ditch. The feature is oriented approximately east-west, with maximum dimensions of c. 72 x 54m. At least three linear earthworks oriented east-west lie within the enclosure, representing the vestiges of ridge and furrow cultivation; their parallel alignment with ridge and furrow beyond the enclosure would favour the suggestion that they antedate the enclosure. Overall there is little to recommend the thesis that the site may denote an early castle - this suggestion apparently based on the misconception that either or both of the mounds are mottes; function as an animal pound in times of flood is far more credible.

Excavation: Minor excavations are known to have taken place on the mounds by T. Bateman in the mid 19th century, revealing them to have been of pebbly gravel and sand construction whilst a small volume of coarse pottery, alleged to be of Romano-British date, was recovered. Further investigation occurred by W. Molyneux in 1869, although nothing other than the recovery of a worked flake was noted. More substantial excavation took place in 1910, comprising a north-south trench across the entire site, further trenches across each of the two mounds and excavation at all four of the interior angles of the outer enclosure. The ditch surrounding the large mound was demonstrated to be U-shaped in profile, and the excavators suggest it to have been constructed from spoil derived from the ditch. The finds were generally post-medieval in date, including 15th to 17th-century pottery, tile, and a coin of Charles II, although a single yellow-glazed sherd from the slope of the larger mound was considered medieval, and finds of animal bone and a nail also recorded. The corner of a stone-built structure was revealed in the south-west corner of the enclosure.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Hipkins 1899
King 1983, 111
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. SK 22 NE 6
Simpson and Auden 1913
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 386

RIPLEY (Codnor Castle)

Stone Castle
Aldercar and Langley Mill
SK 433499

Situation: Codnor castle lies on the edge of the upland zone forming the west part of the Erewash valley, occupying an isolated position within Codnor park, c. 1.4 east of Codnor village.

Preservation: The entire site is in an extremely poor state of preservation and much obscured by dense undergrowth. Of the north ward, only the east wall, fragments of the south wall and rectangular 'keep' survive, whilst the interior and much of the site environs are severely mutilated by quarrying. The south ward is less well preserved; only the west wall surviving to any degree, the remainder of this zone being disturbed by the insertion of a farmhouse into the south-east corner and the conversion of much of the interior into a garden.

Description: The castle site essentially comprised two large oblong wards, the northern, inner court being the principal component, and the southern ward apparently a later addition. The surviving east wall of the main ward - surviving to a height of twenty courses - is of squared freestone and of broad and narrow construction, dating it to the early 13th century, and capped by later shale masonry of the mid 14th century. A rectangular building stood in the north-east corner of this ward, at least three storeys in height. The wall forming the junction between the two enclosures incorporates four circular towers at regular intervals. Of the earthworks surrounding the site, only the ditch to the east of the keep appears to be an original feature, the other remains relating to post-medieval ironstone quarrying.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site is mentioned in an *inquisition post mortem* of 1308.

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 16001

King 1983, 109, 112

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 44 NW 10

Pevsner 1979, 154

VCH Derbys. I 1905, 380-81

SOUTH NORMANTON (Pinxton Castle/Wynn's Castle)

Motte and Bailey
South Normanton
SK 459568

Situation: The site lies occupies an isolated position in Castle Wood, over 1km north of Pinxton village.

Preservation: The site has been encroached upon by colliery tips to the north and is presently obscured by dense undergrowth.

Description: Castle Wood contains medieval earthworks relating to a number of clear phases of occupation, the earliest of which seems to be a motte, c. 3m in height and with a flat summit c. 20m in diameter. The motte stands beyond north-west corner of a sub-rectangular moated enclosure, defined by a substantial ditch c. 11m wide and c. 2m deep, whilst an external bank, c. 5m wide and c. 1m high runs along the west side of the enclosure. External to this feature in the north-east corner of the wood a series of apparently associated earthworks comprise a large spring-fed fishpond with an artificial mound on its eastern side, possibly derived from spoil taken from the pond. A likely phasing of the earthworks is the adaptation of an earlier bailey as a moated manor site; the creation of the fishponds are also likely to date to this post-military phase.

Excavation: Minor excavations were carried out by the Pinxton Archaeological Society in the 1950s, although no record of the findings are known. In 1994, two trenches were dug into the area immediately west of the moated site by Trent and Peak Archaeological Trust in advance of impending development, although no archaeological features were revealed. The site is presently littered with a scatter of pot sherds, glazed ridge tiles with cut ridges, and plain roofing tiles.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 12801
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23295
Hart 1981, 149-50, 154
King 1983, 111
Monk 1951-52
Sheppard and Brown 1994
Stevenson 1918-19
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 386

TISSINGTON†

Possible Ringwork
Tissington
SK 176523

Situation: The site adjoins the north-side of Tissington churchyard in the centre of the settlement, the feature being overlooked from high ground immediately to the west.

Preservation: The earthwork is exceptionally distinct; a condition perhaps supporting the notion of a post-medieval origin.

Description: The earthwork comprises a three-sided ramparted and ditched enclosure, the fourth side being open and backing onto the churchyard. The feature is essentially square in plan, each side c. 40m in length. The clarity of the earthwork and marked difference in plan to a number of other Derbyshire moated sites has led to the suggestion that it is Civil War entrenchment, although positive identification is lacking; Hodges argues that the feature is a medieval ringwork.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

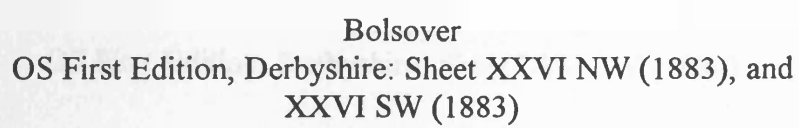
Hart 1981, 149, 154
Derbys. SMR Site File, No. 14313
King 1983, 111
King and Alcock 1969, 112
Hodges 1980, 32
VCH Derbys. I 1905, 374

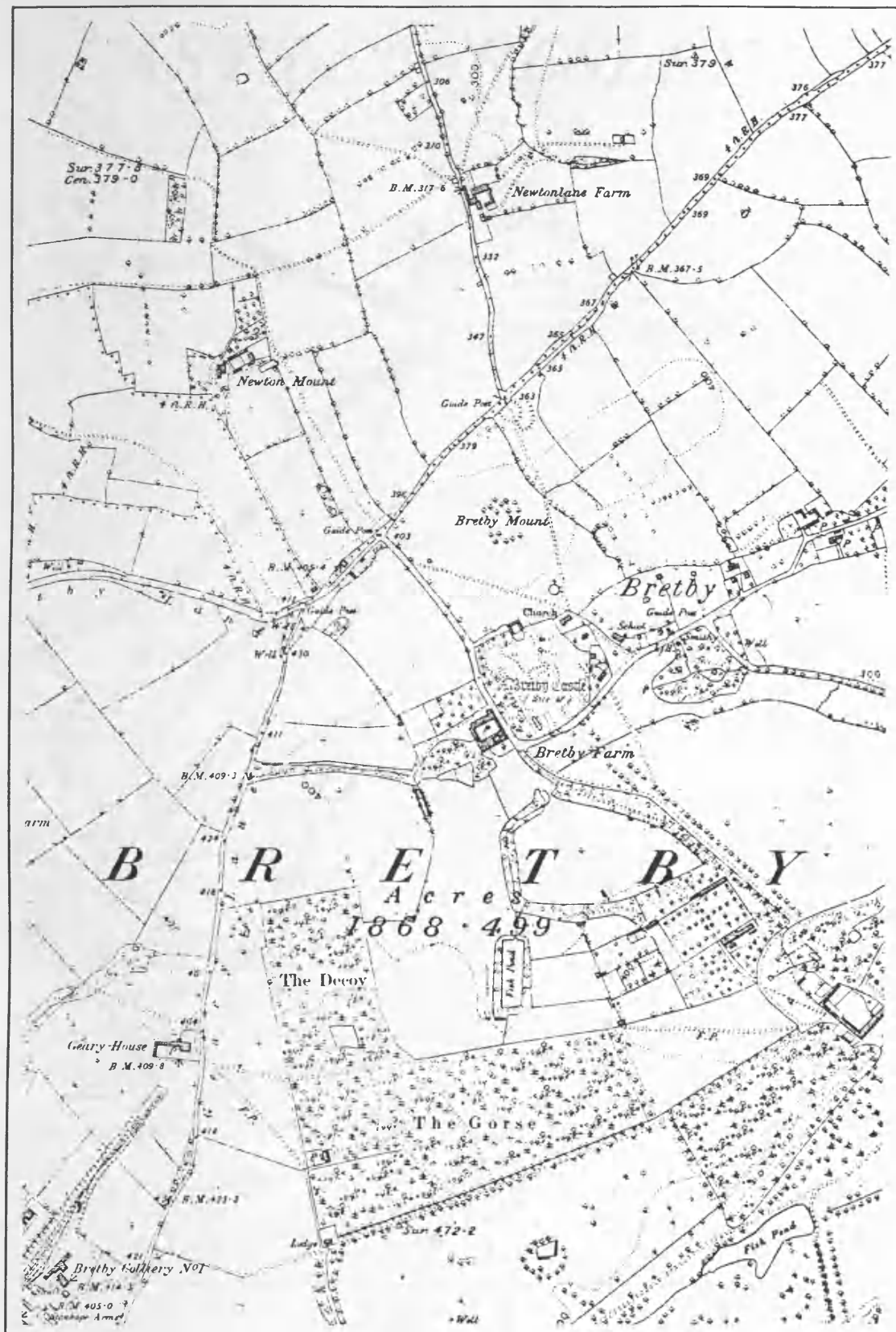


Ashford
 OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheets XXIII NW (1883), XXIII
 NE (1883), XXIII SW (1883), and XXIII (1883)

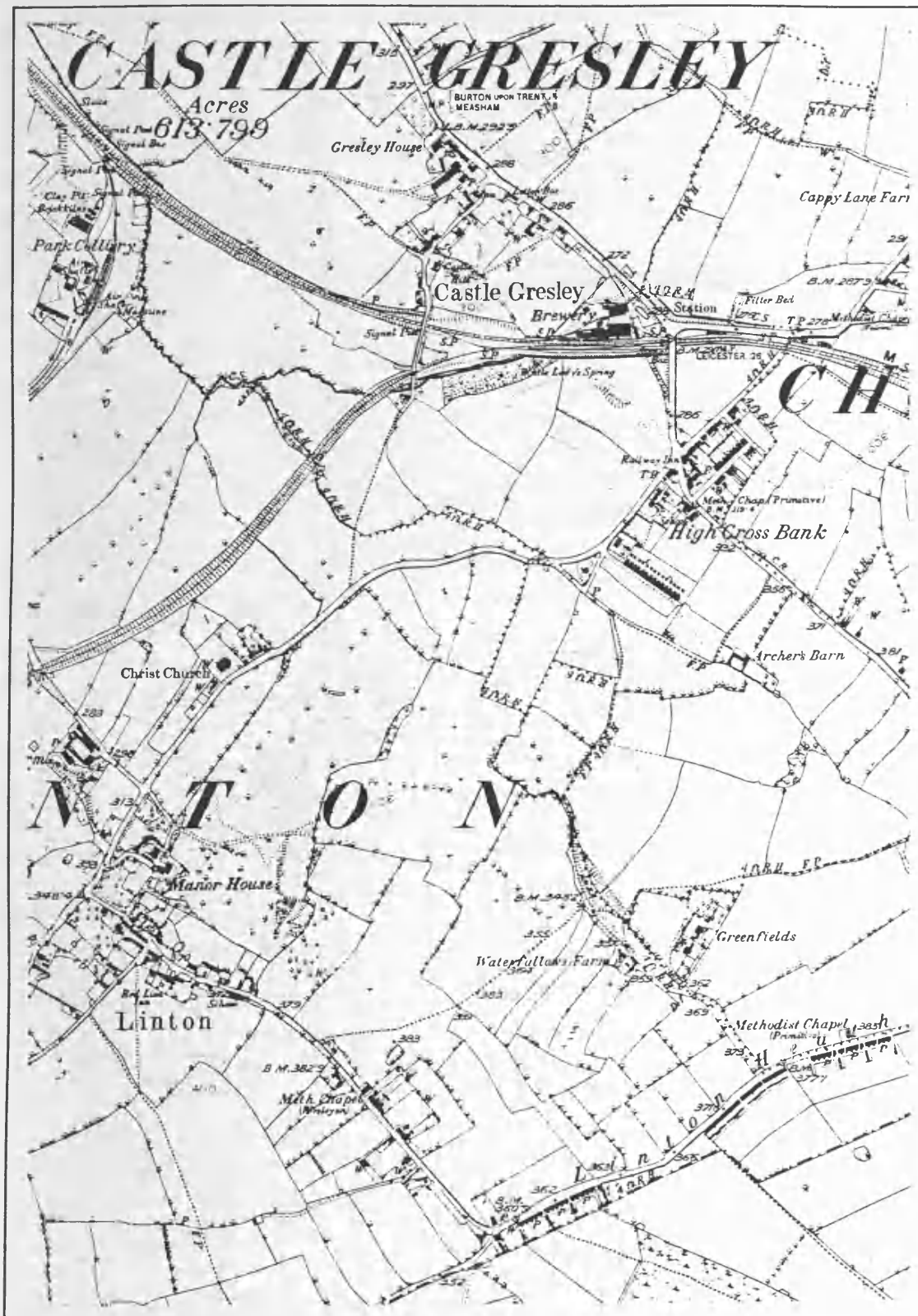


Bakewell
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet XXIII SE (1883)

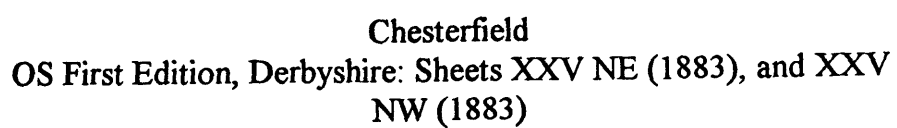




Bretby
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet LVII SW (1884)

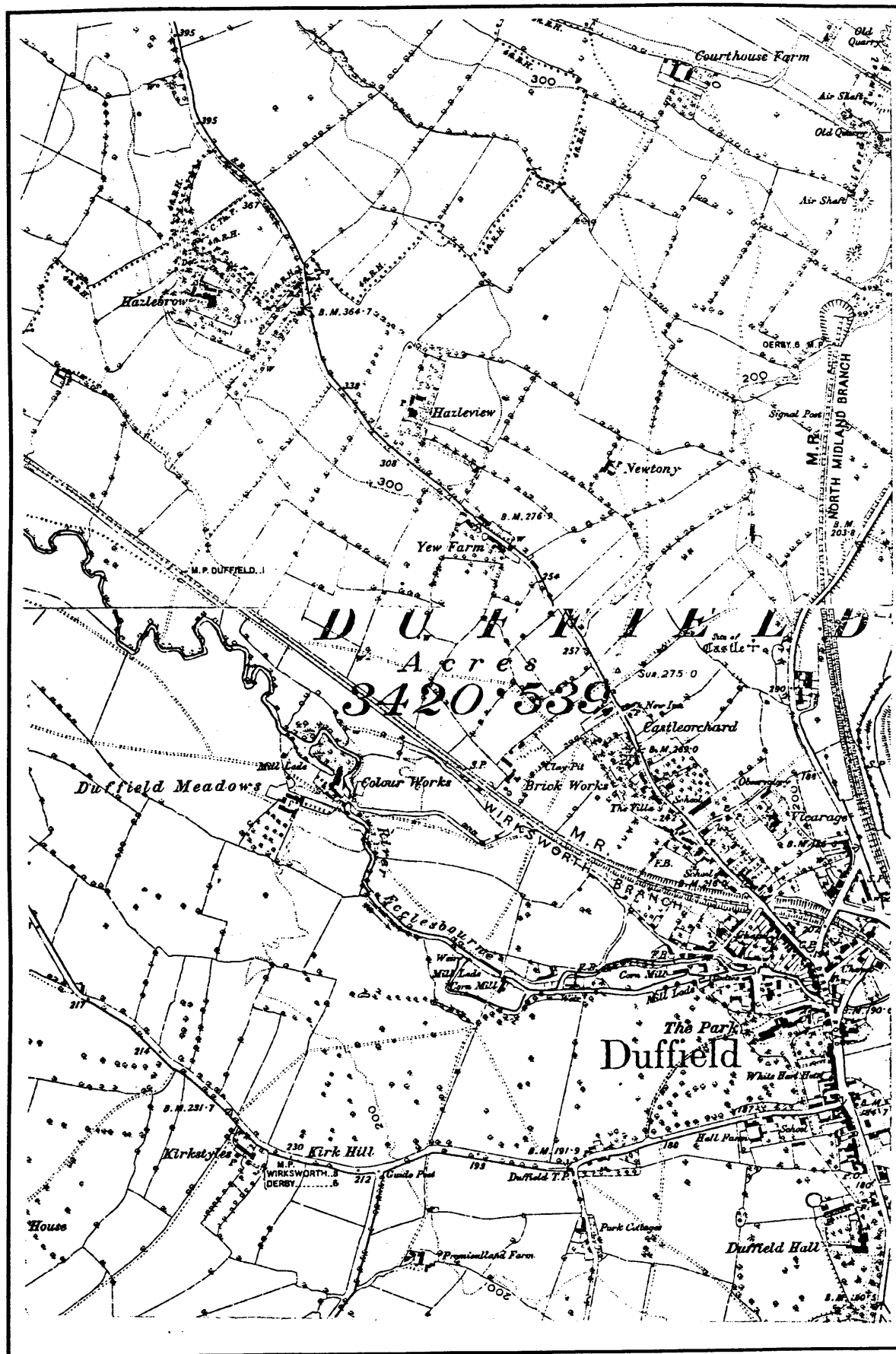


Castle Gresley
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet LX SW (1888)

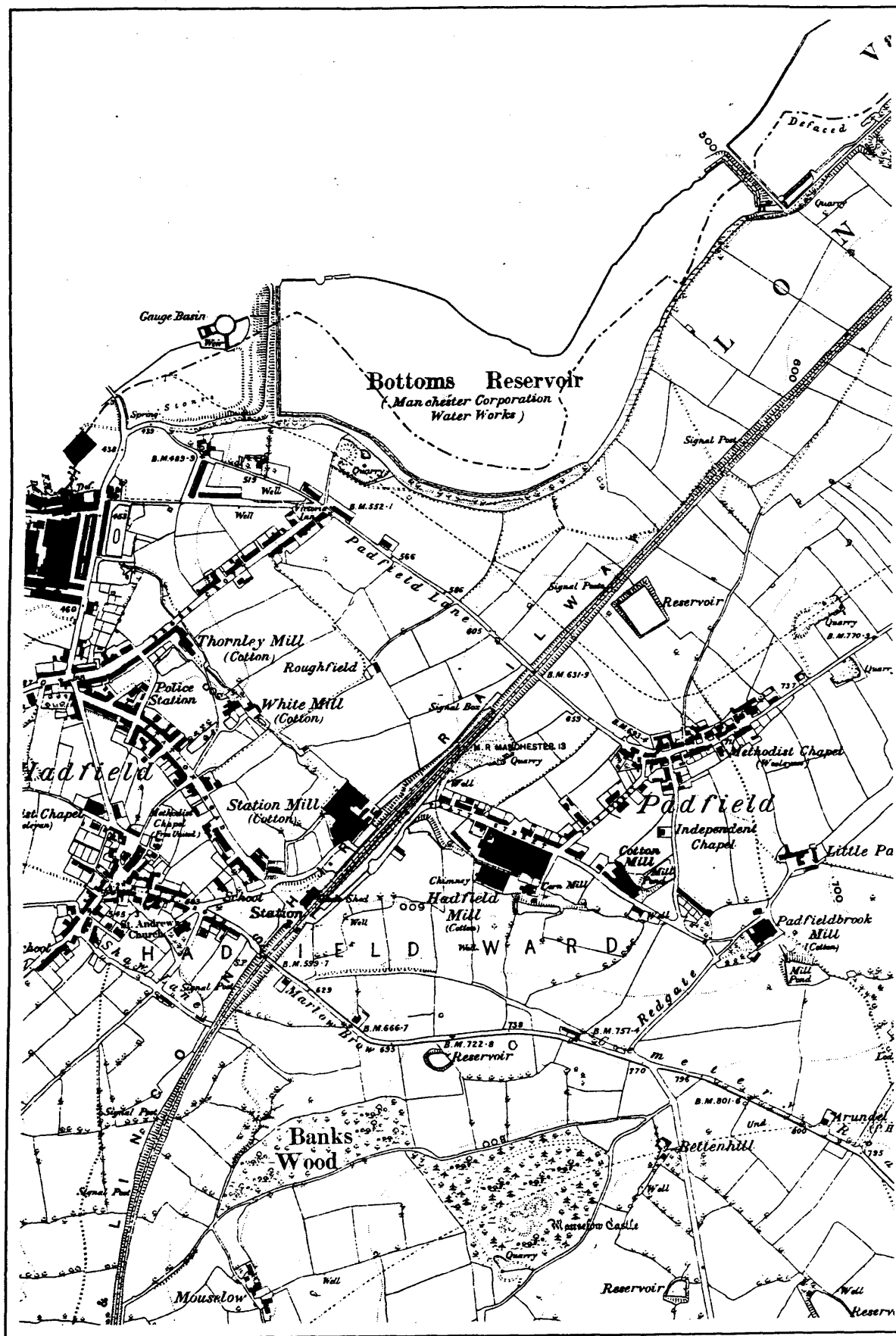




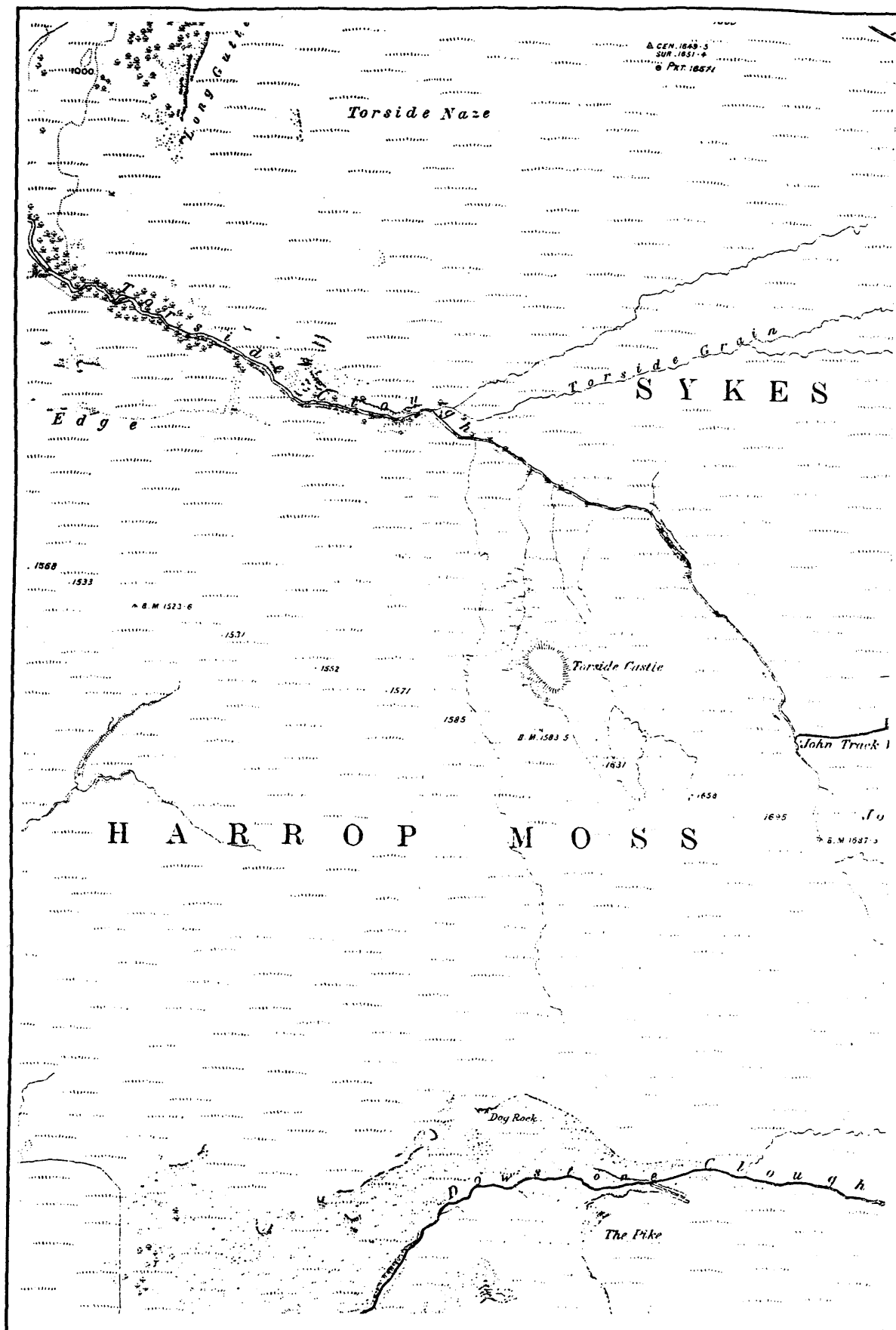
Derby
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet L SW (1887), and XLIX SE
(1887)



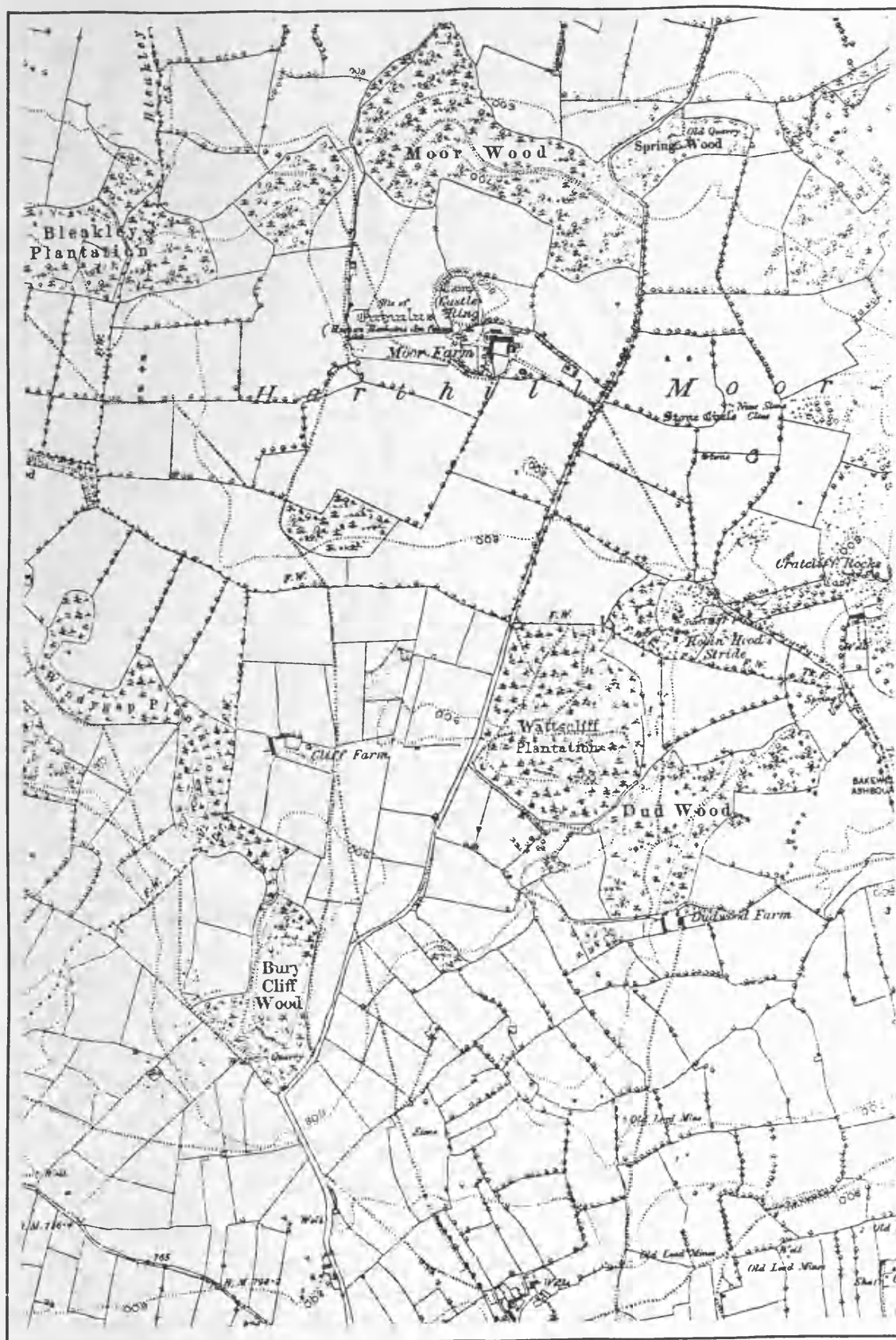
Duffield
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheets XLIV NE (1887), and XLIV
SE (1887)



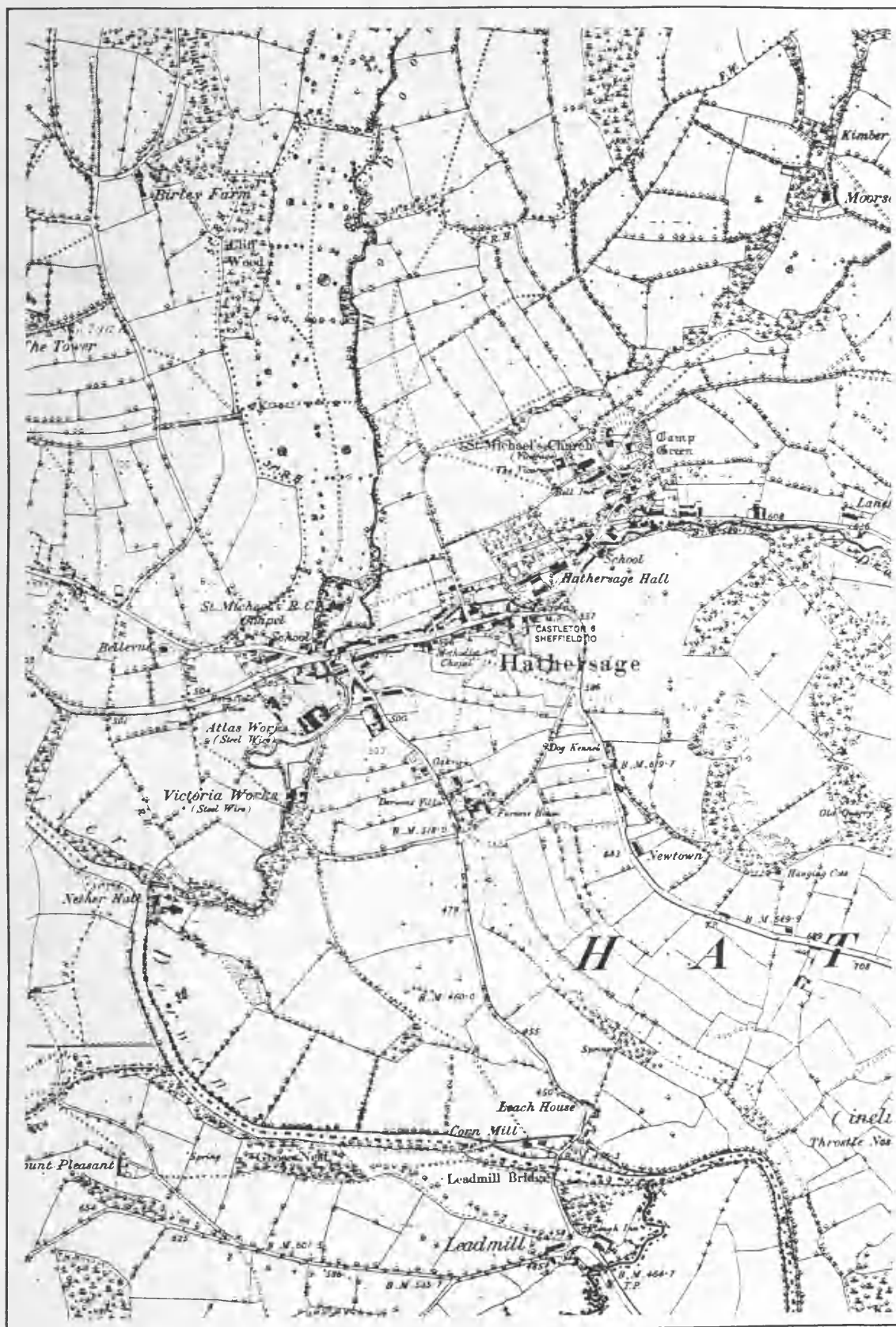
Glossop I
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet II NE (1882)



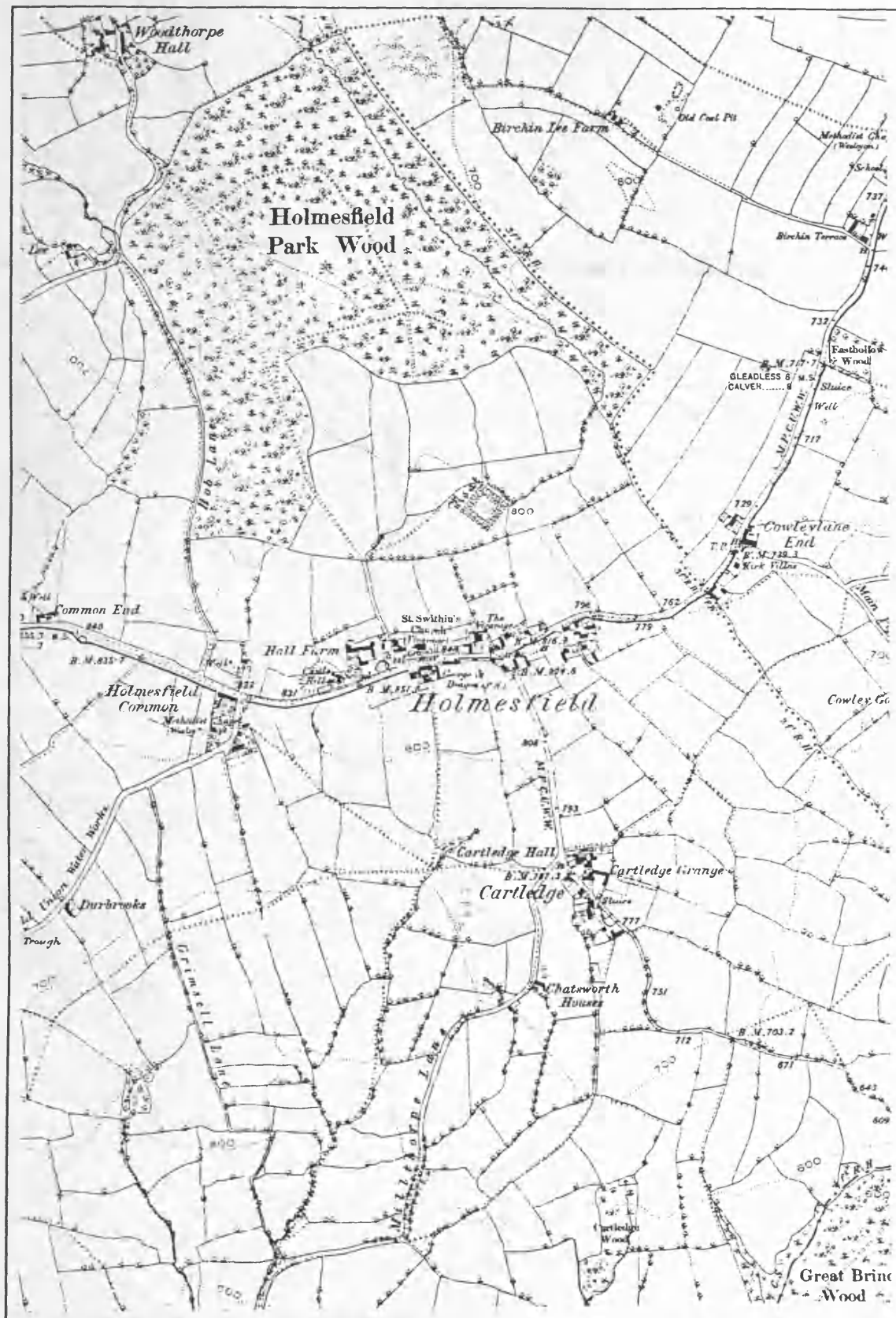
Glossop II
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet III NW (1882)



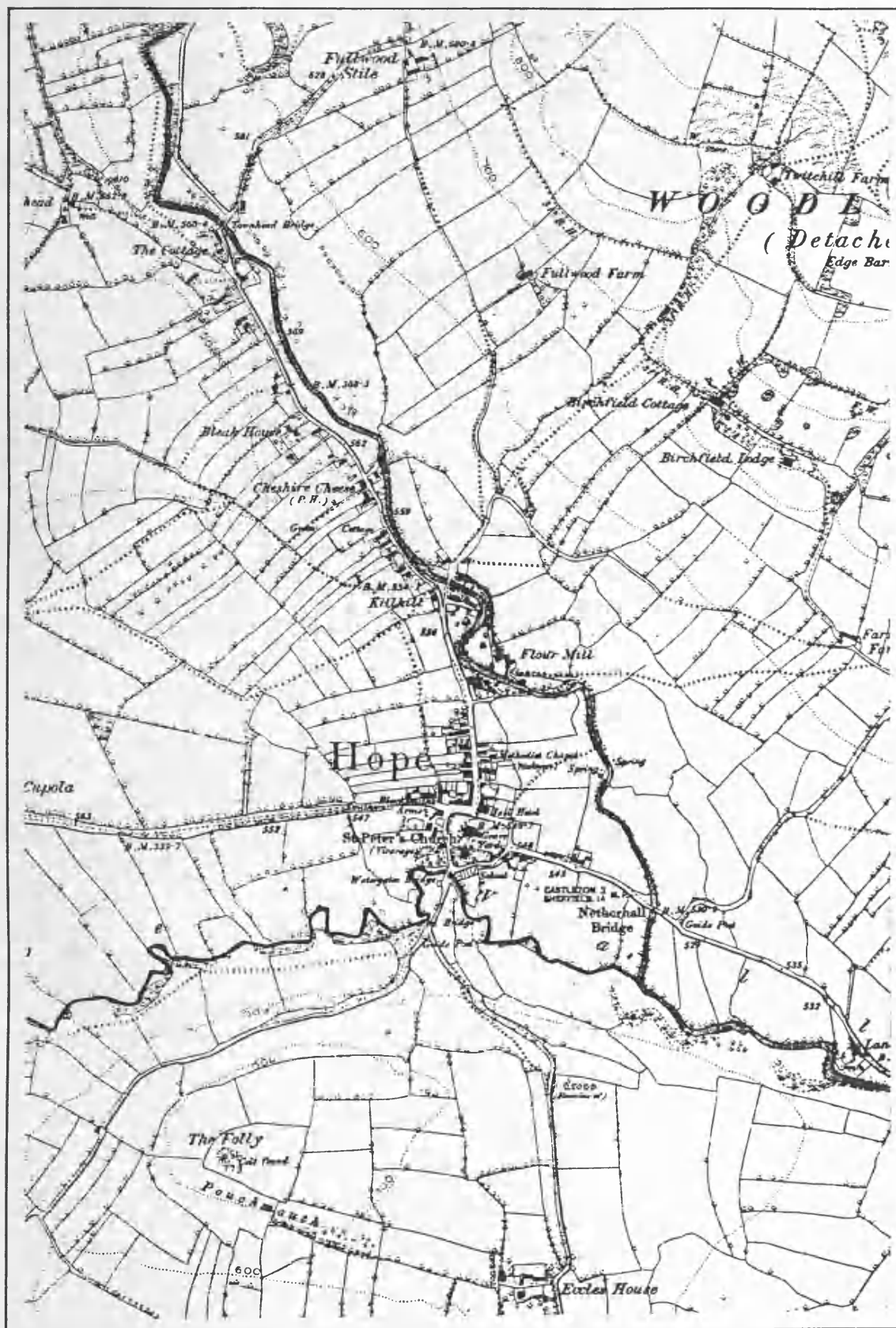
Harthill
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet XX VIII SE (1883)



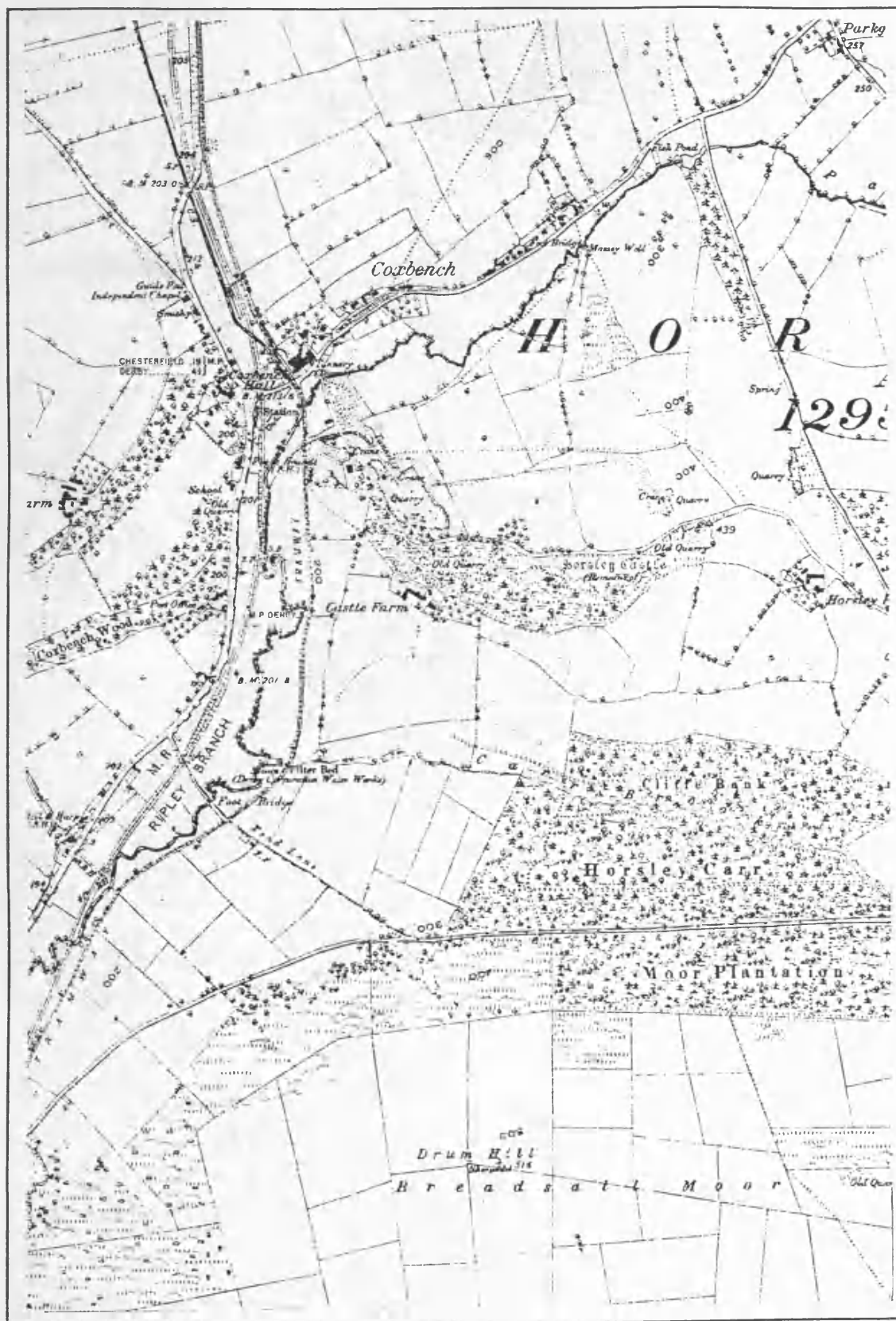
Hathersage
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet X SE (1883)



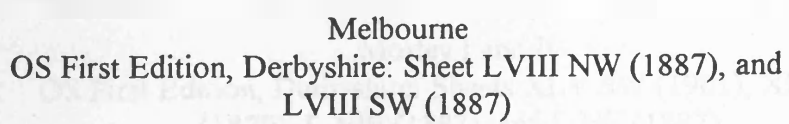
Holmesfield
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet: XVII NE (1891)

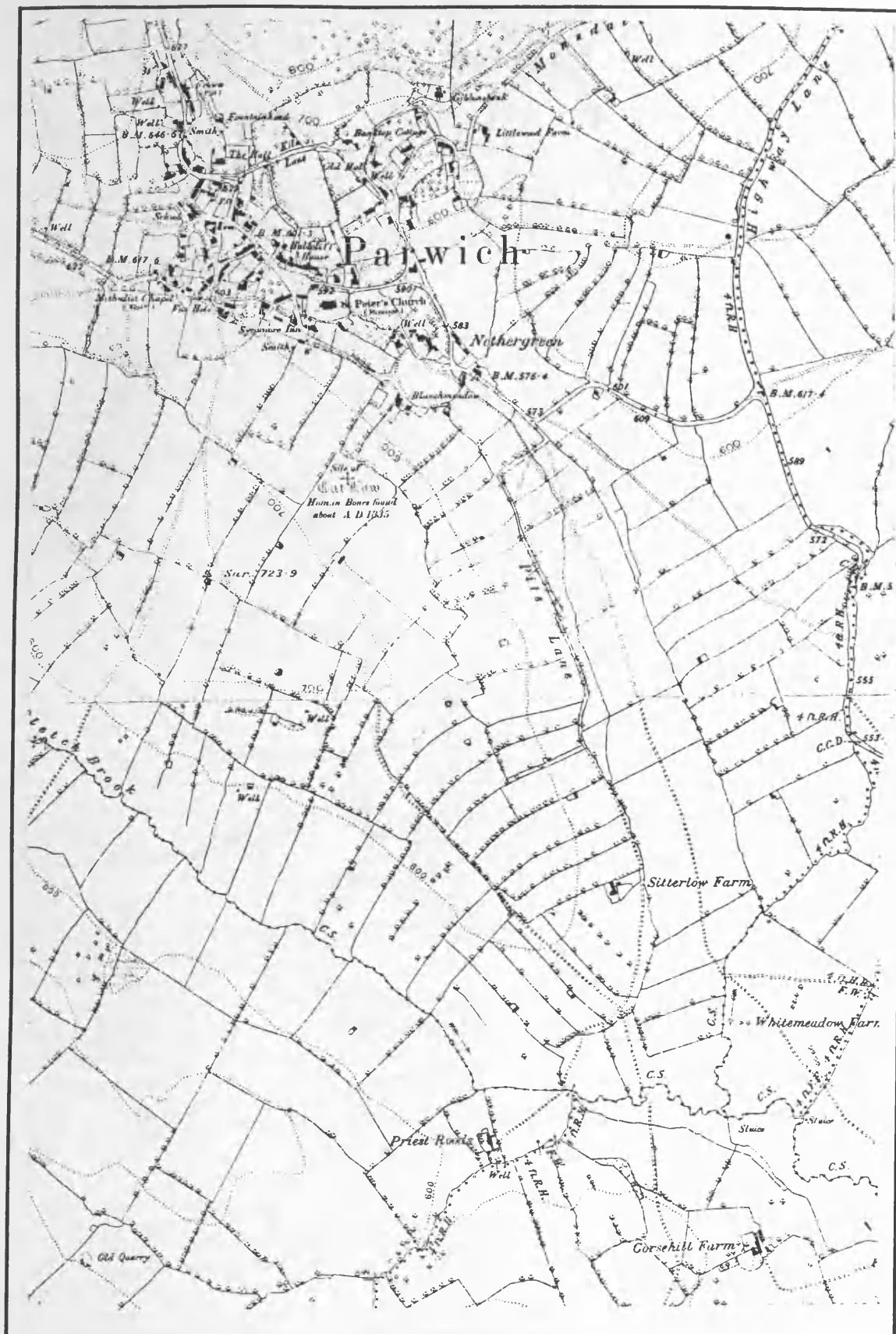


Hope
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet X NW (1883)



Horsley
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet XLV SW (1888)

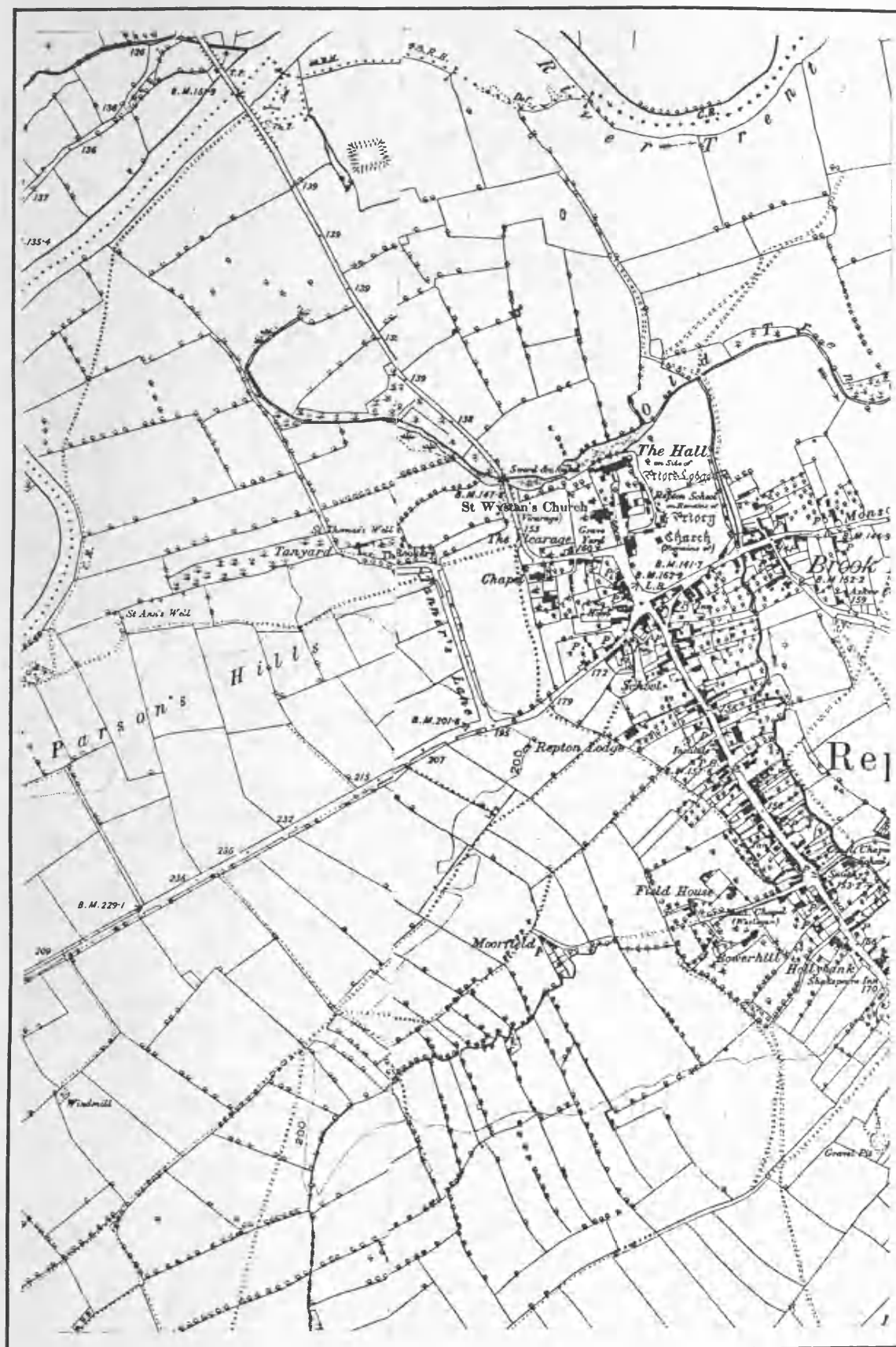




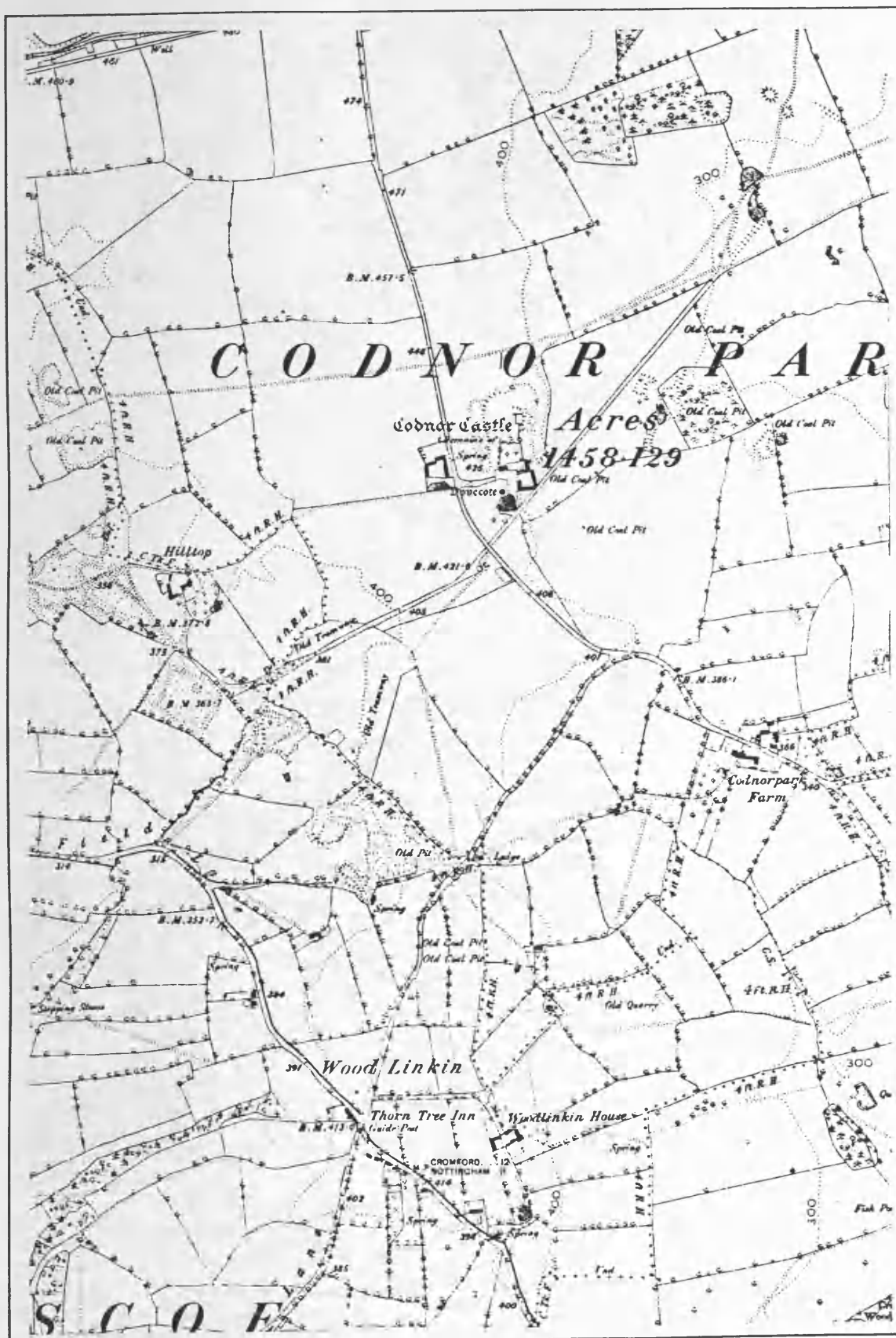
Parwich
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheets XXXIII SW (1884), and
XXXVIII NW (1884)



Peveril
 OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet X NW (1883), X SW
 (1883), IX SE (1882), IX NE (1883)



Repton
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheets LVII NW (1887), and LVII
NE (1888)



Ripley
OS First Edition, Derbyshire: Sheet XL SE (1884)

HUMBERSIDE, LINCS.

BARROW-upon-Humber (Barrow Castles)

Ringwork/Motte and Bailey
Barrow-Upon-Humber
TA 066225

Situation: The earthworks are raised on a small island of boulder clay overlooking the River Humber to the north, and situated immediately east of a minor tributary known as The Beck. Local geology suggests that the southern bank of the Humber and the line of the Beck were both formerly further south than at present; the castle thus controlled a natural anchorage and the line of the ferry from Barrow across the Humber to Paull.

Preservation: The insertion of farm buildings into the north-west corner of the bailey, the construction of Hann Lane through the outer bailey, and the fact that the northern section of the earthwork has been entirely ploughed out have mutilated certain zones of a monument which is otherwise well preserved under pasture.

Description: Barrow Castles is a complex of a motte with at least three baileys, which can tentatively be broken down into a minimum of three phases of construction:

Phase I: The site apparently originally consisted of an almost circular ringwork with an approximate diameter of c. 90m, later adapted as a bailey.

Phase II: This saw the insertion of the motte on the south side of the ringwork. The motte is c. 3m high above ground level, and entirely surrounded by a dry moat c. 2m deep and c. 15m wide; a platform c. 20m long, c. 15m wide and c. 2m in height north of the motte seems to have once supported a bridge structure linking motte and bailey.

Phase III: The site was subsequently strengthened by addition of a second bailey to the south-east. This triangular enclosure is defined by a bank c. 2m high and c. 10m wide, and a moat c. 7m wide and 1.5m deep, and is further bisected into eastern and western sub-units by another ditch c. 10m wide and c. 1.75m deep.

Phase IV: A large squarish outer bailey, c. 180m east-west was subsequently constructed to the north, perhaps due to the waterlogged condition of the southern bailey. It was formerly defended by an earthen rampart and ditch, although only the easternmost section survives, the remainder visible only as a cropmark.

Fieldwork and Excavation: A number of unrelated archaeological investigations have taken place on the earthworks, although none are fully recorded or published. Excavations were apparently undertaken on the motte in 1752, although the findings are unknown. Around 1900 a bronze spearhead was recovered from the immediate vicinity of the site. The insertion of an air-raid shelter in 1939 in the bailey bank revealed what was interpreted as the base of a timber palisade. More substantial excavations by E. Varley in the motte and outer bailey revealed a circular building of chalk blocks on the motte-top (the foundations of a shell keep?), and recovered finds including pottery all earlier than c. 1450, a knife sharpener, gaming pieces, and arrowheads, although the results remain poorly understood.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Atkins 1983, 91-93
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23802
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 374
King 1983, 259, 273
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 183-85
OS Antiquity Model, No. TA 02 SE 10
Youngs *et al.* 1983, 183-84

BARTON-UPON-HUMBER (Castledyke)

Vanished Early Castle
Barton-Upon-Humber
TA 032217 (Approx.)

Situation: The most likely site for the castle is immediately south of the market place, where the place-name 'Castle Dyke' appears on OS maps - this line may have formed the defences of a bailey or outer bailey.

Preservation: The site is entirely vanished; nothing remains.

Documentation: References to a castle at Barton built by Gilbert de Gaunt (d. 1156) are made in a charter of 1156-61. The castle may thus be Stephanic in origin.

Fieldwork and Excavation: None

Sources:

Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 410
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 185
Morris 1989, 214
Rodwell 1981, 141
Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 307

GRIMSBY†

Vanished Early Castle
Grimsby

Preservation: The site is entirely vanished.

Documentation: The Pipe Rolls for the period 1200-01 demonstrate that a plan to build a castle at Grimsby was conceived and materials and expertise assembled, although the castle was not completed, and perhaps never started.

Sources:

Colvin *et al.* 1963, 657-67
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 15819
King 1983, 265, 268

OWSTON FERRY (The Castle of the Isle/Kinaird Castle)

Motte and Bailey
Owston Ferry
SE 805003

Situation: Castle and church form a cell marking the western terminus of the bridgehead settlement of Owston Ferry, which lies at right angles to the Trent.

Preservation: The motte and enclosing earthworks to the south are reasonably preserved, if suffering from infilling through rubbish-dumping. The development of the churchyard has resulted in the mutilation of the bank and ditch enclosing the bailey, and presumably destroyed any evidence of internal structures.

Description: The site comprises a large circular motte with a base diameter of *c.* 70m, raised a maximum of *c.* 7m above the surrounding ground surface, and with a flat circular summit *c.* 9m in diameter. To the south, the motte is enclosed by a heavily silted ditch up to *c.* 10m wide, which appears to have been infilled to the north. An earthen rampart, with an average width of *c.* 12m encloses the motte, and what was a semi-circular bailey, now occupied by the churchyard, to the north.

Excavation and Fieldwork: Construction work in the garden of The Willows, Church Street allowed the archaeological sampling of an area of the bailey defences, revealing the alignment of the bailey ditch and an associated external palisade, both features demonstrating evidence of refurbishment.

Documentation: The castle *de insula* ('of the Isle') was re-fortified by Roger de Mowbray against Henry II in 1173-74, and taken by Geoffrey, Bishop elect of Lincoln in the same year, after which the site was slighted, although a fine of 1180 records that the castle was not fully destroyed.

Sources:

Field and George 1995, 45
King 1983, 262, 267
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 156
Renn 1968, 271
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 80 SW 1

REDBOURNE (Castle Hills)

Ringwork and Bailey
Redbourne
SK 974999

Situation: The castle site lies immediately east of the parish church, on the east side of the village of Redbourne.

Preservation: Only the poorly preserved inner ditch on the south side of the site survives as an identifiable earthwork. Elsewhere a vicarage and 19th-century schoolhouse and bungalow have been inserted into west side of the site, and in other areas the earthworks have been variously levelled and ploughed-out, although the outer ditch to the south-east is visible in aerial photographs.

Description: The extremely fragmentary nature of the earthworks makes interpretation problematic, although early OS plans and evidence from aerial photographs suggests a ringwork with an approximate diameter of *c.* 90m, with a bailey lying to the south.

Excavation and Fieldwork: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 2375

King 1983, 262

King and Alcock 1969, 117

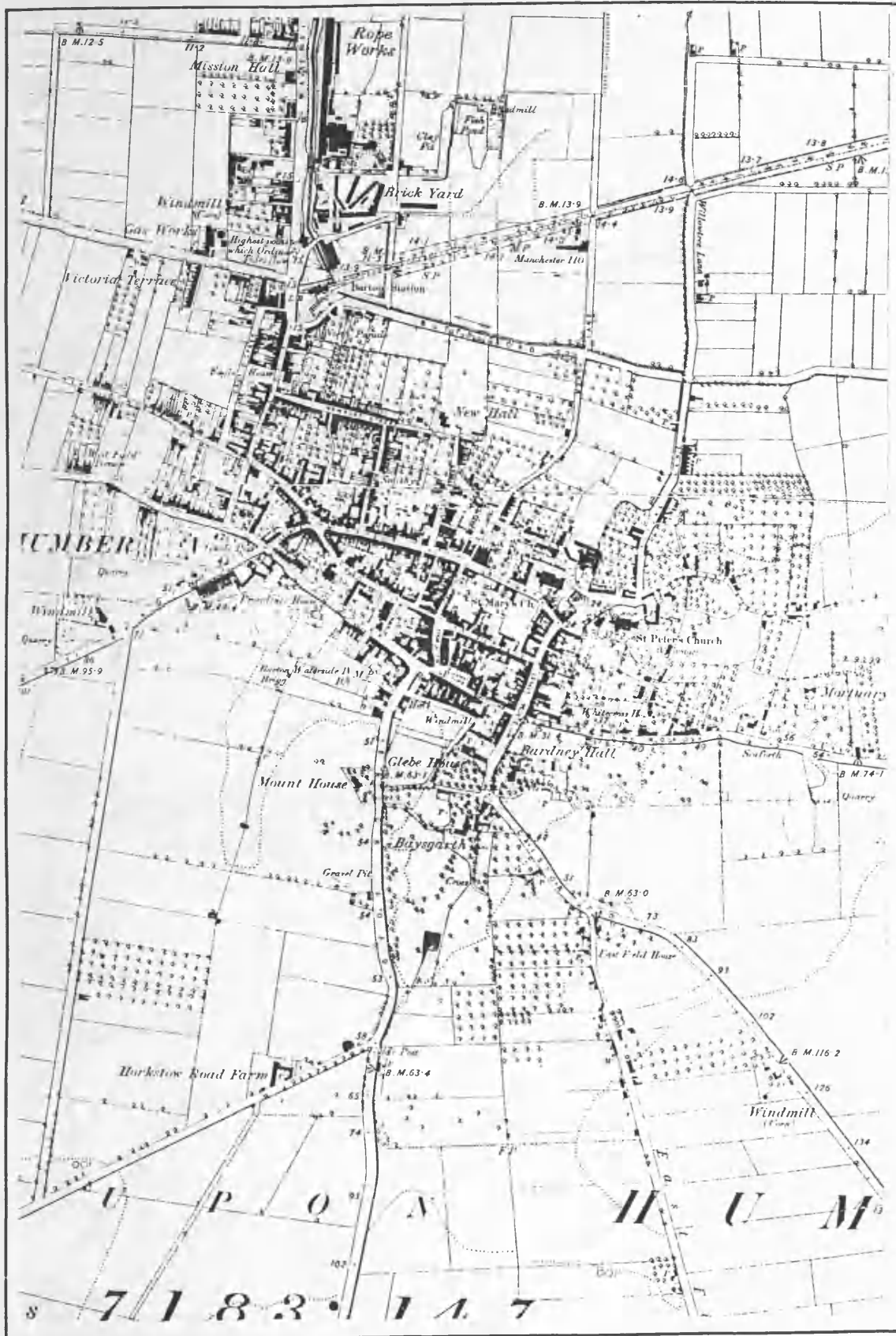
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 208

RCHM: NMP (Lincs.), Sheet No. SK 99 NE

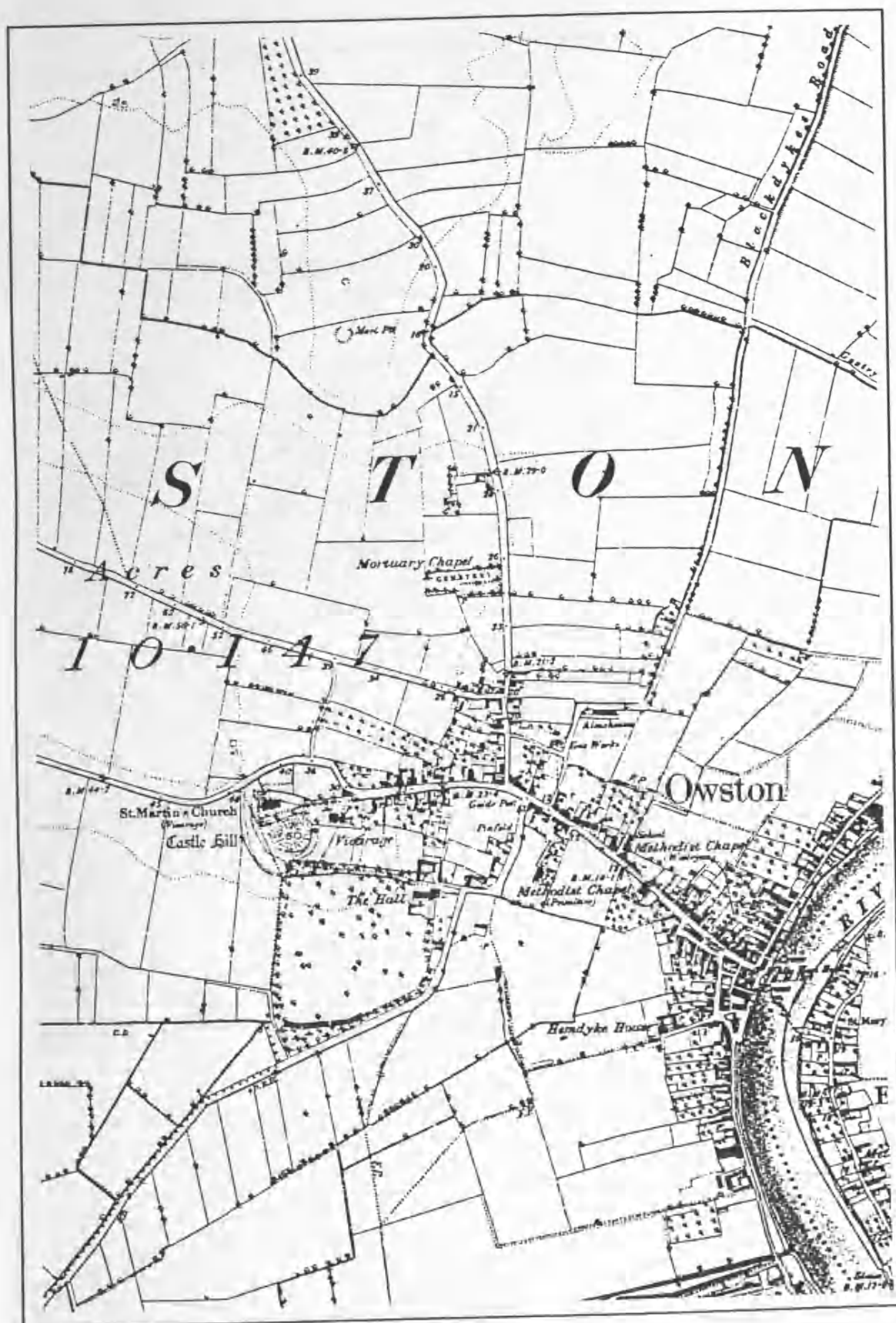
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 99 NE 1



Barrow-upon-Humber
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet VII NE (1890)



Barton-upon-Humber
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets VII NW (1890), and VII SW (1890)



Owston Ferry
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet XXV SE (1889)



Redbourne
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets XXXVI NE (1891), and XXVII SE (1890)

LEICESTERSHIRE

ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH

Tower House/Stone Castle

Ashby-de-la-Zouch

SK 361166

Situation: The castle, lying immediately south of St. Helen's church, forms a discrete cell adjoining to the south-east of a distinct planned zone of Ashby town.

Preservation: The extant remains comprise the tower and roofless ruins of a single range of buildings, in addition to the denuded earthworks of an associated formalised garden. Many of the structures have been substantially altered in the post-medieval period.

Description: Ashby Castle reflects two essential phases: a manor house, subsequently upgraded to castle status in the 15th century. The hall and solar of a 12th-century manorial complex form the core of the remodelled site; this incorporating a new first-floor solar, kitchen and chapel. The great 15th-century tower-house built to the south faced the main residential range across a small rectangular courtyard, other buildings - now destroyed - completing the defensive perimeter. This brick-built structure originally stood c. 30m high, comprised four storeys (stores, kitchen, hall and chamber) and incorporated a well and single entrance with portcullis. The zone immediately south of the Castle known as 'The Wilderness' was an associated terraced garden layout of probable 16th-century origins, featuring two substantial rectangular ornamental ponds and brick towers.

Excavation: A well in front of the main entrance to the Great Tower was cleared by the Ministry of Works some time prior to 1939, demonstrating it to antedate the tower. Artefacts recovered included a three-legged bronze ewer of likely 14th-century date, a 15th-century pewter cruet and other metalwork including a spur and dagger.

Documentation: The manorial precursor to the castle was described in the mid 14th century as containing a 'ruinous old hall'. The castle proper was licensed to William Lord Hastings in 1474, along with BAGWORTH and KIRBY MUXLOE, and SLINGSBY, Yorks. The castle was taken following a siege by Parliament in 1642 and slighted thereafter.

Sources:

DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), Leics. No. 1

Jones 1953

King 1983, 252, 257

Leics. SMR, Site File, No. SK 31 NE N

Liddle 1983, 4-5

McWhirr 1997, 40

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 31 NE 3

RCHM: NMP (National Forest), Sheet No. SK 31 NE

Simms 1938

BAGWORTH (Bagworth Moats)

Possible Stone Castle

Bagworth

SK 454086

Situation: Bagworth Moats occupy an isolated position c. 1km north-west of Thornton village. A minor watercourse flowing south-east through the site to Rothley Brook formerly fed the moats.

Preservation: The site survives as a series of earthworks under grass; a house of 1769 occupies the north-west quarter of the site.

Description: The present remains comprise a substantial sub-rectangular moated site. A hollowed trackway runs up to the single point of access - a causeway on the south side of the enclosure. Immediately west of the moat is a small triangular fishpond, evidently an ancillary manorial feature.

Excavation: A cannon ball was recovered from the moat during cultivation.

Documentation: In 1318 Robert de Holand obtained a licence to crenellate his dwelling place at Bagworth, although by the time of an *inquisition post mortem* of 1372 the site was ruinous, mentioned as a: '...capital messuage which is called a castle, worth nothing beyond the outgoings'. Lord Hastings was granted a further licence in 1474, along with ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH, KIRBY MUXLOE, and SLINGSBY, Yorks.

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 34

King 1983, 256, 258

Leics. SMR Site File, No. SK 40 NE 1

Williams 1974-75, 7-8

BELVOIR

Motte and Bailey

Belvoir

SK 820337

Situation: The early castle was raised on an isolated and prominent hill-top at the north-eastern extremity of a spur of the Leicestershire wolds, commanding exceptional views over a large tract of the Trent valley. Although the site is occasionally listed as 'vanished', the present mansion known as Belvoir castle is constructed over its medieval predecessor.

Preservation: Any vestiges of the medieval castle fabric - certainly largely of masonry in its later phases - have been utterly obliterated by continuing residence upon the site. Beyond the 19th century stately home, which is itself a pastiche of a medieval castle, the hill-top has been extensively landscaped and worked into a series of terraces on the north east side, rendering any firm reconstruction of the castle's plan impossible.

Description: The early date of castle foundation makes it likely that the initial phase was of motte and bailey or ringwork and bailey type. The profile of the hilltop suggests that the zone of post-medieval terracing on the north-east flank may occupy the area of the former bailey(s); the present building presumably being on the site of the motte or ringwork.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle was founded before 1088, although not mentioned again until 1216 when surrendered to King John. After coming into the possession of the de Ros family in the 13th century the castle was licensed to Robert de Ros in 1267, in order to enclose his 'place' with 'a dyke and wall of stone

and lime and crenellate the same'. The castle was documented as ruinous by the 1340s, and was again ruined (after presumed rebuilding) in 1461 following capture by Lord Hastings, who used stone from the site to build the tower at ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH, as reported by Leland. It was garrisoned in the Civil War, besieged by Parliament in 1645-6 and slighted in 1648. A new mansion was erected on the site soon afterwards, and was ultimately remodelled into a pseudo-medieval castle early in the 19th century.

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 53

Hartley 1987, 5-6

King 1983, 256, 258

Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 97-98)

Renn 1968, 105

VCH. Leics. I 1907, 255-56

CASTLE DONINGTON

Ringwork and Bailey/Stone Castle

Donington

SK 448276

Situation: The ringwork is formed at northern end of a spur of sandstone known locally as Donington Cliff, immediately north of the village. The site commands extensive views over a crossing of the Trent to the north, in addition to a considerable tract of Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire.

Preservation: The outer defences of the site are heavily mutilated: the outer ditch is largely backfilled and obscured by the modern buildings at 1-9 The Moat and 1-11 The Hollow, whilst the modern road also re-cuts the south west section. The inner ditch has been completely infilled on the north and north-east sides, neither the circuit wall nor interior features of the site surviving to any degree.

Description: A double ringwork encloses a sub-circular area *c.* 160m in diameter, effectively isolating the castle from the plateau to the south; although likely that the site occupies a former iron age promontory fort, this remains unproven. The outer ditch is largely filled-in, although visible on the south side as an earthwork depression up to *c.* 25m in width and depth of *c.* 2m; a bank, up to *c.* 4m in height and of *c.* 20m maximum width dividing it from the inner ditch. The inner ditch completely circumvallates the site, having a maximum depth of *c.* 10m and width of *c.* 25m. On all but the south side, this feature was constructed by scarping the existing slopes and constructing a counterscarp bank downslope, this surviving as a bank *c.* 2m high and *c.* 5m wide on the north and north-east, yet visible only as a break of slope on the west side, where the ditch is infilled. Access to the interior appears to have been across a causeway on the south-west of the site. The plan of interior structures is largely unknown, although documentary sources imply the existence of a minimum of five towers around the circuit. Vestigial fragments of masonry survive within the interior zone, including the remains of a wall, *c.* 6m x *c.* 1.75m forming the west part of a retaining wall behind 18-26 Castle Hill.

Excavation: A series of four small trenches were cut across the inner moat by D. Reaney in 1976, revealing it to be flat-bottomed and re-cut at least once or twice. Pottery of 14th to 15th-century date was noted in the fill, in addition to many large blocks of masonry and building debris indicative of occupation into the 16th century.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in 1213, although it seems to have been a 12th-century castle of the Barons Halton; it was captured in 1216, although the garrison were apparently well-treated, and the castle not destroyed. The site was apparently rebuilt by 1266, although by 1331 described thus: 'a

certain castle, within the walls there are no garden or other buildings except the buildings themselves which are worth nothing beyond the expenses because they are weak and ruinous'.

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 52
Creighton 1997, 34
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17096
Hartley 1984, 12, 16
King 1983, 253, 257
Leics. SMR, Site File, No. SK 42 NW 20Y
Mc Whirr and Winter 1978-79, 74
Reaney 1976
Renn 1968, 168-69
VCH Leics. I 1907, 256

CATTHORPE†

Vanished Castle

Situation: Catthorpe is a vanished site, although it has been suggested that the documentary reference can be associated with the probable motte at SHAWELL.

Documentation: A castle at Catthorpe was said to be unlicensed in 1218, and presumably slighted thereafter, although the possible castle earthwork at SHAWELL exhibits no outward signs of mutilation in the manner of, for instance, GROBY.

Sources:

King 1983, 256, 258

EARL SHILTON (Castle Yard/ Hall Yard)

Motte and Bailey

Earl Shilton
SP 470982

Situation: The motte lies immediately west of the parish church, situated at the top of a prominent ridge running down to the north; the site thus commands extensive views over Leicester Forest.

Preservation: The site suffers extensively from landscaping and usage as a public park. The motte-top was apparently also formerly employed as a kitchen garden. A mock stone gatehouse has been constructed on the east face of the motte, whilst the motte ditch on the north side is disrupted by houses, private gardens and a car park. Vestiges of the bailey defences have been completely destroyed by the construction of walls and concrete paths built in association with the park and churchyard.

Description: The key element of the site is a large but low, roughly circular motte, with a base diameter of approximately c. 55m, encircled on the south and east sides by a shallow ditch and traces of a counterscarp, raised c. 1m above the surrounding terrain. The ditch is largely denuded, although measured as being c. 2.7m wide and c. 1.2m deep in 1921. The motte is presently flat-topped, although slopes in a pronounced manner to the north, thus giving a height of c. 3m on the south side, and c. 1.5m on the north. In 1921 the motte is described as having a slightly 'hollowed top'; although this is no longer

discernible it may hint at a former breastwork around the perimeter of the summit, or subsidence in the centre of the mound consistent with the former presence of a crowning structure. There is no obvious traces of a bailey, although this may be perpetuated within the line of the present churchyard, as indicated by a low bank, c. 50m in length formerly running along the south side of the churchyard, but now barely discernible.

Excavation: A site visit by members of Leicester Museums Service in 1987 recovered a sherd of 12th-/13th-century pottery on the slope of the motte.

Documentation: Although often stated that the castle was built by the Earls of Leicester and held at one time by Simon de Montford, no direct documentary reference relating to its foundation or ownership history is known.

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 53-54

Creighton 1997, 30-31

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17035

King 1983, 253

Leics. SMR Site File, No. SP 49 NE B

OS Antiquity Model, No. SP 49 NE 1

VCH Leics. I 1907, 258

GARTHORPE

Garthorpe

Motte

SK 834208

Situation: The site lies in a field known locally as 'Castle Close', situated immediately south-east of the manorial watermill on the opposite side of the mill stream, on the eastern fringes of an extensive zone of SMV earthworks.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as a substantial earthwork under permanent pasture.

Description: The site comprises a large earthen mound only; there are no signs of associated enclosures or outworks. The feature is approximately oval in plan, artificially raised c. 3-4m and with maximum dimensions of c. 35m east-west x 20m north-south.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 56

Creighton 1997, 29

Hartley 1987, 9

GILMORTON

Motte and Bailey
Gilmorton
SP 570879

Situation: The earthworks occupy a low-lying site to the west of the present settlement, situated adjacent to the parish church and lying on the fringe of a zone of SMV earthworks to the south.

Preservation: The motte itself is well preserved under grass, with minor disturbances by burrowing animals. The channel leading off to the north-west, however, appears to have been truncated by the dumping of soil and rubble, comparative plans demonstrating its length to have decreased progressively over the last thirty years.

Description: The principal surviving element of the castle site is a large but comparatively low, flat-topped mound, c. 3m high, c. 38m in diameter at the base and c. 25m across the summit. The surface of the motte has been partially eroded in a number of places, demonstrating it to have a gravel core, and a rectangular soil-marking on the motte summit has been noted from the parapet of the adjacent church tower. A partially waterlogged ditch c. 8m wide and c. 1m deep surrounds the motte apart from on the west side where it appears to have been infilled. Leading away from the motte ditch to the north-west is a waterlogged channel, c. 20m long, c. 7m wide and c. 1m deep. Although this channel seems formerly to have formed part of the ditch of a small horseshoe-shaped bailey to the north-west of the motte, the remainder is entirely denuded. The rectangular waterlogged feature c. 65m north-west of the motte seems to represent a series of associated manorial fish ponds, although frequently interpreted as a moated successor to the castle.

Excavation: A short cross penny (1180-1241) was found in the immediate vicinity of the motte in 1971.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 56
Creighton 1997, 25-27
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17045
King 1983, 253
OS Antiquity Model, No. SP 58 NE 4
Leics. SMR Site File, No. SP 58 NE 4Y
VCH Leics. I 1907, 258
Winter 1978

GROBY (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Groby
SP 524076

Situation: The earthwork known as Castle Hill occupies an unconventional position to the north of the present village, almost at the foot of a minor slope falling away from the settlement.

Preservation: Although the motte survives in totality, preserved in grass within a private garden, the castle outworks to the north have been disrupted by, and the entire monument overshadowed by a raised section of the A50.

Description: The site comprises a motte with the associated remnants of a large, single bailey. The motte is elliptically-shaped, with a long east-west axis of c. 38m, a north-south axis of c. 25m, and average height of c. 5-6m. The motte lay within the east end of a flat oval bailey depicted on an estate plan of 1757. To the east, vague earthworks of the bailey ditch can be identified; represented by a depression surviving for a length of c. 35m, having a maximum width of c. 15m and depth of c. 2m, with traces of an associated bank. The area to the south of the motte contains the masonry remains of what appears to have been a manorial successor; a prominent wall extending c. 15m south-east from the churchyard wall standing c. 2m high and containing the remains of a door and window. Further sections of medieval masonry are incorporated into a garden wall and building known as the 'Old Hall'.

Excavation: The site underwent limited excavation by B. Davison in advance of road construction in 1962. Three areas were opened: a trench through the bailey defences, and two small areas on the east of the motte-top. The motte was revealed to have been constructed over an earlier stone structure described as a 'stone tower'; with walls surviving to c. 1.8-2m in height and overall dimensions of c. 6 x 4.8m. The motte itself was constructed of granite blocks contained within a sandy matrix piled around the structure, a series of steps within the mound providing access to central depression formed from the top of the original stone tower, which was infilled soon after construction. The motte appears to have been slighted in such a way as to mutilate the internal stone tower, being torn virtually in half. The motte ditch was shown to have been some c. 15-18m in width, with an outer 'lip' of spoil derived from the ditch, although no signs of a palisade were recovered. The bailey ditch appears a secondary development, formed following the partial filling of the motte ditch, which was rock-cut and exceeded c. 15m in depth.

Documentation: The castle was held against Henry II, and demolished under his orders in 1174. An *inquisition post mortem* of 1343 mentions *tourhill* in Groby when presumably disused; the present Old Hall originated as the seat of the Grey family in 1446.

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 54
Cox 1971, 498
Creighton 1997, 22-25
Davison 1963
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17066
King 1983, 253, 257
Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 17, 18
Mc Whirr and Winter 1978-79, 74
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 50 NW 1
Renn 1968, 196
RCHM: NMP (National Forest), Sheet No. SK 50 NW
VCH Leics. I 1907, 258-59
Wilson and Hurst 1964, 255
Woodward 1984, 20-21

GUMLEY (Cat's Gruff/Dane's Camp)

Possible Motte
Gumley
SP 679899

Situation: The site is located c. 250m south-west of Gumley Hall, raised upon a tongue of land projecting south-east from the Hall and settlement, and flanked on either side by swampy valleys.

Preservation: The earthwork remains are well preserved under grass.

Description: Cat's Gruff is a large mound thought variously to be either a motte, barrow or garden feature. The earthwork comprises a bowl-shaped mound with a flat top; having an average diameter of c. 20m, and surrounded by a ditch c. 3m wide and c. 0.3m deep. An artificial scarp c. 35m north-west of the mound is cut transversely across the promontory, serving to isolate the mound from the level ground to the north.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Creighton 1997, 29

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17048

Leics. SMR Site File, No. 68 NE U

King 1983, 253

OS Antiquity Model, No. SP NE 16

HALLATON (Castle Hill Camp)

Motte and Bailey

Hallaton

SP 780967

Situation: Castle Hill Camp is located c. 0.5km south west of the village, in a prominent position at the confluence of two minor streams with the ground falling away sharply to the north-east, where the site overlooks the 'Old Leicester Way'.

Preservation: The site is extremely well preserved under grass, the only signs of disturbance being a depression on the motte top, presumably due to excavation (see below). The remarkable state of preservation - due in no small part to the distance between earthwork and settlement - marks Castle Hill Camp out as being of regional significance.

Description: Castle Hill is an exceptional example of a 'classic' motte and bailey castle. The motte is conical and c. 50m in diameter at the base, and c. 7.5m high from the bottom of the surrounding ditch, this up to c. 3m deep and c. 8m wide and traversed by causeways on the south-east and south-west sides. The horseshoe shaped bailey encloses an area of c. 60 x 30m. Its bank averages c. 2m high, and the surrounding ditch is c. 2m deep and c. 5m wide, a break in these features on the north-west side indicating the former point of access. A small additional rectangular enclosure can be identified north of the motte, measuring c. 35 x 25m, and defined by a ditch c. 0.75m wide; the profile of this feature suggests that it is a later addition.

Excavation: The site was 'excavated' in the summer of 1877 by railway engineers. Two shafts were sunk into the motte top, revealing natural deposits to be c. 5.2m down. The lowest levels consisted of bog earth and a layer of tree and brushwood material including 'heath, hazel, broom, furze, birch and oak', some with signs of axe working; these levels were associated with finds of leather shoes, splinters of bone, pottery, a shoe lace, charred wood and burned stones. Layers of clay, gravel and boulders overlay this material, with evidence of wood fires, burned fragments of pottery, layers of ashy refuse up to c. 0.15m thick, iron objects (including one 'gilded' example), wooden bowls, squared stakes, a piece of ladder, and large quantities of 'crude' pottery including two fragments of 'Roman' pottery. The uppermost layers, comprising c. 3-3.6m, of yellow gravely clay, were sterile other than bones and boulders, overlain by a

chalky stratum, c. 0.3m thick. The sinking of 'numerous holes' in the bailey area revealed finds including horseshoes, buckles and pipes 'of the last 200-300 years', and a considerable volume of melted iron ore, apparently worked *in situ*, with 'burned red stones....surrounded by charcoal'. In 1943 Mr. Gardner abortively attempted further excavations on the motte top, instead sinking 'holes' in the bailey. Finds comprised four pottery sherds (two with a light green glaze described as 'Norman'), a curved piece of iron and animal bones.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 54
Creighton 1997, 31, 34
Dibbin 1876-78
Dibbin 1882
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17053
Gardner 1943
King 1983, 253
Liddle 1983, 14-15
OS Antiquity Model, No. SP 79 NE 7
VCH Leics. I 1907, 259-60

HINCKLEY

Motte and Bailey
Hinckley
SP 428938

Situation: The castle is sited on the south side of Hinckley town, c. 150m east of St. Mary's church, the line of Castle Street to the north deviating markedly to respect the former perimeter of the castle.

Preservation: Vestiges only survive; the motte being obliterated by building development by the late 19th century, and the bailey altered considerably through landscaping as a public park and the insertion of a war memorial.

Description: The extant remains comprise the southern half of a single almost circular bailey; this formerly enclosing an area c. 90m across and defended by rampart raised a maximum of c. 3m above ground level and a ditch averaging c. 12m across and c. 2m in depth. A motte formerly appended to the north of this enclosure; the mistaken thesis that the castle was a ringwork being based on the absence of a motte from the present topography of Hinckley.

Excavation and Fieldwork: Construction work in 1770 at the Castle Street end of the site revealed the stone footings of a supposed bridge, presumably crossing the motte ditch. A semi-octagonal Early English capital was recovered from the site of the Co-operative store in 1899, although this may derive from the 13th-century rebuilding of St. Mary's rather than being an element of castle fabric. The profile of the motte ditch was noted by D. Wassell during a watching brief of construction work at the Co-operative store site on Castle Street in 1976, and a quantity of animal bone recovered,

Documentation: None directly relating to the castle, although the manorial descent makes it likely that the castle belonged to the earls of Leicester, and thus probably involved in the war against Henry II by Robert 'Blanchemains', and demolished c. 1174. In a manorial extent of 1361 the site is described as a 'plot called a castle'.

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 54
Creighton 1997, 34
King 1983, 253, 257
King and Alcock 1969, 117
Knight 1994
OS Antiquity Model, No. SP 49 SW 15
Renn 1968, 206
VCH Leics. I 1907, 257

INGARSBY (Monk's Grave)

Motte
Hungarton
SK 681049

Situation: The earthwork known as Monk's Grave is located west of the stream running along Ingarsby Hollow, on a naturally prominent position overlooking the deserted medieval village of Ingarsby.

Preservation: The earthwork is well preserved under permanent pasture, although the interior of the site has been badly disturbed by badger sets, and the counterscarp bank heavily denuded.

Description: The feature is a circular and flat-topped mound c. 28m in diameter, and raised c. 2m above the surrounding ground surface. The mound is surrounded by a ditch on all sides other than to the north, and vague traces of a counterscarp can be identified to the south and east. The name 'Monk's Grave' is local and presumably derives from the nearby Leicester Abbey Grange at Ingarsby Old Hall.

Excavation: The site was due to be opened in 1852, but this was never carried out as the mound was deemed to have been already opened. A number of artefacts were recovered from the mound in 1985-86, comprising a 'Belgic' bowl, a flint flake and snapped flint blade.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Creighton 1997, 28-29
Hoskins 1956, 46-47
Jarvis 1985, 9
King 1983, 254
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 60 SE 1

KIBWORTH HARCOURT (The Munt/Hall Close)

Motte
Kibworth Harcourt
SP 681945

Situation: Hall Close lies within the core of the present village, c. 40m east of the Leicester road.

Preservation: The mound is relatively well preserved under grass; two large depressions on the north and south sides appear to relate to 19th-century excavations rather than any former motte-top structure.

Description: The Munt is an irregularly shaped mound, c. 35m in diameter at the base, with an average height above the ditch of c. 4m. The top of the mound is irregular although roughly flat-topped and has a maximum dimension of c. 22m. The motte is surrounded by a ditch c. 2m deep and c. 8m wide, although largely infilled on the north side; a causeway, c. 6m wide marks the position of a former entrance. In the late 18th century Nichols noted an 'old ditch' c. 36m north-west of the motte, running for a distance of approximately 50m in a north-east - south-west orientation, with a 'slope' of c. 1m. This description could possibly refer to a bailey or outwork of some sort, unless a much later feature.

Excavation: In 1956 a Roman pennanular brooch was found on the *tumulus* in the village centre, which presumably refers to the motte. Shortly before 1837 a mound was opened in Kibworth Harcourt by Sir H. Dryden, and whilst likely to imply the earthwork at Hall Close, the description may refer to the *tumulus* at SP 677990. The section - exposing the west side of the feature - revealed a burned layer associated with a pebbled surface overlying natural. This 'pavement' was in turn overlain by various strata of clay, pebbles and further 'burned' horizons. The same feature was again opened in 1863 by Leicestershire Archaeology Society, cutting a north-south trench which yielded similar overall results and the recovery of a corpus of artefacts including an 'iron candlestick', 'bone bodkin', bones, teeth and an assemblage of pottery interpreted as Samian ware.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 56

Creighton 1997, 28-29

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17046

Howell 1983, 7-8

King 1983, 254

Leics. SMR Site File, No. 69 SE AP

OS Antiquity Model, No. SP 69 SE 3

VCH Leics. I 1907, 275

KIRBY MUXLOE

Stone Castle
Kirby Muxloe
SK 524046

Situation: The castle site lies on the eastern fringes of the present settlement; a minor stream to the east supplied the moats.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as a heritage site, the gate-house and south-west tower surviving to near-full height and the remainder as foundations.

Description: Kirby Muxloe Castle is a remarkable brick-built structure with stone details, set within an artificial rectangular lake c. 90 x 100m, contained using an elaborate series of dams. Elements of the manorial antecedent to the castle are preserved as a series of foundations in the north of the enclosure; reflecting a single narrow range of manorial buildings formerly surrounded by a moat on a far smaller scale. The castle is of one ward, defined by a brick curtain featuring three-storey battlemented square corner-towers and a twin-tower gatehouse on the north-west face; this incorporating elaborately patterned brickwork featuring lattice patterns and the Hastings coat-of arms. Two additional opposing towers are built centrally into the short sides, and another off-centre in the remaining side. The entire enclosure has external dimensions of c. 52 x 72m and provides the basis for four domestic ranges. The castle is further remarkable in its early provision of gun-ports in the gate-house and towers.

Excavation: Limited structural data relating to at least two phases of moat-bridge construction were revealed during restoration in 1913; miscellaneous finds recovered included Midland purple-ware pottery, horseshoes, iron keys and floor-tiles. Additional later finds from the castle include ox and sheep/goat bones from a moat-side midden sampled in 1983.

Documentation: The licence for the site was granted to William Lord Hastings in 1474 along with ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH, BAGWORTH and SLINGSBY, Yorks. A remarkable series of building accounts describe the progress of building from 1480-83, when construction finished abruptly upon the execution of Hastings. The site remained - unfinished - in the hands of the family until 1630 when it was sold.

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 54
Hartley 1989, 58
King 1983, 254, 257
Liddle 1983, 18-19
McWhirr 1997, 39-43
Peers 1957
Rigold 1975
Thompson 1916

LAUNDE

Possible Motte
Launde
SK 790047

Location: The site is located immediately south of a prominent kink in the Tilton-Launde road and commands extensive views to the south and east.

Preservation: The mound is presently overgrown with scrub; the ditch on the west side shows signs of recent agricultural dumping.

Description: The site comprises a low flat-topped mound of uncertain function, c. 20m in diameter, with a height of c. 1.8-2m. It is encircled to the south and west by a shallow dry ditch, and previous reports have noted a causeway crossing the ditch on the south side, although no longer visible. The mound is described by the OS as a motte and scheduled as such, although the evidence is more consistent with an alternative feature such as a prospect mound or windmill mound, the field being locally known as 'Mill Field'.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Creighton 1997, 28-29
DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), Leics. No. 103
King 1983, 254
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 70 SE 3

LEICESTER

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
Leicester (NPA)
SK 583041

Situation: The castle motte rises on a natural scarp to the east of the mill-race - an artificial diversion of the Soar. The castle lay on or immediately within the south-west corner of defensive circuit surrounding the Roman town.

Preservation: The motte was substantially reduced for usage as a bowling green by the early 19th century; the bailey is now entirely denuded. Other components of the castle - the Great Hall, John of Gaunt's Cellar and elements of the Newarke - survive as unrelated features in a zone of the modern city much disrupted by urban development.

Description: The key surviving element of the castle is an approximately circular, large earthen motte, artificially raised c. 9m, with a level summit now c. 30m across, and maximum base diameter of c. 60m. A single, semi-circular bailey lay immediately to the north, this formerly enclosing the church of St. Mary de Castro and having maximum dimensions of c. 90 x 170m. The proximity of both features to the Soar is likely to indicate that the first phase of the site was associated with water defences. Although not proven, it is likely that both motte and bailey were re-fortified in stone from the early/mid 12th century; a substantial outer, masonry enclosure - the Newarke - is a further addition of the 14th century. The final major addition to the defences was the Turret Gateway, a two-storey building with arched gate and associated portcullis chamber built across the main point of intercommunication between the Newarke and main castle complex. In terms of internal structures, the remarkable Great Hall is an aisled and bay-divided timber-framed structure dating to at least c. 1150, sited immediately adjacent to the western bailey defences. To the south of the Great Hall the structure commonly known as John of Gaunt's Cellar comprises a vaulted stone undercroft, first built in ashlar from c. 1150 and associated with a former kitchen block at the southern end of the hall.

Excavation: The late-18th or early-19th-century levelling of the motte revealed a number of burials within - most likely those of executed convicts - and a well-shaft. Small-scale excavations in advance of the erection of the present staircase leading up the motte failed to recover any structural evidence. Various small-scale trenches have been dug across the bailey defences (most prominently in 1939, 1949, 1966 and 1972), indicating the ditch to be c. 11m wide and exceed c. 5m in depth. A number of trenches within the vicinity of the Turret Gateway have independently recorded substantial deposits of sandstone building debris consistent with 12th-century slighting associated with the confiscation of the castle from the earls of Leicester. Additional archaeological investigation within the castle complex comprises a structural survey of John of Gaunt's cellar in 1992, revealing it to be the undercroft of a chamber block, built in two phases and in use from the 12th to the 13th century, and monitoring of re-paving work in Castle Yard in 1994, revealing an area of the cemetery of St. Mary de Castro, and the original east wall of the Great Hall.

Documentation: Although the castle is not mentioned directly, it appears that the site functioned as a rebel base in 1088. The castle itself is first mentioned when damaged in 1101 and involved in the fighting of 1173, being taken and dismantled in the same year. A later castle erected on the site became the seat of the earls of Leicester, later the Dukes of Lancaster, and an outer bailey ('the Newarke') added in the 14th century.

Sources:

Buckley 1991; 1993
Buckley and Lucas 1987, 59
Hartley 1989, 48
King 1983, 254, 257

Fox 1942
Liddle 1983, 24-25
Mackie and Buckley 1995
Nenk *et al.* 1992, 249; 1993, 271; 1995, 224
Renn 1968, 223
VCH Leics. I 1907, 260-61

MELTON MOWBRAY (Mount Pleasant/Windmill Hill)

Motte
Melton Mowbray
SK 748188

Situation: The feature is located in a relatively level position some distance to the south of the town.

Preservation: The mound is extant and tree-covered, although any associated earthworks are badly eroded. The school grounds to the west of the site would have removed any traces of a bailey, and the line of the alleged counterscarp bank is now marked by a metal fence surrounding the school grounds.

Description: The Mount is a flat-topped mound, *c.* 30m in diameter and *c.* 3m high. Slight traces of a vestigial bank and ditch system have been identified to the west of the mound in 1988, although with no definite plan, lending some credence to the suggestion that it could have originated as a motte. Its origins are obscured by the present place-name 'Mount Pleasant' - possibly indicative of a prospect mound - and former place-names indicative of milling on the site (see below).

Excavation: None

Documentation: There is no documentation specifically referring to a castle site, although a windmill is shown here on a number of maps, notably Prior (1779) and Greenwood (1826). Further documentary references mention "the mill at Mount Pleasant to be sold for removal" in 1827.

Sources:

Creighton 1997, 29
Hartley 1989, 11
Hunt 1979, 116
King 1983, 255
Leics. SMR Site File, No. SK 71 NW Q
Liddle 1989, 119
Moon 1981, 126, 198
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. SK 71 NW 5
VCH Leics. I 1907, 275

MOUNTSORREL (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Mountsorrel
SK 585149

Situation: The castle was raised on a prominent granite outcrop dominating the town and overlooking the valley of the Soar.

Preservation: The site is at present preserved as a public park, although a number of features, including a stone seat, war memorial (raised over the motte) and stone steps giving access on the west side of the monument have disturbed archaeological deposits in certain zones of the hilltop.

Description: Mountsorrel is an unusual castle design conceived around two natural granite high points. The northernmost granite peak constitutes the motte; roughly circular and standing *c.* 2-3m above the surrounding hill-top, with a base diameter of *c.* 18m. A rock-cut recess on the west side of this feature could represent a timber slot for revetting the defences. A second, similar granite feature exists *c.* 50m to the south, with a height of *c.* 2m and base diameter of *c.* 15m. No bailey can be identified in the strict sense, although the entire perimeter of the hilltop may have been enclosed; a series of reduced scarps and vestiges of a rock-cut ditch can be identified running transversely across the hilltop and mark the southern limit of the castle zone.

Excavation: Miscellaneous finds including a prick spur and several 'pieces of old coin' were recovered from Castle Hill in 1787. F. Ardron carried out limited excavations in the vicinity of the most southerly granite eminence in 1952; a 'considerable deposit' of fallen material, including slates, roof and floor tiles and many sherds of 12th-/13th-century pottery were noted, some with 'green glaze'. Although this was taken as representing a destruction deposit, the recovery of green glazed wares recommends the deposit to be later than the documented slighting of 1217.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in 1149-53 when in the hands of the earl of Chester, and passing to the earl of Leicester in the context of the treaty between the two Earls. Mountsorrel was held against Henry II in 1173 ('Benedict', i, 48), and surrendered in 1174 although apparently not destroyed ('Benedict', i, 73, 128; Diceto, i, 384). It was besieged unsuccessfully in 1215 when the scene of fighting between king John and his barons although abandoned by its garrison. In 1217 Henry II ordered the site to be destroyed as "a nest of the devil and a den of thieves and robbers" after the battle of Lincoln fair.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17075

Ardron 1958

Cantor 1978, 55

Creighton 1997, 34

Hartley 1989, 10

King 1983, 255, 257

Leics. SMR Site File, No. SK 51 SE W

McWhirr and Winter 1978-79, 74

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 51 SE 2

Renn 1968, 250

Throsby 1798, 35-36

RATCLIFFE CULEY

Possible Motte

Witherley

SP 328994

Situation: The site is located on a minor eminence to the immediate south of the village, *c.* 40m east of the parish church; the two are linked by a minor sunken hollow way.

Preservation: The site is generally well preserved under grass, although the system of associated field boundaries and channels survive as minor, denuded earthworks.

Description: A well defined near-circular mount, measuring c. 50m x 40m, with an enclosing dry ditch, deepest on the south side where it is approximately 2.5m deep and averages c. 12m wide. The feature is considered to be a castle mound by the OS, although other authorities define it as a moated site - the 'mound' being little higher than the surrounding ground surface. Two associated fishponds can be identified: both approximately 25m long and c. 1m deep, lying c. 100m south-west of the site and interconnected with each other and the moat via a network of artificial channels and field boundaries which form a series of sub-rectangular closes - some containing ridge and furrow - south of the earthwork.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 58

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17058

Hoskins 1950, 16

King 1983, 256

Leics. SMR Site File, No. SP 39 NW L

VCH Leics. I 1907, 257

RAVENSTONE

Vanished Early Castle

Ravenstone

Situation: Renn suggests the earthworks of a minor moated site c. 0.6km south-east of Ravenstone village at Snibston (SK 411131) may be the (remodelled) site of Ravenstone Castle; the site remains otherwise lost, its deliberate slighting in the mid 12th century may explain this.

Documentation: Mentioned in 1149-53, when a treaty between the earls of Leicester and Chester agreed to destroy it.

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 55

Coulson 1995, 67-68

King 1983, 256, 258

Renn 1968, 290

SAPCOTE (Toot Hill/Park Close)

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle

Sapcote

SP 488933

Situation: The site formerly lay on the eastern fringe of Sapcote village, although now surrounded by housing estates.

Preservation: No earthworks survive; various zones of the former complex are occupied by playing fields, houses and gardens, and a factory.

Description: The place-name 'Toot Hill Close' remembers the mound levelled in the 1780s. This feature seems to have represented the motte of an early castle; other former earthworks date to the subsequent re-organisation of the site as an extensive manorial complex. The motte would have lain towards the western end of the site, which in its latter phases comprised a large rectangular moated enclosure with maximum dimensions of c. 270 x 140m and signs of sub-division into an eastern and western unit - 'Park Close' to the west and 'Toot Hill' to the east. A further moated enclosure can be identified appending to the south; this with maximum dimensions of c. 120 x 200m. Both Park Close and the southern enclosure formerly contained extensive areas of ridge and furrow and appear to have been accessed via Toot Hill Close; they enclosed manorial paddocks rather than residential units.

Excavation: A series of excavations have taken place in various areas of the earthwork, although giving no clear picture of the site's format or chronology. Masonry foundations have been identified in various areas during minor construction work in 1925, 1941 and 1952. P. Addyman undertook small-scale excavations in Park Close in 1958, in advance of levelling operations, demonstrating the enclosure to be post-13th century in date and to include a series of fishponds to the west. Further minor excavations in Toot Hill Close in 1964 revealed a number of features including a stone-lined well filled with 14th-/15th-century rubble, a granite cobbled road of similar date, a wall of 13th-/14th-century date and 'earlier' ditch. Excavation in a similar area continued under the Leicester Archaeological Excavation Group in the period 1967-70, defining the features revealed in 1964 as a 13th-century wall and associated turret overlying a ditch associated with Nottingham and Stamford wares. Construction of a minor access road truncating the north-east corner of Park Close prompted further minor excavation in 1974, revealing a ditch on the same alignment as a feature defined by Addyman in 1958. Reports of miscellaneous masonry and medieval tile from the vicinity of Toot Hill Close have been made during minor watching briefs in 1978, 1982 and 1985.

Documentation: The licence for the site was granted in 1474 along with ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH, SLINGSBY (Yorks.), and the 'vanished' sites of Thornton and BAGWORTH. The owner, William Lord Hastings was illegally executed in 1483.

Sources:

Addyman 1960
Cantor 1978, 57
Creighton 1997, 34
Hawkes 1966
King 1983, 255
Leics. SMR Site File, No. SP 49 SE B
Liddle 1981-82
OS Antiquity Model, No. SP 49 SE 1
Smith 1967; 1968; 1970; 1974

SAUVEY

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Withcote
SK 787053

Situation: The castle site occupies a low, secluded natural promontory, at the confluence of two tributaries of the Chater.

Preservation: Sauvey Castle comprises an extremely well preserved set of earthworks under permanent pasture and scrub, although a modern barn disturbs a small area of the earthworks on the north side. The

waterlogged former lake-bed surrounding the site holds deposits with considerable potential for environmental data.

Description: Sauvey Castle is an unusual site, comprising two enclosures defined by the perimeter of a natural eminence rising c. 7m above the valley floor. A higher oval enclosure with maximum dimensions of c. 60 x 40m occupies the eastern side of the promontory, with foundations of buildings on the south side and what appears to be the footings of the chapel in the centre. A larger rectangular enclosure, resembling a bailey-type feature (max. dimensions c. 100m x 70m), is divided from the smaller unit by a ditch; a low mound in the north-east angle represents the site of a building, possibly a guardhouse. Signs of an inner rampart can be distinguished on the south and west sides, and to the north the perimeter of the enclosure is further defined by natural scarping. The ditch surrounding the site is up to c. 20m wide on the west side, and c. 60m wide on the east. The valley was dammed to the south-east side by an earth bank c. 6m high which shows signs of a central feature, possibly associated with water-control.

Excavation: A medieval spout and a Bellamine jug fragment depicting a lion was picked up from the site and donated to Leicestershire museums in 1855. A flint 'arrowhead' was recovered from the site in 1971, although the report is otherwise unconfirmed. A number of fragments of Lyvden-Stannion ware were picked up from rabbit burrows during a visit by Leicestershire Archaeology Society in 1996.

Documentation: The Pipe Rolls record that site was founded by King John in 1211 or shortly before. There are a number of 13th-century references to Royal officials being governors of the castle. In 1244 timber for a chapel in the castle of Sauvey was granted from the forest and stone slates granted for the same building in 1245.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17033
Farnham and Thompson 1921
King 1983, 255, 257
Leics. SMR Site File, No. 70 NE D
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 70 NE 6
Renn 1968, 306
VCH Leics. I 1907, 249-50

SCRAPTOFT (The Mount)

Possible Motte
Scraptoft
SK 654059

Situation: The Mount is located to the east of Scraptoft village in a small, linear strip of woodland.

Preservation: The mound and associated bank are under woodland, rendering analysis of the ground-plan difficult, while the surface of the mound itself has been mutilated by scrambling, and the entire area used as a dump.

Description: The site comprises a conical mound, thought by King and others to be a motte. This feature is c. 12m high, has a slightly concave summit, and is surrounded by what appears to be a severely denuded ditch. On its south-west side the mound contains the remains of a brick-built, shell-lined grotto, which could be a later insertion into a motte, although seems more likely to be a primary feature. A low bank strikes south-west from the south side of the mound for a distance of c. 200m before turning west and becoming obscured; this too may be a formal garden feature rather than a castle outwork. Although suggested that the earthwork is the result of the adaptation of a motte as an ice-house and gazebo in the

grounds of Scraftoft Hall, an account of 1789 by Throsby suggests that the mound is a recent creation; it thus seems likely to have post-medieval origins as a prospect mound in the designed landscape associated with Scraftoft Hall.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 57

Creighton 1997, 27-29

King 1983, 255

Leics. SMR Site File, No. SK 60 NE Y

Mc Whirr and Winter 1978-79, 75

VCH Leics. I 1907, 257

SHACKERSTONE†

Possible Motte and Bailey

Shackerstone

SK 375069

Situation: The earthworks lie immediately north-east of the parish church, near the core of Shackerstone village.

Preservation: The mound is well preserved as an earthwork, although the associated banks and scarps survive in vestigial condition only.

Description: The key element of the site is a large flat-topped mound. This has a base diameter of *c.* 75m and summit of *c.* 35m diameter, characterised by a prominent 'step' or terrace on its southern face. A former associated ditch survives as a minor depression encircling the feature. A complex of linear and curvilinear scarps and banks in the immediate environs of the mound can be rationalised as a large, low platform of irregular profile immediately south (max. dimensions *c.* 160 x 90m), and a smaller, more regular terrace to the north (*c.* 110 x 45m). A further series of weak scarps and terraces further north form a sub-regular pattern of closes. Although traditionally ascribed as an early castle earthwork, archaeological and landscape evidence combines to suggest that it is rather a formal garden feature erected in the immediate vicinity of Shackerstone Hall.

Excavation: A trench through the mound, *c.* 1m in width was dug by ARP men in 1940, showing the feature to comprise of a central dome-shaped core of soil. The remains of a central 'post' *c.* 0.4m in diameter were uncovered, in addition to a 'rectangular chamber' within the mound; artefacts recovered include dark brown wares of probable 18th-century date found within the topsoil and considerable deposits of charcoal from within the body of the mound.

Documentation: None

Sources:

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 30 NE 1

Cantor 1978, 57

Creighton 1997, 27-29

King 1983, 255

Leics. SMR Site File, No. SK 30 NE C

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 30 NE 1
RCHM: NMP (National Forest), Sheet No. SK 30 NE
VCH Leics. I 1907, 261

SHAWELL

Motte and Bailey
Shawell
SP 541796

Situation: The site is located approximately c. 100m south-west of the Shawell Hall and immediately south-west of the parish church. The mound crowns a minor ridge running south west into Warwickshire, commanding extensive views to the north and south.

Preservation: The mound is in general well preserved under grass, although the path clipping the eastern flank of the motte has been raised and there are signs of the dumping of rubble in the vicinity of the site. An extensive area of quarrying activity to the north appears not to have intruded upon the zone of medieval earthworks.

Description: It is disputed whether the mound represents a castle site, being variously interpreted as a bell-shaped barrow or moated site, or a motte/motte and bailey. The site comprises a large and circular, bowl-shaped mound, approximately 30m in diameter at the base and c. 3m in height from the bottom of the ditch. The summit of the feature approximates a flat table-top c. 12m in diameter, although is much disturbed. A heavily-silted ditch c. 12m in width and approximately 1m in depth circumvallates the south side of the mound, and extremely feint traces of a 'causeway' feature appear to link the mound with the churchyard to the north-east. A number of feint rectilinear scarps and banks adjoin to the south, although these appear to be medieval settlement earthworks rather than a bailey or outwork. If a bailey formerly existed, it is more likely to have lain to the north of the mound, potentially enclosing the churchyard.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None directly relating to the castle site, although it is possible that the 'vanished' adulterine site of CATTHORPE could be represented by the mound.

Sources:

Cantor 1978, 57
Creighton 1997, 30-31
DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), Leics. No. 112
Hoskins 1970, 96
Leics. SMR Site File, No. 57 NW H
King 1983, 255, 256
VCH Leics. I 1907, 275

WHITWICK (Castle Hill)

Early Castle
Coalville
SK 436162

Situation: Castle Hill is a naturally strong site consisting of an oval-shaped natural eminence at the confluence of two streams which flank the site to the north, east and west. The castle lies immediately east of the parish church in the centre of the present settlement.

Preservation: The western side of the hill has been seriously truncated by the cutting of Charnwood Forest Railway (now dismantled), whilst modern buildings occupy the northern slopes of the site.

Description: The limits of the site are defined by a natural, flat-topped hill-top, the ovoid perimeter of which (c. 100 x 35m) defines a large bailey, this rising approximately 7-8m above the surrounding terrain. No ramparts are visible, and these were perhaps unnecessary in view of the natural strength of the site - the main modification to the hilltop being the artificial scarping of its flanks. Access to the castle appears to have been via an artificial pathway winding northwards on the precipitous east side of the hillock. A small, circular motte-like feature is located - unconventionally - in the centre of the bailey, having a maximum height of c. 2m and approximate base diameter of c. 18m, although the profile of the feature seems more consistent with a grassed-over building platform as opposed to a true motte. An embanked earthwork feature on the north-west of the hillside has been described as an outwork of the fortification, although is most appropriately seen as a water-management feature associated with former water defences. Although 19th-century sources record masonry remains on the hill-top, this is not verifiable on the basis of present field evidence.

Excavation: A cannon ball recovered from Castle Hill was donated to Leicestershire Museums in 1955.

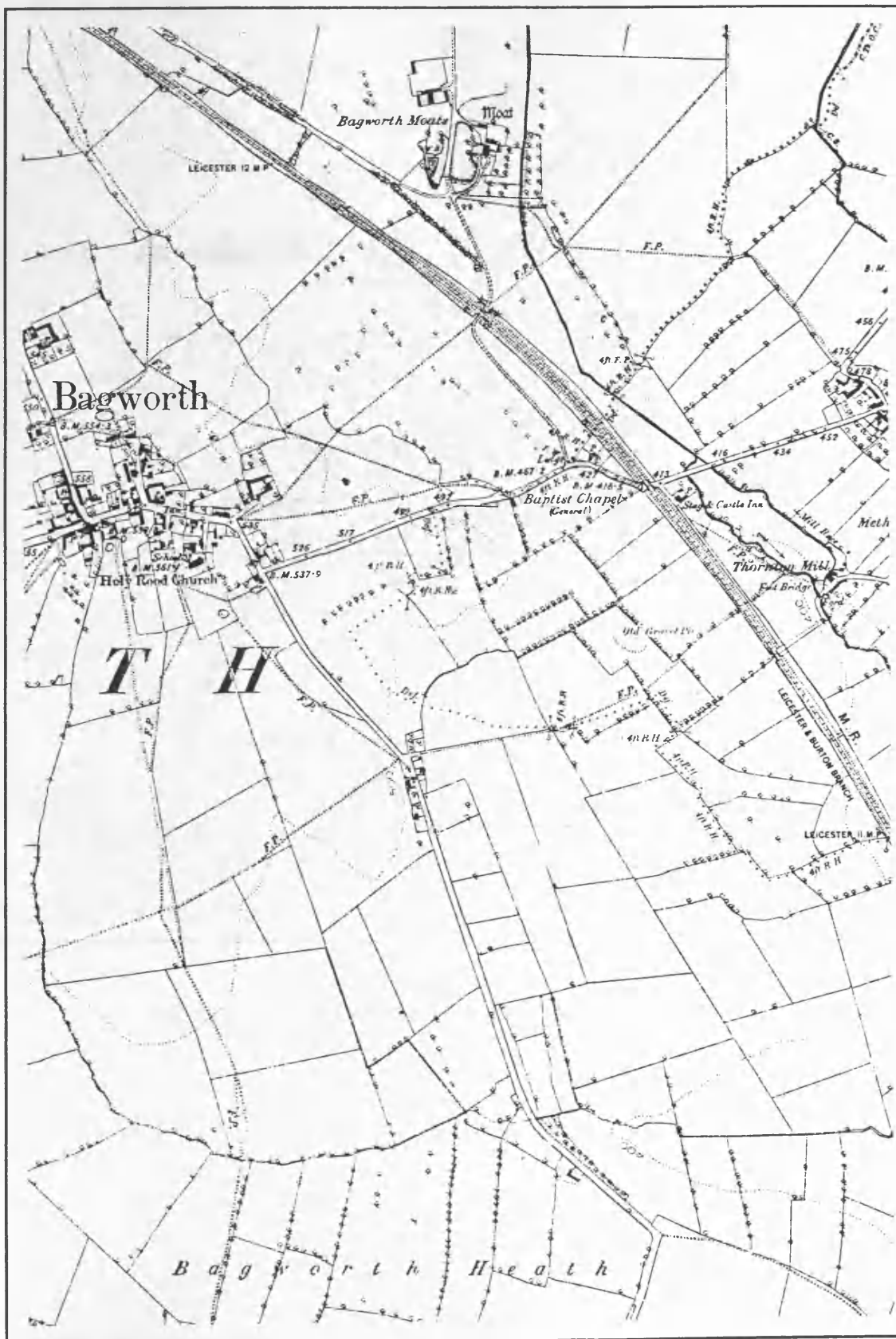
Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in 1149-53, and again in 1204-05, when King John installed William de Senevill as keeper. It was licensed in 1321 to Henry de Beaumont, although by 1331 the site is recorded as having been broken into and may have been in decline.

Sources:

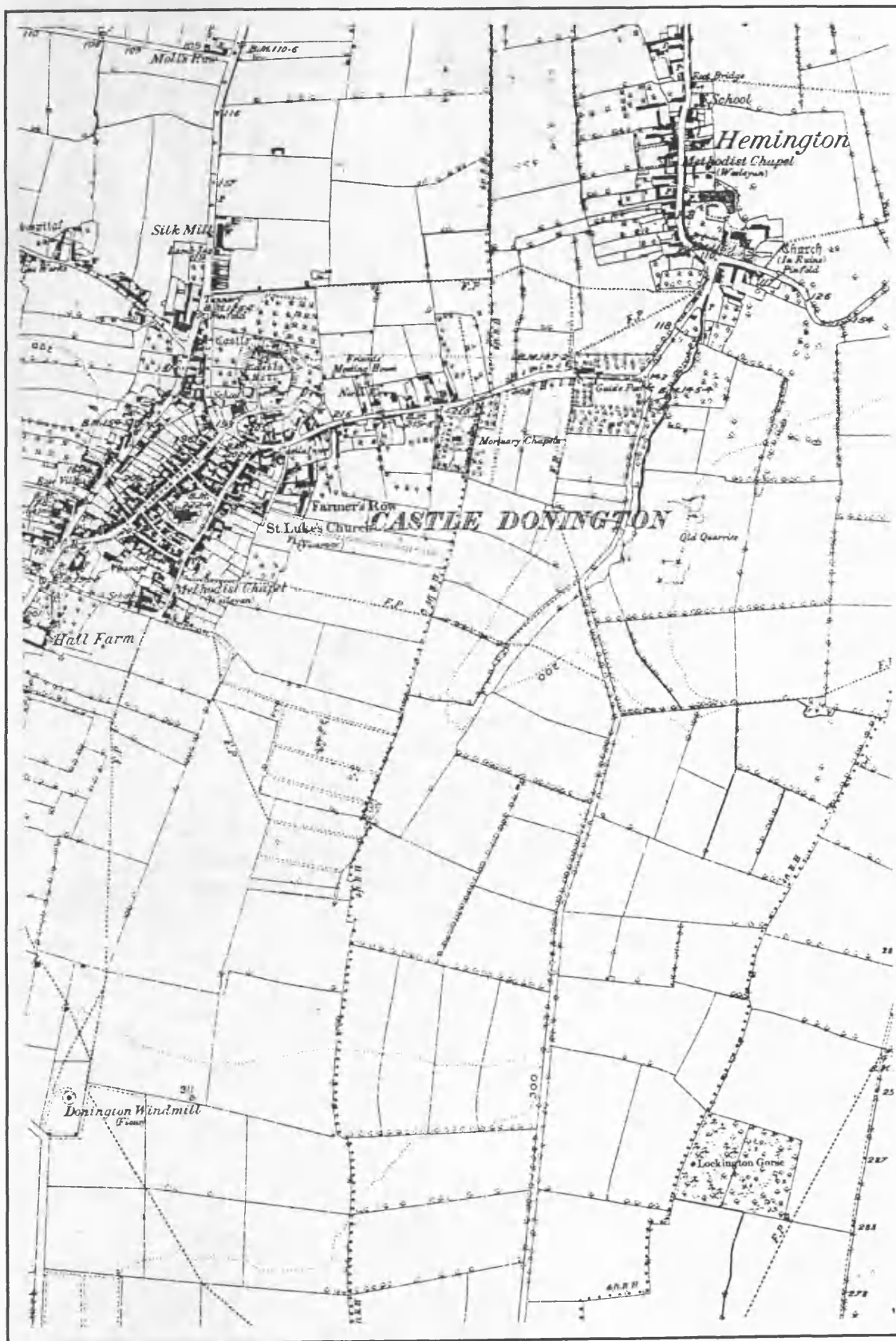
Cantor 1978, 56
Creighton 1997, 30
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17070
Farnham 1928
Hartley 1984, 48
King 1983, 255, 257-58
Renn 1968, 345
RCHM: NMP (National Forest), Sheet No. SK 41 NW
Tollemache 1893
VCH Leics. I 1907, 261-62



401



Bagworth
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXX NW (1888)



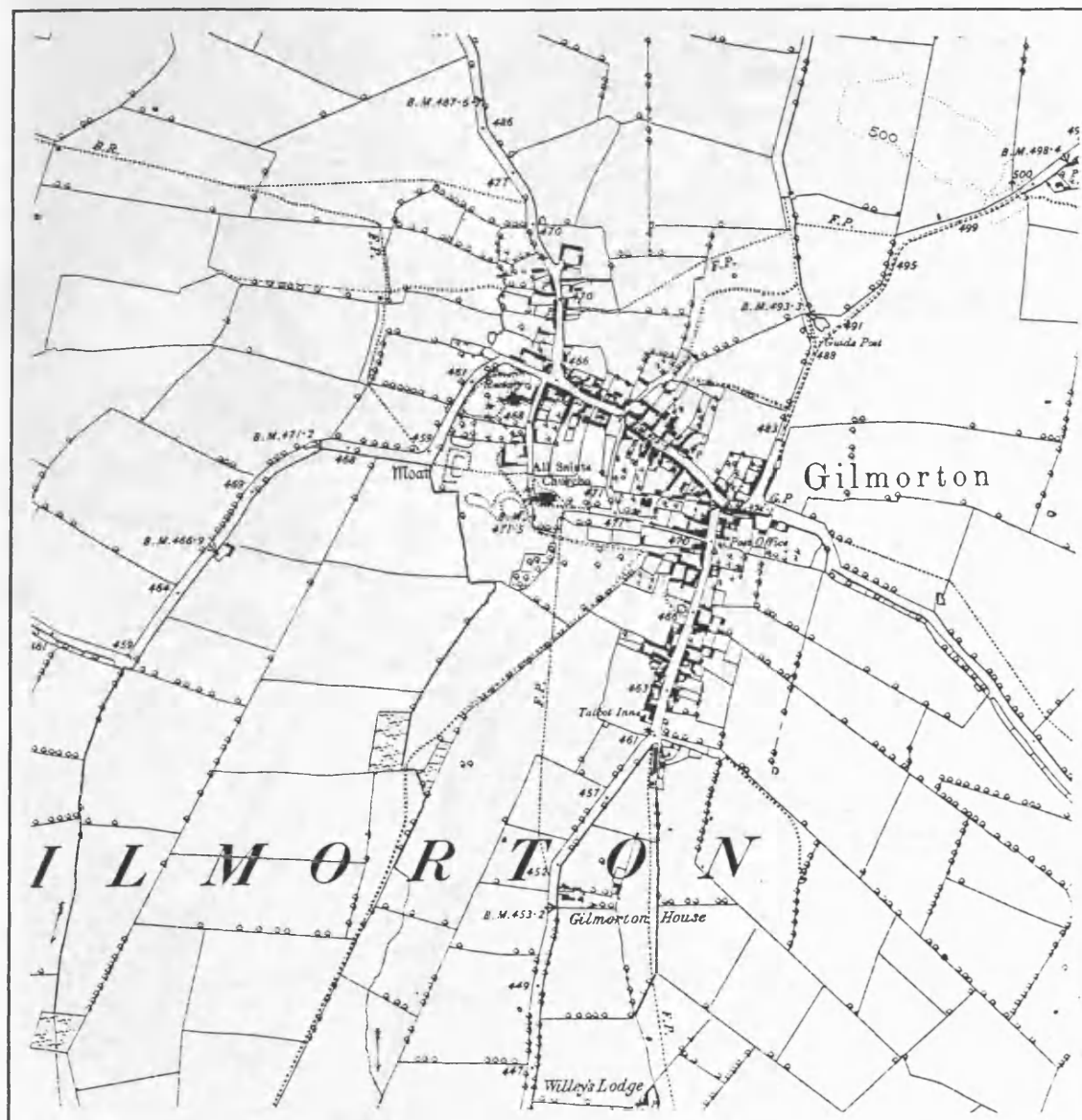
Castle Donington
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet X NW (1887)



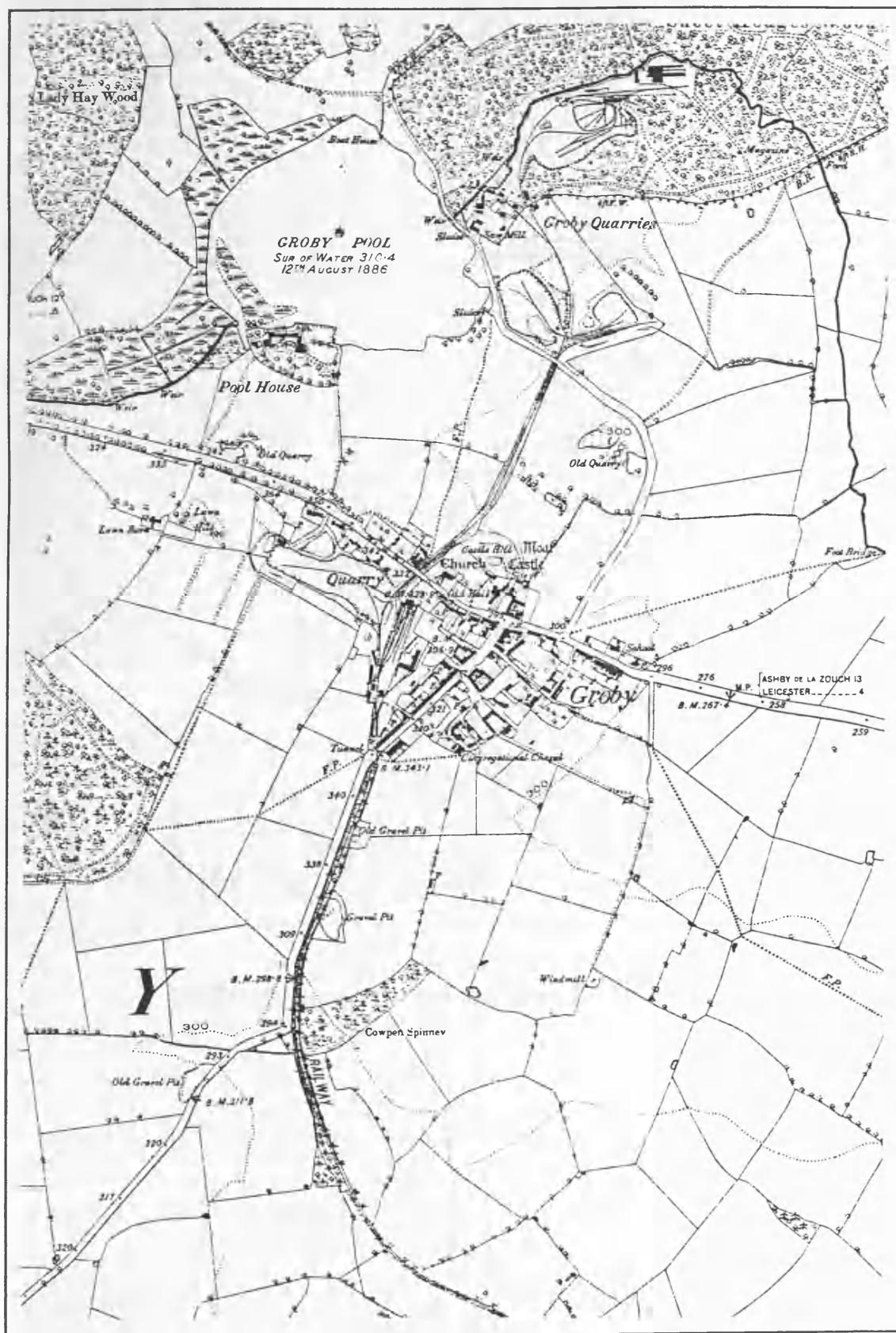
Earl Shilton
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXXVI (1889)



Garthorpe
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXI (1889)



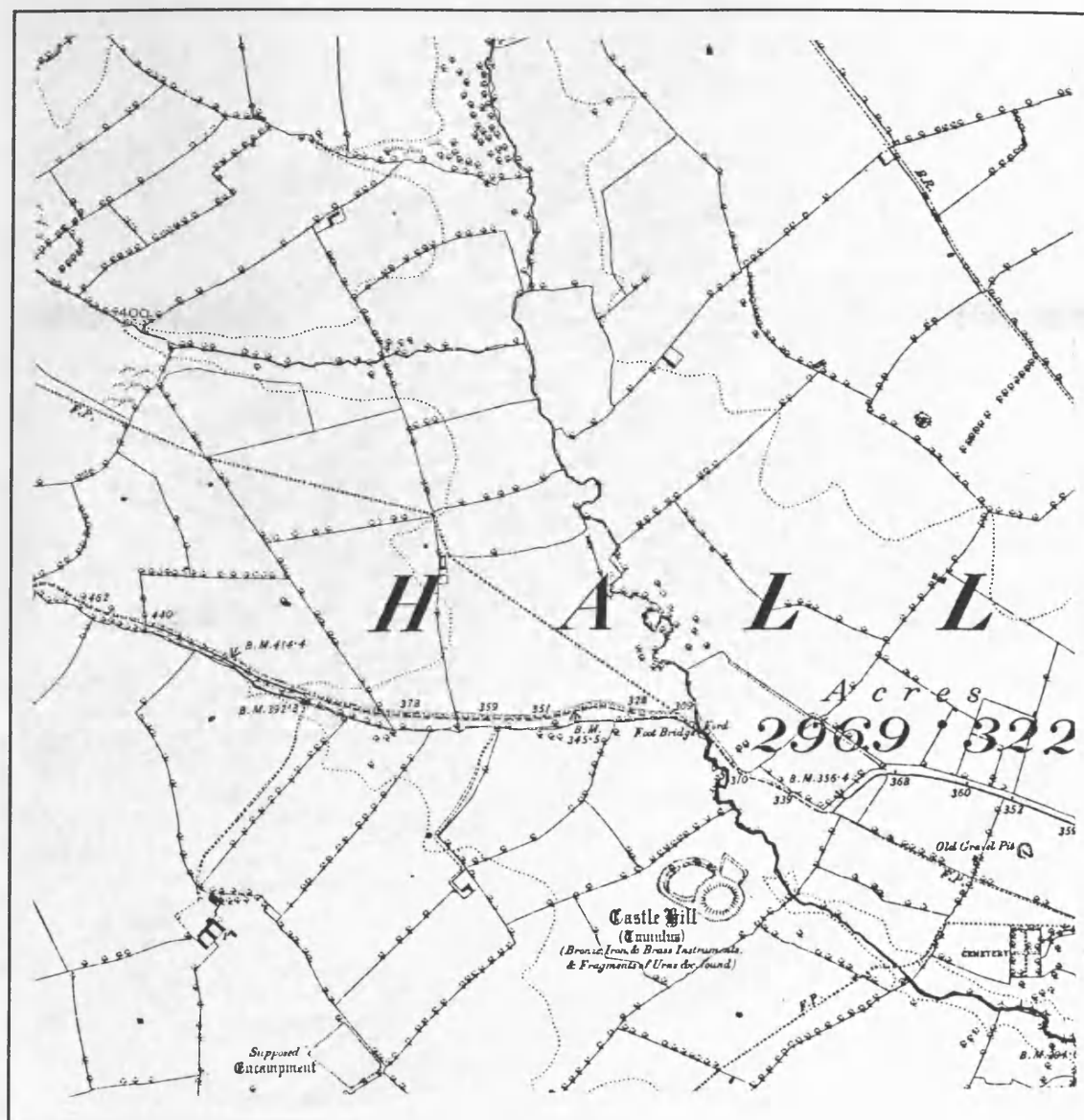
Gilmorton
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XLIX NW (1888)



Groby
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXX NE (1889)

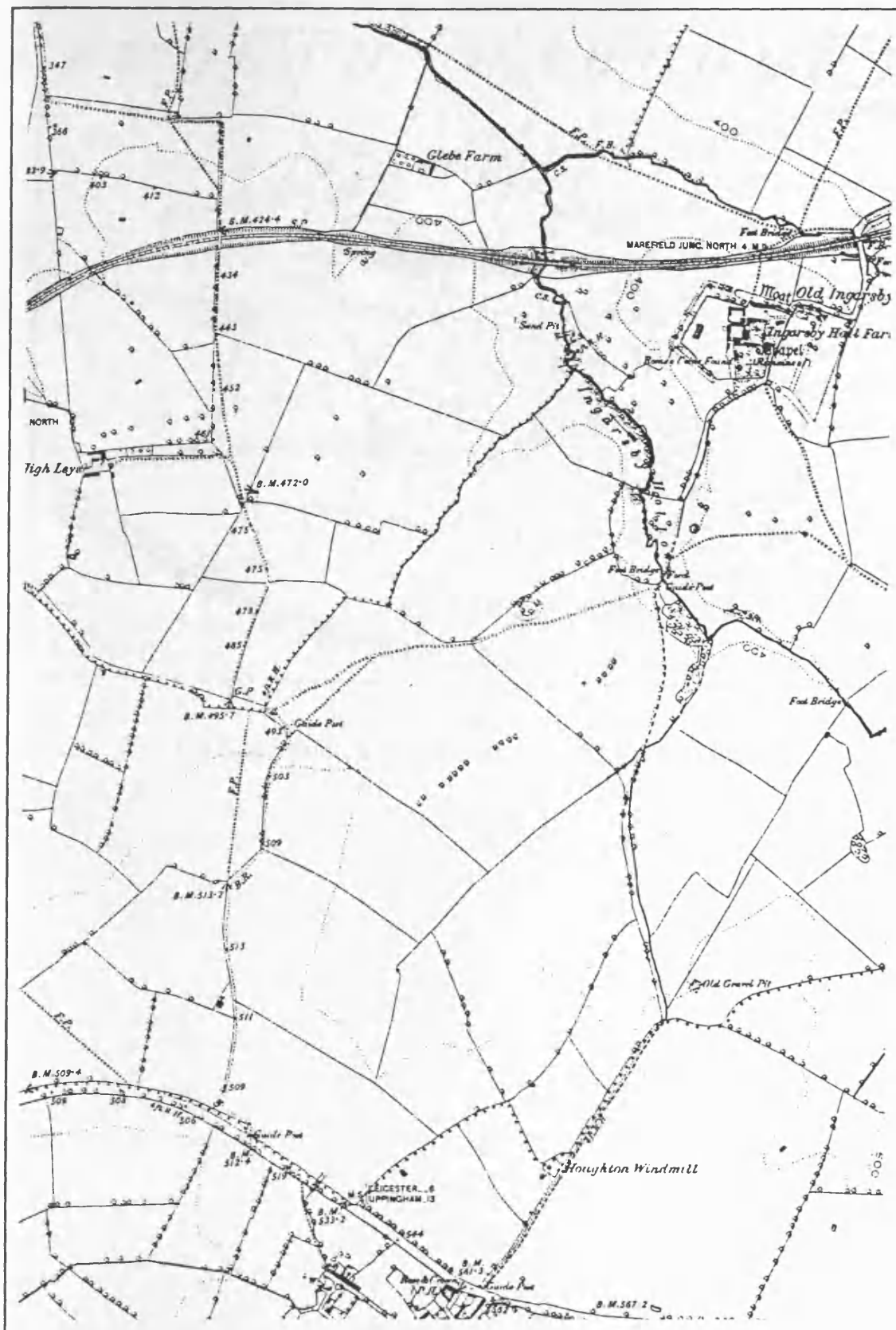


Gumley
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XLV (1888)



Hallaton
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet (1891)

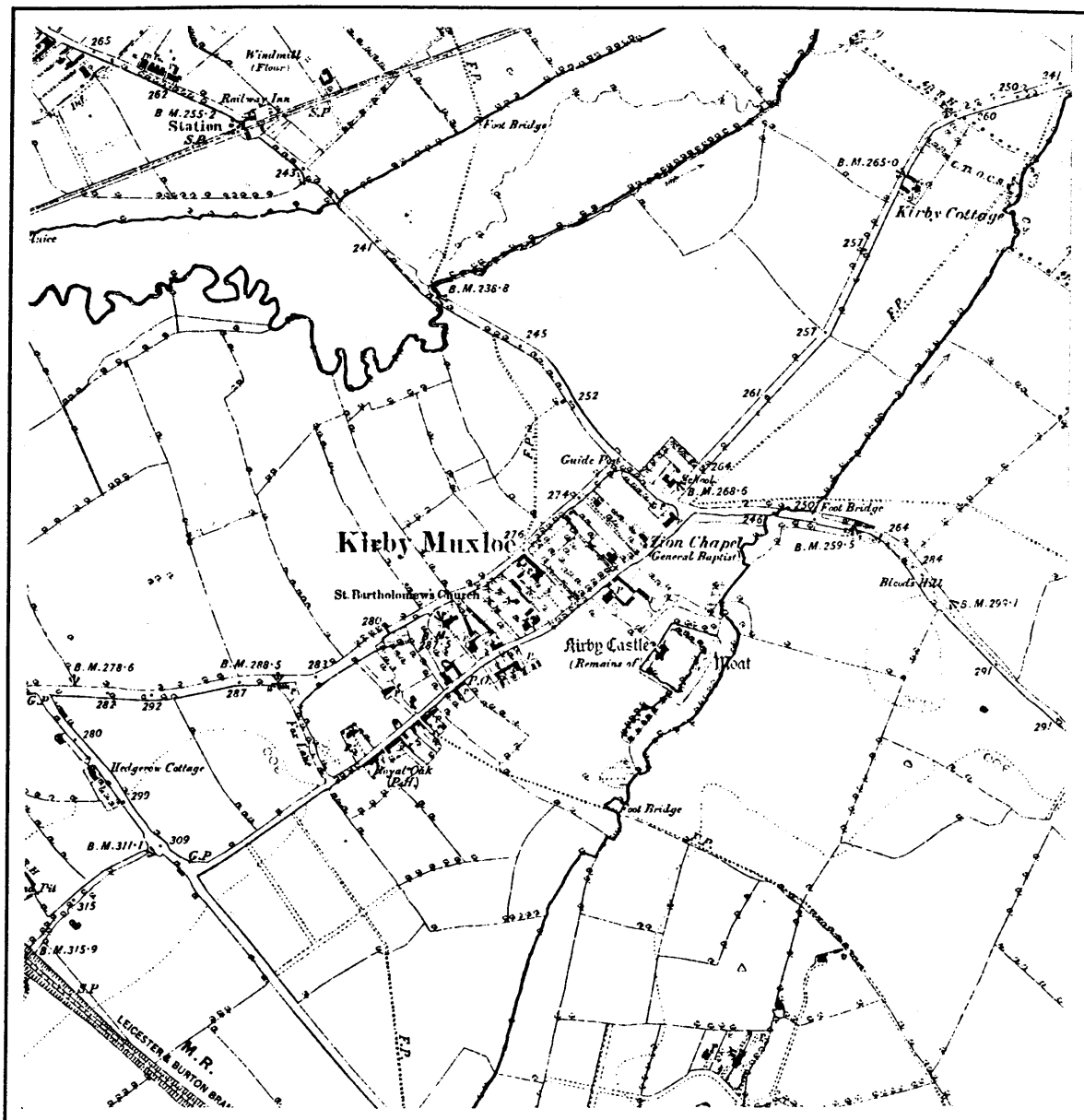




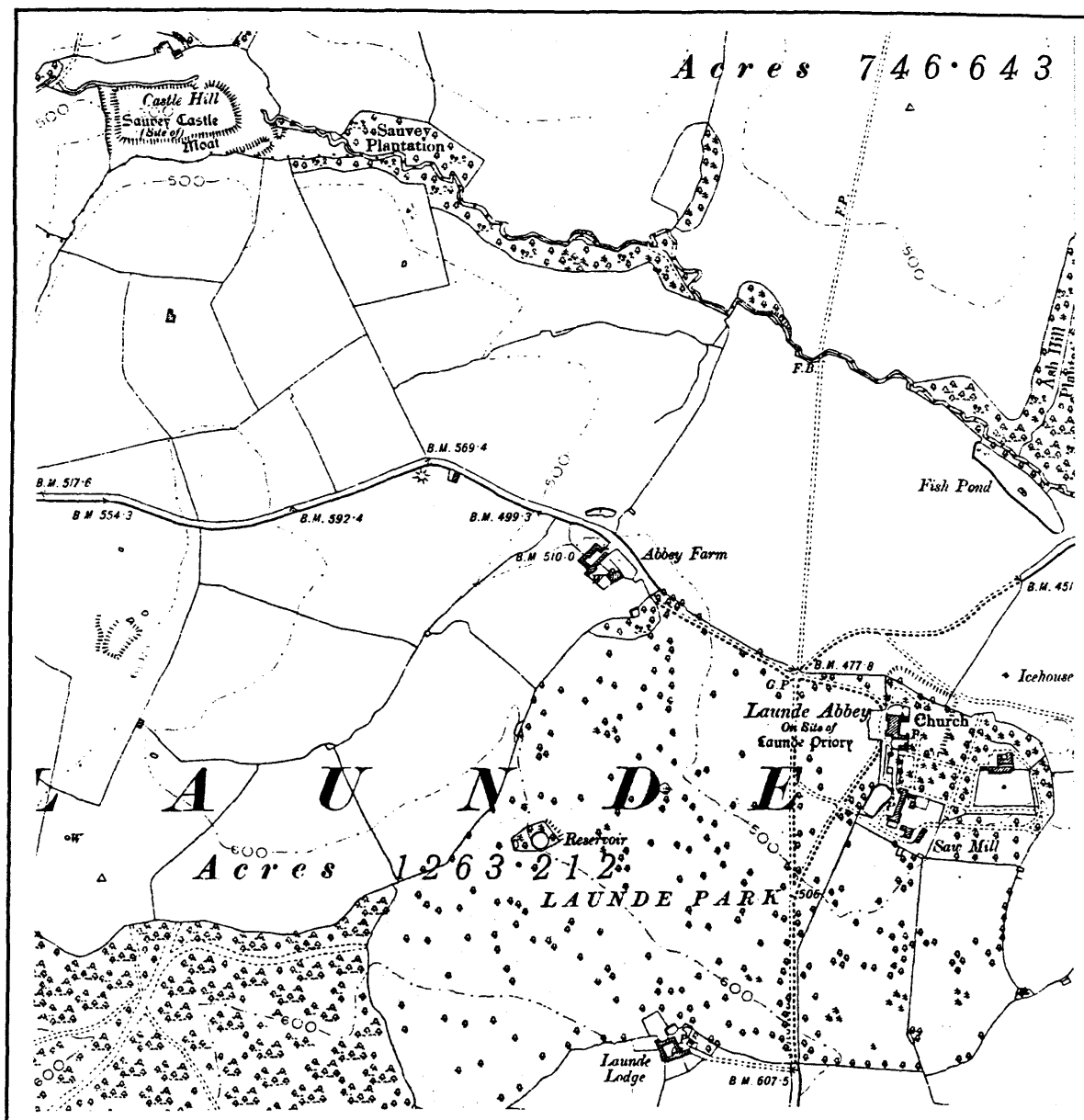
Ingarsby
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXX II SW (1890)



Kibworth Harcourt
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XLV NW (1890)



Kirby Muxloe
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXX SE (1889)



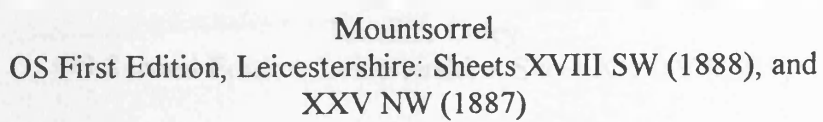
Launde
OS Second Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXXIII SE (1902)

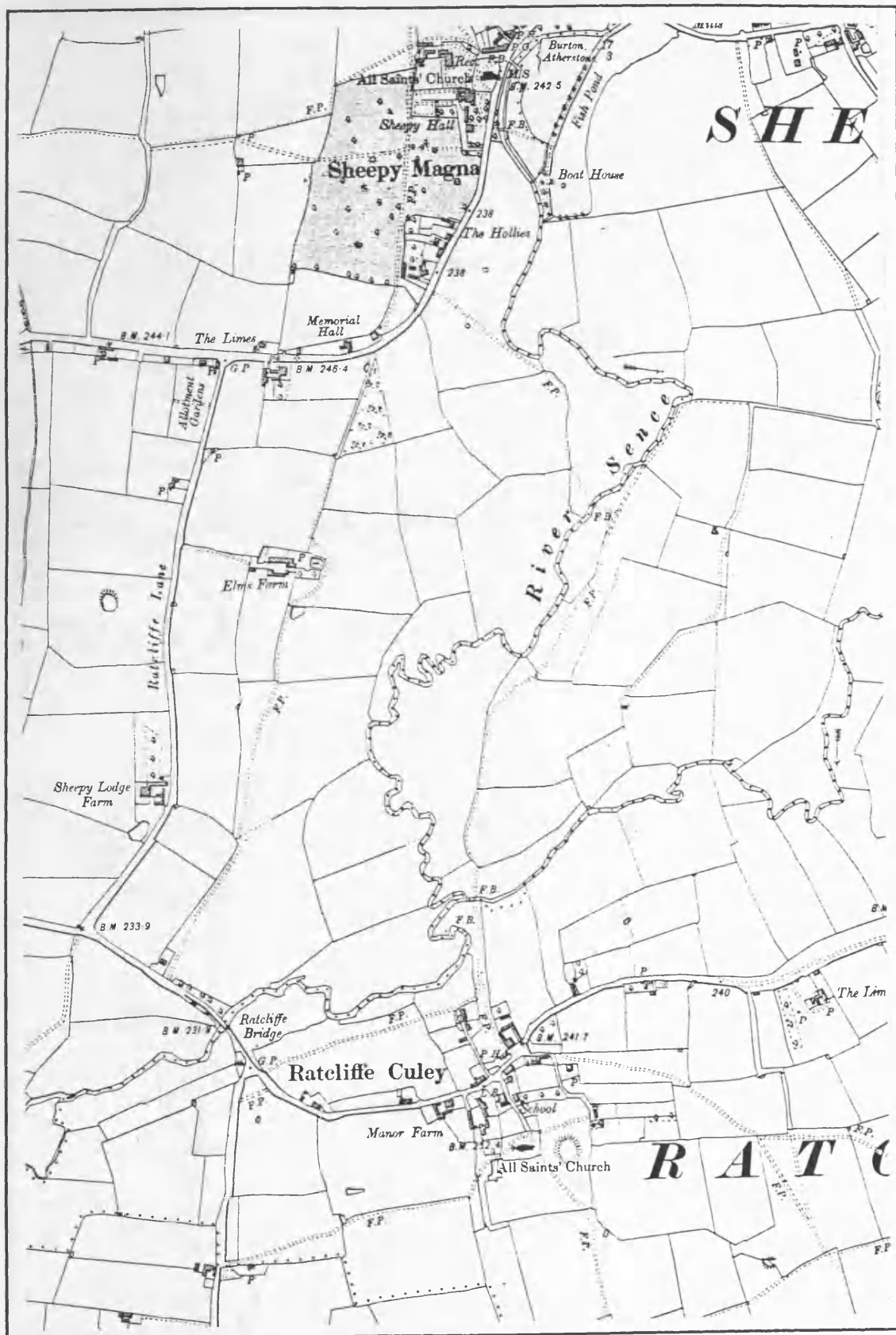


Leicester
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXXI (1888)

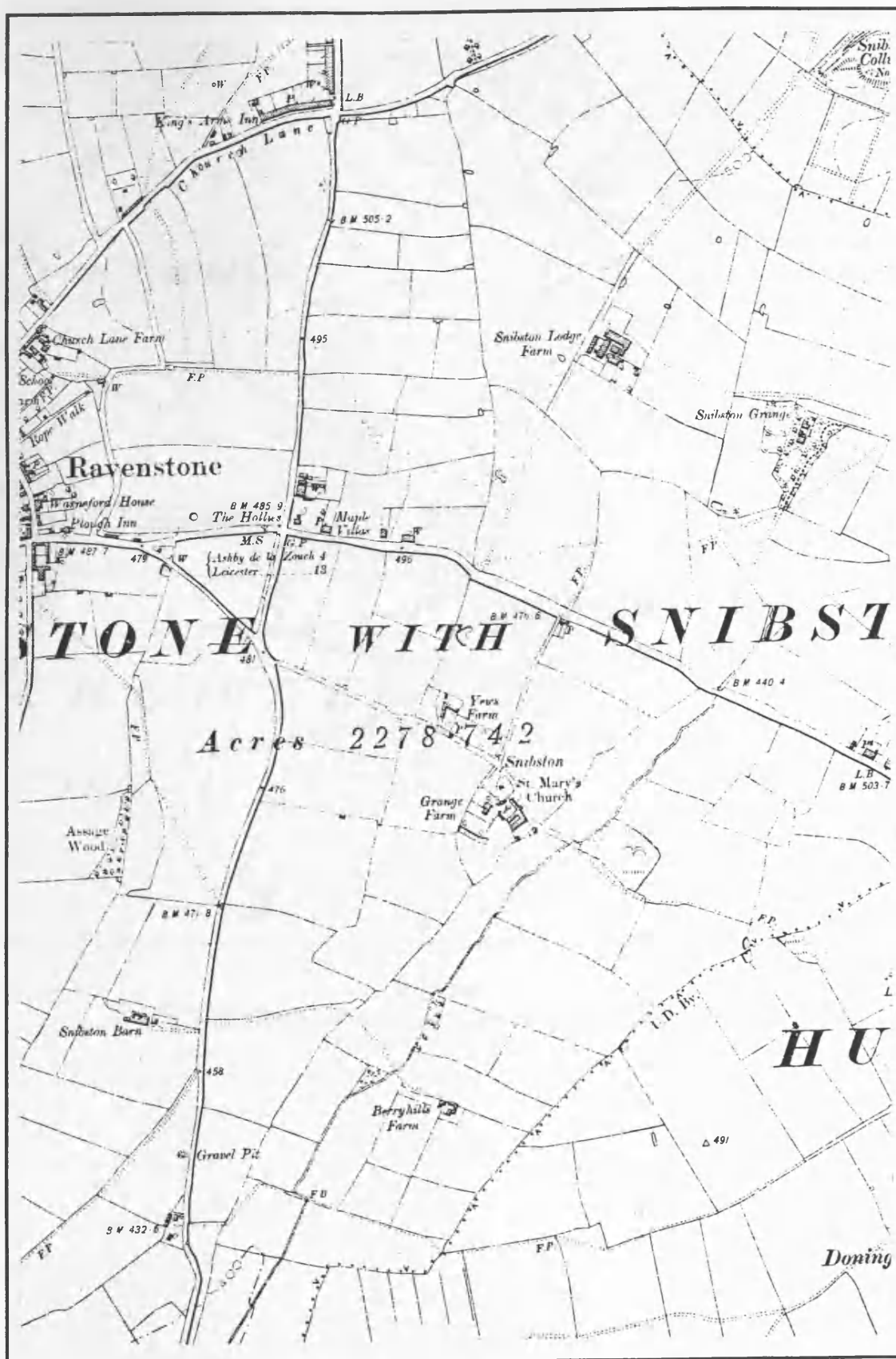


Melton Mowbray
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheets XX SW (1890), and XXX
NW (1890)

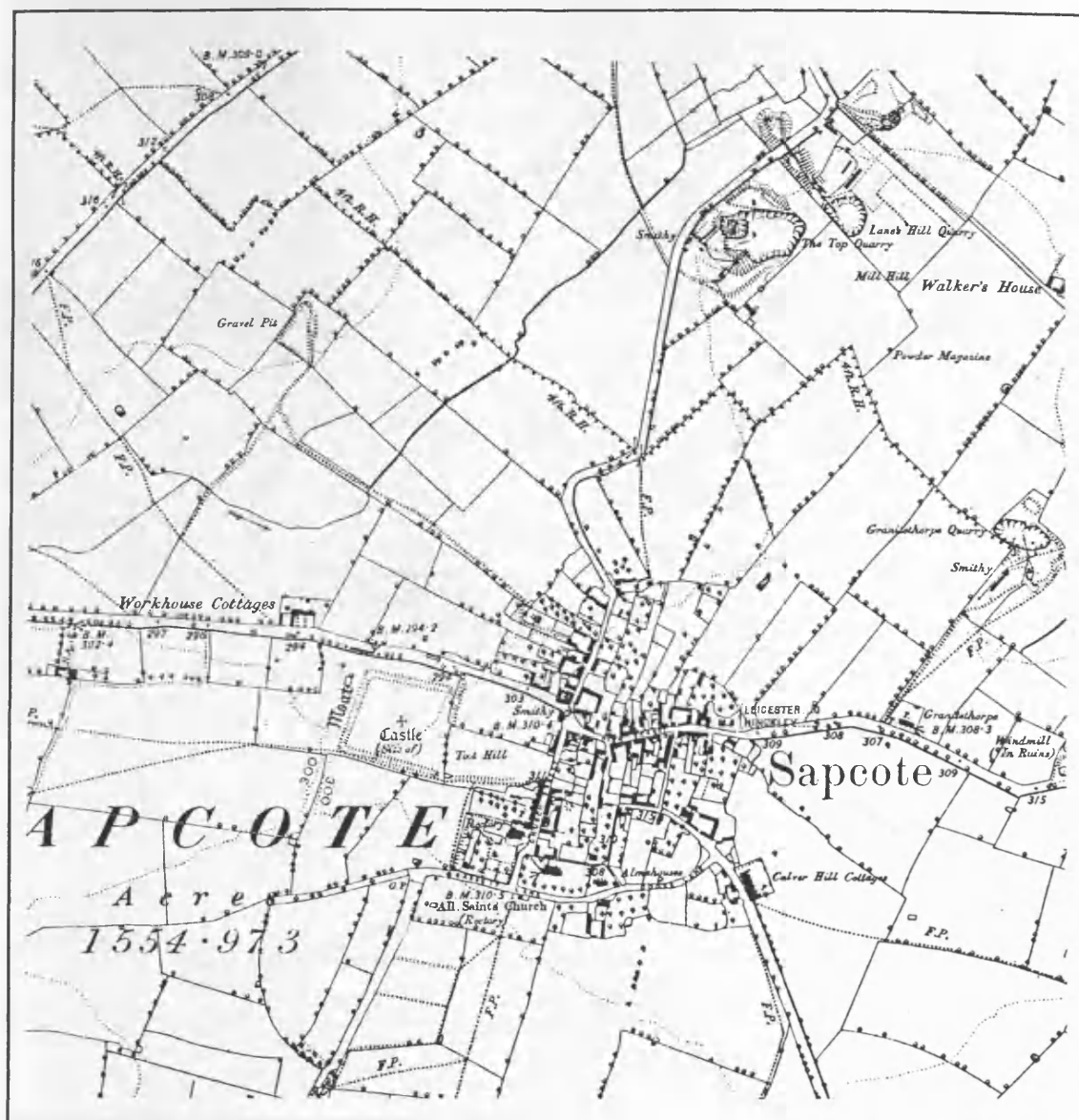




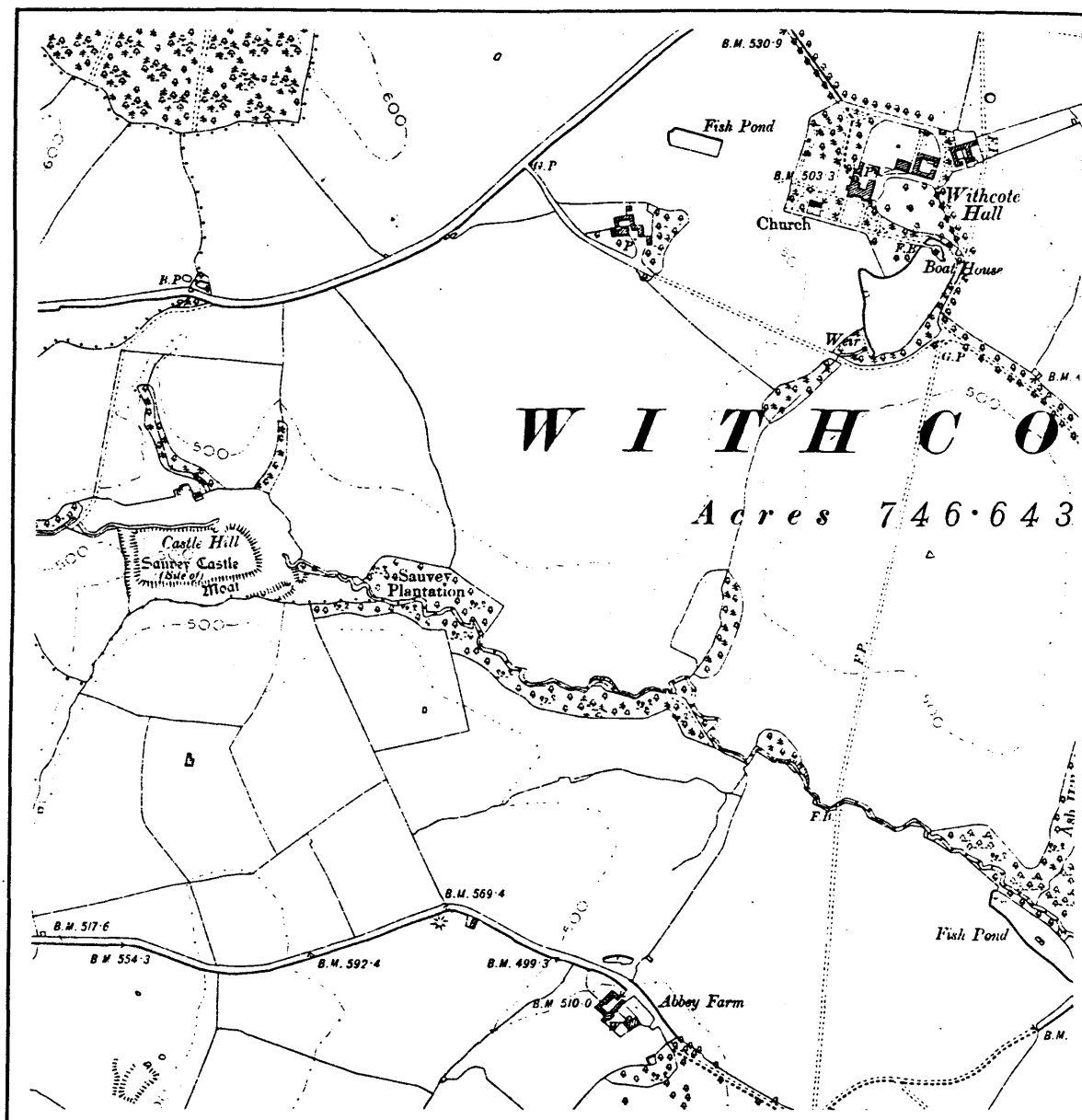
Ratcliffe Culey
OS Second Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXXIV (1925)



Ravenstone
OS Second Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXIII NE (1903)



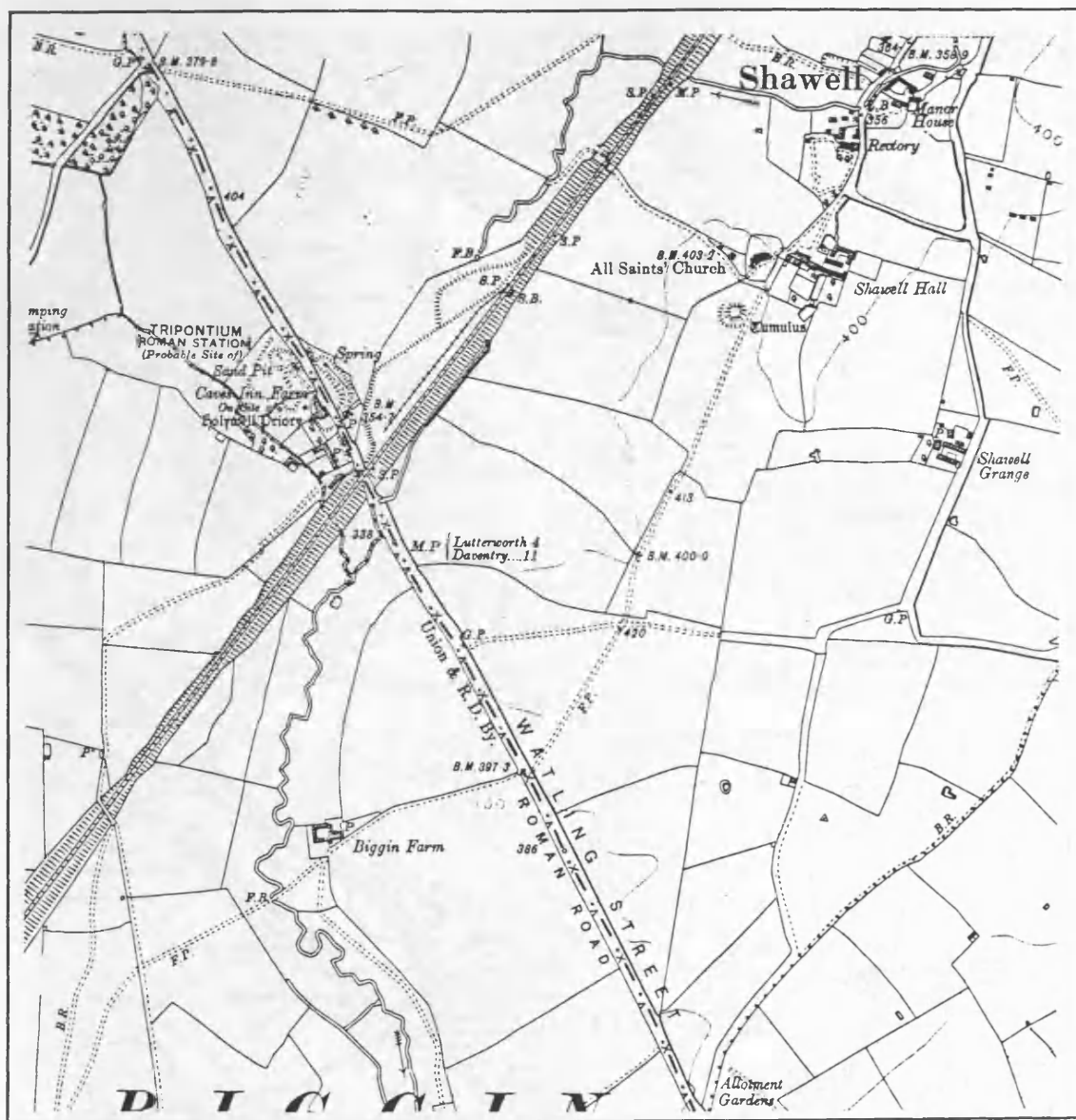
Sapcote
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XLIII NW (1890)



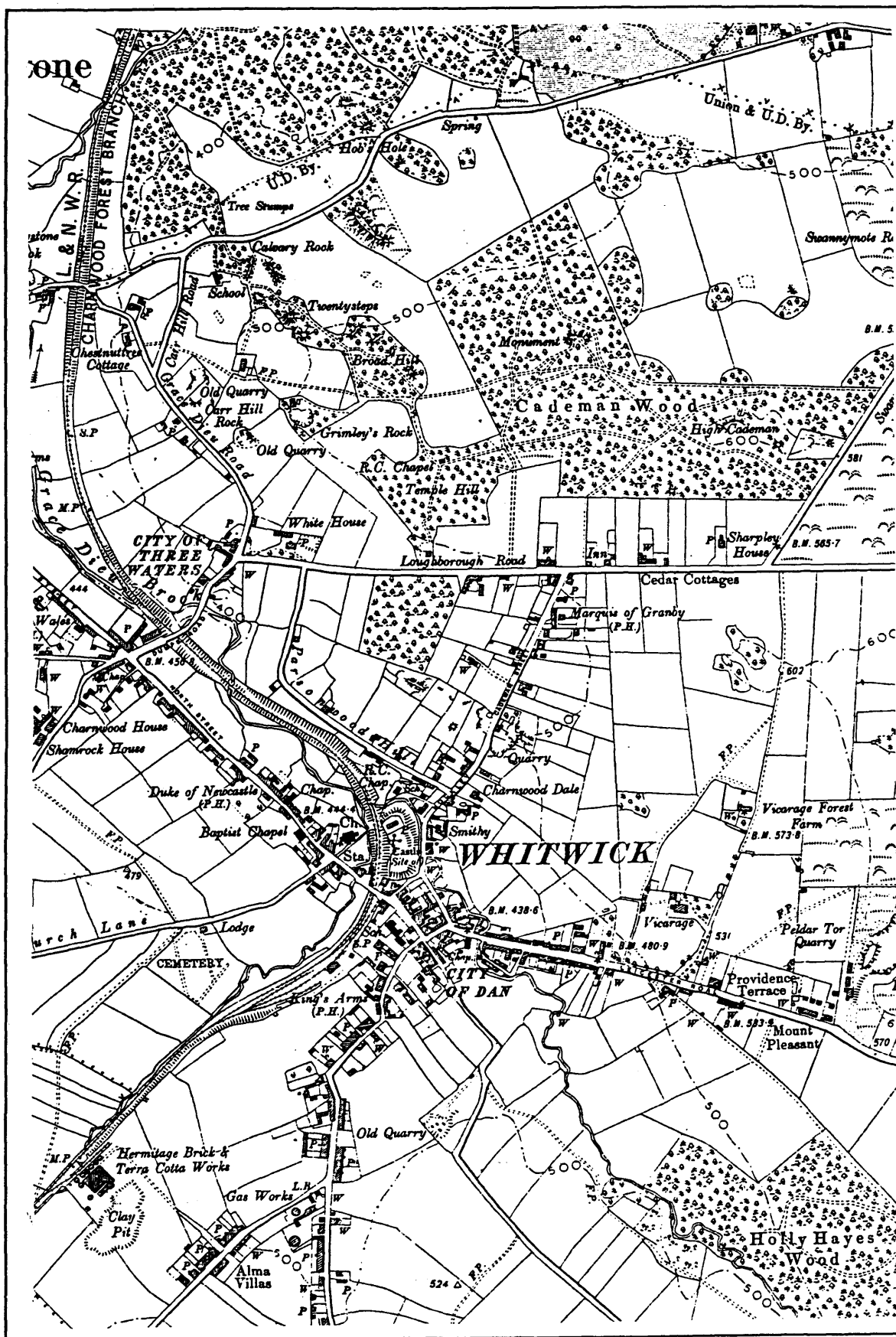
Sauvey
 OS Second Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXXIII SE (1902)



Scraftoft
OS First Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XXXII NW (1888)



Shawell
OS Second Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet LII SE (1923)



Whitwick
OS Second Edition, Leicestershire: Sheet XVI SE (1904)

LINCOLNSHIRE

ASLACKBY

Possible Stone Castle
Aslackby and Laughton
TF 085305

Situation: The site lies immediately north of the parish church, on the edge of Aslackby village.

Preservation: The interior of the site is much denuded due to quarrying and the later insertion of what appears to be a pond and plough headland; the site survives as a vague series of earthworks only.

Description: Vestigial earthworks remain of a defended site of two wards: an inner ditched enclosure, c. 50m square, entirely lying within what remains of a outer enclosure of similar profile, up to c. 160m in breadth. Irregularities over the surface of the site may be indicative of the footings of stone buildings, yet form no coherent plan.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 265
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00288
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. TF 03 SE 5

AUNBY (Castle Dyke)

Possible Early Castle
Aunby and Holywell
TF 007142

Situation: The site lies on rising ground within Castledyke Wood, isolated from the church and DMV of Aunby, which lie over 1km to the east.

Preservation: The earthwork is well preserved, although obscured beneath dense undergrowth.

Description: Castle Dyke is a sub-rectangular embanked and ditched inner enclosure c. 60m square. The rampart averages c. 0.3m in elevation, and the ditch c. 0.8m in depth, enclosing a level area with possible footings of an enclosing wall in the north-east corner. A gap in the ditch marks an entrance to the south-east, and several reports mention a small outer enclosure in this area, although no evidence. Traces of a large ditched outer enclosure can be identified; this with a maximum north-south dimension of c. 140m; the ditch has a maximum depth of c. 1.5 m, although is entirely eroded on the west side.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00030

BOLINGBROKE I

Stone Castle
Bolingbroke
TF 349650

Situation: The castle-church complex forms the western terminus of the village of Old Bolingbroke; its probable predecessor (BOLINGBROKE II) lies c. 400m north.

Preservation: Substantial masonry survives above ground level, and the outer court survives as a clear series of earthworks.

Description: Bolingbroke castle comprised a wet moat surrounding a polygonal walled enclosure incorporating four corner towers, two subsidiary towers and a double-towered gatehouse. A substantial rectangular enclosure, c. 190m east-west x 140m north-south lies to the south; a series of fishponds are remodelled from its eastern perimeter, and it contains the earthworks of a rectangular moated formal garden feature, this c. 70m east-west x 40m north-south, located centrally, and accessed from the main ward via a low causeway.

Excavation: Excavations by M. Thompson in 1968-69 defined the ground plan of the main ward, revealing evidence for a series of circular kilns and a probable rectangular keep abutting the north-east edge of the curtain.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in 1232, and seems likely to have been constructed c. 1220-30 when Randolph de Blundevill returned from the Crusades. The site was apparently well maintained when visited by Leland, but besieged in the Civil War and subsequently deserted.

Sources:

Drewett and Freke 1974
King 1983, 260, 266
Leland (ed. Smith 1910) v, 36)
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00088
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. TF 36 SW 10
Renn 1968, 112
RCHM: NMP (Lincs.), Sheet Nos. TF 36 NW, NE, SW, and SE
Thompson 1966; 1969

BOLINGBROKE II (Dewy Hill)

Early Castle
Bolingbroke
TF 348654

Situation: Dewy Hill overlooks the village and from a prominent oval hilltop c. 400m north of its successor (BOLINGBROKE I).

Preservation: The earthwork enclosure has been totally ploughed out.

Description: The site formerly comprised an approximately oval earthwork enclosure, c. 115m east-west x 75m north-south, although no coherent plan of the site exists.

Excavation: Excavation by M. Thompson in 1965 revealed a fortified hall of 11th-/12th-century date within the enclosure, whilst a section through the east of the enclosing bank demonstrated it to be of sand construction with surviving dimensions of c. 1.5m in height and c. 15m in width. At this point the rampart was unaccompanied by a ditch, although the natural slope was scarped down to a depth of c. 3.5m, whilst elsewhere on the perimeter of the earthwork an external ditch was excavated to a depth of c. 2m but not bottomed. Within the enclosure finds included ceramics (Torksey ware, 12th-/13th-century glazed wares and hand-made types), animal bone, a buckle and fragments of ridge tile.

Documentation: Mention of *vetus casteler* ('the old castelry') is made in an early deed of Henry III, probably referring to the Dewy Hill earthwork.

Sources:

King 1983, 260, 266
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 42100
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. TF 36 NW 24
Renn 1968, 112
Thompson 1966

BOURNE

Motte and Bailey
Bourne
TF 094198

Situation: The castle complex occupies a marshy, low-lying site immediately south-west of the junction of roads converging on Bourne Market Place.

Preservation: Only vestiges of the castle earthworks survive due to landscaping as a public park.

Description: The site presently comprises two sub-rectangular enclosures separated by a circular pond ('St Peter's Pool'). Although little survives of the easternmost unit, aerial photographic analysis demonstrates this feature to have been double moated and c. 240m across, whilst an amorphous mound c. 2.5-3m in height in the south-west corner seems to be the remains of a motte. A series of rectangular depressions within the enclosure may represent fishponds, and arrow slits reinserted into a barn at TF 09502006 may indicate former masonry elements to the defences. The westernmost enclosure, lying to the south-west is c. 170m across and surrounded by a massive bank and ditch system; the bank being up to c. 6m high and c. 15m wide on the west side. Aerial photographs demonstrate signs of a further enclosure occupying the sector between the two main units, although field evidence of this feature is lacking.

Excavation: None

Documentation: There is no contemporary documentation of a castle site here, although Leland recognised the "great ditches and the dungeon hill of an ancient castle".

Sources:

Armitage 1912, 107-08
Hayes and Lane 1992, 140
King 1983, 260, 266

Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 25
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00095
OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 01 NE 1
Renn 1968, 113
RCHM: NMP (Lincs.), Sheet No. TF 01 NE

CASTLE BYTHAM (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
Bytham
SK 992186

Situation: The motte and bailey lies to the east of Castle Bytham village, overlooked by higher ground to the east.

Preservation: Exceptionally strong and well-preserved earthworks under permanent pasture.

Description: The site comprises a powerful motte and bailey, with evidence of later manorial re-organisation. The circular, flat-topped motte is c. 80m across, standing external to a horseshoe-shaped bailey with maximum dimensions of c. 110 x 180m. The junction between motte and bailey is marked by a small conical mound and a series of outworks suggestive of a defended entranceway. Both motte and bailey show traces of wall footings indicative of a curtain wall and probable shell keep. Two fishponds are associated with the site, one rectangular stew with a central island immediately south, and a larger more irregular pool to the south-east.

Excavation: Minor excavations on the motte c. 1870 revealed stone foundations, including a round-headed arch; the results are otherwise unrecorded.

Documentation: The site was besieged by Henry II in 1220-21, when a castle of the earls of Aumale. Leland recognised "....great walls of building" at Bytham in the mid 16th century.

Sources:

King 1983, 260, 266
King and Alcock 1969, 117
Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 23)
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00096
Renn 1968, 126

CASTLE CARLTON (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
South Reston
TF 395836

Situation: The motte and bailey occupies a low natural rise on the edge of Castle Wood, lying north-west of, and adjacent to the earthworks of Castle Carlton DMV.

Preservation: The earthworks are well preserved, yet engulfed by dense undergrowth.

Description: The site comprises a large and steep, circular motte, contained within a single circular bailey which extends to the south-east. The bailey is enclosed by a substantial rampart and ditch, wet on the north and west sides, and a single broad ditch, oriented east-west divides the bailey into two courts of approximately equal size.

Excavation:

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in 1205, and again in 1219 when an order prohibited its (re)fortification, implying its defences to be weak, deficient or at least in ill-repair.

Sources:

King 1983, 260, 266
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 000122
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. TF 38 SE 5
Owen 1992
Renn 1968, 134
RCHM: NMP (Lincs.), Sheet No. TF 38 SE

CORBY GLEN

Motte
Corby Glen
SK 000251

Situation: The motte is sited upon a spur of high ground near the village church.

Preservation:

Description: The site comprises a sub-rectangular platform, c. 45m east-west x 25m north-south, enclosed by a partially wet ditch averaging c. 15m in width. The platform attains a maximum height of c. 4.5m and is characterised by a markedly hollow summit, perhaps indicative of a collapsed structure, although no masonry remains are evident - the earthwork is certainly not a ringwork. A straight length of denuded ditch immediately east of the platform extends on a north-south orientation for c. 50m, possibly representing the remains of a former outer enclosure.

Excavation: No recognised excavation has taken place, although 12th- to 15th-century shell gritted wares were recovered from the motte, and an area of cobbling revealed during the construction of footings for a bungalow immediately west of the mound.

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 260
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00100
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. SK 92 NE 7

FLEET

Motte
Fleet
TF 385231

Situation: The motte lies on low ground, once marshy although now traversed by drainage ditches, isolated over 1km south Fleet village.

Preservation: Destruction through ploughing has reduced the site to a crop-mark only.

Description: The site, previously marked on maps as a *tumulus* previously, comprised an approximately circular, ditched mound of unknown dimensions.

Excavation: The site was excavated in 1913, although not fully published. The recovered ceramic assemblage included at least two sherds, said to be iron age, Roman coarse black and grey pot, and a volume of 11th-/12th-century material, in addition to post-medieval sherds. Re-evaluation by H. Healey of the sherds originally identified as iron age has suggested that they are rather of middle Saxon date. Additional finds included pig and sheep bones, a human tibia, oyster shell and charcoal.

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 260
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 22265
OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 32 SE 4
Renn 1968, 189

FOLKINGHAM

Ringwork and Bailey/Stone Castle
Folkingham
TF 074335

Situation: The castle complex lies immediately south-east of the large rectangular market place forming the focus of Folkingham village.

Preservation: The site comprises an extensive yet confused series of earthworks; the centre of the ringwork is much disturbed by the construction within of a (now ruined) prison in 1825.

Description: Folkingham castle is a large and powerful ringwork and bailey, remodelled as a moated stone castle in the 14th century. The key element of the site is a squarish moated island c. 90m across, standing off-centre within a moated and embanked outer court c. 180m across. A zone of mutilated earthworks to the west of the site represent a series of associated fishponds, although with no plan is intelligible.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle was licensed to Henry Beaumont 1311-12; the site had "fallith all to ruin" in Leland's time.

Sources:

King 1983, 261, 266
Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 25
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00086
OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 03 SE 2

GOLTHO

Ringwork/Motte and Bailey
Goltho
TF 116774

Situation: The castle/manor site lay on a thin, slightly elevated, lens of sand in the south-east corner of the former earthworks of Goltho DMV; both occupy a low-lying clayland site.

Preservation: The excavations of the manor and DMV took place in anticipation of agricultural clearance; this has eradicated all traces of manorial and village earthworks.

Description: Prior to excavation, the site comprised a low mound of squarish plan, *c.* 48m across. The feature was entirely surrounded by a shallow yet wide ditch with a maximum width of *c.* 16m and similarly square plan, although the churchyard cut through part of the north-east corner. A low bank and second minor ditch stood external to the ditch on the south and east sides, the southern element projecting further west to partially define an oval enclosure - presumably a former bailey - extending *c.* 28m beyond the line of the ditch.

Excavation: The site was extensively excavated by G. Beresford between 1971-74, establishing a remarkable sequence of occupation, although the precise dating of the phases has remained a subject for debate. The dates given below follow Beresford's chronology:

Phase I (c. AD 50-200): Romano-British occupation, comprising a sequence of three circular houses.

Phase II (c. 800-850): A middle Saxon settlement of timber and clay houses standing within large earthwork enclosures fronting on to a street.

Phase III: (c. 850-950): A large, fortified oval enclosure containing a complex of timber buildings interpreted as a bow-sided hall, weaving shed, kitchen and bower.

Phase IV: (c. 950-1000): A rebuilt complex of timber buildings, enclosed within an unchanged fortification.

Phase V: (c. 1000-1080): Reconstruction of the timber buildings within a fortified egg-shaped enclosure of increased size and strength.

Phase VI: (c. 1080-1150): A small timber-revetted motte with timber tower was raised in the north-east corner of the enclosure, forming a single bailey containing a small hall.

Phase VII: (c. 1150): The bailey was filled in and the motte and ramparts lowered to form a large flat castle mound supporting a large aisled hall.

Re-assessments of Beresford's dating have focussed on the Period 3 complex, suggesting that analysis of the ceramics assemblage as opposed to the historical logic employed by the excavator as a dating aid suggest a probable 10th-century date for this phase of the site, with the implication that subsequent phases may be dated too early.

Documentation: The castle site is not mentioned specifically in contemporary documentation; the alleged connection with the Kyme family is based wholly on the circumstantial evidence of manorial descent.

Sources:

Bassett 1985

Beresford 1987

Everson 1988; 1990

Hodges 1988

King 1983, 265

OS Antiquity Model, TF 17 NW 12

GRIMETHORPE

Stone Castle

Edenham

TF 044227

Situation: The castle site lies amidst formalised garden surroundings south-west of the village of Grimsthorpe.

Preservation: Only a single tower survives of the medieval castle; the remainder has been rebuilt as a country house from the 16th century onward.

Description: King John's tower is a square medieval structure representing the south-east tower of a 13th-century quadrangular castle; the medieval plan is otherwise obscured by rebuilding.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 261

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 33661

OS Antiquity Model, Site No. TF 02 SW 7

HANBY (Castle Hill)

Motte

Welton le Marsh

TF 476698

Situation: The motte lies in the vicinity of Hanby DMV c. 200m east of Hanby Hill Farm.

Preservation: The south-west corner of the feature is mutilated by the construction of a railway, now dismantled, which isolates motte from DMV.

Description: The earthwork comprises a rectangular platform measuring *c.* 25m east-west x *c.* 20m north-south, with vestiges of a surrounding ditch *c.* 15m in width surviving to the east, and for a short stretch to the north-west. Elsewhere, the alignment of the ditch can be traced in the profile of the hedgerow to the north of the motte, and traces of a denuded external counterscarp bank with a maximum height of *c.* 0.2m can also be identified in places. The summit of the platform is characterised by a prominence in the north-east corner, from which the surface of the earthwork slopes away to the south-west. Although the site has previously been identified as a barrow, it is more likely to represent a motte or castle mound, and in this sense its similarity with the castle mound at GOLTWO may be instructive.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 46 NE 4

HAYDOUR (Castle Hills)

Ringwork and Bailey

Heydour

TF 007397

Situation: Castle Hills lies on rising ground north-west of Heydour village.

Preservation: Although the plan of the earthwork is clear, elements have suffered from mutilation; the north-west segment of the ringwork is levelled, and the bailey ditch largely filled in.

Description: The site comprises a much mutilated circular ringwork with a single semi-circular bailey appended to the south. The ringwork, averaging *c.* 60m in diameter was primarily defended by a ditch *c.* 12m in width and *c.* 1.5m deep externally and *c.* 2.5m internally, demonstrating that the enclosed area is artificially raised; the primary entrance to the work seems to have been from the south, where the ditch is crossed by an earthen causeway. A series of building foundations can be recognised within the ringwork, although no ground plan is intelligible. The bailey, measuring *c.* 90m east-west x 50m north-south is defined by a scarp, with faint traces of an external ditch. A number of earthwork features north-east of the ringwork are presumably associated with village shrinkage rather than connected functionally with the castle site.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Healey and Roffe [Undated], 58-60

King 1983, 261

King and Alcock 1969, 117

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00120

HOUGH-ON-THE-HILL (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Hough-on-the-Hill
SK 924464

Situation: The motte and bailey lies at the north-eastern tip of a low natural promontory running into the centre of Hough-on-the-Hill village, and incorporates the village church within its defences.

Preservation: The site survives as a prominent earthwork feature, although details are denuded by modern development: a school building and playground has been sited over a levelled section of the motte's eastern flank, and the northern bailey defences are similarly levelled as a result of building activity.

Description: The site comprises a circular motte with an approximate base diameter of c. 37m and flat summit of c. 16m diameter. A single, trapezoidal bailey is appended to the south-east of the motte, with maximum dimensions of c. 120 x 75m, the long axis oriented north-east - south-west. The bailey perimeter is defined to the south and west by a steep artificial scarp with the present road running along its foot, its northern limit being fossilised in the alignment of property boundaries. All Saints' Church stands centrally within the bailey, which appears to have been conceived around it. A series of minor earthworks immediately east of the motte - comprising an artificial terrace to the north-east and steep artificial bank to the east - relate to the artificial channelling of an adjacent watercourse and containment of a pond, seemingly reflecting the basis for a manorial water mill.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 261
Lincs. SMR, No. 00180
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 94 NW 14
RCHM: NMP (Lincs.), Sheet No. SK 94 NW

KINGERBY (Kingerby Hall)

Early Castle
Osgodby
TF 056928

Situation: An early castle site is likely to underlie the present moated site of Kingerby Hall, located centrally within the formerly extensive earthworks of Kingerby DMV.

Preservation: The earthworks exist in a relatively poor state of preservation; a private house has been sited in the centre of the mound, and a section of the east side of the earthwork levelled to provide access. The remainder of the site has been adapted as a private garden, the ditch on the southern side being severely landscaped.

Description: The site comprises a low moated mound, squarish in plan and with a maximum dimension of c. 80m. The feature is raised c. 1.5m above the surrounding land surface, whilst the ditch - water filled on its northern side - has a maximum depth of c. 1.8m and averages c. 10-12m in width. Although the site

is presently of no greater than moated proportions, the substantial moated island, when viewed in conjunction with documentary evidence (see below) is suggestive of the lowering of a former motte, or - less likely - the filling in of a ringwork. To the east of the mound a curvilinear feature comprising a steep scarp and low external ditch projects from the north-east corner of the earthwork to define what may formerly have been a small semi-circular eastern bailey with approximate dimensions of c. 70m east-west x 95m north-south; the curvilinear line of the road immediately north would also seem likely to fossilise the former plan of this feature. A similar scarp projecting west from the north-west corner of the mound may similarly indicate the position of a second, western, bailey, which a further series of scarps to the south suggest may have been squarish in plan, and measured c. 140m north-south. Kingerby Hall was extensively remodelled in the post-medieval period and completely rebuilt in 1812, although an 18th-century illustration depicts the two-storey wing of probable 14th-/15th-century date at right angles to a post-medieval house.

Excavation: It is recorded that two inhumations and a Bronze-age pennanular bracelet were found on the site during rebuilding operations on the hall in c. 1812. A quillon dagger of probable 15th-century date was found immediately north of the house in 1821. In 1994 alterations to the ornamental lake in the grounds of the Hall revealed two further inhumations in association with a series of circular pits, ditches, postholes, a dump of animal bone and ceramics assemblage indicative of Roman and Anglo-Saxon activity.

Documentation: In 1218 it is recorded that the *castrum* at Kingerby had been captured in the reign of John, yet not destroyed, although the order to do so followed.

Sources:

Everson *et al.* 1991
Field and George 1995, 45
King 1983, 261, 266-67
OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 09 SE 3
Renn 1968, 218
RCHM: NMP (Lincs.), Sheet No. TF 09 SE

LEGSBY (The Mount)

Possible Motte
Legsby
TF 133839

Situation: 'The Mount' lies in a spinney at a road junction, c. 350m north-east of Mount Pleasant Farm.

Preservation: The earthwork is well preserved under woodland.

Description: The site comprises an artificial circular mound, c. 20m in diameter, and with a maximum height of c. 1.5m above the level of a surrounding ditch. The ditch is c. 5-6m wide and attains a maximum depth no greater than c. 1m; it entirely surrounds the mound on all sides other than to the south-east, where an earthen causeway marks a former point of access. Although the site has long been suggested to be a small motte, its dimensions and local place-name 'Mount Pleasant' recommend that it can more appropriately be classified as a post-medieval ornamental mound or mill mound.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Everson *et al.* 1991, 126-27

King 1983, 261

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00157

OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 18 SW 11

RCHM: NMP (Lincs.), Sheet No. TF 18 SW

LINCOLN

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle

Lincoln (NPA)

SK 975718

Situation: The castle lies at the core of historic Lincoln, immediately west of the cathedral and in the south-west corner of the upper city.

Preservation: Although much disturbed by post-medieval usage as a prison, the surviving medieval structures are now largely consolidated and well preserved as a heritage site.

Description: The castle site is remarkable in the provision of two mottes, both standing on the south side of a squarish enclosure. A 15-sided shell keep was raised on the larger motte (Lucy Tower), and a rectangular tower on the minor eminence (Observatory Tower). The curtain wall - containing much early herringbone-work - links both features to describe the single ward.

Excavation: Excavations on the Observatory Tower in 1974 showed it to be of 12th-century construction, thus post-dating the Lucy Tower. The cutting of an east-west cable trench within the castle in 1979 revealed the west wall of a probable medieval structure of uncertain function immediately inside the east gate of the castle. Excavations and survey at the west gate tower by D. Stocker in 1982-83 revealed the surviving Norman tower of *c.* 1100 to be a secondary development, the earlier phase comprising revetted earthen banks surmounted with a timber structure. Work continued in the same area under M. Otter in 1987-89, revealing a series of late-12th/early-13th-century extensions to the north and south passageway walls; further work in 1992 revealed the battered foundations of a stone tower north of the barbican, abutting a probable 12th-century revetment wall for a causeway.

Documentation: The castle is mentioned incidentally in Domesday (i, 336b). Substantial repairs are recorded in the Pipe Rolls for 1190-91, 1193-94 and 1199-1200.

Sources:

Donel 1992

Gaimster *et al.* 1989, 201-02; 1990, 201

Jones 1980

King 1983, 261-62, 267

Nenk *et al.* 1993, 272-73

Renn 1968, 226-27

Youngs *et al.* 1983, 190; 1985, 191; 1988, 261

SLEAFORD

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Sleaford
TF 064255

Situation: The castle lies in the south-west corner of Sleaford town, constructed on a low natural eminence between two tributaries of the Slea.

Preservation: The site survives as a confused series of amorphous earthworks only.

Description: Little can be understood of the site's plan, although the castle was undoubtedly encompassed by a substantial wet ditch, of which vestiges survive, defining a square ward, *c.* 70m across, with a subsidiary enclosure to the west. The site was evidently fortified in stone, as indicated by a substantial volume of fallen masonry, although the format of these defences remains obscure.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle was raised as a fortified seat of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, *c.* 1124-39.

Sources:

Healey and Roffe [Undated], 64-65
King 1983, 262, 267
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00038
Mahany and Roffe 1979, 17
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. TF 04 NE 11
Renn 1968, 312-13

SOMERTON

Stone Castle
Boothby Graffoe
SK 954587

Situation: The castle site occupies an isolated, low, marshy site once closely associated with the vanished DMV of Somerton.

Preservation: A complex of modern farm buildings occupy the interior of the castle site.

Description: The surviving earthworks of Somerton Castle comprise series of complex, apparently multiphase earthworks based around a strongly moated and ramparted rectangular enclosure; the castle was designed in the quadrangular mode, with circular towers at the angles. The key earthwork elements to the site are: a U-shaped ramparted enclosure forming the southern limit of the complex; an internal raised island immediately south of the masonry remains of the castle; and additional moated and ramparted defences flanking the castle site to the east and west. In addition, a subsidiary square moated enclosure *c.* 83m across lies immediately south of the main earthwork complex, whilst a rectangular wet moat which flanks the main masonry castle to the east and west continues to form a three-sided moated enclosure projecting *c.* 140m north of the main site. The present earthworks - in particular the moated enclosures to the north and south - testify to a post-military remodelling of the environs of the castle site as a formalised garden arrangement. Of the masonry elements of the castle, the principal surviving component is the south-east tower, surviving to a height of three storeys. Elements of the southern curtain wall project west

from the tower, although obscured by the addition of an Elizabethan wing, which also incorporates the basis of the south-west tower.

Excavation: The excavation of an inspection pit at SK 95395876 in 1958 identified a volume of Romano-British pottery at a depth of c. 5ft, and medieval sherds of approximately 13th-century date.

Documentation: Licence to crenellate Somerton castle was granted to The Bishop of Durham in 1281, although was granted to Edward II in 1309, and is further granted and subsequently recovered into Royal ownership in the period 1328-34. A manorial extent of 1308 implies the existence of a castle and mentions a series of associated gardens. A series of repairs are recorded at Somerton in the period 1323-26. The castle is further documented in 1359-60 as the place of imprisonment for King John I of France.

Sources:

King 1983, 262-263; 268

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 95 NE 1

SPALDING

Vanished Early Castle

Spalding

TF 248230

Situation: The site of Spalding castle is occupied by housing and gardens in the centre of Spalding, although a substantial ditch was visible in 'Coney Garth' in 1746. Substantial fragments of carved masonry derived from the castle have been located in the area, although the site has not been sampled archaeologically.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 22358

OS Antiquity Model, Site No. TF 22 SW 10

STAINBY (Tower Hill/Ring Castle)

Motte

Gunby and Stainby

SK 909226

Situation: Tower Hill lies on sharply rising ground on the south side of the hamlet of Stainby.

Preservation: The surface of the mound has been disturbed by quarrying and agricultural tipping.

Description: The Tower Hill earthwork is an artificial oval mound, c. 40m east-west by c. 35m north-south. It stands c. 2.5-3m in height above the base of the external ditch, which encloses it on all sides other than a gap to the north-east, where a narrow causeway marks the position of a former entrance. The ditch averages c. 7m in width and, c. 0.5m in depth - the position of the site making it likely that it never held water. The character of the sunken interior of the mound suggests that this feature relates to modern disturbance of a motte rather than the site representing a small ringwork.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Healey and Roffe [Undated], 67-68

King 1983, 263

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00262

STAMFORD

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle

Stamford

TF 027070

Situation: Stamford Castle is raised upon a natural knoll dominating both the town and approaches to it, and a crossing of the Welland to the south. It lies between the Sheep Market and the mill stream branching from the Welland.

Preservation: The site is almost entirely engulfed by modern development. Of the early castle only the motte survives, now badly cut away; of the masonry phases only vestigial remains survive above ground level.

Description: The first identifiable phase is a motte with quadrangular bailey, which stretched down to the river to the south. The motte was subsequently altered and enlarged to take a circular (shell?) keep, although this was destroyed in 1933 with little evidence - other than the record that it measured c. 20m in diameter - surviving. Surviving lengths of curtain walling are likely to date to a similar time or slightly later. Other above-ground remains include rubble outhouses at the corner of Castle Dyke incorporating 14th-century splayed arches, and a postern gate associated with a length of walling in Bath Row.

Excavation: Extensive excavations by C. Mahany in the period 1971-76 revealed a 12th-century hall, solar and undercrofts, and corn-drying kilns in the south-east corner of the bailey, all built on an area extensively quarried for stone in the Saxo-Norman period. North of an associated cellar was revealed a pottery kiln, dated by wasters to the 9th/10th century, whilst other features of equivalent date included a U-shaped ditch with internal palisade, and concentric palisade suggestive of late-Saxon fortification of the knoll. Sectioning of the motte ditch demonstrated an episode of late 12th-century infilling, likely coinciding with alterations in the motte to support the keep.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned indirectly in Domesday (i, 336b, 2), and more prominently in 1153, when both castle and town were held against Henry II. By 1340 the castle was in a poor state of repair; being finally demolished in the reign of Richard III.

Sources:

King 1983, 263, 268

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00128

Mahany 1978, 15-31

OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 00 NW 2

Renn 1968, 315

Webster and Cherry 1973, 161-62; 1977, 235-36

Wilson and Hurst 1968, 177

SWINESHEAD (Man War Ings)

Motte
Swineshead
TF 243410

Situation: The earthwork occupies a low lying, marshy site, isolated c. 1km north-east of the village of Swineshead.

Preservation: The central platform has been mutilated by Home Guard occupation in the form of a series of W. W. II brick-lined chambers inserted into the inner moat, whilst a well-maintained drainage channel on the north-west side of the site appears not to be original.

Description: The earthwork known as Manor Ings is a rare example of a low, double-ditched motte. The central platform has maximum dimensions of c. 40m east-west and c. 35m north-south, being raised c. 1.8-2m above the level of the surrounding ditch, and accessed via a causeway across both ditches on the east side, although a second break to the north-west may also be an original feature. The inner ditch is c. 15-m in width and c. 1.6m deep, whilst the outer ditch is c. 7m wide and c. 1.7m deep; both are periodically wet.

Excavation: A scatter of pottery, chiefly of 14th- to 16th-century date has been recovered from the environs of the site, whilst additional accounts report the recovery of pottery dating from the 13th century onwards, and the identification of medieval tile in the vicinity.

Documentation: The castle is first referred to by name in 1185-86, when a sum of money was left by Albert de Gresley for its repair, and again in 1215-16.

Sources:

Ancliffe 1980
Healey and Roffe [Undated], 69-71
King 1983, 263, 268
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00041
OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 24 SW 6
Renn 1968, 318

TATTERSHALL

Stone Castle
Tattershall
TF 210575

Situation: Tattershall Castle lies c. 300m south of the market place, on the east bank of the Bain.

Preservation: Of the former castle complex, masonry remains of the tower only survive, much of the remainder being visible as earthworks.

Description: The site originally comprised three stone-built wards; the inner an irregular walled polygonal enclosure with round towers, the other two wards being formed by the subdivision of a quadrangular ditched enclosure to the north-west into two units. The massive red-brick keep which

presently forms the key element to the site relates to an early 15th-century programme of remodelling, and represents part of a block including a hall.

Excavation: An assemblage of post-medieval pottery, mostly of 17th-century date was recovered during moat-cleaning operations in 1972.

Documentation: The site was originally licensed in 1231, although the present castle was constructed at in 1434-45 under the orders of Ralph, Baron Cromwell, a short period after which it passed to the Crown, remaining in Royal hands until the Civil War.

Sources:

King 1983, 263, 268

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00002

OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 25 NW 1

THONOCK (Castle Hills/Danes Camp)

Ringwork and Bailey

Thonock

SK 818915

Situation: The ringwork and bailey overlooks an extensive tract of the Trent valley to the west from the brow of a steep escarpment. The east-west road to the south of the site - hollowed markedly on its northern side - may be an early route of communication leading to a crossing point of the Trent.

Preservation: The earthworks remain prominent despite widespread disruption through mining activity, which has obliterated the area immediately west of the ringwork, in addition to smaller zones within the ringwork and two baileys.

Description: The Castle Hills earthwork comprises a ringwork and multiple baileys of immense strength. The ringwork is approximately circular, c. 75m across, and defined by an internal rampart and a surrounding ditch, with an external counterscarp bank marking its perimeter on all but the north side. The ringwork occupies a natural eminence, artificially scarped to form the defensive enclosure, although the rampart stands c. 4.5-5m above the encircling ditch. A small, semi-circular bailey enclosure appending to the north side of the ringwork has maximum dimensions of c. 110m east-west x 90m north south, and features clear earthworks of a series internal structures along its inner edge. A second, larger bailey is horseshoe-shaped and occupies the zone immediately south-east of the ringwork, having maximum dimensions of c. 155m east-west x 70m north-south. This feature is associated with the place-name 'White Chapel Garth', and 19th-century finds recommend the suggestion that it formerly enclosed the castle chapel. A minor scarp running south from the south-west corner of the southern bailey may formerly have defined a third enclosure which may have embraced an east-west hollow way to the south. The comparative plans of the two baileys recommend that the southern bailey is a later addition, especially in view of the way in which the counterscarp bank to the south of the ringwork is defensively rendered superfluous by the southern bailey, suggesting its pre-existence. It is further tenable that the smaller, northern enclosure is itself an earlier addition to a primary fortification.

Excavation: During replanting in 1815-16 a number of miscellaneous finds were made, including a battle axe, dagger, horseshoe and key, whilst large 'burial stones' came from an alleged burial ground in the southern bailey.

Documentation: The earthworks at Thonock may be the 'Castle of Gainsborough' granted by King Stephen shortly before 1146. It was still in residential use in the 14th century, although abandoned by the mid 16th century.

Sources:

Everson *et al.* 1991, 193-194

OS Antiquity Model, Site No. SK 89 SW 1

TOTHILL (Toothill)

Motte and Bailey

Tothill

TF 419810

Situation: The motte and bailey lies adjacent to Tothill Manor, on the southern edge of the denuded earthworks of Tothill DMV.

Preservation: The site is generally well preserved under permanent pasture and scrub, although the northern half of the bailey interior has been disrupted by the insertion of a farmyard complex, and the bailey rampart modified by dumping and quarrying.

Description: The site comprises an oval motte, artificially raised *c.* 7.5m above the surrounding land surface and with a flat summit *c.* 45m east-west x *c.* 35m north-south, and a maximum base diameter of *c.* 80m. The configuration of the bailey to the south is unconventional, comprising a wide single rampart sandwiched between an inner and outer ditch, projecting from the south-eastern extremity of the motte to define a small rectangular area *c.* 25m x 90m, with the long axis oriented north-west - south-east. The double defences fail to enclose the site on the north-west side, where marshy ground affords a degree of natural defence. A small square mound in the south-west angle of the bailey may relate to a post-military modification of the castle.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 264

WELBOURNE†

Ringwork

Welbourne

SK 968542

Situation: Castle Hill lies at the northern end of the cliff-edge village of Welbourne.

Preservation: The site is generally well preserved, although the defences are overgrown and the interior has been ploughed.

Description: The site comprises a D-shaped ringwork enclosure occupying a total area of *c.* 130 x 130m. The defences comprise a massive rampart and associated ditch, the alignment of which is fossilised in the deviation of the road around the site. This feature encloses the site on all sides other than to the south and

south-west, where a double bank associated with a stream defines the perimeter. An outer enclosure formerly existed to the west, although is now largely destroyed.

Excavation: None

Documentation: A charter of 1158 records a grant of land to Robert Rabaz in return for work on the castle wall.

Sources:

King 1983, 264, 268

King and Alcock 1969, 117

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00116

OS Antiquity Model, Site No. SK 95 SE 2

Renn 1968, 341-42

WITHERN (Castle Hill)

Possible Early Castle

Withern with Stain

TF 427821

Situation: Castle Hill lies at the south-western limit of Withern village.

Preservation: The earthwork is well preserved under pasture.

Description: The site comprises a large irregular trapezoidal mound averaging c. 65m across, surrounded by a substantial ditch. The perimeter of the mound is marked by a substantial rampart, and corners betray signs of former turret-type features, the angular plans of which suggest gun platforms of Civil War date rather than medieval features. In this respect, it is likely that the site originated as a Civil War fortification, although re-use of a medieval fortified site (a motte?) cannot be ruled out.

Excavation:

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 264

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00060

OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 48 SW 2

RCHM: NMP (Lincs.), Sheet No. TF 48 SW

WRANGLE (King's Hill)

Motte and Bailey

Wrangle

TF 413531

Situation: The site lies on the low, level ground of Wrangle Common, isolated over 1km north of Wrangle village.

Preservation: Of the extensive earthwork complex described below, only the motte and bailey survives, the remainder having been destroyed by ploughing. The site is presently preserved under permanent pasture.

Description: King's Hill comprises a large circular motte, c. 10m in diameter and c. 2m in height. A single embanked and ditched squarish bailey stands to the south, measuring c. 15m across. Several earthwork plans illustrate a series of up to five ditched enclosures surrounding the motte and bailey, including a small rectangular enclosure immediately north of the motte, a rectangular unit to the west, an elongated enclosure to the south, and a more complex series of smaller enclosures occupying a triangular area to the east. Together the complex of earthworks, including the motte and bailey occupy a zone approximately 370m east-west x 280m north-south.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Healey and Roffe [Undated], 72-73

King 1983, 264

Lane 1993, 77

Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 00084

OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 45 SW 1

WYBERTON (Wybert's Castle)

Early Castle

Wyberton

TF 335410

Situation: The castle occupies a low-lying position east of the village of Wyberton.

Preservation: The site is relatively well preserved other than the north-east corner of the enclosure is levelled.

Description: Wybert's castle is an irregular moated and embanked enclosure, occupying an area with maximum dimensions of c. 210m east-west x c. 160m north-south. An apparent gap on the north-east side of the perimeter appears not to be original, as a gap in the bank and causeway across the ditch in the south-east corner appear to represent the original point of access. A depression external to the moat on the north-west side may represent vestiges of a fish-pond complex, whilst a series of amorphous scarps and ditches in the field to the north may denote elements of associated outworks, yet form no coherent plan.

Excavation: Excavations by P. Mayes in 1960 revealed traces of a discontinuous limestone perimeter wall and 12th-/13th-century occupation layer within, whilst the recovery of later ridge tiles suggest occupation into of some form into the 15th century.

Documentation: None

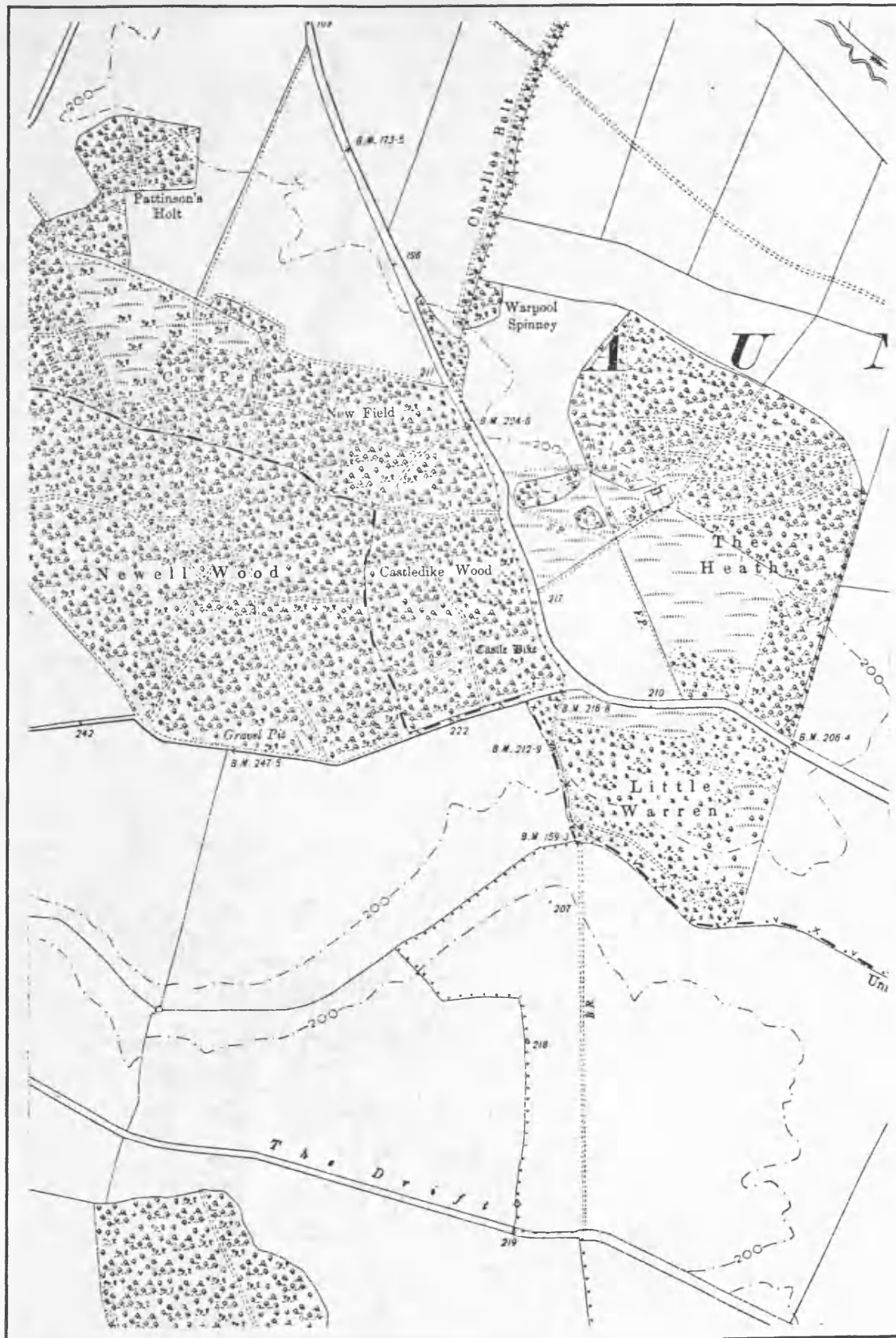
Sources:

King 1983, 264

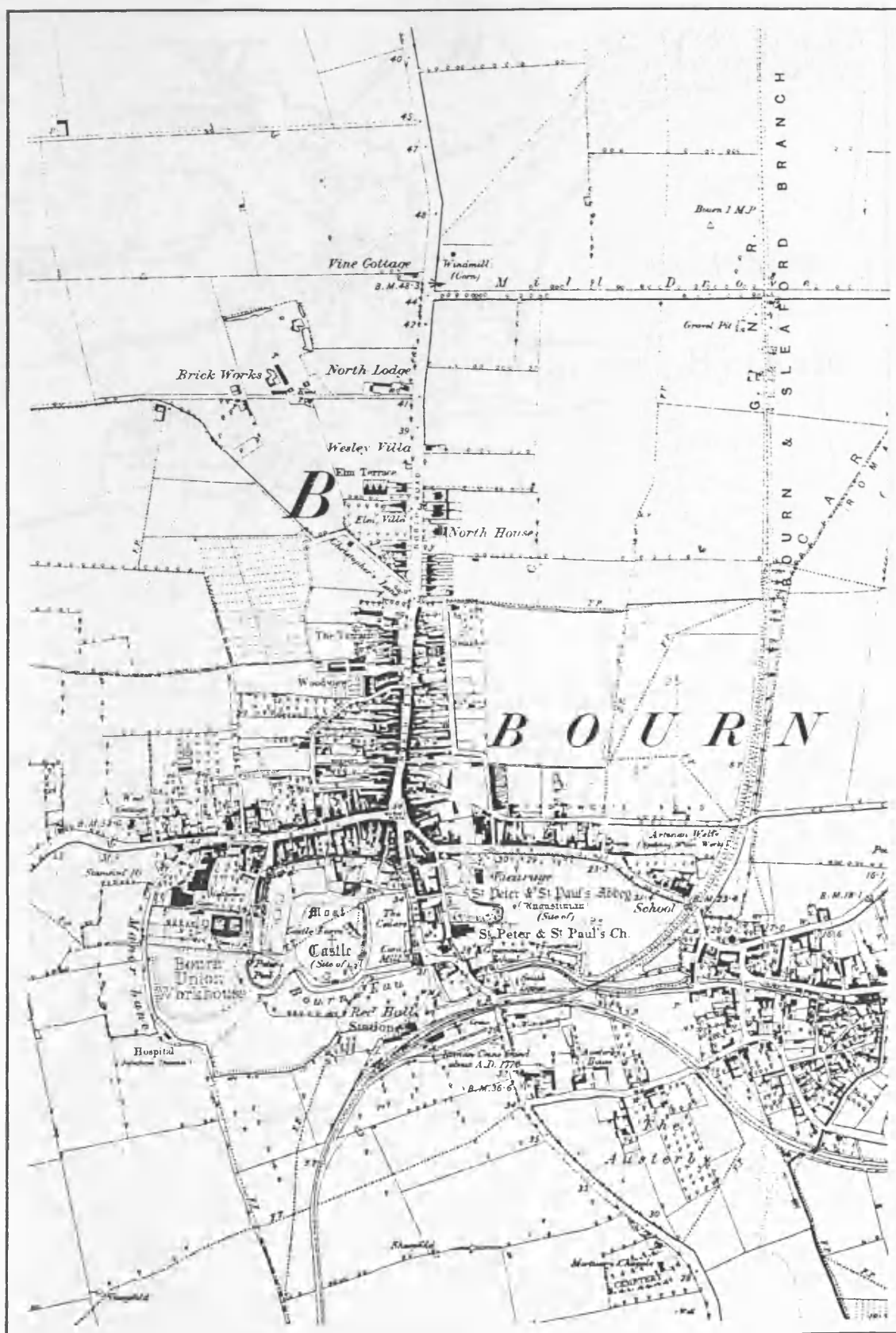
Lincs. SMR Site File, No. 12633

OS Antiquity Model, No. TF 34 SW 17

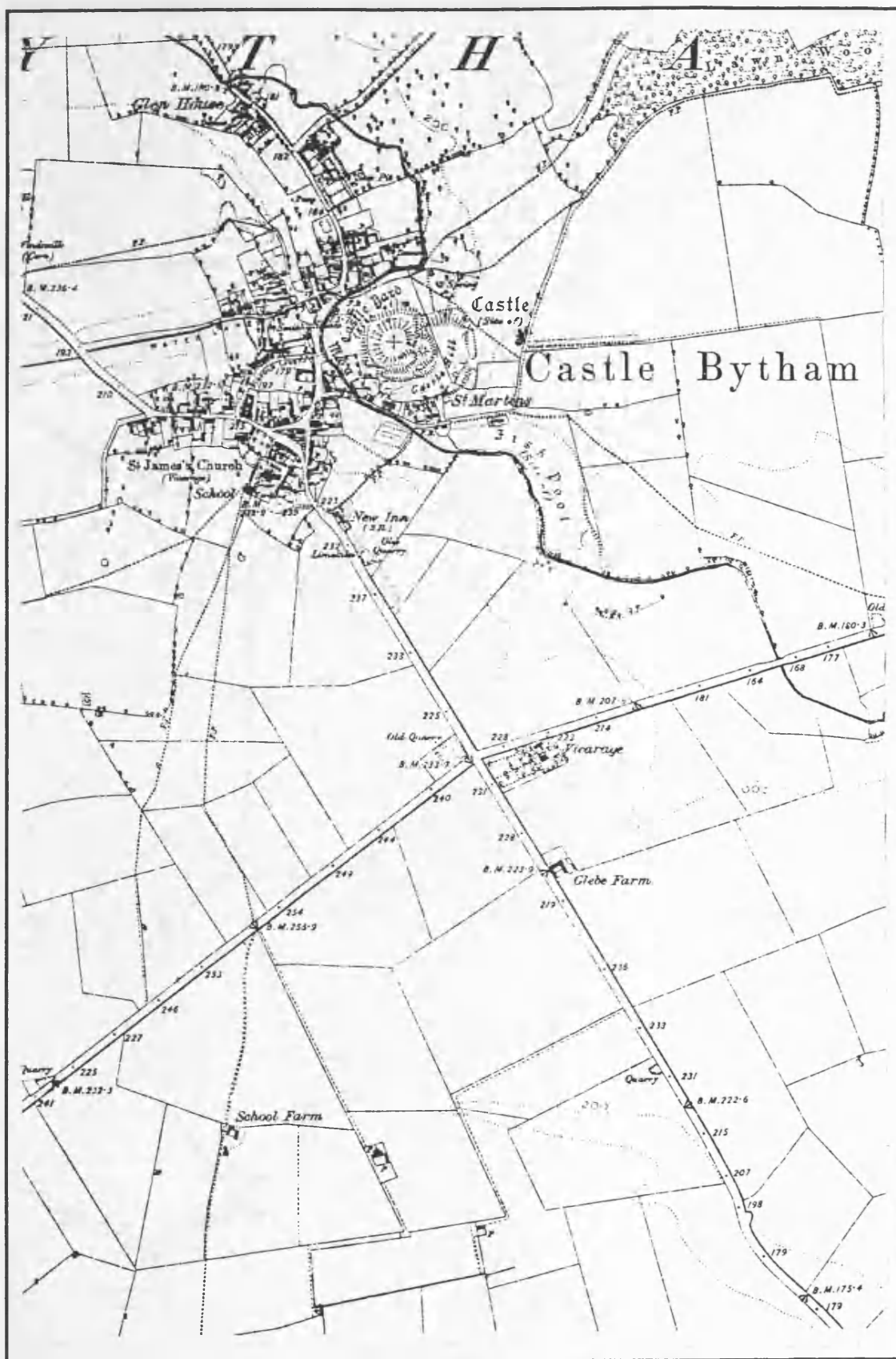
Wilson and Hurst 1961, 327-28



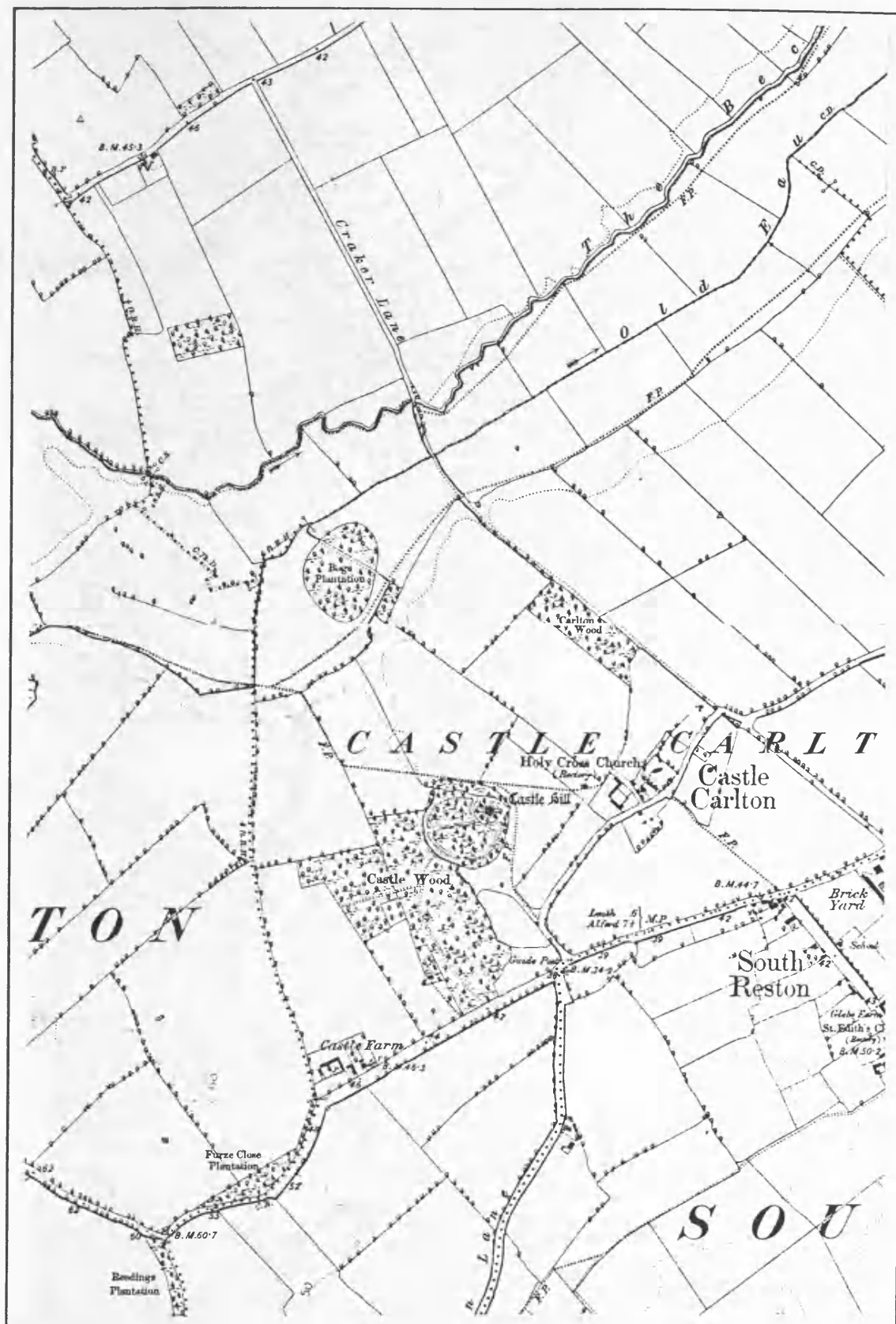
Aunby
OS Second Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXLV NE (1905)



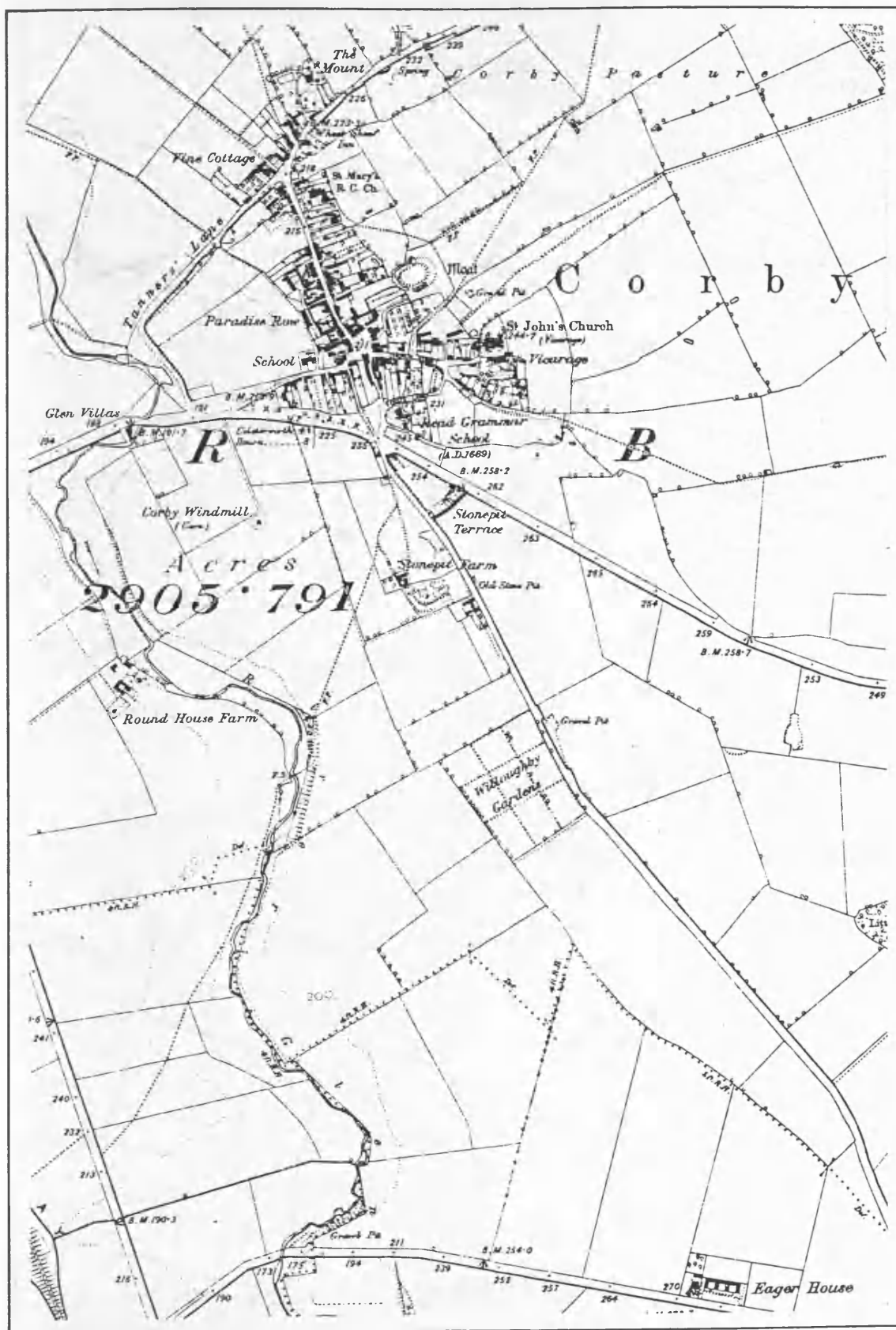
Bourne
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXL NE (1891)



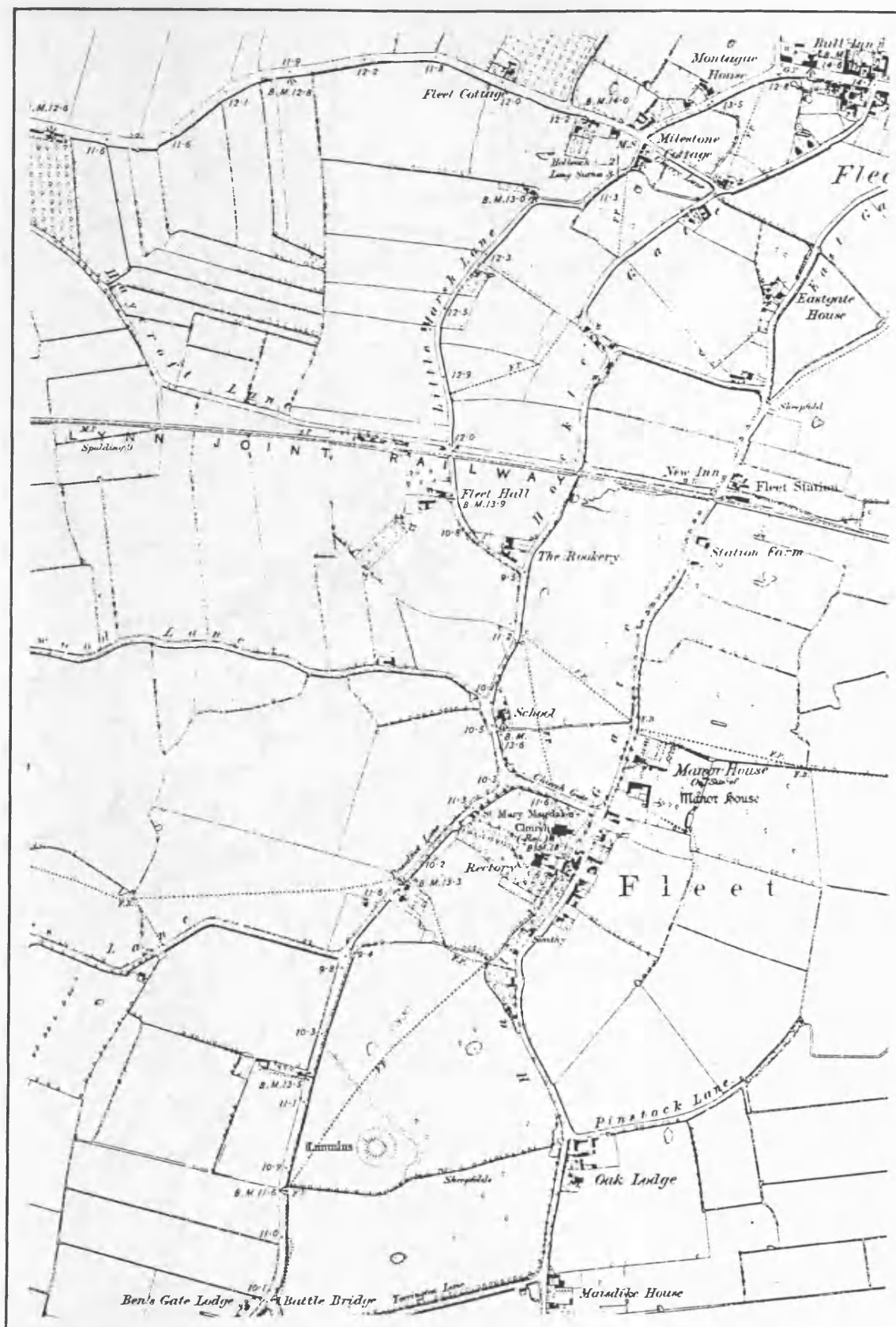
Castle Bytham
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXXXIX SE (1891)



Castle Carlton
 OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheets LVI NE (1890), and LVI
 SE (1890)



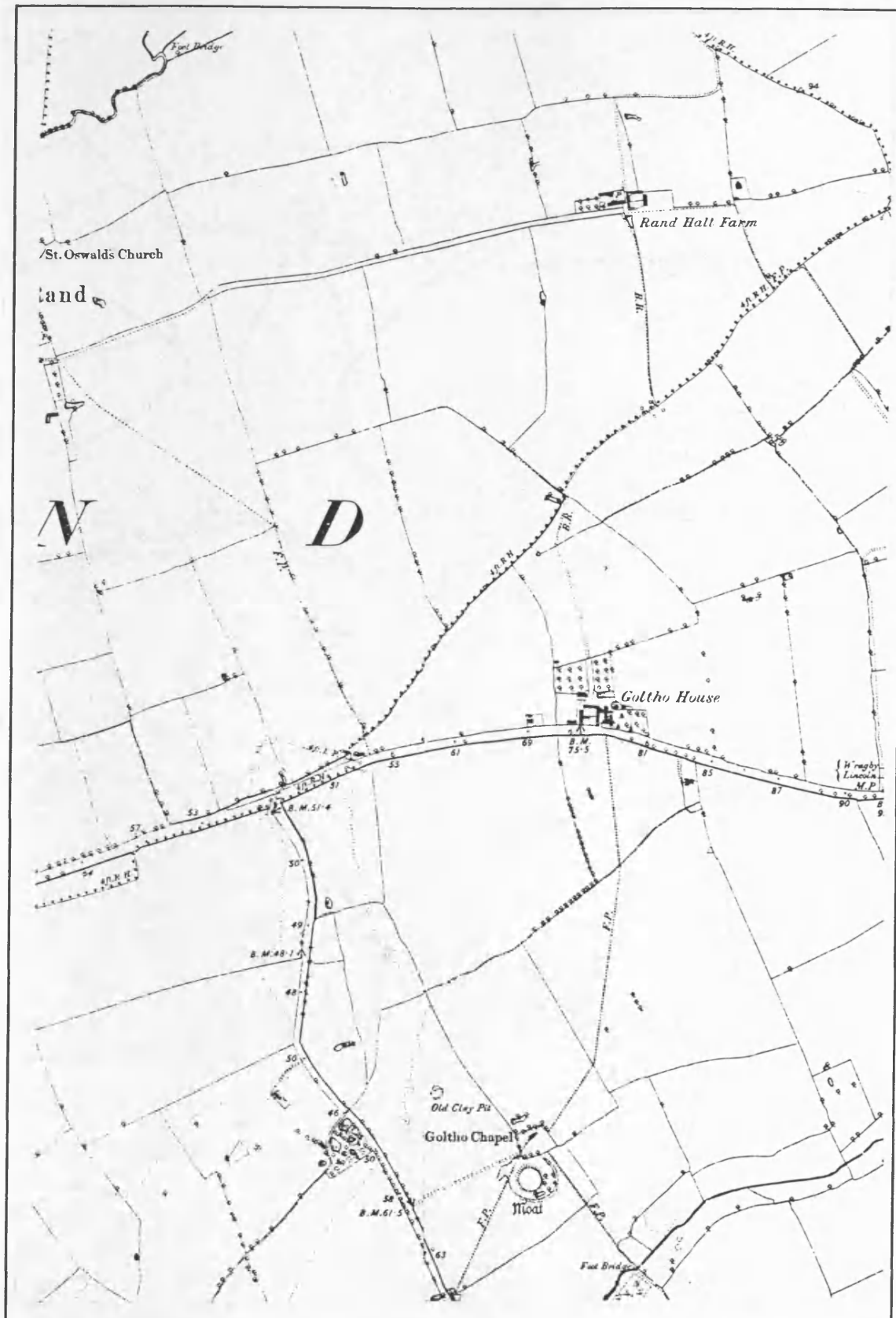
Corby Glen
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXXXI SE (1891)



Fleet
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXXXV (1891)



Folkingham
 OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXXIV NW (1891), and
 CXXIV NE (1891)



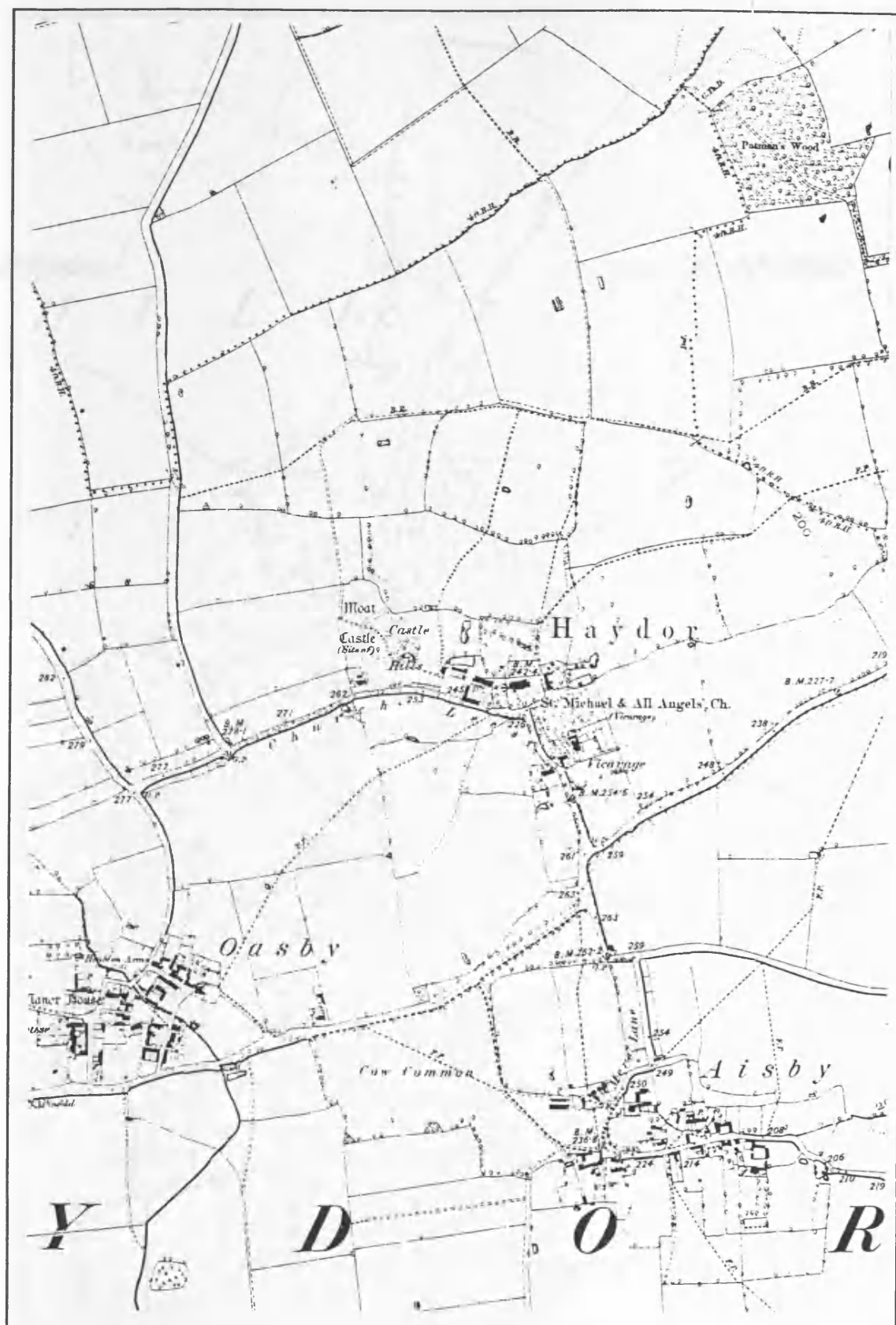
Goltho
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet LXIII NW (1891), and
LXII NE (1891)



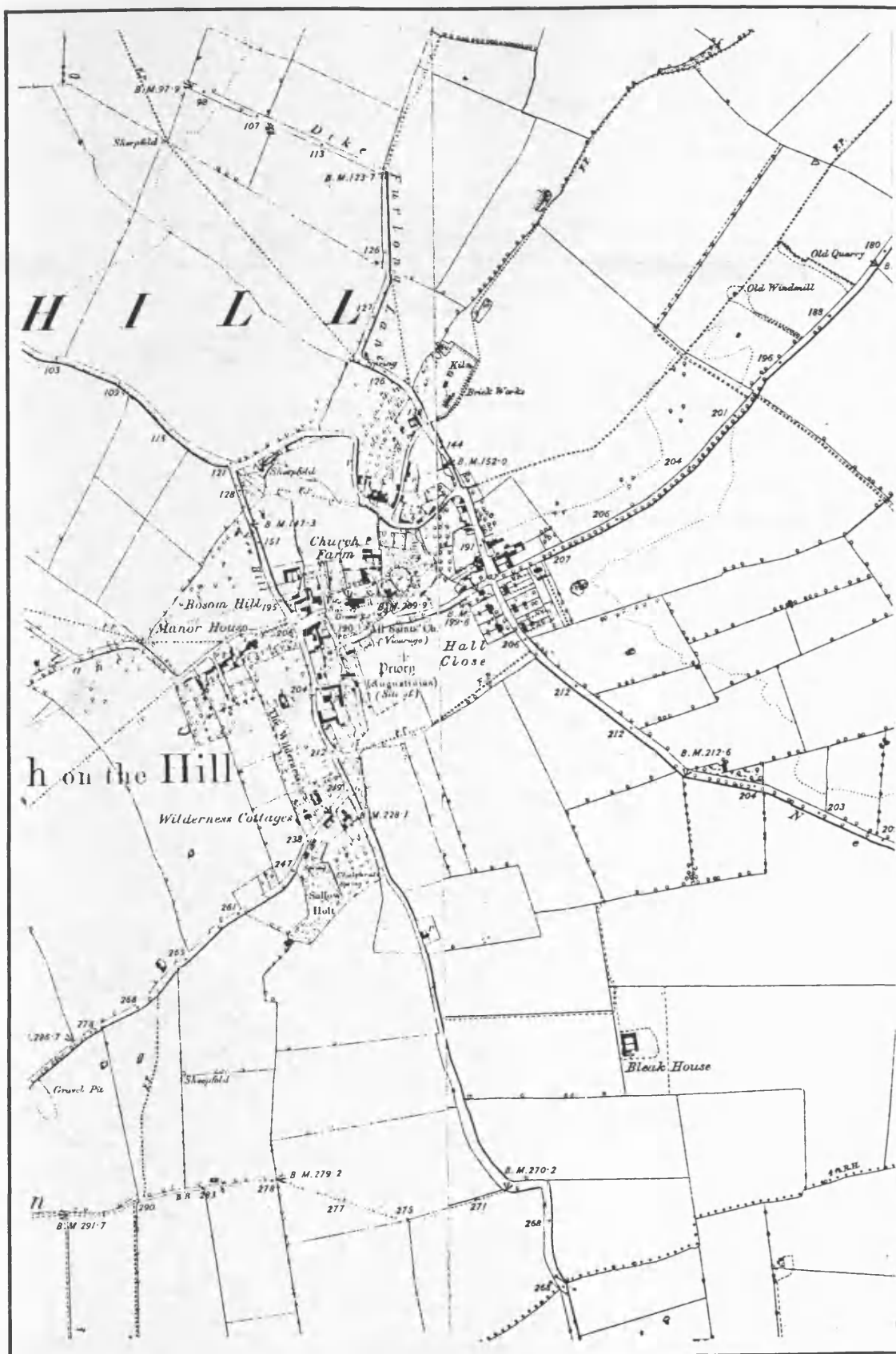
Grimsthorpe
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXXXII SW (1891)



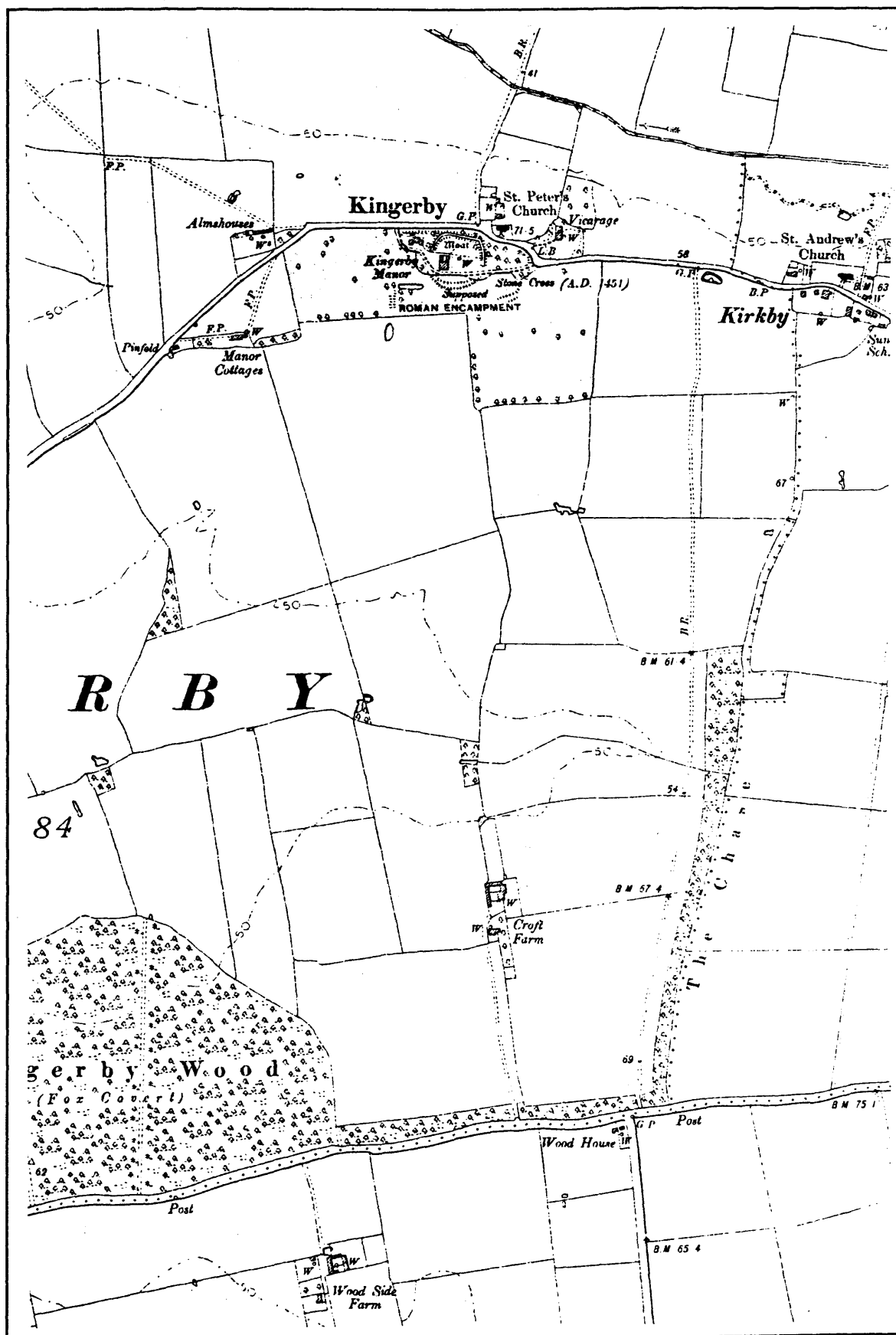
Hanby
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet LXXV SE (1892)



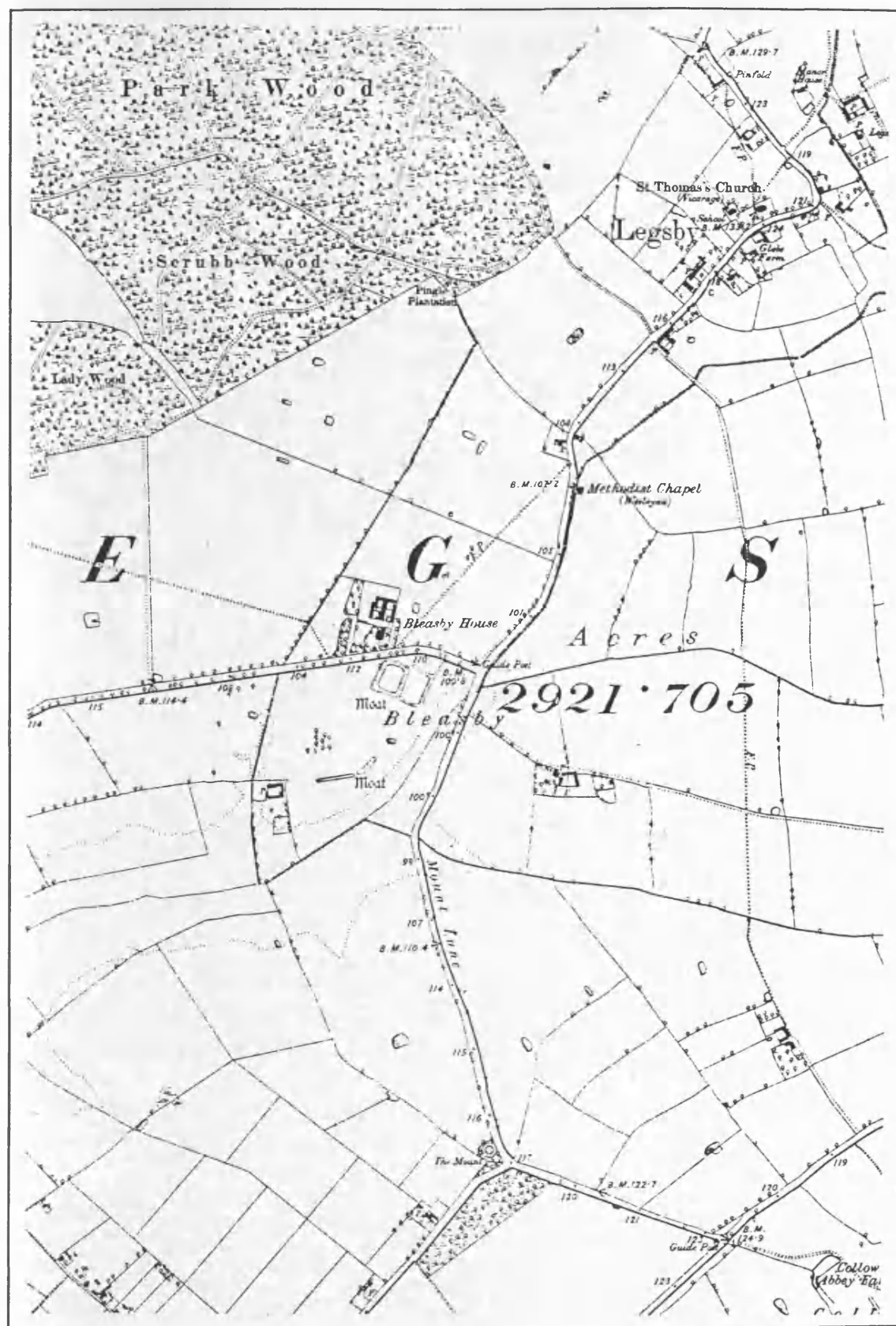
Haydour
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXIV NE (1890)



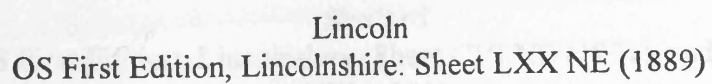
Hough-on-the-Hill
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CIV NE (1891)



Kingerby
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet XLV NW (1905)

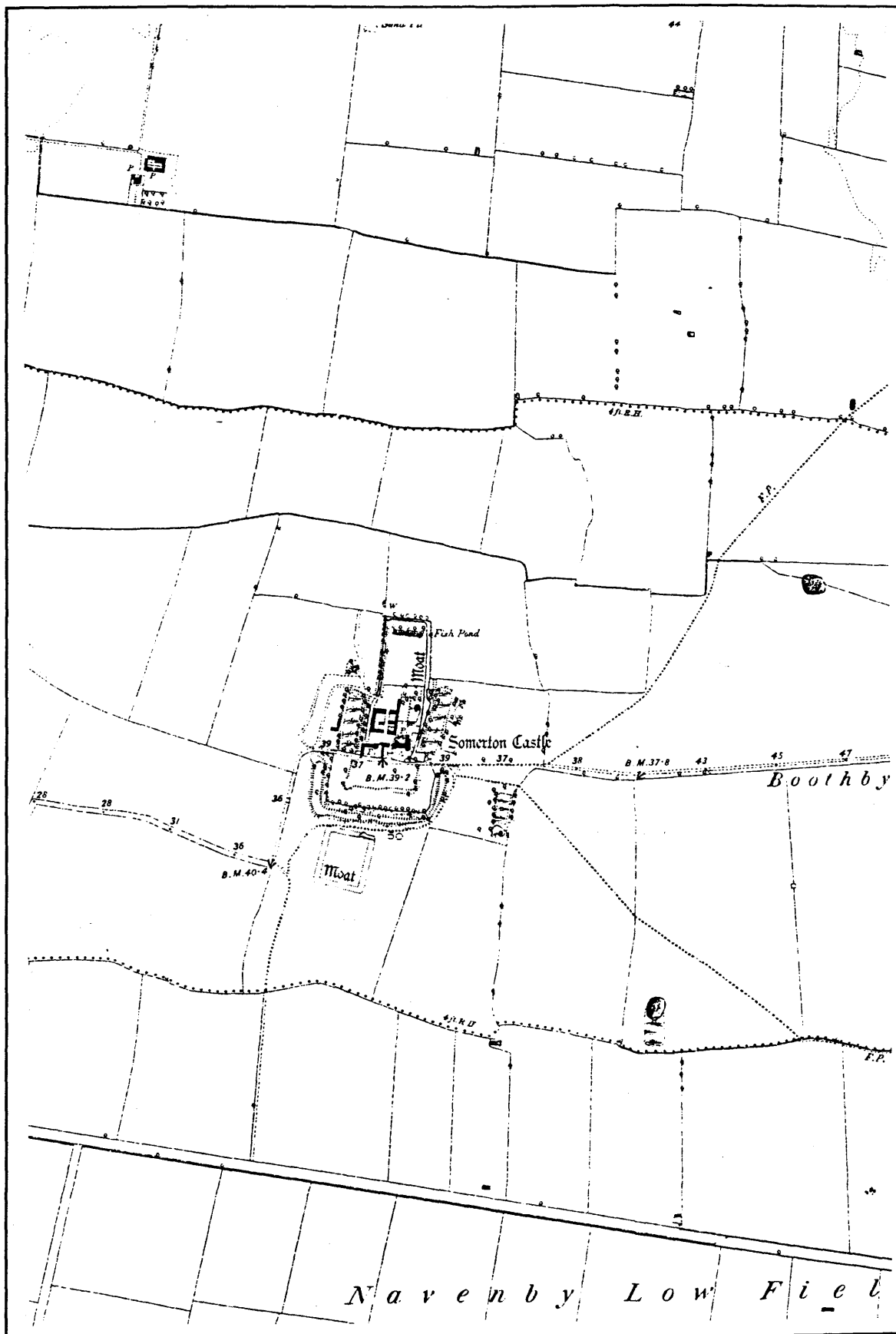


Legsby
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet LIV NW (1891)

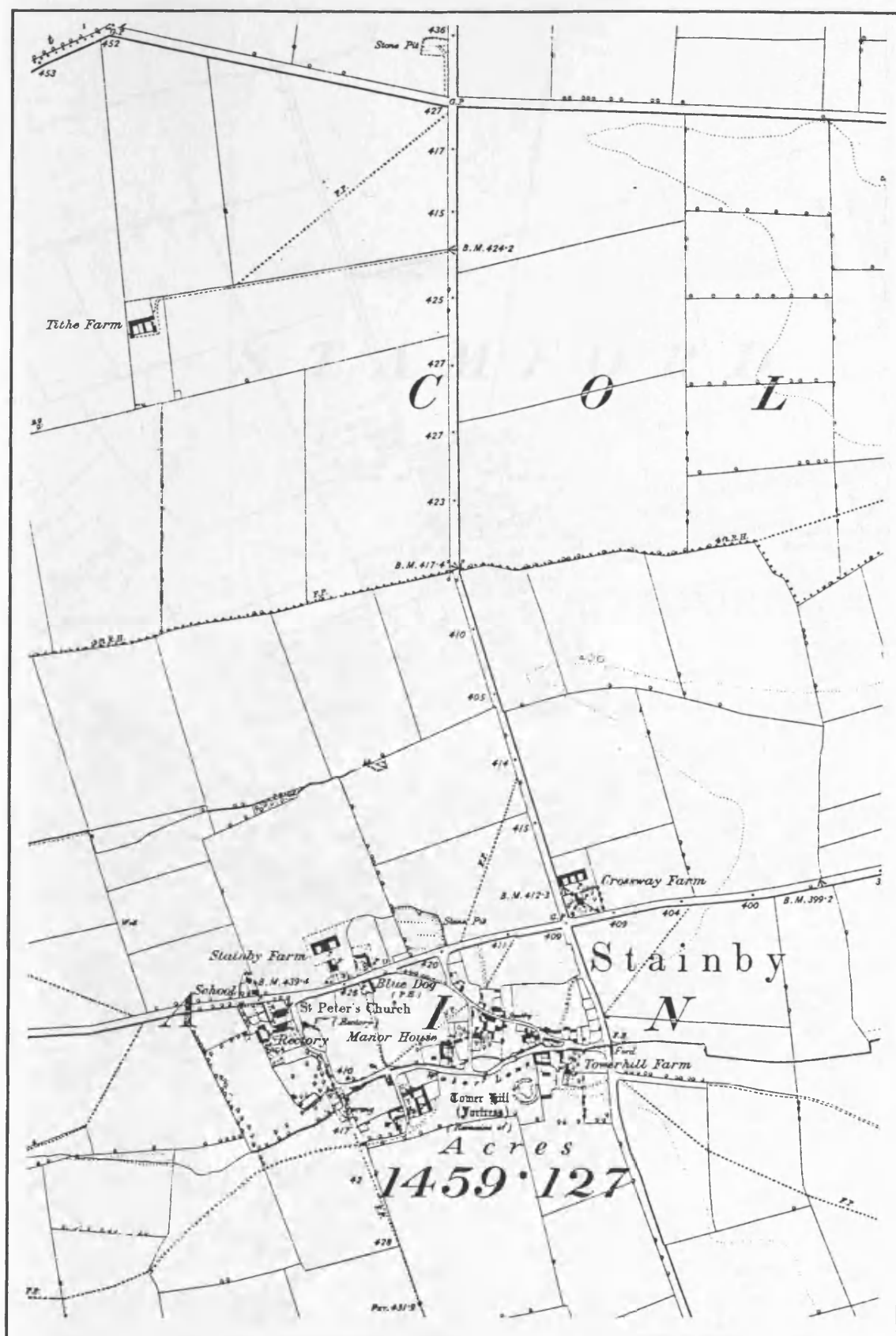




Sleford
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CVI NE (1891), and CVI
NW (1891)



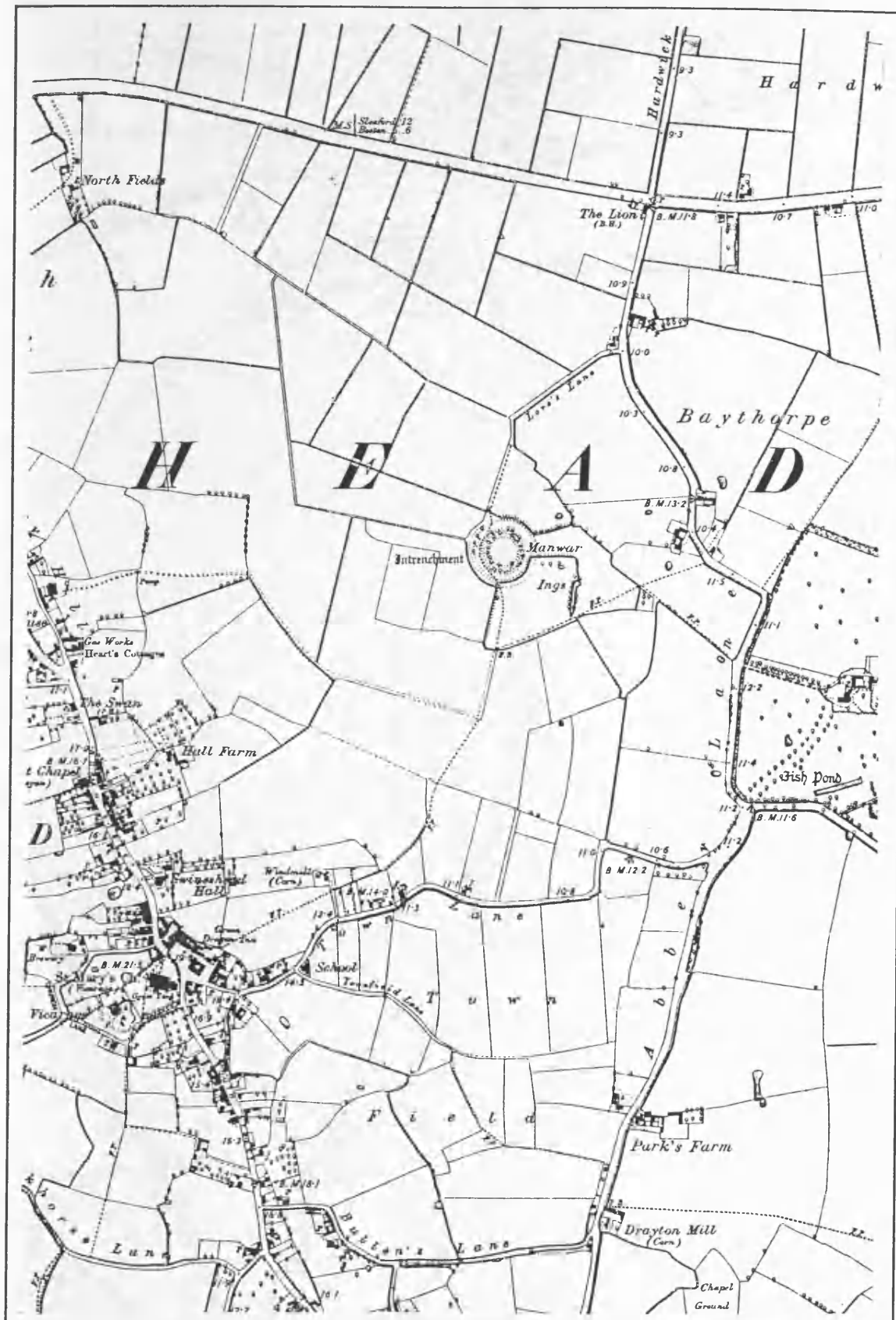
Somerton
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet LXXXVI SW (1891)



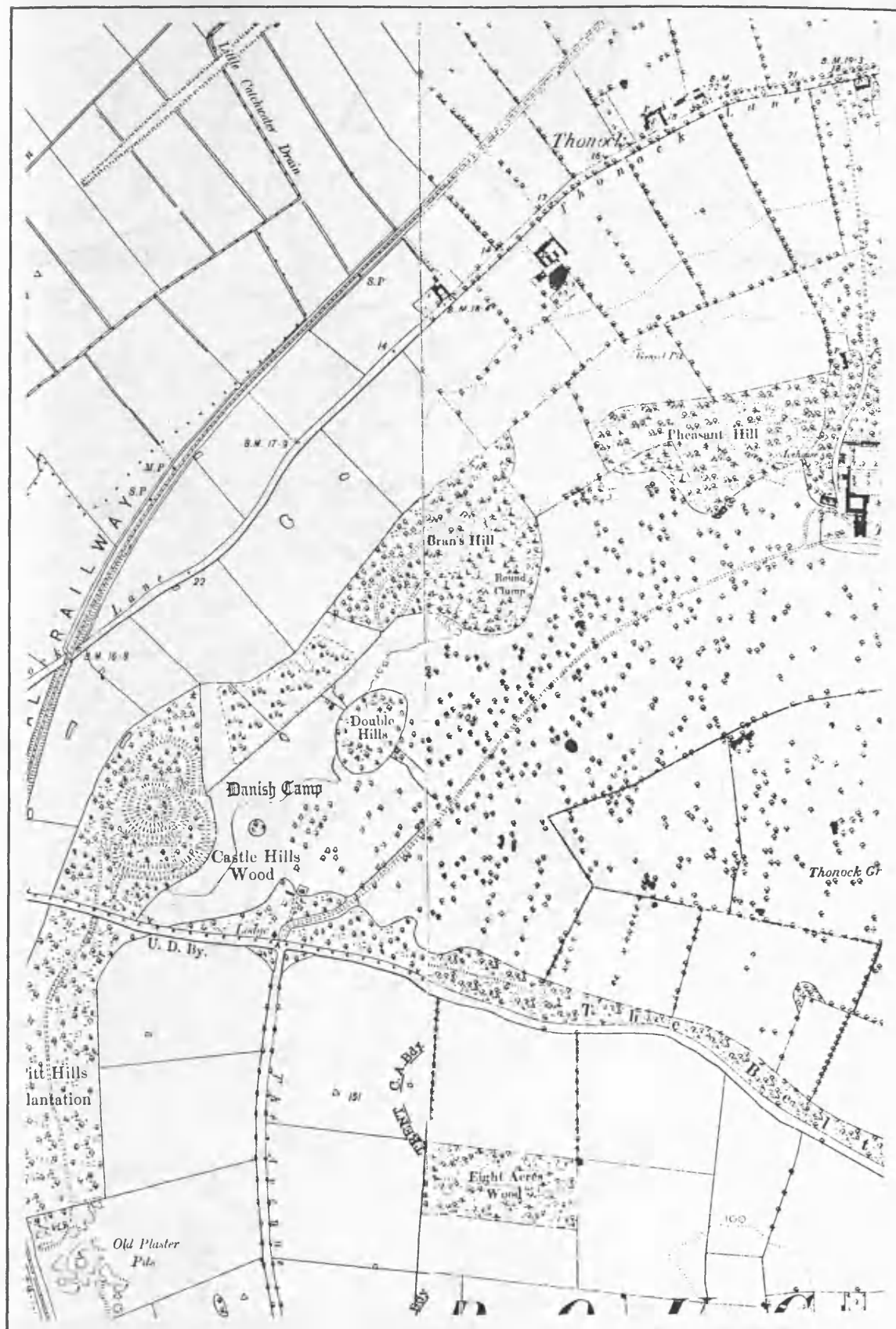
Stainby
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXXX SE (1892)



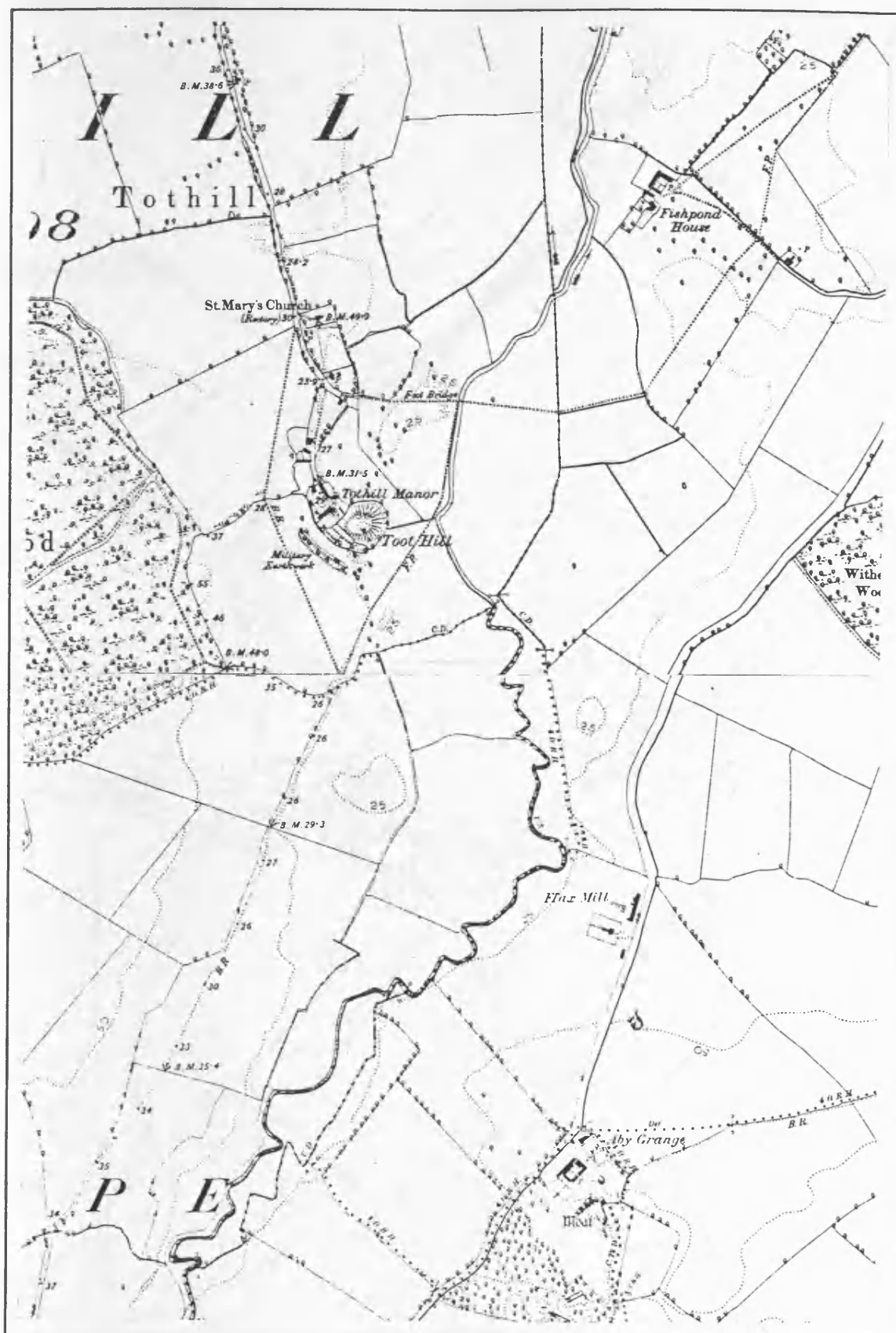
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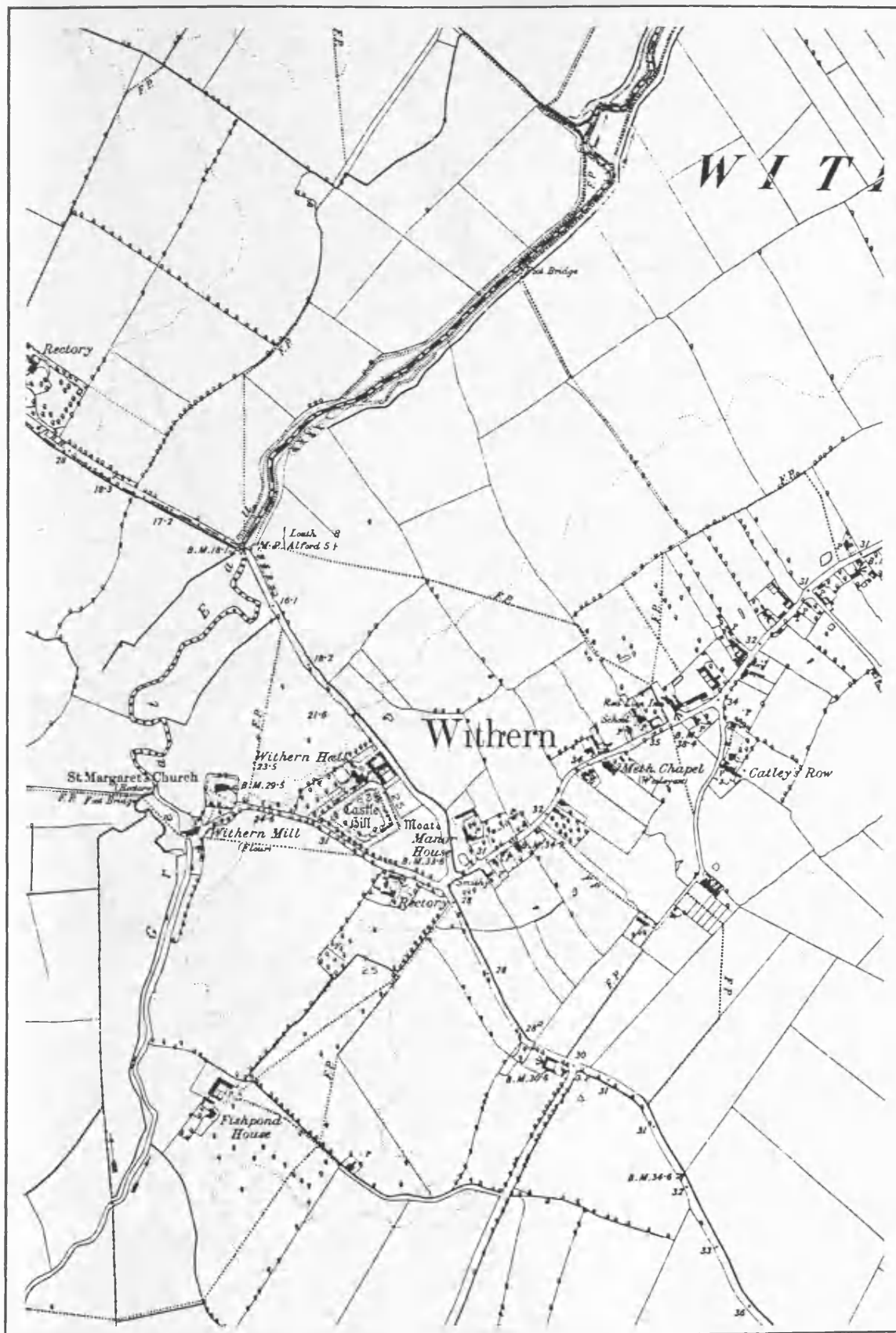
Swineshead
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXVII NW (1891)



Thonock
 OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet XLIII NW (1890), and OS
 Second Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet XLII NE (1918)



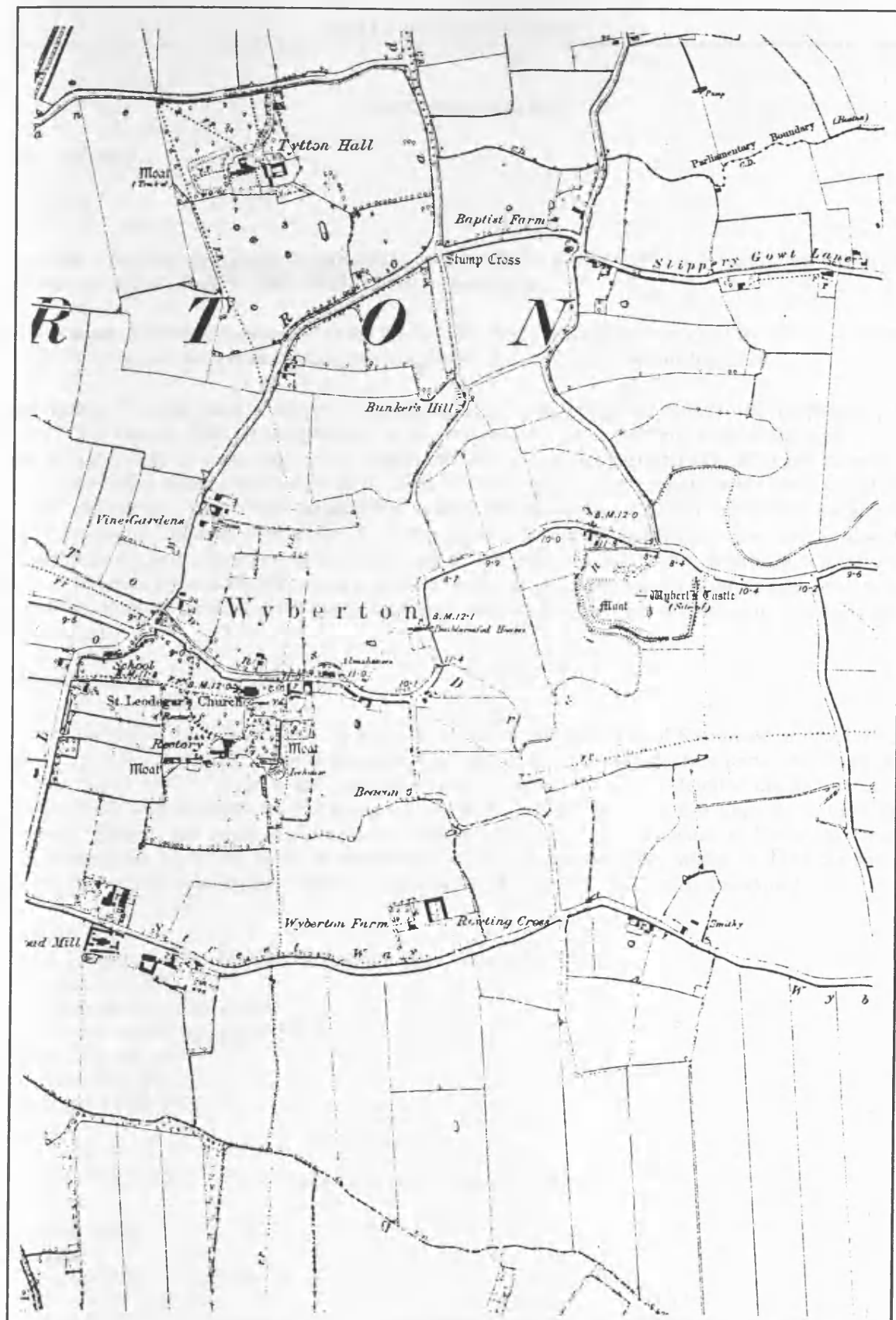
Tothill
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet LVII SW (1891), and
LXVI NW (1892)



Withern
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet LVII SW (1891)



Wrangle
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet C1NW (1892)



Wyberton
OS First Edition, Lincolnshire: Sheet CXVIII NW (1890)

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

ANNESLEY (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Annesley
SK 509518

Situation: The motte and bailey is constructed on the edge of a steep gully; it presently lies within the grounds of Annesley Park, c. 700m south-east of Annesley Hall.

Preservation: The motte is distinct and the limits of the bailey identifiable, although the site is extremely densely forested and overgrown, making the recognition of internal features problematical.

Description: The site takes a simple form, relying largely on the natural strength of the position for defence. The motte's cliff-edge position means that it appears c. 3m high from the north side, and c. 30m high from the south. It is flat-topped and roughly circular, with a base diameter of c. 42m and traces of a partially enclosing ditch on the north side. A single sub-rectangular bailey projects on the north side of the mound, measuring c. 120m east-west x 150m north-south. Its profile is largely demarcated by natural slopes, although a fragment of an enclosing ditch remains at the bailey's north-east corner, and vestiges of a rampart bank can be identified at the north-eastern and north-western angles. Internally, a transverse bank, c. 8m wide projects from the west side of the bailey to the centre, where it shows signs of a right-angled turn towards the foot of the motte, seemingly indicating former sub-division into a northern and southern court.

Excavation: None

Documentation: In 1220 Regnald de Annesley 'made a house in the forest of Sherewood at Aneslegh so strong ... that it was thought it might chance to bring damage to the neighbouring parts'. Although this reference could feasibly relate to the motte and bailey, it is more likely to describe the forerunner of Annesley Hall, and thus indicate that the motte and bailey was out of use by this time. By c. 1300, the seemingly disused 'old castle of Annesley' is mentioned as being on the bounds of Sherwood Forest: 'thence along the high road as far as beneath the old Castle of Annesley', whilst by 1539 the site is described in another perambulation as the 'ancient castle of Annesley', and clearly abandoned.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13399
King 1983, 379, 382
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 02563
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 55 SW 4
Speight 1994, 63, 66
Stevenson 1918, 84
VCH Notts. I 1906, 305

ASLOCKTON (Cramner's Mount)

Motte and Bailey
Aslockton
SK 743401

Situation: The earthworks known as Cramner's Mount lies within the village of Aslockton, c. 350m east of Main Street, the field in which the site lies being known locally as 'Bailey Close'.

Preservation: The site reflects a much modified motte and bailey, presently under pasture and generally well preserved, although the south-east part of the motte has been mutilated by ballast digging.

Description: The site comprises a motte and bailey, later converted to a garden feature utilising the motte as a prospect mound. The mound is square in plan (but probably originally circular), c. 1.80m in height, and entirely surrounded by a ditch similarly square in profile, this surviving to a width of c. 9m and depth of c. 2m. The motte is set to the west of the centre of a low rectangular earthwork platform measuring c. 35m east-west x 25m north-south, this feature again presumably relating to the site's modification as a garden feature. Two embanked and ditched, rectangular bailey enclosures append to the east, following the alignment of the motte ditch to the north and south, thus giving the entire earthwork complex a long, rectangular plan oriented east-west, although it is unclear whether these enclosures represent a single bailey that has been later sub-divided, or whether the two enclosures are original features. The ditch on the west side of the site occasionally holds water, although the other ditches are permanently dry. In relation to the site's adaptation as a garden feature, a number of earthwork features on the east side of the surrounding moat appear associated with water catchment and management. An alternative explanation views the adapted bailey features as house platforms (Speight 1994), although this is unlikely in view of the site's position relative to village topography and the evident landscaping of the motte.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Allcroft 1908, 405-06
Chalkley Gould 1907, 60-61
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13400
King 1983, 379
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 01591
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 74 SW 14
Speight 1994, 66
VCH Notts. I 1906, 305-06

BOTHAMSALL (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Bothamsall
SK 670731

Situation: The site lies at the west end of the present village, raised on the summit of a locally prominent hillock providing excellent all round visibility.

Preservation: The earthwork is in poor condition: the west side of the motte is mutilated by Home Guard trenches, while the bailey earthworks are bisected by the road, and the northern section destroyed through ploughing.

Description: The key surviving element of the site is a conical motte, c. 5m high with a circular flat top c. 22m in diameter, constructed of red glacial gravel. The summit is enclosed by a low earthen breastwork surviving to a height of c. 1m, and the motte is externally circumvallated by a ditch c. 5m wide and c. 2m deep. The motte lies entirely within a single bailey, now bisected by the Bothamsall-Warsop road, leaving

two surviving sections. The semi-circular section south of the road measures c. 170m east-west x 80m north-south, and is enclosed by a single rampart to the east and west, and double rampart to the south. The section north of the road is virtually eradicated, and as such the original plan of the bailey is difficult to deduce.

Excavation: The digging of Home Guard trenches on the motte-top during W. W. II apparently revealed no traces of stonework or occupation debris, although details are not fully recorded.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Blagg 1931a
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13398
King 1983, 379
King and Alcock 1969, 119
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 04450
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 67 SE 1
Oswald 1939, 6
Speight 1994, 62-64
VCH Notts. I 1906, 305

CUCKNEY (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Cuckney
SK 565714

Situation: The site is raised on sloping ground within a bend of the River Poulter, lying north of the village of Cuckney and immediately adjacent to the parish church.

Preservation: The motte is barely recognisable, being severely denuded and overgrown, whilst the bailey earthworks are weak and confused, any internal features having been obliterated by the graveyard.

Description: The key elements of the site comprise a motte with two baileys, the outer enclosing the parish church to the east. The motte, presently occupying the west end of the present churchyard, is flat-topped and oval, c. 4m high and measuring c. 45m north-south x 20m east-west. An inner bailey adjoins to the south, consisting of a sub-rectangular earthen platform measuring c. 90m north-south x 150m east-west. A large outer bailey is vague but appears to occupy the ground to the east, and is enclosed by a double bank and ditch following the line of the Poulter.

Excavation: In 1950-51 church subsidence prompted a programme of underpinning work by the National Coal Board. During these operations a mass grave of c. 200 exclusively male individuals was revealed, clearly antedating the foundation of the church.

Documentation: The castle was built by Thomas of Cuckney in the 'old war' between the reigns of Henry I and II, presumably the disturbances of the period 1138-54.

Sources:

Barley 1951
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13393
King 1983, 380, 382
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 04376

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 57 SE 6
Oswald 1939, 7
Renn 1968, 161-62
Speight 1994, 66-67

EAST BRIDGFORD (Cuttle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
East Bridgford
SK 686433

Situation: The motte is raised on a steep natural escarpment to overlook the Trent at the point of the old river crossing.

Preservation: The site is extremely overgrown, making the ground plan difficult to interpret, and the outer bailey - if it ever existed - has been ploughed out.

Description: The natural eminence of Cuttle Hill is surmounted by a flat-topped elliptical motte, measuring *c.* 30m east-west x 10m north-south, *c.* 5m high and surrounded by a ditch, *c.* 2m deep and *c.* 10-15m wide. A small oval bailey lies to the south, formed from an extension of the motte ditch to the west and east, and measuring *c.* 40m x 30m, a break in the ditch on the south side indicating an original point of access. An account from 1950 of a 'ridge' that joined up with the bailey implies the existence of a former outer bailey, although this feature remains obscure.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23212
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 01822
VCH Notts. II 1910, 17

EGMANTON (Gaddick Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Egmanton
SK 735689

Situation: Gaddick Hill lies adjacent to, and west of the parish church, on the north side of the village of Egmanton. The great motte and bailey at LAXTON lies *c.* 1.5km to the south-west.

Preservation: The construction of farm buildings has eradicated the south-east quadrant of the bailey; otherwise the earthworks are generally well preserved under grass.

Description: The conical motte, oval in cross-section, is artificially raised *c.* 14m, has a flat top measuring *c.* 12m x 7m, and is entirely surrounded by a ditch up to 8m wide and 2m deep. An unconventional feature of the motte is the terrace on the eastern flank, currently marked by a tree. It has been variously suggested that this represents the platform for a bridge linking it to the single oval bailey, a secondary enclosure appending a shell-keep, or even the result post-medieval mutilation. The motte stands to the west of a single bailey which measures *c.* 150m east-west x 100m north-south, and is enclosed by an

earthen rampart and ditch, which survives well on the north side, but is indicated only by the alignment of field boundaries to the west and south-east. The entrance to the bailey lies to the west, as indicated by an apparently original gap in the ramparts. A late medieval manor house was built within the bailey, the vague earthworks lying between the motte and later farmhouse.

Excavation: Small scale excavation within the bailey in the 1950s revealed stonework - presumably of the later-medieval manor.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Chalkley Gould 1907, 58

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13396

King 1983, 380

Notts. SMR Site File, No. 04168

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 76 NW 7

Speight 1994, 63-64

VCH Notts. I 1906, 306

GREASLEY

Stone Castle

Greasley

SK 490470

Situation: The natural site offers nothing in the way of defensive advantage, Greasley castle standing immediately east of the parish church, which overlooks it from slightly higher ground.

Preservation: Only vestigial stonework survives, and much of the embanked circuit to the north and north-west has been encroached upon by both road and churchyard.

Description: The remains of Castle Greasley evidently relate to a pre-existing manorial site upgraded to castle or pseudo-castle status in the mid 14th century, although the deficiency of the field evidence renders the exact nature and extent of the remodelling obscure. The only tangible masonry remains of the castle site consist of stonework built into Greasley Castle Farm, comprising a length of irregularly-coursed walling c. 1.5m thick and c. 2m high incorporated into the north wall, and an associated square-headed window of 14th-century date. Extensive earthworks surround the castle, comprising a rectangular ditched and embanked enclosure c. 200m north-south x 300m east-west, extending at one time into the churchyard, and embracing a series of eight rectangular fishponds (now dry), in the south-east angle of its circuit. The size of the bank (averaging c. 9m in width and c. 1.5m in height), and plan of the enclosure tends to suggest that it is non-defensive in nature, serving as a perimeter earthwork demarcating the area occupied by ancillary buildings.

Excavation: Trial excavations in the summer of 1933 revealed the foundations of a tower, c. 6m in diameter, at the north-west corner of the complex, whilst what was thought to be a kitchen hall was also revealed. Further excavation at the north-east corner failed to reveal any traces of stonework down to a depth of c. 1.8m, although 17th-century kitchen ware was recovered.

Documentation: Nicholas de Cantelupe was granted licence to crenellate his dwelling place at *Gryseleye* in 1340.

Sources:

Chalkley Gould 1907, 62-63
DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), Notts. No. 34
Green 1934
King 1983, 380, 382
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 02285
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 44 NE 11
Speight 1995, 70-71
VCH Notts. I 1906, 311-12

GRINGLEY-ON-THE-HILL (Beacon Hill)

Possible Motte
Gringley-on-the-Hill
SK 741907

Situation: The Beacon Hill earthwork occupies a promontory position on the east side of Gringley-on-the-Hill village.

Preservation: It is unclear whether the slight nature of the defences represent a much denuded castle site, a temporary/unfinished castle earthwork, or another landscape feature.

Description: The summit of the hill has been levelled so as to form an irregular oval platform measuring c. 30m east-west x 20m north-south, and the sides of the feature have been artificially scarped to give a height of c. 11m on the north side and c. 7m on the south side prior to a further break of slope. Immediately to the north of this platform, a curvilinear length of apparently artificial terracing follows the natural contours of the hill, and may represent heavily denuded outer defences. It is unclear whether this confusing earthwork, comprising little more than an artificially scarped hill-top, was ever truly defensible and any more than the site of a beacon, as the place-name suggests, although it has alternatively been suggested that the site is a barrow.

Excavation: Unconfirmed and undated reports claim 'Roman relics' were found on the site of Beacon Hill.

Documentation: None

Sources:

DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), Notts. No. 18
King 1983, 381
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 05110
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 79 SW 7
VCH Notts. I 1906, 296

HALLOUGHTON (Manor Farm)

Tower House
Halloughton
SK 690517

Description: Manor Farm is a tower house that served administratively as the parochial manor of the Prebendary of Halloughton in Southwell Minster. The building is of probable 13th-century origin, as dated by the single lancet in the north-west wall, although it is often quoted as being later. The tower was

entered at first-floor level from the south-west, features of note including a light 14th-century window at first-floor level (a later insertion), and surviving medieval floors and roof. The building is of rubble construction, comprising two storeys and a vaulted basement, access to the upper storeys being achieved by means of a stairway contained within the thickness of the wall. A red brick farmhouse of two storeys adjoins the structure, which was extensively restored in 1965.

Sources:

King 1983, 381

Notts. SMR Site File, No. 02779

Summers 1964

HAUGHTON (Haughton Decoy)

Motte and Bailey

Haughton

SK 682717

Situation: The site occupies a low-lying site lies within a patch of woodland, c. 1.2km south of Haughton village.

Preservation: Although attempts have been made to drain the site, its continuing waterlogged nature holds considerable potential for the preservation of environmental data, although the densely wooded status of the earthworks makes the ground-plan difficult to interpret, and the sides of the motte are heavily eroded in places. The remains of a channel entering the bailey ditch from the west indicates that it may have been remodelled in connection with one of the pipes feeding the decoy, the bailey bank having also being levelled during modification.

Description: The most obvious feature of the site is the large, apparently ditchless conical motte constructed of sand and gravel, standing c. 10m high and with a base diameter of c. 30m, and flat summit of c. 10m diameter. A length of ditch, semi-circular in plan and c. 18m wide, lying to the south of the motte represents the southern edge of what was a single, D-shaped bailey, which can be projected to have measured c. 90m north-south x 100m east-west and presumably enclosed by a rampart. The site was extensively remodelled in the 17th century as a duck decoy, a panoramic illustration of c. 1709 demonstrating its incorporation within the formal garden context of Haughton Hall. Features associated with the decoy comprise a roughly 200m square, water-filled pond north of the motte entered by four pipes, one at each corner. The pond further contains two artificial islands and is flanked by two brick-built hides.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Blagg 1931b

King 1983, 381

Notts. SMR Site File, No. 04452

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 67 SE 7

VCH Notts. II 1910, 401

KINGSHAUGH (Kingshaugh Camp)

Ringwork and Bailey
Darlton
SK 765736

Situation: The earthworks of Kingshaugh Camp surround the buildings of Kingshaugh Farm, c. 0.9km west of Darlton village.

Preservation: The site has been disturbed by the farm buildings both within the main enclosure and over the western side of the bailey, the structures re-using medieval masonry in their lower levels.

Description: The site in its final phases comprised the buildings of a hunting lodge surrounded by defensive earthworks giving the appearance of a ringwork, the most likely scenario being that an early castle was later adapted to assume the functions of a lodge. The dominant earthwork feature is a large sub-circular moated enclosure, on the west side the ditch being rendered superfluous by the curvilinear course of a stream which forms the defensive perimeter at this point, although to the south and west the ditch is dry and up to c. 25m wide. To the south-east of the work are the vestiges of what was once a rectangular outer court defended by a rampart and ditch. To the south of this feature runs a mill race, linked to the stream to the north and continuing to run west of the site. Internally, the former remains of a substantial building presumably associated with the hunting lodge are indicated by a wall, c. 0.9m in thickness, running centrally through the farm house.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Although the site is generally thought of as a hunting lodge, it was apparently defensible in 1193-94 when held against Richard I by the supporters of Count John of Mortain. In the Pipe Rolls for 1210-11 a house and chapel were ordered to be built on the site by King John; his itinerary records a number of Royal visits in 1212.

Sources:

Chadwick 1922
DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), Notts. No. 36
King 1983, 381
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 04639
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 77 SE 6
Renn 1968, 218
Speight 1994, 68
VCH Notts. I 1906, 301

KIRKBY-IN-ASHFIELD (Castle Hill Camp)

Possible Early Castle/Stone Castle
Kirkby-in-Ashfield
SK 490557

Situation: The site occupies a natural promontory position adjacent to the parish church, on the southern edge of Kirkby village.

Preservation: Fragmentary earthworks and vestigial traces of masonry only are visible, making an overview of the site's plan difficult.

Description: The only surviving traces of the site comprise the south-east angle of a rectangular platform surrounded by a perimeter wall with corner towers. This feature consists of a scarp raised an average of c. 5m, running north-south from the edge of the churchyard for a length of c. 50m, before turning west at a right angle to run for a further 30m. Near the terminus of the east-west scarp a flat-topped sub-circular mound raised c. 2.6m and measuring c. 16m north-south x 13m east-west apparently represents the base of a circular south-west corner tower, appended to the earthworks of a curtain wall, running for a short distance north of the mound. Alternatively, the mound represents a motte associated with a large rectangular bailey, although the late date at which the site is documented renders this interpretation doubtful. A right-angled depression visible as an earthwork some c. 150m east of the site denotes the remains of associated manorial fishponds.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Kirkby castle was the seat of the de Stotville family. It is first positively documented in 1292 when Edward I stayed there *en route* to CODNOR, Derbys. By 1310 the site was apparently ruinous, and said to be '...not valued because it greatly needs repair'.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13397

Gershom Bonser 1939

King 1983, 381

Notts. SMR Site File, No. 02415

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 45 NE 5

Speight 1994, 68

VCH Notts. I 1906, 303

LAMBLEY† (Round Hill)

Possible Motte

Lambley

SK 632457

Situation: The mound lies on the gentle southern-facing slopes north of Lambley village

Preservation: The site comprises a low earthen mound, presently under crop.

Description: Round Hill is a low artificial mound, c. 18m in diameter at the base and surrounded by a low ditch c. 3m across. Although frequently interpreted as a millstead - a suggestion that excavated evidence does little to dispel - documentary evidence implies that manorial buildings formerly lay on, or immediately within the vicinity of a mound at Lambley, thus supporting the idea that the feature may have originated as a motte.

Excavation: The mound was excavated in 1949, revealing an uppermost layer of charcoal and an assemblage of pottery - mainly Nottingham green glaze - prompting the excavators to suggest a foundation date of c. 1450.

Documentation: A mound with a wet ditch is mentioned in a Description of Lambley Manor from a Rental of 13th April, 37 Henry VI.

Sources:

DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), Notts. No. 164

King 1983, 381

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 64 NW 7
TVARC 1979, 29
VCH Notts. I 1907, 305

LAXTON

Motte and Bailey
Laxton
SK 720676

Situation: The motte and bailey lies on the north side of the village. The smaller motte and bailey at EGMANTON lies c. 1.5km to the north-east.

Preservation: The extant remains comprise series of powerful earthworks under permanent pasture, frequently cited as the best preserved motte and bailey earthworks in the county.

Description: The motte and bailey is exceptional in its size, complexity and preservation. The circular, bowl-shaped motte is c. 10m high from the bottom of the ditch, and has a sub-circular summit with an average diameter of c. 40m. It is further characterised by a low bank around the rim, and a mound c. 3m high with a diameter of c. 11m, situated centrally on the motte summit. This latter feature likely represents post-medieval adaptation as a prospect mound, although is alternatively interpreted as the base for a tower. The surrounding motte ditch is up to c. 10m wide and c. 5m deep, crossed to the south by an earthen causeway. A powerfully defended inner bailey appends to the south of the motte, measuring c. 70m square and defended by a rampart c. 2-3m high, and a ditch. Two entrances can be identified: a sally-port leads out at the north-east corner onto a berm formed between the bailey rampart and ditch; the main entrance lay in the south-east corner. The inner bailey contains a number of earthwork features indicative of the foundations of internal structures, including a number of building platforms, a hollow feature with the appearance of a well, and two sunken features indicating former cellars. A notable additional feature is the ditched circular platform, c. 30m in diameter, appending to the west of the site, sandwiched in the angle between motte and inner bailey, presumably as a flanking bastion. A large rectangular outer bailey adjoins to the south, measuring c. 150m east-west x 120m north-south, and is enclosed by a bank and ditch.

Excavation: Despite the size and importance of the site, virtually no excavation has been carried out, the only known work being unrecorded probing at some date to demonstrate that the earth ramparts contain stonework.

Documentation: The castle was probably built by 1135. It was in Royal ownership in the period 1204-16, when King John spent small sums on renovation, and from the reign of Henry II to Edward I, Laxton was periodically a stopping point for itinerant monarchs. An *inquisition post mortem* of Robert de Everingham in 1287 stated that the residence was unable to support the household of the heir, thus prompting relocation to Everingham, Yorks.

Sources:

Chalkley Gould 1907, 59-60
Colvin *et al.* 1963, 979-80
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13398
King 1983, 380, 382
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 04158
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 76 NW
Speight 1994, 59-61
VCH Notts. I 1906, 306-07

LOWDHAM

Motte
Lowdham
SK 664467

Situation: The motte lies on level ground immediately south of Cocker Beck, in the grounds of the Old Hall.

Preservation: The surface of the mound is irregular, probably due to excavations on the summit. The earthwork is partly wooded and the ditch water-filled, the entire feature being landscaped as a grassed-over feature within the gardens of Lowdham Hall.

Description: Visible evidence of the castle site comprises a low but well defined elliptical castle mound, *c.* 3m high and measuring *c.* 25m east-west x 30m north-south. It was formerly entirely surrounded by a wet ditch up to *c.* 20m in width and fed from Cocker Beck, although this feature survives only as a low depression to the north and west of the motte. There is no evidence of an associated bailey.

Excavation: A programme of excavation on the mound commenced in August 1936, revealing the foundations of a wall, *c.* 1m thick, surrounding the perimeter of the motte summit, suggesting that the motte-top was formerly surmounted by a shell keep. A pavement of stones, *c.* 0.5m wide, was demonstrated to run along the base of the platform, *c.* 2m below the surface, and has been recently suggested to have been a paved walkway between ranges of buildings. Finds from the mound included medieval green-glazed pottery, Roman pottery, roofing tile and bones. A further trench across the ditch recovered pottery dating to *c.* 1400. Continued excavation in 1937 revealed wall foundations in the north-east corner of the mound associated with medieval green-glazed roof tiles and two 14th-century keys. In 1938 excavation clarified the alignment of the motte ditch, demonstrated to entirely circumvallate the mound. Further archaeological work on the site is supposed to have been carried out by F. Hind and F. Smith in the 1940s, although no other details are known.

Documentation: Although there is no direct mention of a castle, Lowdham was visited by King John in September 1205 and August 1207.

Sources:

Chalkley Gould 1907, 57
King 1983, 380
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 01756
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 64 NE 1
Speight 1994, 66
VCH Notts. I 1906, 305

NEWARK

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Newark
SK 796540

Situation: The castle is situated on a cliff-face forming the south bank of the Trent, sandwiched between the Beast Market to the north-east, and Castle Gate to the south-west.

Preservation: The castle has been extensively altered by remodelling, particularly in terms of the insertion of 15th-/16th-century windows and castings over earlier features. The site has been landscaped and functions as a public park.

Description: The castle was conceived in a quadrangular form, the surviving evidence including a rectangular tower in the south-west angle and vaulted crypt of the hall near the north-west angle. The outstanding architectural feature is the north gatehouse, featuring massive external buttresses, whilst internal chambers incorporate details dating to c. 1170-90, including cushion capitals and early windows in the upper chambers. The surviving elements of the west curtain wall include early masonry and features a south-west tower.

Excavation: Newark Castle has been archaeologically sampled on three major occasions. In 1953-56 the vaulted undercroft of the 12th-century crypt was cleared, and three trenches cut across the eastern defences of the castle, failing to reveal the castle wall yet recording the profile and alignment of the earthen rampart of the early castle associated with Saxo-Norman wares and overlying a layer of loam rich in occupation debris and containing evidence of at least two displaced dwellings. In 1972 a trench was cut across the southern castle ditch, demonstrating the feature to be flat-bottomed and c. 3m deep, whilst the distance of c. 12m between ditch and wall was taken as indicating that the wall was built behind rather than upon the rampart of the original castle, or that the ditch is essentially a pre-castle feature. Excavations from 1992-94 sampled an area of the northern defences and castle interior with seven trenches, confirming the northern line of the early castle ditch and rampart - the latter forming the foundations for a curtain wall containing herringbone masonry. A number of Christian burials demonstrated the existence of a pre-Norman cemetery on the site, the northern limit marked by an east-west boundary ditch beyond the later castle perimeter; finds included Saxon domestic pottery, loom weights and assorted metalwork of early Saxon to 11th-century date.

Documentation: The castle was built on the orders of Bishop Alexander c. 1130 or shortly after, evidently on an earlier site. It was taken by extortion in 1139, and again taken in 1218 and 1221. It was thrice besieged in the Civil War, in 1643, 1644 and 1645-6.

Sources:

Barley and Waters 1956
Courtney 1973
King 1983, 380, 382-83
Marshall and Samuels 1994
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 03060
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 75 SE 9
Renn 1968, 252-53

NOTTINGHAM

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
Nottingham (NPA)
SK 569394

Situation: The castle is raised upon an exceptionally strong ridge-top, the southern end of which terminates in a cliff facing the River Leen near its confluence with the Trent.

Description: The castle originated as a motte and bailey, although subsequent developments have virtually eradicated any traces. A plan of the upper and middle baileys prepared by John Smithson in 1617 provides a valuable source for the reconstruction of the castle, and has been demonstrated through excavation (see below) to be reasonably correct. Essentially the castle comprised four key elements. The

motte (later to become the upper bailey), was scarped from a natural sandstone outcrop, in its later phases contained two residential suites comprising the Great Hall, chapel and ancillary buildings. The middle bailey, flanked by steep slopes to the north and north-west, contained the later medieval state apartments, the Great Hall, constable's hall and great kitchen, whilst a complex of service rooms, the horse mill, bakehouse and stables lay to the south of the chapel. Two additional outer enclosures are known to have existed, although their precise functions and formats are uncertain. The profile of the outer bailey to the south - entered from the south-east via the twin-towered masonry-banded gatehouse of Henry III - was largely dictated by the line of the river cliff, whilst the perimeter of the northern bailey, located on rising ground to the east is largely unknown. The latter enclosure is known to have been used for grazing after abandonment in the 13th century.

Preservation: The present remains of the castle are confined to the extensively landscaped and terraced area surrounding the present museum, a 17th-century mansion which occupies the area of the former motte and inner bailey. The Lenton road has effectively isolated the former north-western court, traces of which have been eradicated by urban development. The walling which does survive in the area of the inner bailey has been largely incorporated into later walls and restored heavily.

Excavation: An extensive programme of excavation and associated conservation was carried out on the north defences of the middle bailey in the period 1976-79 under *c.* Drage, allowing a detailed chronology of these to be defined. The earliest identifiable defences comprised a rampart of sand and sandstone rubble, *c.* 9.7m wide and *c.* 4m high, constructed on a level sandstone platform and excavated for a length of *c.* 40m east-west. This rampart was strengthened in the period 1154-89 by the erection of a stone curtain wall surviving to a height of *c.* 4m, and built into the back of the earlier rampart. A round tower was constructed *c.* 1250 at the north-west corner of the bailey, in doing so cutting through the earlier rampart. A further hexagonal tower with a rectangular northern extension was added to the north-east corner in the late 15th century.

Documentation: The castle was founded by William in 1068; the walling of the outer bailey was complete by 1186, and considerable Royal expenditure is recorded throughout the late 12th and early 13th century; much building work is recorded 1307-25. The castle was captured in 1142, 1194 and 1264. It was restored in 1560-70, but ruinous by 1617.

Sources:

Drage 1981; 1983; 1989

King 1983, 380-81, 383

Notts. SMR Site File, No. 01061

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 53 NE 2

Webster and Cherry 1977, 235-36; 1978, 169; 1979, 262

Youngs *et al.* 1982, 202-03

OXTON (Moorfield Mount)

Possible Motte

Oxton

SK 632533

Situation: Moorfield Mount lies some 2km north-west of Oxton village, in a field to the rear of Moorfield Farm.

Description: The site is occasionally identified as a motte, although it may be a purely natural feature. The feature comprises a low, bowl-shaped mound, *c.* 75m in diameter and *c.* 6m high.

Excavation: A trench, c. 3m wide was cut through the mound in the summer of 1909, revealing it to be an entirely natural, isolated patch of drift gravel.

Sources:

Davies Pryce 1909

King 1983, 382

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 65 SW 6

SOUTHWELL MINSTER

Fortified Ecclesiastical Site

Southwell

SK 702539

Description: The Royalist supporters ejected from Nottingham Castle in 1142 circumvallated Southwell Minster and occupied it as a base against the Angevin supporters of William Paynel. Nottingham castle was subsequently retaken by William Peveril whilst Paynel was absent in search of forces with which to attack Southwell, thus rendering the fortification superfluous. Nothing remains of the temporary *vallum* (and presumably an associated rampart) dug around the Minster.

Sources:

King 1983, 382-83

Speight 1995, 68-70

SHELFORD†

Possible Early Castle

Shelford

SK 661424

Situation: The site comprises a minor earthwork within the parish churchyard.

Preservation: A low, denuded earthwork of uncertain form.

Description: The churchyard contains an artificial earthwork, c. 5m across and of approximately horse-shoe shape, lying immediately south-east of the church. Whilst potentially a fortification (a ringwork?) forming the *caput* of the twelfth century Honour of Shelford, the precise nature of the feature remains obscure.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Speight 1995, 65-66

THURGARTON (Castle Hill)

Possible Early Castle
Thurgarton
SK 693490

Situation: Castle Hill lies on the south side of Thurgarton village.

Preservation: A poorly preserved and confused, multi-phase earthwork.

Description: The earthworks comprise a three-sided rectangular, ditched enclosure, open on the north-west side. Confused excavated evidence ensures that the nature of the site must remain uncertain, although there is little to support the implication of the place-name 'Castle Hill' and suggest defended status.

Excavation: Excavations were carried out during 1948-59 by c. Coulthard, H. Hodges, P. Gathercote and B. Wailes, revealing the following phases:

Phase I: Romano-British enclosure, dated by pottery to the 2nd/3rd century AD.

Phase II: A small mound containing fragmentary walling and a layer of ash, this phase being associated with finds of St. Neots ware.

Phase III: A mortuary chapel of two clear phases, dating respectively to the late 11th/early 12th and mid 12th century. Each phase was accompanied by burials.

Phase IV: The final phase of the mortuary chapel was dismantled to form a sheepfold.

Phase V: Two probable bronze-working furnaces on the site were dated to the mid 12th century.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Gathercote and Wailes 1959, 24-56
Hodges 1954, 21-36
King 1983, 382
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 64 NE 10
VCH Notts. I 1906, 298

WELLOW (Jordan Castle)

Ringwork
Wellow
SK 679666

Situation: The earthwork is located on open, rising ground immediately north east of Jordan Castle Farm, c. 0.7km north-east of Wellow village.

Preservation: The weak nature of the earthwork seems attributable to later adaptation rather than erosion; it is presently well preserved under permanent pasture.

Description: The present field monument consists of a large, but very weak ringwork, reflecting the later upgrading of an early castle as a fortified manor. The enclosure is sub-circular, measuring *c.* 60m north-south x 52m east-west, and enclosed by a bank and ditch. The enclosing rampart survives to a height of *c.* 2-3m, whilst the surrounding ditch where it survives averages *c.* 12m in width, and is *c.* 2-5m deep. External to the ringwork, a hollow way approaches from the west, crossing the ditch via a *c.* 8m wide causeway, and disturbances in the ground surface at this point seem likely to reflect a gatehouse structure. Ridge and furrow earthworks within the ringwork post-date its abandonment, whilst further zones can be identified to the north-east and south-east, where the furrows drain into a small manorial fishpond.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Jordan Foliot was licensed to embattle his manor house of Grimston in 1252, although it is possible that the place-name 'Jordan's Castle' may have antiquarian as opposed to historical origins.

Sources:

Barley 1957, 77
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13394
King 1983, 381
King and Alcock 1969, 119
Notts. SMR Site File, No. 04096
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 66 NE 4
Oswald 1939, 15
Speight 1995, 67-68
VCH Notts. I 1906, 304-05

WORKSOP (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey

Worksop
SK 593798

Situation: The castle site occupies a promontory of red sandstone overlooking the valley of the River Ryton to the north, and the town itself.

Preservation: The intrusion of buildings has eradicated any traces of the motte ditch other than on the south-west side, and has destroyed any evidence of a bailey.

Description: The large, sub-circular motte is flat-topped and has an average diameter of *c.* 50m, being raised *c.* 10-12m above the level of the surrounding ditch. An exposed section on the north-east side of the motte reveals its construction to consist of an artificial layer *c.* 2-3m deep, raised upon a natural protrusion of sandstone, *c.* 8m in thickness. The size and profile of the motte, and the dimensions of its summit, some *c.* 50m in diameter, would suggest that it once supported a shell-keep, and tradition dictates that stonework from the castle was used in the construction of Worksop Lodge and the Priory perimeter wall. The motte ditch averages *c.* 10m in breadth, although this survives only for a short length to the south-west of the motte, accompanied by signs of an associated counterscarp bank. The only other clearly identifiable element of the castle earthwork is an oval mound flanking the west side of the motte, *c.* 3m high and measuring *c.* 15m north-south x *c.* 10m east-west. This feature presumably once supported a gate-tower and seemingly flanked the principle point of access. Although present field evidence shows no sign of a bailey, the topography of the site largely dictates that, if one existed, it would have been site to the south-west in the area now occupied by a car park, where the curvilinear alignment of Westgate is suggestive of a bailey perimeter.

Excavation: The only known finds from the site comprise a quantity of medieval pottery recovered from an exposed area on the side of the motte.

Documentation: By the time of Leland's visit in the 1540s the castle was described as "...clean down and scant known where it was".

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13395

King 1983, 381

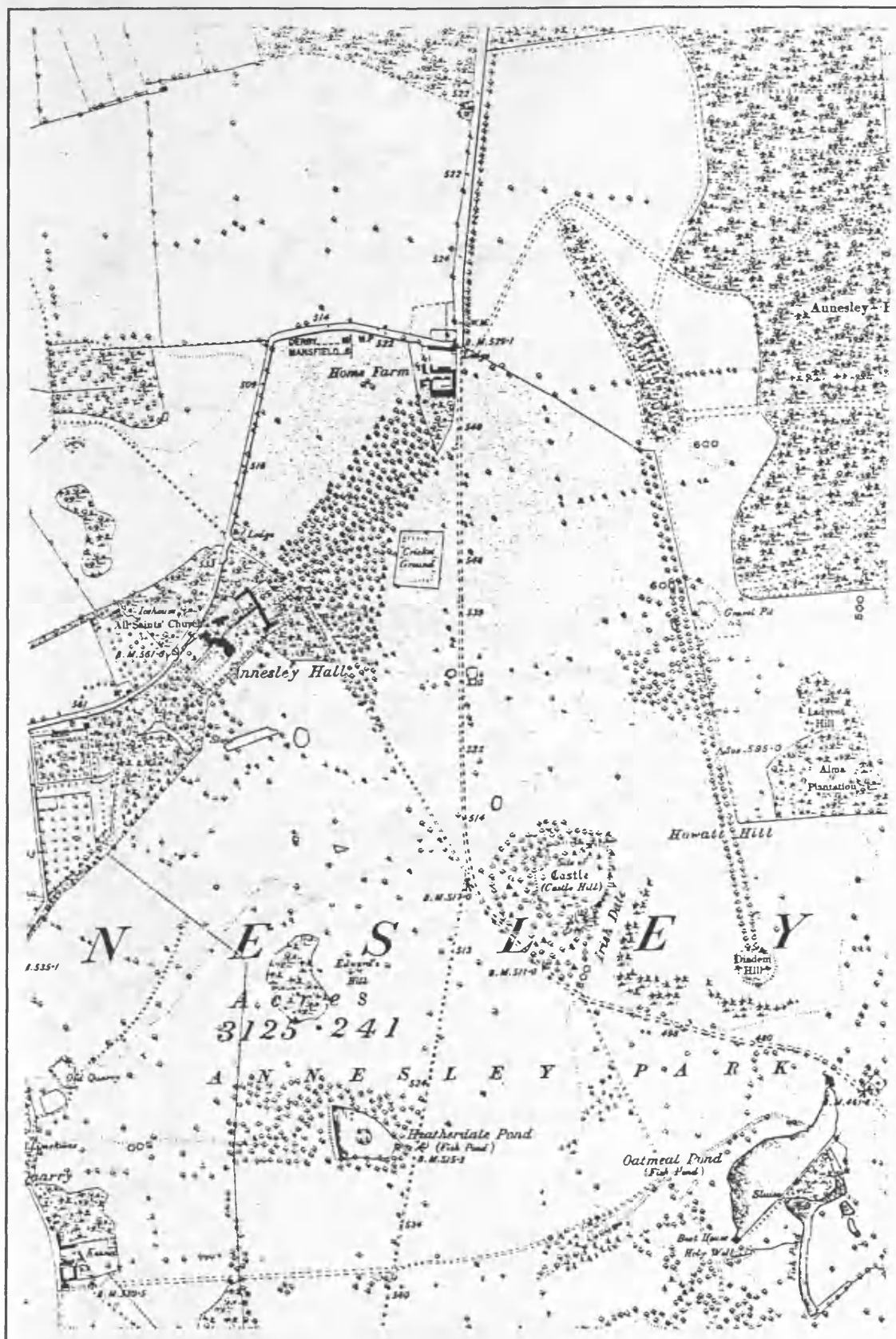
Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 89

Notts. SMR Site File, No. 04371

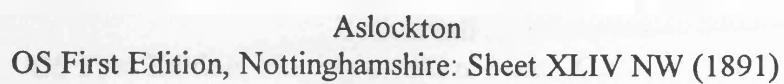
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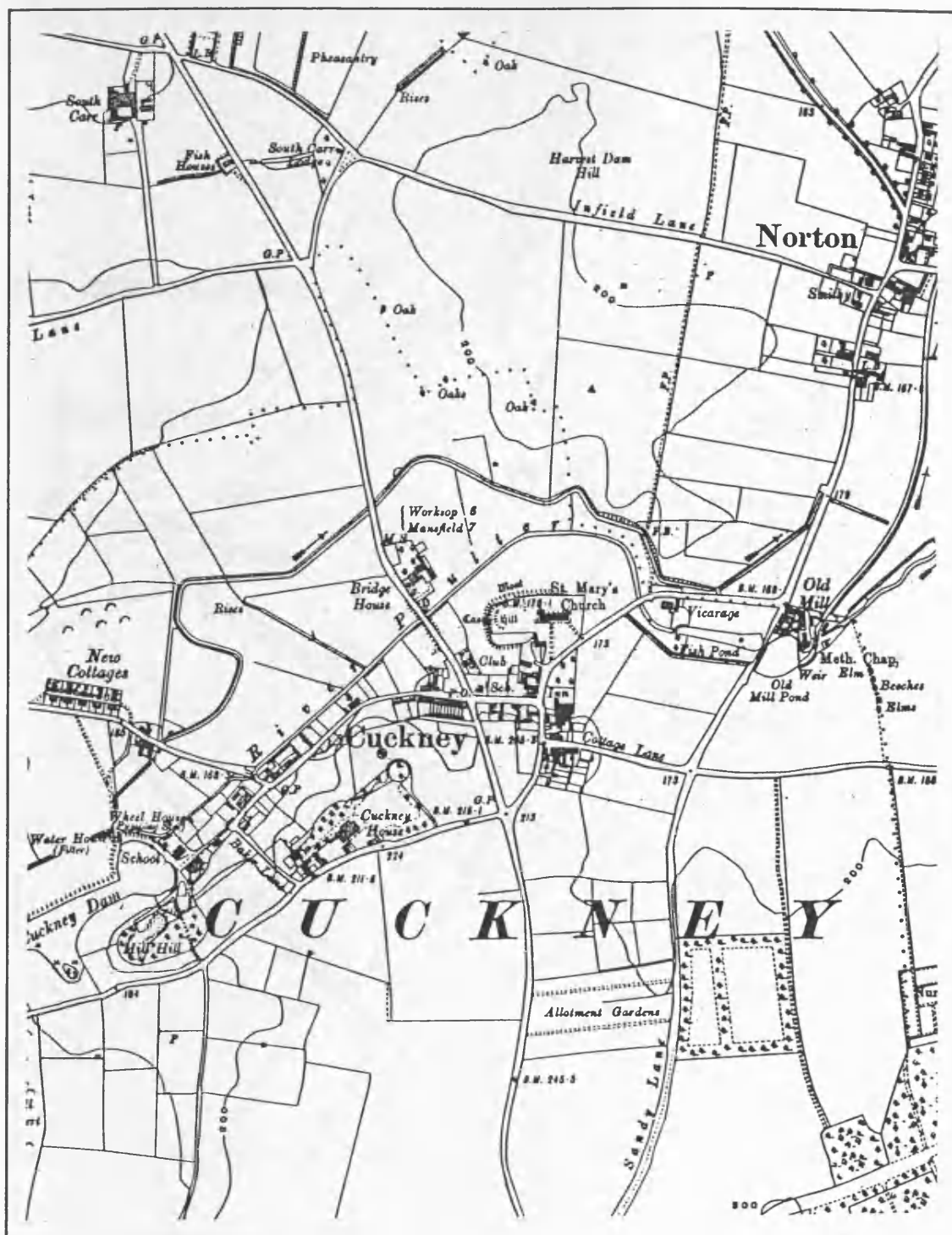
Speight 1995, 66-68

VCH Notts. I 1906, 293



Annesley
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XXXII NE (1887)





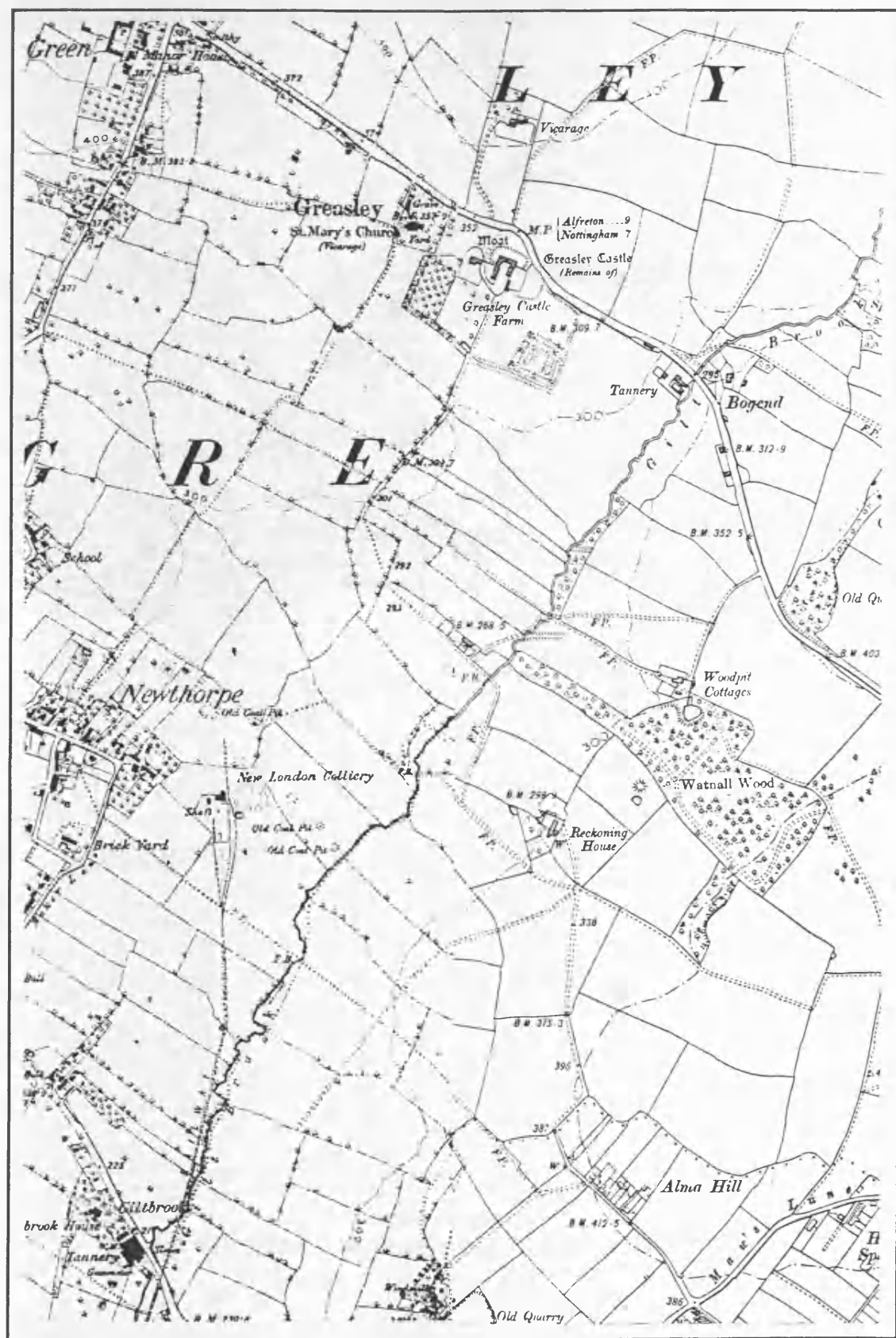
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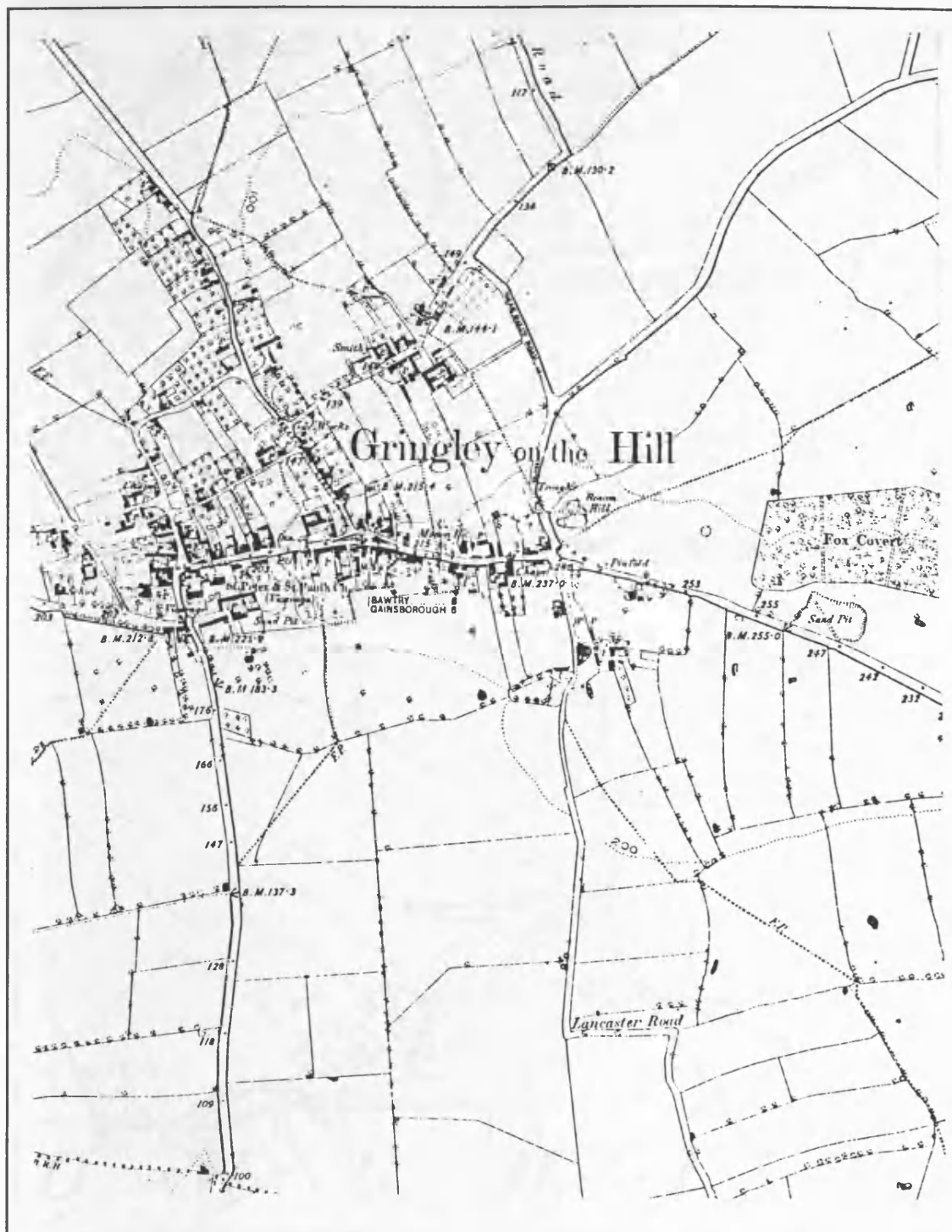
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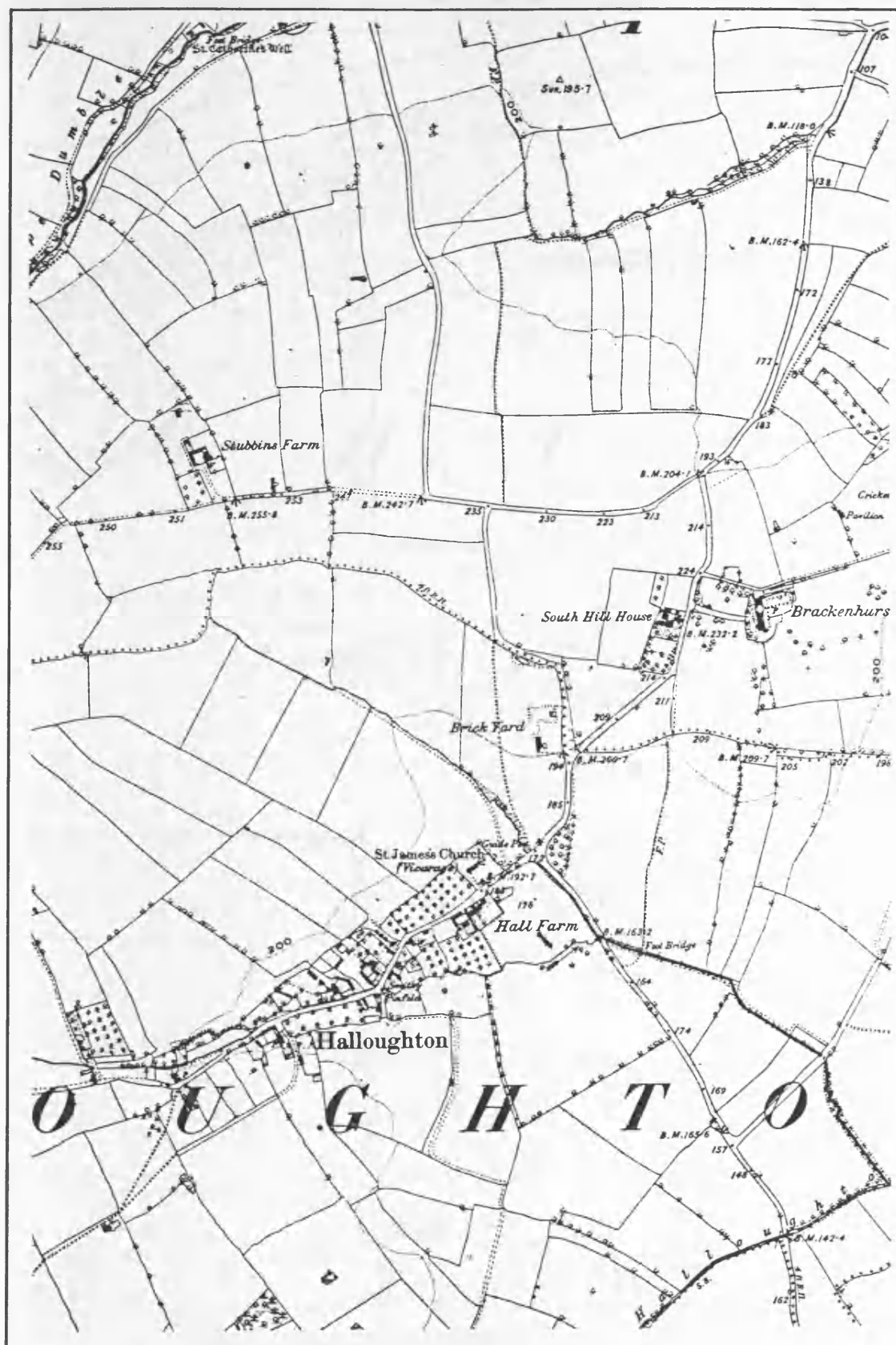
Egmanton
OS Second Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XXSW (1898-99)



Greasley
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 and Second Edition Sheet XXXVII NW (1901)



Gringley-on-the-Hill
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet VII NW (1890)



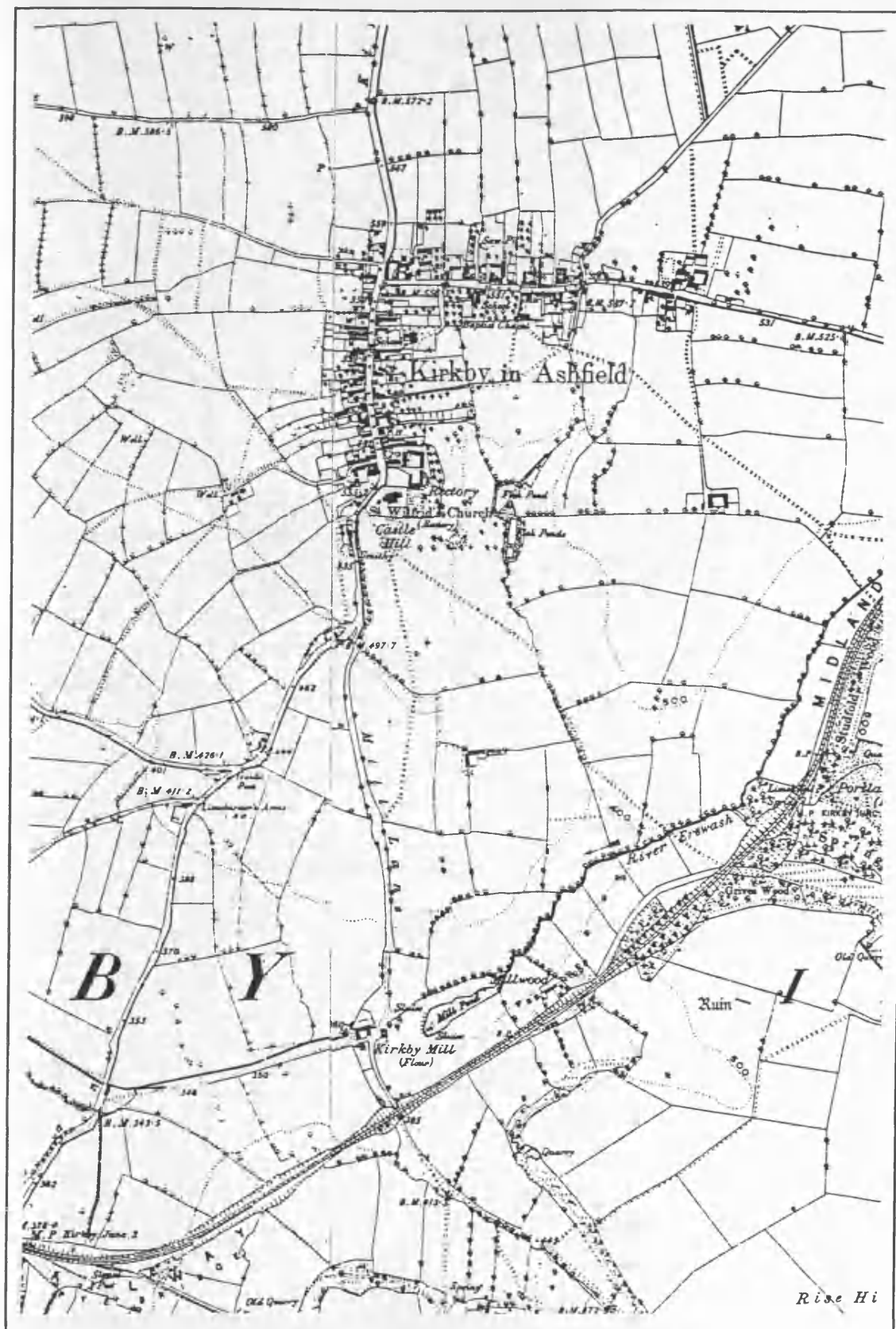
Halloughton
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XXXIV NE (1887)



Haughton
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XIX NE (1887), and XIX
NW (1887)

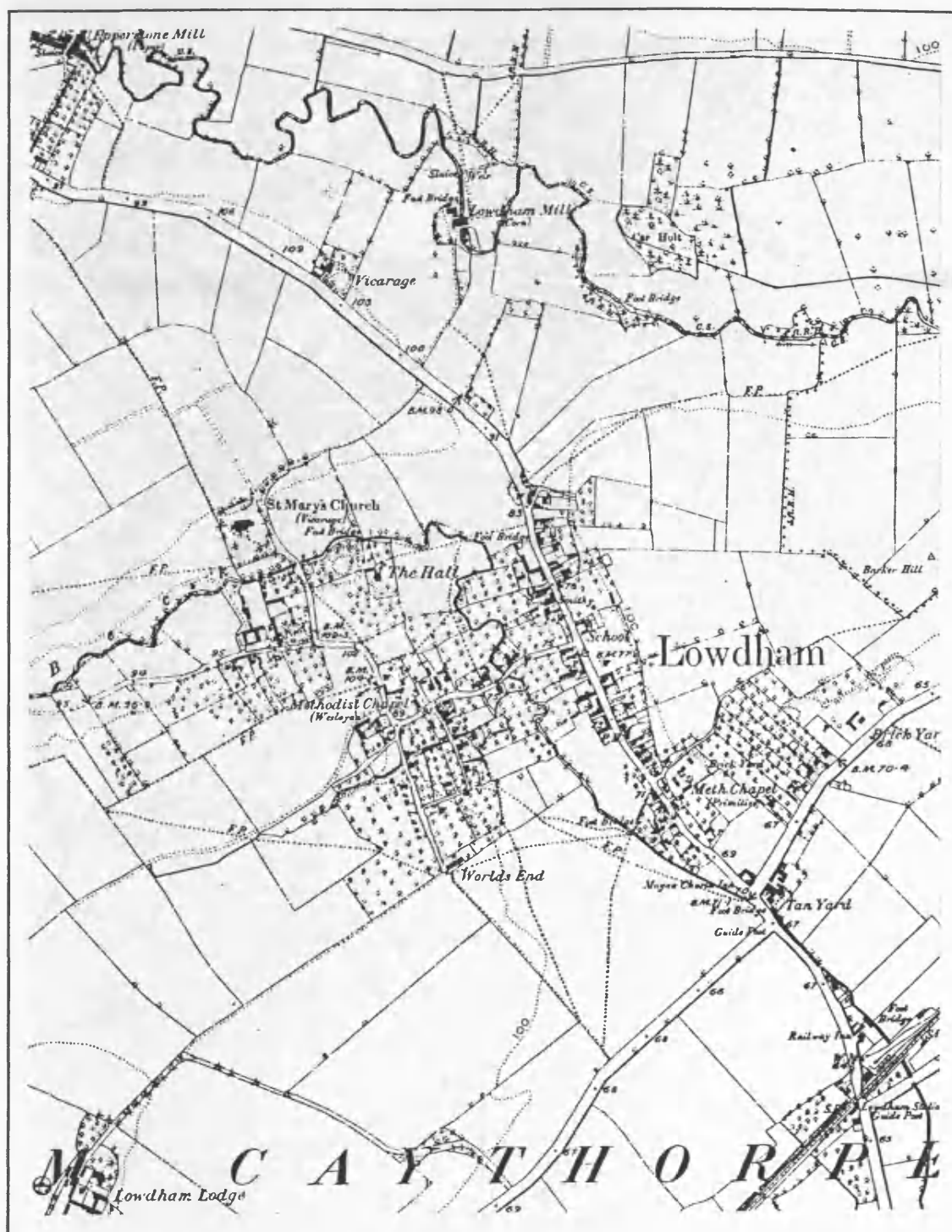


Kingshaugh
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XV SW (1888)

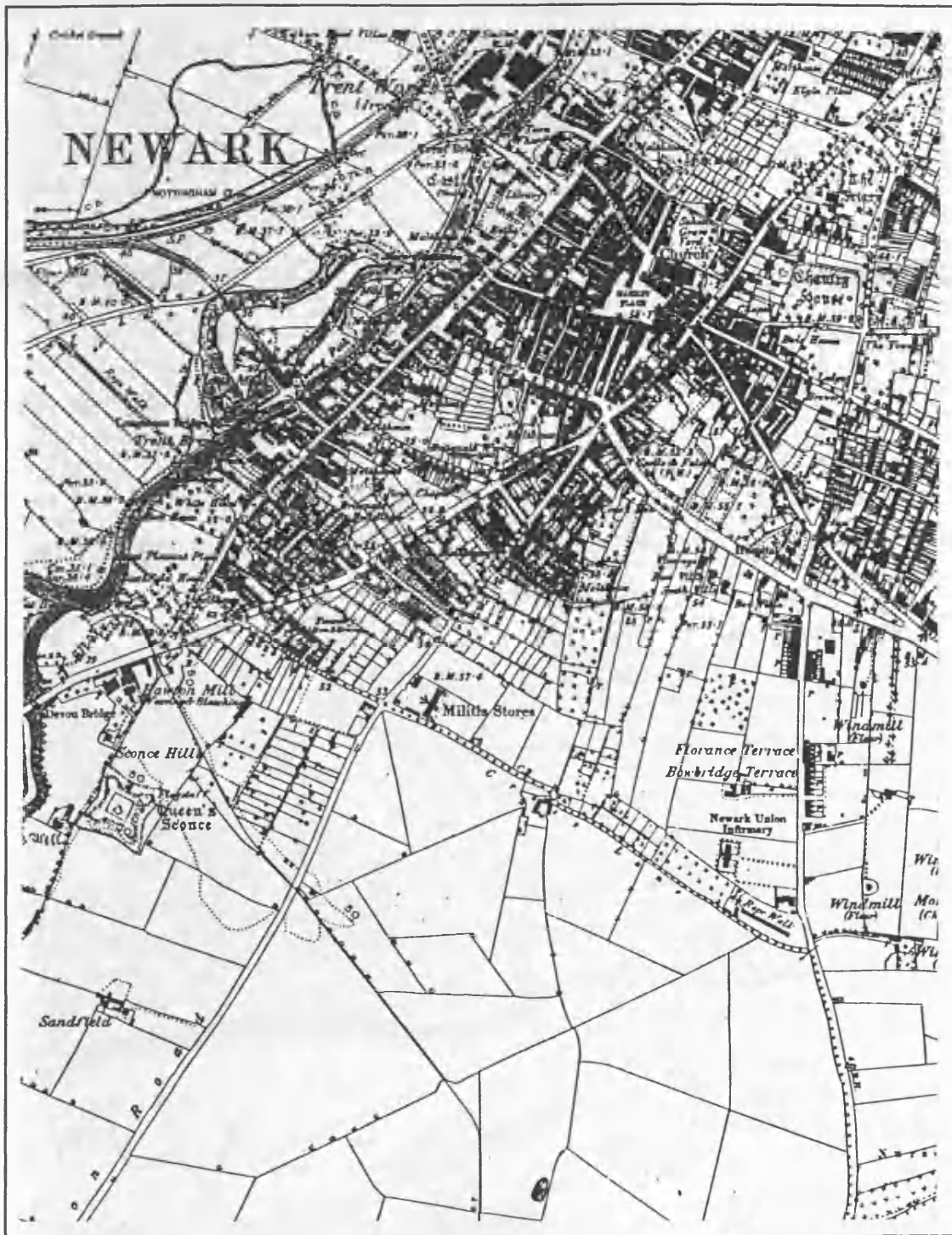


Kirkby-in-Ashfield
 OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheets XXVII SW (1884),
 and XXVII SE (1887)





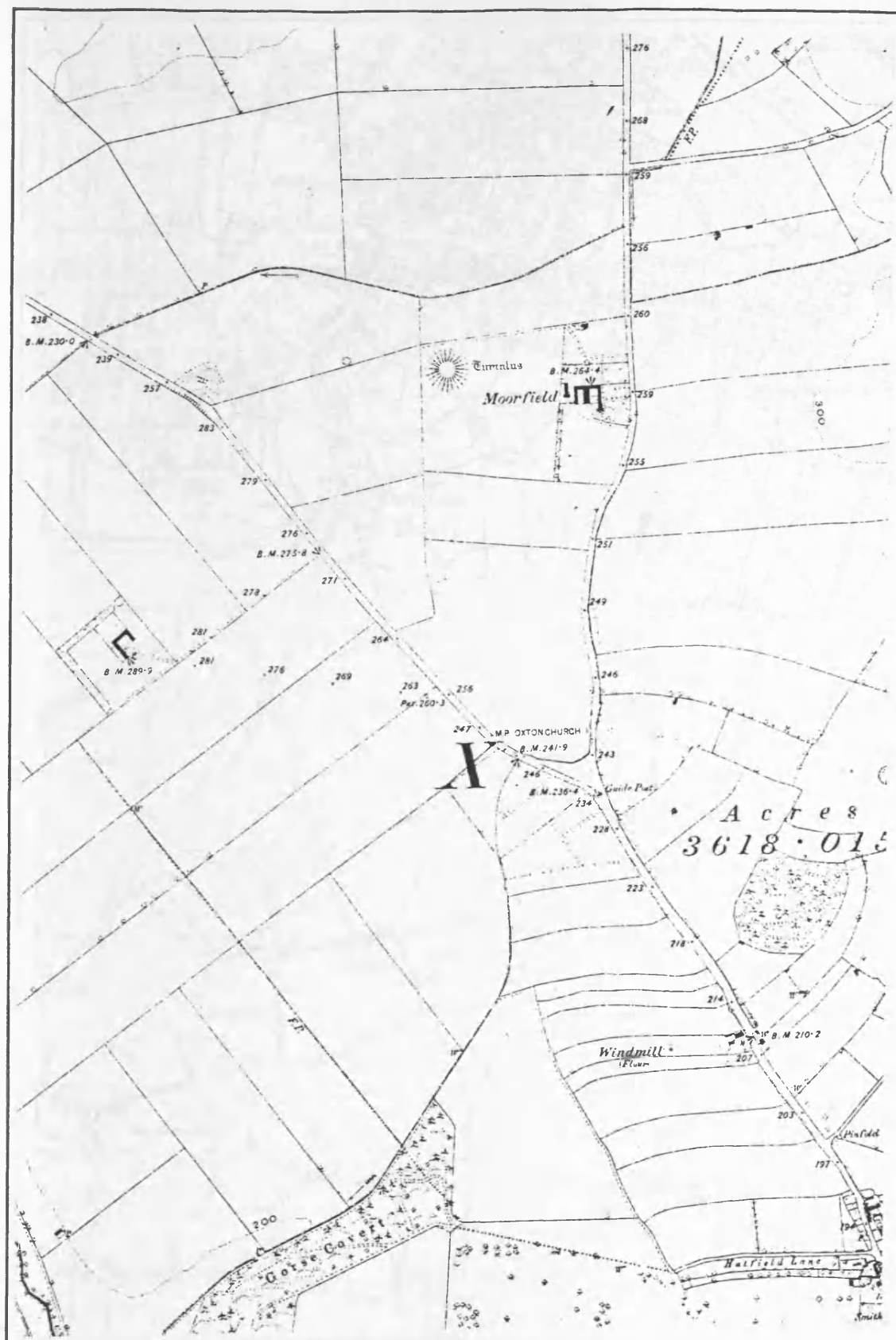
Lowdham
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XXXIX NW (1889)



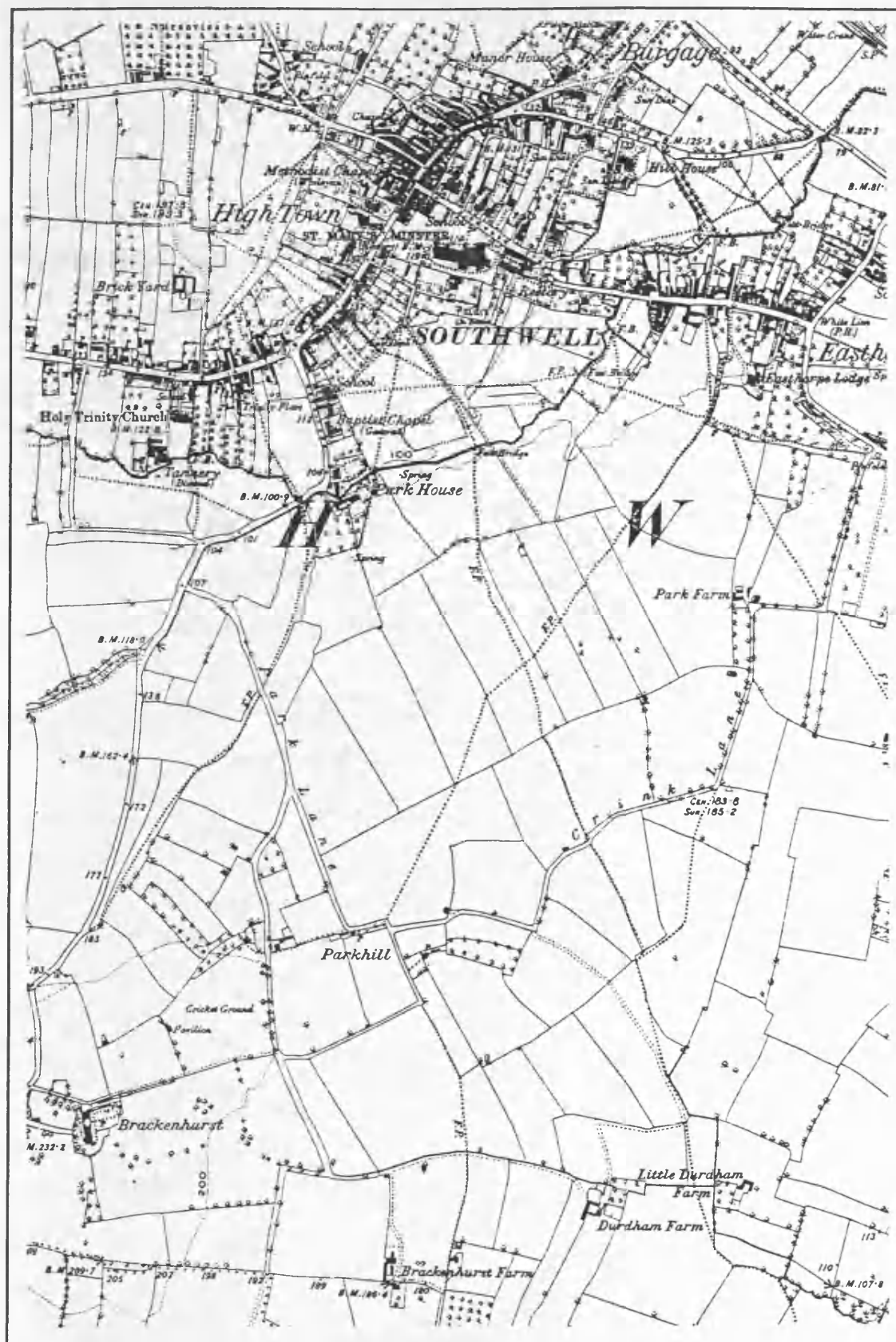
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OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XXXV NE (1889)



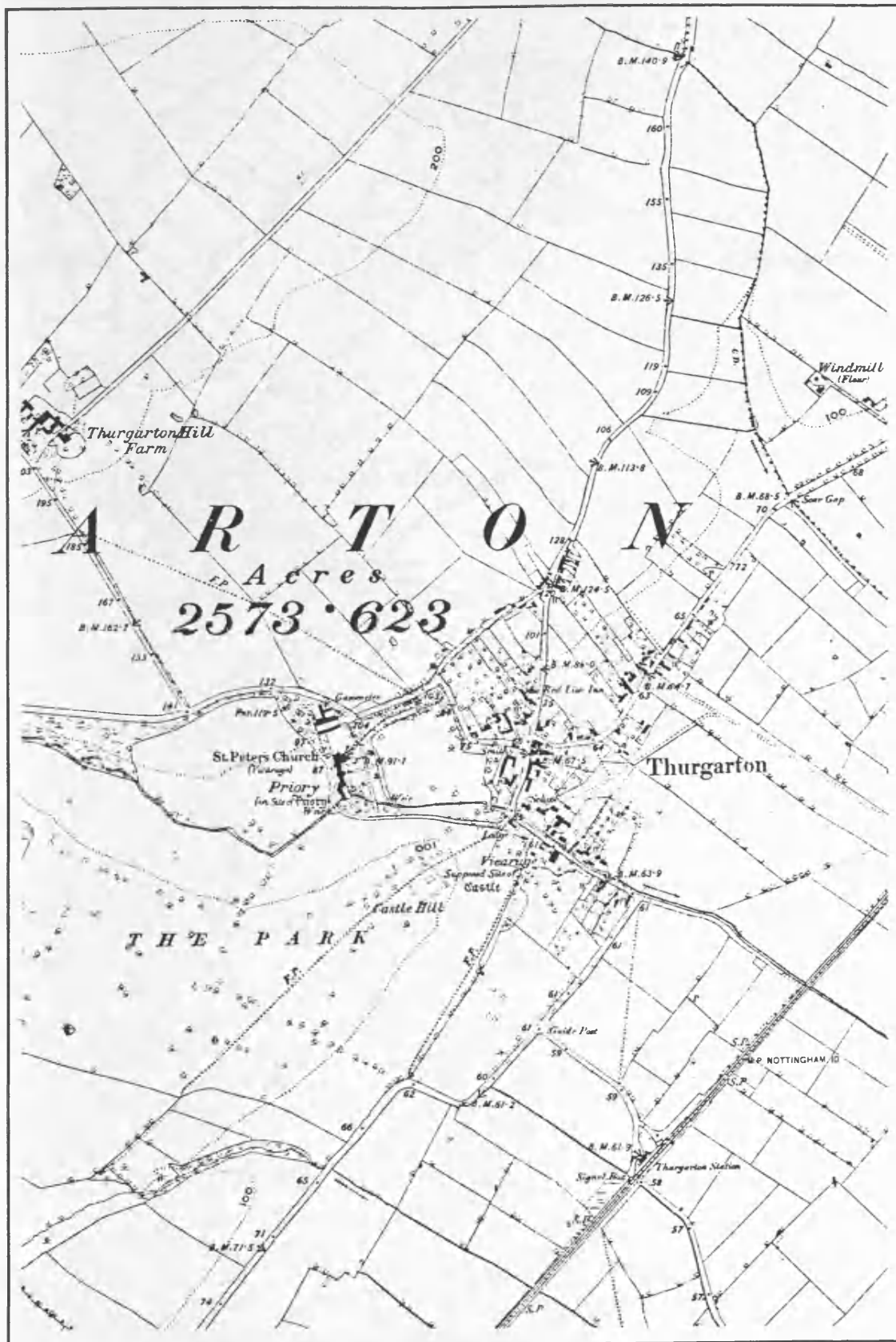
Nottingham
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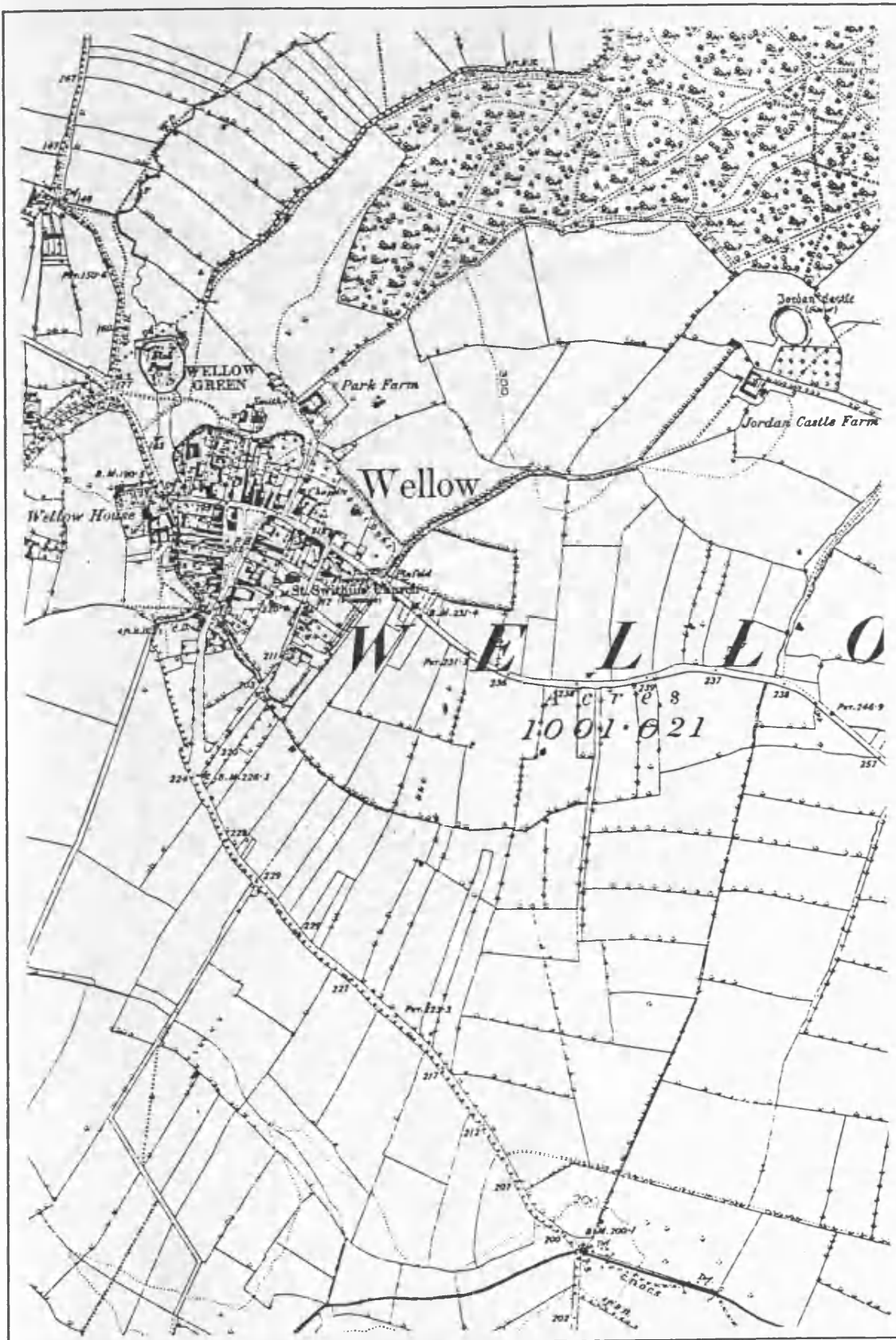
Oxton
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XXX NE (1887)



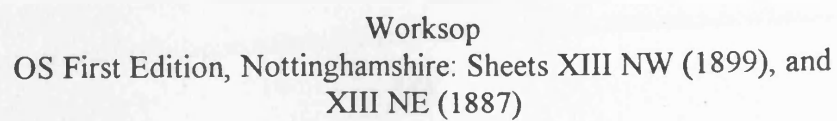
Southwell Minster
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XXXIV NE (1887)



Thurgarton
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XXXIV SE (1887)



Wellow
OS First Edition, Nottinghamshire: Sheet XXIV (1890)



RUTLAND

BEAUMONT CHASE (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Beaumont Chase/Uppingham
SK 849004

Situation: The castle occupies a natural promontory, commanding extensive views of the vale of Wardley to the west and beyond.

Preservation: The motte is overgrown, although in general well preserved, with some signs of slippage on the west flank. The inner bailey is visible as a slight scarp in the ploughed field, whilst the outer bailey exists only as the faint trace of an earthwork in the ploughsoil.

Description: The site comprises a large motte scarped partially from the point of a natural eminence; the feature is c. 8-10m in height from the base of the ditch, with a flat and round top c. 12m in diameter. The motte ditch is c. 6-8m wide and semi-circular, showing signs of counterscarp banks at the two extremities, where the terrain otherwise slopes steeply away to the south and west. Two successive baileys are formed by curving banks and ditches cut transversely across the promontory, giving both enclosures trapezoidal plans. The perimeter of the first is approximately 30m east of the motte ditch, and the outer bailey perimeter a further c. 40m to the east. The bank of the inner bailey was c. 0.5-0.9m in height in 1971 and now barely visible; the outer enclosure ditch is reduced to a wide depression of very little depth only visible from the air.

Excavation and Fieldwork: Medieval pottery was collected from the site by staff from Leicester Museums Service in 1976-77.

Documentation: None directly relating to the castle, although the hill on which it was built is mentioned in an Anglo-Saxon charter of 1046 as *Martin's Hoe*. The common assertion that the castle is Stephanic (1135-54), is based upon historical likelihood rather than primary documentation.

Sources:

Brown 1975, 2-3
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 170011
Hartley 1983, 7
King 1983, 417
Leics. SMR Site File, No. 80 SW N/80 SE M
OS Antiquity Model SK 80 SW 6
Rutland Local History Society 1982, 2
VCH Rutland I 1908, 112; II 1935, 61

BURLEY (Alstoe Mount)

Motte and Bailey
Burley
SK 894120

Situation: The castle site lies near the southern terminus of a low ridge running north into Lincolnshire, situated immediately to the north of Alstoe Farm, between the Burley-Cottesmore road and a minor stream.

Preservation: The site is at present well preserved and grassed-over. It is, however difficult to reconcile this level of preservation with the weak banks and ditches surrounding the bailey, and determine whether this represents a minimal level of defence or a high level of denudation.

Description: Although frequently cited as a fine example of a motte and bailey castle, in reality both the motte and its relationship with the bailey and associated outworks are atypical. The mound is conically shaped and c. 5m high, with an originally flat summit c. 35m in diameter; it is circumvallated by a heavily silted ditch c. 8m in width and c. 1.5m deep, with no sign of a former causeway or entrance. The motte is contained within a seemingly weak, sub-rectangular bailey c. 50 x 90m in maximum dimension, oriented north-south. This feature is heavily defended on the west side by two banks and an intervening ditch, but by a bank of low elevation and minor external ditch on the remaining three sides. A series of at least four dependant enclosures - all defined by weak banks and ditches - have been added to the north and east sides of the bailey, possibly representing a fortified *burgus*, or series of agricultural plots. Although formerly scheduled as a motte and bailey, in 1991 the mound and surrounding area of DMV earthworks were combined as a single scheduled monument and the 'motte' re-interpreted as the site of a Saxon *moot* (meeting place).

Excavation and Fieldwork: Elements of the site were excavated by G. Dunning in 1935. The entire surface of the motte was stripped, including a segment on the south-east side down to a depth of c. 1.5m, showing the structure of the mound to comprise alternate layers of mixed ironstone. Whilst no evidence of a timber structure was found on the motte top, although the volume of hewn oak timbers in the ditch led the excavator to suggest that these represented a dismantled palisade from the motte-top. The flat-bottomed ditch had been cut into solid ironstone, was c. 7.5m wide, c. 3m in depth, and originally spring-fed. A section through the west side of the bailey defences revealed that the bank only survives to a height of c. 0.3m, whilst the ditch was c. 1.2m in depth. Sections through the outer enclosures showed them to consist of banks little more than c. 0.3m in height, and ditches c. 0.3m in depth. Pottery finds included fragments of globular cooking pots and open bowls, apparently of 'Norman' date and universally of the same character, possibly from the kilns at Stamford. These data, in tandem with the absence of stonework led the excavator to suggest that the site was not occupied or reconditioned after the mid 12th century.

Documentation: There are no direct references to the castle site, although in 1207 mention is made in a dispute between Earl David and Henry de Armenters of a 'green ditch' to the north of *Altiechestouwe*. The suggestion by Dunning that the Wake family held the castle is based on historical likelihood alone, the Wakes being the Norman holders of Alstoe manor.

Sources:

Brown 1975, 5

Dunning 1936

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17009

Hartley 1983, 11-12

King 1983, 417

Leics. SMR Site File, No. SK 81 SE H

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 81 SE 2

Renn 1968, 124

VCH Rutland I 1908, 112

ESSENDINE

Ringwork and Bailey
Essendine
TF 049128

Situation: The earthwork occupies a low-lying position east of the main settlement, flanked to the east by the River Glen, which fed the associated fishponds and moated defences.

Preservation: The earthwork is in a reasonably good condition, with some covering of trees and undergrowth. The moated defences are at present dry, having apparently been drained. Usage of the outer enclosure as a graveyard has disturbed any internal archaeological features.

Description: The site comprises a strongly ditched island with an outer court containing Essendine parish church; the strength of the entire complex is consistent with a re-modelled ringwork and bailey. The main moat is extremely large, with external dimensions over *c.* 100m square. The sub-rectangular island itself is *c.* 55 x 50m and surrounded by a massive ditch, *c.* 3-4m deep, *c.* 30m wide on the west, and *c.* 40m wide on the north side; no building foundations are visible within the interior. The ditched enclosure to the south is less regular although approximates a rectangle on an east-west orientation and measures *c.* 120 x 50m externally. It is linked to the main enclosure via a break in the ditch on the north side, which is in turn on the same alignment as a causeway providing access to the outer enclosure from the south. The parish church is located in the north-east corner of the outer enclosure and the graveyard entirely contained within. A fishpond survives on the north side of the site, measuring *c.* 60 x 30m; a series of smaller stews south of the bailey were apparently filled in prior to 1945.

Excavation and Fieldwork: None

Documentation: It is commonly suggested that the site was built by the Busseys or Robert de Vipoint in the late 12th/early13th century, although this suggestion is based upon inference from the manorial descent rather than direct documentary evidence. The site is described in detail in a manorial extent of 1417, although not referred to as a castle; a chapel and a series of domestic and ancillary buildings are also mentioned beside the 'manor'.

Sources:

Brown 1975, 20
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17012
Hartley 1983, 15, 18
King 1983, 417
Leics. SMR Site File, No. TF 01 SW G
OS Antiquity Model TF 01 SW 2
VCH Rutland I 1908, 113; II 1935, 250

GREAT CASTERTON (Woodhead Castle)

Ringwork and Bailey
Great Casterton
SK 997116

Situation: Woodhead Castle is an isolated site in the north of the parish, occupying a minor ridge-top position immediately south of Woodhead coppice.

Preservation: The field monument comprises a promontory of grassed-over earthworks in an otherwise ploughed field. The earthworks are generally extremely well preserved, although a hydraulic ram is situated in the north-east corner of the moat, the north side of which is completely waterlogged. The interior of the enclosure and appendant bailey appear to hold exceptionally-well preserved remains of domestic structures and an associated chapel, while the waterlogged ditches potentially hold valuable environmental material.

Description: Although generally interpreted as a strongly defended manorial complex, the site was more recently scheduled as a ringwork and bailey. The earthwork comprises a moated sub-rectangular platform or 'ringwork', c. 90 x 90m in maximum dimension, with arms c. 12m wide and c. 4m deep, other than in the north-east corner, where the moat is enlarged and waterlogged. The central platform is enclosed by an inner bank surmounted by a stone wall, this surviving to a height of c. 1m in the south-east corner; opposing entrances being identifiable on the east and west sides. A sub-rectangular enclosure appends to the east, demarcated by a low bank, c. 5m wide, enclosing an area c. 80 x 70m, with a single access point on the east side on the same alignment as the other two entrances. The central area shows marked signs of building foundations, and prominent earthworks trace the line of buildings or defences on the north and south sides of the outer unit. A rectangular fishpond (c. 10 x 20m) lies to the south, considered contemporary with the rest of the site. Other earthworks immediately to the east of the moat are known from aerial photographs, although no clear plan exists.

Excavation and Fieldwork: During survey by Leicestershire Museums, miscellaneous materials were recovered from rabbit burrows in the centre of the ringwork and from ploughsoil immediately south of the bailey, comprising medieval pottery, tile and a Collyweston roof slate.

Documentation: The site is first mentioned when visited by Richard I in 1290. However, the chapel is mentioned in 1286-7, with the endowment, *inter alia* of a toft and croft, and is further mentioned in 1291, 1393 and 1428. The building within the moated enclosure was documented as being ruinous in 1543.

Sources:

Brown 1975, 12-13
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17007
Hartley 1983, 17
King 1983, 417
Irons 1917, 50-1
Leics. SMR Parish File SK 91 SE H
VCH Rutland I 1908, 114; II 1935, 232

LIDDINGTON (The Bedehouse)

Fortified Ecclesiastical Site
Liddington
SP 879968

Description: The Bedehouse is a surviving fragment of the Palace of the Bishops of Lincoln. The surviving range of buildings consists of a first floor audience chamber with inner chamber, whilst the ground floor chambers represent accommodation and offices. The building is constructed of local limestone with Collyweston slates and appears to date entirely from the second quarter of the 15th century. The complex was once far more extensive, with the Bedehouse probably representing the south range, as suggested by the doorways at first floor level; an extensive series of associated fishponds exist to the north. In 1976 and 1980 watching briefs during drainage work allowed c. Woodfield to observe archaeological structures in the vicinity of the Bedehouse, including wall alignments suggesting the former existence of a Great Hall, and ancillary buildings. In terms of documentation, the estate was

granted in 1085 and a manor house and park are first documented in the early 13th century. The site was licensed in 1336; otherwise there is little to suggest that it was ever fortified. In the 14th and 15th centuries it is documented as the favourite palace of the Bishops of Lincoln and visited frequently; the surviving range was converted into a hospital by Lord Cecil in 1602.

Sources:

Brown 1975, 17
Hartley 1983, 26
King 1983, 418
Leics. SMR Site File, No. 89 NE Y
Liddle 1983, 32-33
Simms 1955, 184
Woodfield and Woodfield 1982, 1-16

OAKHAM

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
Oakham
SK 862088

Situation: The castle is located to the immediate east of the parish church, forming a distinct complex of earthworks in the north-east quarter of Oakham.

Preservation: There are extant remains of the motte, inner bailey and curtain wall, whilst the Norman hall is in use as the County Magistrates Court. The whole site is open to public access, and Cutts Close is preserved as a public park. A W.W.II gun emplacement at the north-east corner of Cutts Close, and a 19th-century garden folly in the eastern wall of the castle are included in the scheduled area.

Description: The earliest castle at Oakham consisted of a motte at the south-east corner of a single, oval bailey. The motte has been externally scarped away, but part of the mound and the hollow of the ditch on the side of the bailey remain; the bailey is enclosed with a substantial earth bank and formerly a ditch. An extensive outer court (Cutts Close), internally measuring c. 60 x 140m, and also enclosed with a bank and ditch, lies to the north of the bailey and is separated from it by a disturbed area where the bailey ditch has been artificially widened to form a successive series of fishponds. The close contains a number of vague earthworks, seeming to represent gardens and fishponds. The castle bailey was strengthened with a stone curtain, now entirely ruined; the main gateway on the south side is largely 13th century, whilst sections of two small circular bastions survive on the east side of the defences, apparently guarding a postern. The remarkable aisled hall is well studied, being one of the finest surviving Norman domestic buildings in the country; architecturally suggesting a date in the last quarter of the 12th century. It formed the central element within a group of buildings, of which slight traces can be detected in the unevenness of the ground at either end.

Excavation and Fieldwork: Casual finds from castle area in the 19th century comprise an oval jet seal matrix found in 1856, and a (Roman?) plaster head - found near the castle and exhibited in 1865. 20th-century excavations comprise:

P. Gathercote's excavations in 1953-54 took place immediately south of the castle wall, where post-medieval buildings had encroached over the castle ditch. A section through the rampart confirmed a date of c. 1075-1100 for the construction of the rampart, built when Stamford Ware was in current use; the curtain wall being added in a later, undated, phase. A heavily robbed building with an oven was found immediately inside the gateway. Finds included 397 sherds of Saxo-Norman pottery, 2 sherds of Roman

pottery, a large volume of leather including medieval shoes, Collyweston slates, 17 pieces of flint and a stone carved head, thought to be medieval.

In 1956 J. Barber cut a trench opposite the blocked doorways at the east end of the hall, revealing a medieval buttery and pantry. Two earlier walls were seen to underlie the buttery, the latest phase being dated to c.1200-1300. Work in the same area continued in 1957, revealing the pantry and buttery to be separated by a passage leading to a kitchen. The clay floor of the kitchen and associated mortar-lined pit were dated to the second half of the 14th century. Excavation continued in 1958, with all four walls of the kitchen identified, and two baking ovens located in the south-west corner.

A watching brief by P. Clay, during water main replacement in the area south of the Hall in 1987 revealed no structural remains, although traces of a courtyard were located. Trial excavation by J. Sharman and D. Sawday in Cutts Close revealed iron age, Roman and Saxon sherds and Roman tile (including wall tile and *tegulae*). Evaluations in 1991 in Cutts Close and in 1993 to the rear of 11 Market Place both revealed no archaeological features.

Documentation: The 'King's Hall' is mentioned in Domesday (i, 293b, 2), whilst the castle is first documented as such in 1218. The site has little history, although mentioned in the list of Crown castles necessary for national safety in 1308, and apparently still in good condition in 1340.

Sources:

Brown 1975
Clay 1988
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 17018
Gaimster *et al.* 1990, 201
Gathercote 1958, 17-38
Hartley 1983, 30, 32
Holland Walker 1925
King 1983, 417-18
Leics SMR Site File, No. SK 80 NE D
Liddle 1983, 36-37
Radford 1955, 184-84
Renn 1968, 263
Sharman and Sawday 1990
Venables 1899
VCH Rutland I 1908, 115-16; II 1935, 8-10
Wilson And Hurst 1957, 157; 1958, 195; 1959, 308
Youngs *et al.* 1988, 260

PILTON

Possible Motte
North Luffenham
SK 928023

Situation: The earthwork occupies an isolated site in a spinney on the west side of the Morcott-North Luffenham road. The feature is constructed upon minor scarp south of the River Chater and overlooks a considerable tract of land to the north.

Preservation: The site is completely overgrown and much denuded. The incomplete status of the semi-circular ditch seems related to the site's original function rather a result of subsequent infilling or erosion.

Description: This obscure earthwork comprises a steep-sided earthen mound partially surrounded (except on the south side) by a dry ditch. The mound is *c.* 3m high, with a flat and round summit *c.* 23m in diameter. The ditch is *c.* 4m wide, and has a low counterscarp bank of *c.* 1-1.5m in height, there being slight signs of two causeways, one on the east side, and another, less well marked to the north. There are no traces of building foundations on top of the mound, nor any signs of a bailey. In the VCH, the earthwork is described both as a nearly circular motte and possibly a Parliamentary gun position; it is also interpreted as a Saxon barrow or windmill mound, whilst an alternative view suggests that it may be a post-medieval prospect mound, as it lies on the axis of the main vista from North Luffenham Hall. If not a prospect mound, the feature may indeed be an incomplete/denuded motte.

Excavation and Fieldwork: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

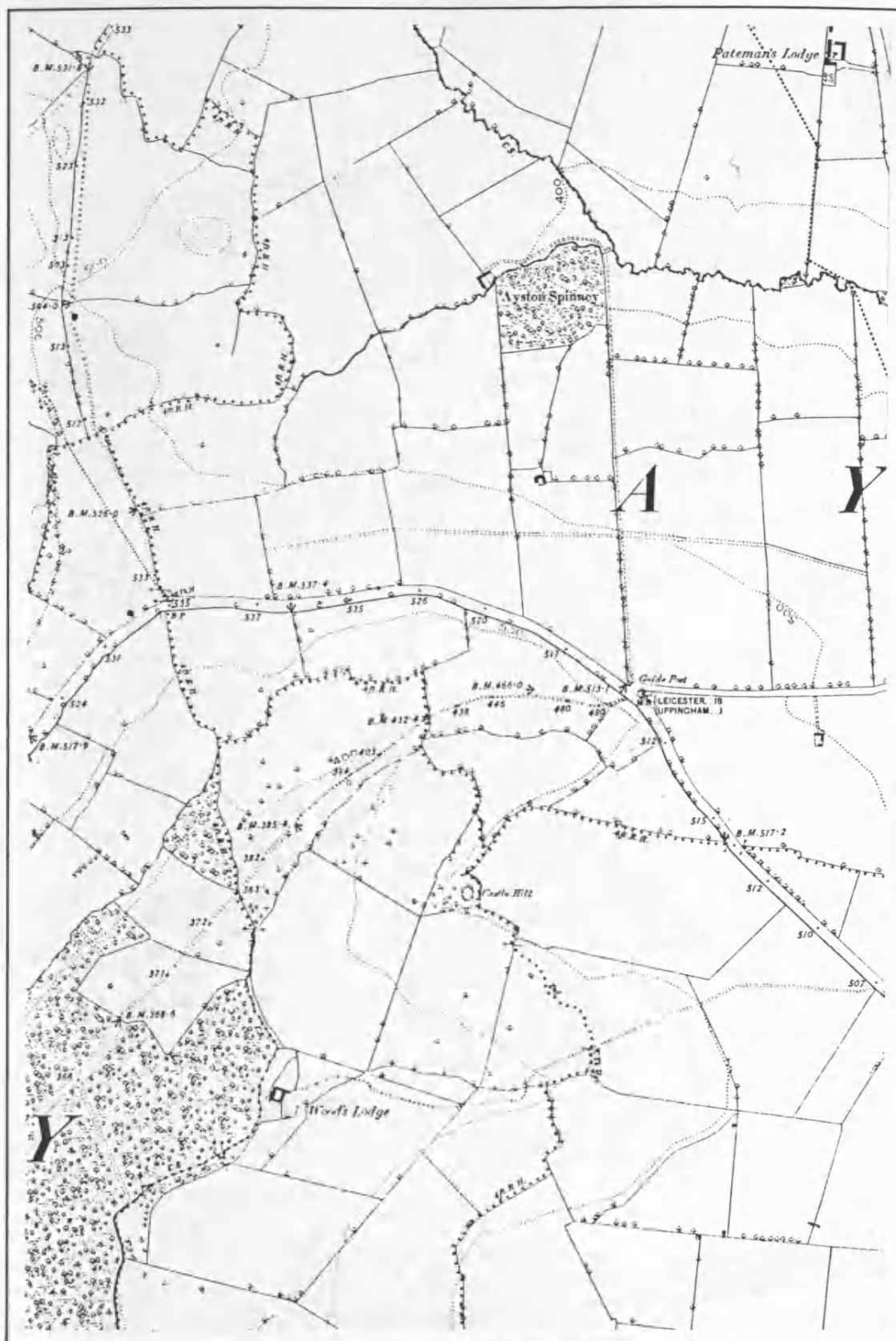
Hartley 1983, 28, 30

King 1983, 418

Leics. SMR Site File, No. SK 90 SW Q

OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 90 SW 7

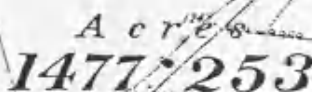
VCH Rutland I 1908, 111-12, 119



Beaumont Chase
OS First Edition, Rutland: Sheet XIII NW (1887)



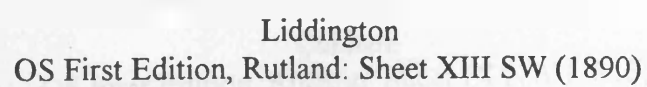
Burley
OS First Edition, Rutland: Sheet V SE (1889)

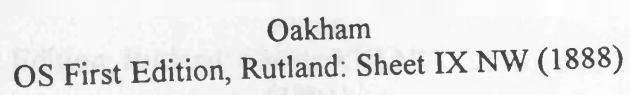


Essendine



Great Casterton
OS Provisional Edition, Rutland: Sheet VI SE (1902-03)





CLEVELAND, YORKS.

CASTLE LEAVINGTON (Castle Hill)

Ringwork
Castlevington
NZ 461103

Situation: Castle Hill occupies a natural eminence of immense strength projecting from the west bank of the River Levent.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as a strong defensive earthwork, although presently obscured by dense undergrowth.

Description: The earthwork comprises a circular ringwork only; there being no evidence of a bailey on the level plateau to west. The work is defined by a rampart enclosing an internal area of maximum diameter *c.* 70m, and partially circumvallated by an outer ditch, which flanks the south and west sides of the feature, although is absent to the north and west, where the steep scarp above the river provides natural defence. The strength of the rampart is sufficient to warrant classification as a ringwork, although the interior of the feature is itself raised *c.* 2-3m above the level terrain to the west. The single point of access to the site seems to have been from the south, as marked by an apparently original gap in the rampart and ditch.

Excavation: Unconfirmed reports relate the recovery of 'Native' and 'Romano-British' pottery from the site, apparently without the recovery of any medieval ceramics.

Documentation: Although no direct references are made to a castle on this site, the place-name *castelleminton* is first recorded *c.* 1215-21.

Sources:

Cleveland SMR Site File, No. 0554
Illingworth 1938, 125-26
King 1983, 515, 536
King and Alcock 1969, 123
L'Anson 1913, 334-36
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. NZ 41 SE 3
Pevsner 1966b, 221
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 20-21

KILTON

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Brotton
NZ 703175

Situation: Kilton castle occupies a small, narrow promontory position of immense natural strength overlooking the deeply-incised valley of Kilton Beck.

Preservation: Kilton castle is preserved as a standing structure.

Description: The castle comprises two rectangular courts arranged in line, east-west along the natural headland, the masonry remains occupying an area of c. 100m east-west x 20m north-south. The wards are divided by a ditch cut transversely across the neck of the promontory - this the sole identifiable feature of the early castle. A rectangular inner court occupied the east end of the promontory, containing a kitchen, hall, chapel and solar, and is defended by a square tower on its north-east corner and semi-circular tower on its north-east corner. An outer court of longer, narrower plan lay adjacent to the west and contained a stable block. A substantial L-shaped depression immediately west of the castle is likely to represent the vestiges of associated fish stews rather than any defensive outwork.

Excavation: The site was excavated by F. Aberg between 1961-79. The range of buildings dividing the inner from the outer courts was investigated, revealing the underlying cellars to be of late-13th-century construction. Excavation at the east end of the castle defined a south-eastern tower and the plan of a bakehouse, inserted in the range between this feature and the north-eastern tower in the 15th century as part of a radical programme of remodelling associated with the abandonment of both towers and disuse of the Great Hall. The inner ward declined rapidly from the late 15th century, and an iron-smelting hearth of this date excavated. The site was finally abandoned in the 16th century, the final area of inhabitation being the buildings on the north-east of the inner ward; the filling of a well within the half-round tower was dated to a similar period. In 1985-86 the site was extensively cleared and surveyed, and a report on the serious subsidence of the north-east tower undertaken.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in 1265 when a chantry was granted to Kilton chapel, and again in an *inquisition post mortem* of 1374, the circumstances of the latter perhaps implying disuse.

Sources:

Cleveland SMR Site File, No. 0023
Daniels 1990, 37-38
Illingworth 1938, 52-56
King 1983, 519, 537
L'Anson 1913, 361
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 71NW 2
Pevsner 1966b, 208
Renn 1968, 216
VCH Yorks. NR II 1923, 327-29
Webster and Cherry 1972, 184; 1973, 165; 1974, 197; 1975, 241
Wilson and Hurst 1966, 192; 1967, 288; 1968, 181; 1969, 261-63
Wilson and Moorhouse 1971, 149
Youngs *et al.* 1987, 119

SKELTON

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Skelton
NZ 651193

Situation: The medieval castle site was entirely contained within the perimeter defences of an iron age hillfort, situated on natural high ground, c. 350m south of Skelton Beck. The plan of the enclosure is to a large extent dictated by its position on top of the natural promontory running north-south, with steep natural slopes on either side

Preservation: The medieval stone castle was utterly destroyed in order to make way for the present castellated mansion built from c. 1788; no masonry of medieval date survives. An extensive programme of

landscaping associated with the construction of the modern Skelton Castle has severely reduced the medieval earthworks.

Description: The castle site occupied and reconditioned the line of extant prehistoric defences, the entire site occupying a diamond-shaped eminence with maximum dimensions of c. 160m north-south x 420m east-west. The medieval keep - which 18th-century descriptions show to have been rectangular in plan - lay at the northern extremity of the hill-top, and whilst likely that a series of banks and ditches formerly subdivided the castle zone, the present state of field evidence makes reconstruction of the site impossible. Although the prehistoric ditches are likely to have been re-cut and the ramparts modified, little of any certainty can be said of the extent of these modifications, although the single point of access to the site - on the southern extremity of the hill-top - seems to have been altered to form an barbican of triangular plan.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned following a successful siege in 1216.

Sources:

Cleveland SMR Site File, No. 0332
Illingworth 1938, 131
King 1983, 525-26, 538
L'Anson 1913, 380-90
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. NZ 61 NE 9
Pevsner 1966b, 343-44
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 405-06

YARM (Maiden Castle)

Possible Vanished Early Castle
Yarm
NZ 419123

Situation: The place-name 'Maiden Castle' is recorded in a highly defensible position on a low natural eminence c. 350m south of the village of Yarm, the settlement being entirely contained within a narrow loop of the Tees, and the castle flanking the single exposed point of access into the settlement.

Preservation: Any physical remains of a castle site have been destroyed through mining activity.

Description: Evidence for a castle site at Yarm is based entirely on topographical and place-name evidence, the site having being obliterated.

Excavation: None

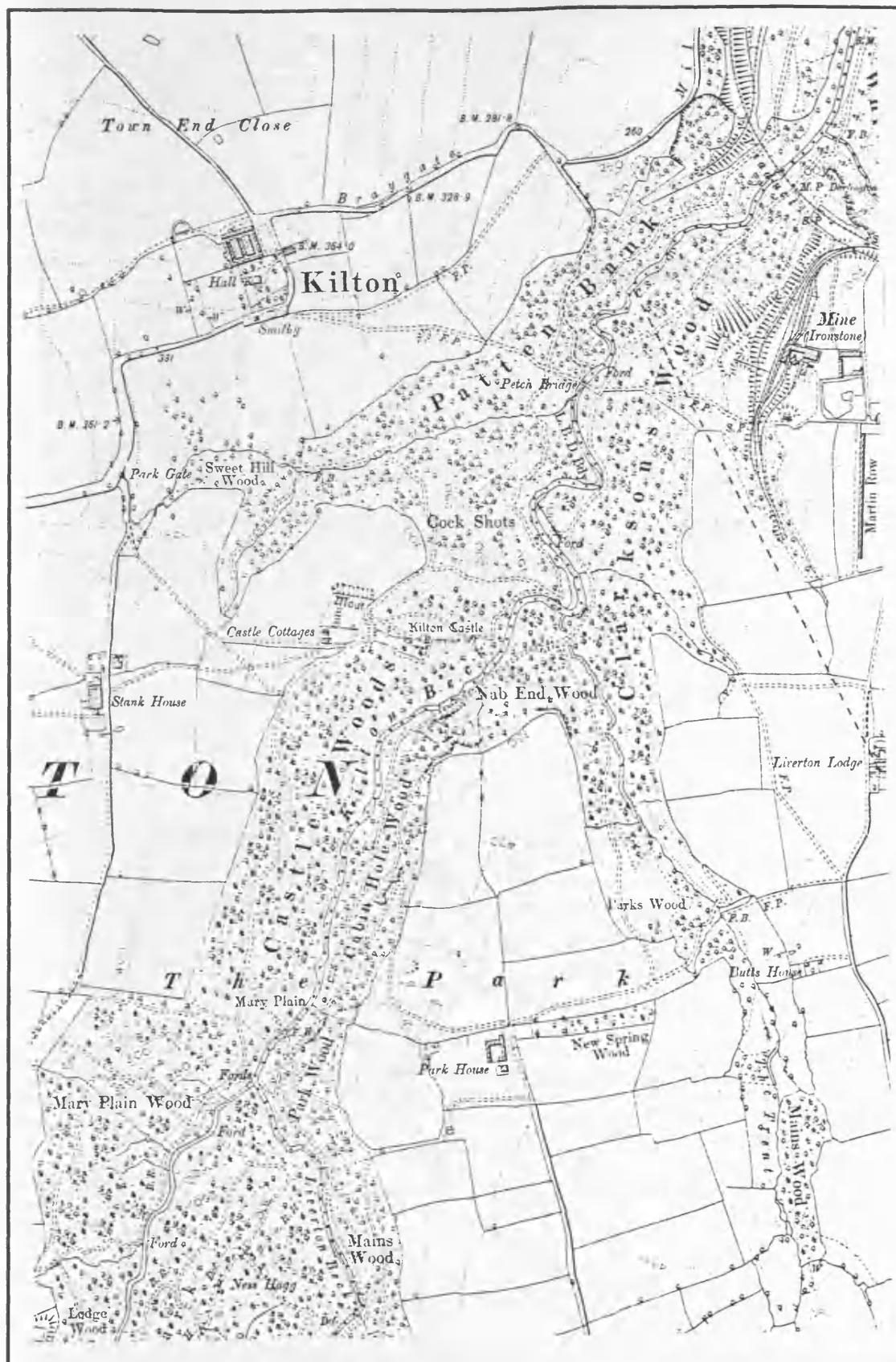
Documentation: None

Sources:

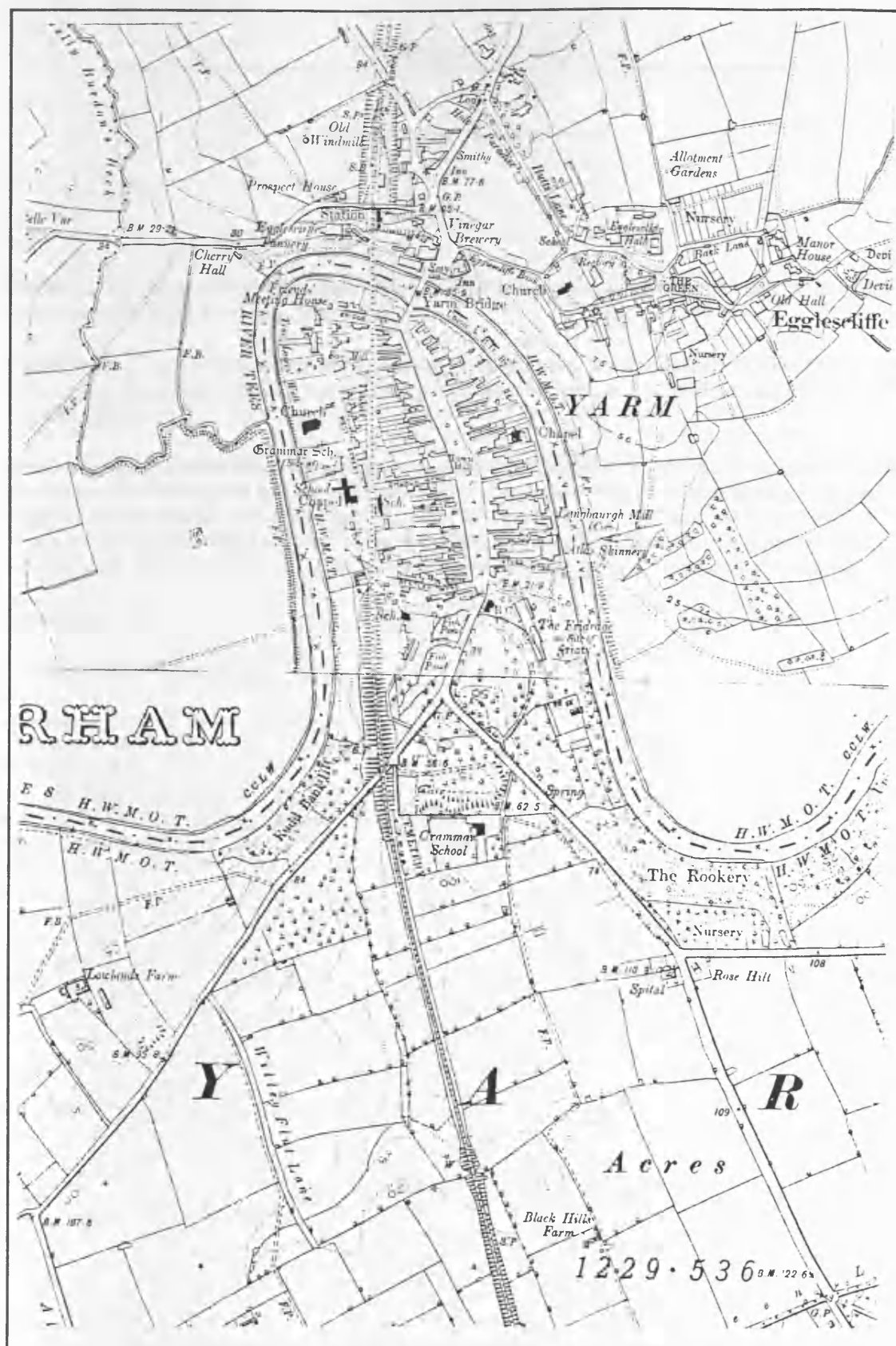
Cleveland SMR Site File, No. 0492
King 1983, 531
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. NZ 41 SW 8



Castle Leavington
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet XXVIII NE (1895)



Kilton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet XVIII NE (1895)



Yarm
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets XV SE (1895), and
XXVII NE (1895)

CUMBRIA, YORKS.

SEDBERGH (Castlehaw Tower)

Motte and Bailey
Sedbergh
SD 662922

Situation: The motte occupies the lower slopes immediately north-east of Sedbergh town, commanding extensive views of the town and Lune valley.

Preservation: The site is relatively well preserved as an earthwork feature, distinct zones suffering from 20th-century disturbances such as the concreting of part of the motte as a W.W.II air-raid lookout, and footpath erosion.

Description: The site comprises an oval motte raised a maximum of *c.* 8m above the surrounding terrain, and partially circumvallated by a dry ditch other than to the south where steep natural slopes provide adequate natural defence, and to the east where an earthen causeway provided access to the motte. A single sub-rectangular bailey lies west of the motte, measuring *c.* 30m east-west x 20m north-south, defined on all sides by a ditch only - the former rampart having apparently being entirely denuded.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

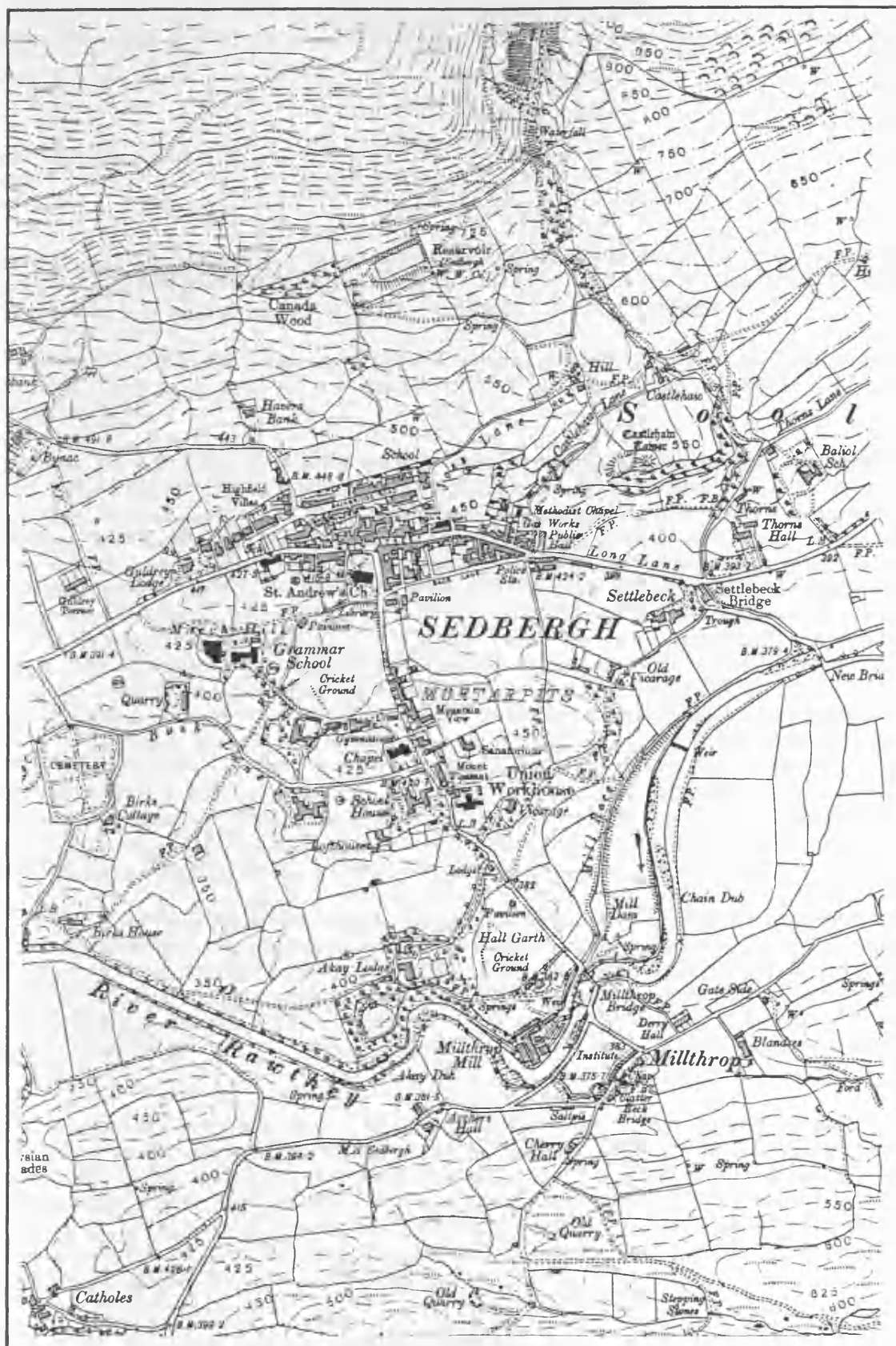
Illingworth 1938, 130

King 1983, 525

OS Antiquity Model, Site No. SD 69 SE 1

RCHM: NMP (Howgill Fells), Sheet No. SD 69 SE

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 37



Sedbergh
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet XLVIII SE, and
LXIII NE (1914)

DURHAM, YORKS.

BOWES

Early Castle/Stone Castle

Bowes

NY 992134

Situation: The castle was raised in the north-west angle of the Roman fort of *Lavatrae*; the site of considerable strategic significance in guarding an important route through the Stainmore Pass. The site lies immediately west of the parish church, on the southern side of the Bowes village.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as a standing masonry structure; intact in its lower two storeys. The external ditch exists as a recently re-cut earthwork feature under grass. Both features are in the care of English Heritage.

Description: The key element of the castle site is the imposing rectangular Norman keep, constructed in part of materials from the Roman station. This has maximum external dimensions of c. 20 x 18m, and was entered via a plain-arched doorway at first-floor level, where the fragmentary remains of a forebuilding can be identified. The building was of three storeys; a sub-divided basement with 13th/14th-century vaulting, a first-floor hall and solar with associated garderobe and kitchen, and second floor of more ruinous, uncertain nature. The structure is characterised by a lack of architectural elaboration with the exception of flat pilaster buttresses at each corner and in the centre of each face, although the size of the apparently original first-floor windows (c. 3.4m wide) is somewhat at odds with the otherwise military appearance of the building. The presence of these windows on the north, south and east sides only may indicate that a former outer court may have appended to the keep on these sides. The only extant earthwork feature is the angle of a ditch to the south and west of the keep, surviving to a present depth of c. 2.5m, yet terminating abruptly at either end. The reconstruction of medieval features other than the keep itself is problematic - there being no definitive evidence of a wider medieval defensive perimeter nor any associated ancillary buildings or outworks. Other than the ditch, an artificial scarp c. 1.2m in height in a garden of one of the properties to the north of the keep may be modern. It is highly probable that the Roman defences were reconditioned in association with the plantation of the castle, and the ditch may be Roman in origin, although the proximity of the ditch to the west face of the keep is unusual.

Excavation: No excavations explicitly related to the castle are known, other than the 'cleaning out' of the ditch earlier this century, from which no finds or results are recorded. Excavations relating to the Roman fort have provided circumstantial evidence for a former moat, noting the presence of traces of a moat in the Vicarage Garden excavations, although little is recorded of this feature and its relationship with the keep and existing ditch remains obscure. Additional excavations in the Roman fort between 1966-67 apparently revealed no medieval material, and any medieval re-use of Roman defences remains conjectural.

Documentation: The castle was begun or at least strengthened when coming into the possession of Henry II in 1171, with considerable expenditure documented in the Pipe Rolls of 1171-73. References to work on the castle gates and the construction of bulwarks (*propugnacula*) following a Scottish siege in 1173-74 seem surprising in view of the present field evidence, and further suggestive of an outer ward no longer in existence. Work on the tower is documented in 1179-80, and the same structure was said to be complete in 1187-88, the castle remaining in Royal possession until 1232. The keep is documented as ruinous by 1325 and was partially demolished from at least the 17th century.

Sources:

Clark 1882

Colvin *et al.* 1963, 574
Durham SMR Site File, No. 2046
Illingworth 1938, 33-35
King 1983, 514, 536
OS Antiquity Model, No. NY 91 SE 1
Pevsner 1966b, 85
Renn 1968, 113-15
RCHM Archive, Report on NY 91 SE 1, 2, 7
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 12-13

COTHERSTONE

Motte
Cotherstone
NZ 013199

Situation: The site was raised on a natural eminence known as the 'Hagg', situated on the south bank of the Tees near its junction with the Balder Beck, c. 300m north-east of Cotherstone village.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as an earthwork, although evidence of masonry is fragmentary.

Description: The site comprises a roughly circular motte, apparently with no evidence of a conventional associated bailey, although it is possible that an irregular natural scrap projecting west from the base of the mound on the north side to define a low platform represents the basis of an outer enclosure. The motte has a base diameter of c. 35m, is artificially raised c. 3.5m, and surmounted by a fragment of walling, c. 9m long, c. 1.2m thick and c. 2.8m in height, conjectured to have formed part of a former shell keep. Earthworks at the base of the mound are of a large manorial two-winged building, documented in deeds of the mid 17th century.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Henry FitzHarvey obtained licence to crenellate the site at *Cudereston* in 1201.

Sources:
Durham SMR Site File, No. 1976
Illingworth 1938, 126
King 1983, 516, 536
L'Anson 1913, 341-43
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 01 NW 6
Pevsner 1966b, 125
Renn 1968, 160
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

SCARGILL†

Stone Castle
Scargill
NZ 053107

Situation: Scargill castle is set amidst the extant yet indistinct remains of the DMV on a level area of ground c. 120m east of Gregory Beck - a deeply incised tributary running north into the River Tees.

Preservation: The site is poorly preserved; whilst the gatehouse - although walled up - is in reasonable condition; the remaining buildings arranged around the perimeter of the ward have been extensively remodelled by conversion of the site into a farmyard.

Description: The site comprises a 14th-century gatehouse, featuring a circular staircase, opening south into a former ward, although the condition of the remains make further analysis of the format and function of the remains impossible. A level rectangular zone c. 40 x 50m in dimension immediately south of the farm buildings and defined by a stone wall may indicate a former outer court, although the present state of field evidence makes verification impossible.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Durham SMR Site File, No. 1957

King 1983, 513

OS Antiquity Model, Site No. NZ 01 SE 9

Pevsner 1966b, 333

VCH NR Yorks. I 1914, 39-40



Cotherstone
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet V SW (1895)

HUMBERSIDE, YORKS.

ALDBROUGH

Vanished Early Castle
Aldbrough
TA 239389 (Approx.)

Situation: The most likely site for the castle is a minor ridge-top to the north-west side of Aldbrough village, on the Withernwick Road where the place-name 'Castle Hill' appears on OS maps.

Preservation: See below

Description: No extant remains on the ground; documentary evidence only.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The church and tithes of a castle at Aldborough, (*de castello, de Aldeburgo*), are mentioned in a charter as being granted to the monks of St. Martins, Albermarle by King Stephen in 1115.

Sources:

Dalton 1994, 48
English 1979, 9, 136
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 15

AUGHTON

Motte and Bailey
Ellerton
SE 703386

Situation: The motte and bailey forms part of a complex of medieval earthworks marking the western limit of the hamlet of Aughton.

Preservation: The multi-phase nature of the site ensures the earthworks are much remodelled, although remarkably well preserved in their final phase.

Description: The earthworks reflect a motte and at least one bailey which have been adapted as a moated manor and formal garden feature. The circular motte is *c.* 35m in diameter at the base and is offset in the south-east corner of a rectangular earthwork platform measuring *c.* 50m north-south x *c.* 35m east-west. The platform is circumvallated by a moat with a maximum depth of *c.* 2m and width of *c.* 10m, and a silted fishpond *c.* 23m long east-west x *c.* 8m wide is inserted into its northern side. The remnants of the bailey lie south-east of the motte, and consist of an irregular enclosure approximately 90m square, surrounded by a moat up to *c.* 2m deep and *c.* 10-15m wide, although much mutilated on the east side and landscaped within. A number of related ditches and banks can be identified to the north and south of the motte; two parallel banks up to *c.* 0.5m high run parallel with the western arm of the earthwork platform, and traces of a ditch *c.* 100m to the east suggest additional related outworks.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23828
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 141
Illingworth 1938, 124
King 1983, 513
Le Patourel 1973, 18, 109
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 41
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 73 NW 3
Pevsner 1972, 164-65
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 25

BILTON (Swan Hill)

Possible Motte
Bilton
TA 156326

Situation: Swan Hill lies in open ground to the south of the village of Bilton.

Preservation: The earthworks of the motte and its surrounding ditch are exceptionally well preserved; slight irregularities on the summit are attributable to the excavations (see below).

Description: The earthwork comprises a circular motte *c.* 1.5m high, with a base diameter of *c.* 20m; the flat summit has a diameter of *c.* 13m. The motte is entirely surrounded by a periodically wet moat *c.* 15m wide and *c.* 2m deep, presently with a flat-bottom *c.* 3m in width. Although there are no surviving remains of a bailey, it is possible that a series of linear earthworks immediately south of the motte may denote related outworks.

Excavation: Minor excavations on the summit were carried out by the landowner in the 1940s, but these are completely unrecorded.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 21207
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 709
King 1983, 513
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 50
OS Antiquity Model, No. TA 13 SE 3709

BRIDLINGTON†

Fortified Ecclesiastical Site
Bridlington
TA 182667

Situation: Bridlington Priory lies centrally within the town.

Description: The Priory was taken by William de Gros, Count of Aumâle in 1143, and fortified in some form against the forces of the Empress. The present remains exhibit no indication of former fortification, and the works remain obscure.

Sources:

Dalton 1994, 164-65, 179, 195

King 1983, 531, 535, 541

Renn 1968, 117

BURSTWICK (Hall Garth)

Motte and Bailey/Fortified Manor

Burstwick

TA 220290

Situation: The earthworks are situated c. 1km north-west of the village of Burstwick, on a slight rise in the fields west of South Park Farm.

Preservation: The southern part of the site has been severely mutilated by the insertion of farm buildings. Notably the fishponds south of the site lie outside the scheduled zone.

Description: The earthworks comprise a 13th-century moated/castle site, with possible evidence of a motte and bailey predecessor. The site is defined by a surrounding moat c. 3.5m deep, c. 2.5m wide, and still wet on the east side. The moat curves around to the north of an apparently artificial rise in the ground surface with an oval depression on the top, a feature possibly suggesting the existence of a motte on the site, it being possible that an approximately circular earthwork plateau adjacent to this feature represents the vestiges of a bailey. A further depression to the west of the 'motte' may indicate the position of a tower, although there are no masonry traces anywhere on the site. At the western extremity of the moat ditch, a further parallel outer ditch can be identified, and a series of fishponds to the south appear related.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site was described as a 'castle' in the reign of King John, when it received the monks of Melsa. It became the *caput* of the Aumale honour from c. 1221, following the disuse of SKIPSEA, and escheated to the Crown in 1274.

Sources:

Colvin *et al.* 1963, 903-05

DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), ER Yorks. No. 137

Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 733

Illingworth 1938, 104

Le Patourel 1973, 110-11

Loughlin and Miller 1979, 51

VCH ER Yorks. V 1984, 10-11

COTTINGHAM (Baynard Castle)

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Haltemprice
TA 041331

Situation: Baynard Castle is located on a natural rise on the west side of the town.

Preservation: The site is severely damaged by modern buildings, especially on the south side where the insertion of houses have destroyed the line of the outer ramparts.

Description: The earthworks comprise a rectangular, round-cornered enclosure defended by a bank and ditch; the north half of the site is further defended by an additional inner ditch. Although the surviving remains are extremely mutilated, in 1820 the rampart was documented as being 12ft high and 25ft wide at the base, whilst the moat was up to 25ft wide. The interior island is on a natural rise and is not flat; possibly the north-east corner of the island contained a keep. The outer ditch has been adapted in places into a series of fishponds.

Excavation: A HAU watching brief in 1991 at TA 04073303 recovered 13th-/14th-century roof tiles, certainly indicative of the existence of a high status structure at this time. Subsequent trial excavation at TA 04073297 opened two trenches, the first of which defined the profile of the southern arm of the moat and recovered residual Saxon and late-13th/early-14th-century pottery; a wattle and daub structure west of the moat was also revealed. A second trench demonstrated the area to have been levelled in the 12th century, presumably when the castle was first constructed, a phase of iron working associated with hearths and furnace hollows was dated to *c.* 1100-1250, whilst the period *c.* 1250-1350 demonstrated the replacement of early clay floors with chalk floors. A second season of trial excavation by HAU in 1995 revealed *c.* 1.4m of well stratified archaeological deposits within the enclosure, the earliest feature being a pit filled in the late 12th century, which was subsequently cut by the insertion of a massive wall in the 13th century, probably part of the manor fronting onto a central courtyard to the north. A small assemblage of marine molluscs including oyster, whelk and cockle, and animal bones including goose, chicken, fallow and red deer, pig, cattle and sheep/goat, was also recovered.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Dalton 1994, 180
DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), ER Yorks. No. 140
HAU 1991a; 1991b; 1995a
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 816
Illingworth 1938, 28
King 1983, 516; 536
Le Patourel 1973, 29
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 29
Nenk *et al.* 1992, 243
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 48-49

DRIFFIELD (Moothill)

Motte and Bailey
Driffield
TA 023582

Situation: Moothill lies on the north side of the town of Driffield, immediately east of the Saxon/medieval manorial site known as Hall Garth, with the land falling away steeply to the north.

Preservation: Approximately two-fifths of the mound has been removed by quarrying on its north-west side, it survives only as a poorly preserved earthwork entirely surrounded by modern housing.

Description: The site comprises a ditched, artificial mound only, any vestiges of an associated bailey having been destroyed. The motte is *c.* 40m in diameter, and raised *c.* 4m in height; it was surrounded by a ditch with a maximum width of *c.* 15m, and depth of *c.* 1.5m.

Excavation and Fieldwork: In 1856-58, a number of artefacts including a bronze axe, Anglian(?) spear-heads, a sword, and silver coins were recovered when the mound was quarried; inhumations were found during gravel digging *c.* 1920. Excavation by M. Eddy in 1975 demonstrated the earthwork, previously interpreted as a barrow, to be a motte. Two trenches were cut across the east of the mound, revealing underlying prehistoric occupation, a chalk-built building of Roman date and post-Roman layers containing St. Neots-type ware. The motte was constructed of boulder clay and layers of chalk, clay and gravel over a turf stack, with a series of steps on the side of the motte and ditch representing the footings of a timber bridge; the foundations of what may have been a summit palisade were also identified. The motte ditch was not fully excavated and filled with chalk rubble, whilst limited excavation of the bailey bank suggested that this was a secondary feature, constructed following the recutting of the motte ditch after degradation.

Documentation: The 'foss' of the bailey is mentioned in a fine of 1208; the site is otherwise undocumented.

Sources:

Eddy 1983
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 745
King 1983, 517, 536-37
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 90
Mortimer 1905, 295
Renn 1968, 173
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45
Webster and Cherry 1976, 184

FLAMBOROUGH

Tower House
Flamborough
TA 226703

Situation: The site is set centrally within the village of Flamborough, immediately north of the parish church.

Preservation: The tower survives as a fragment of masonry; the outbuildings are visible as a series of confused earthworks only.

Description: The surviving remains are of the square tower, of chalk block construction and featuring a vaulted undercroft and first-floor garderobe drain. The foundations of a hall and outbuildings can be identified in the surrounding area, although the earthworks form no coherent plan.

Excavation: A trial excavation by HAU in 1995 revealed two phases of activity on the southern perimeter of the site. The first consisted of a clay bank, *c.* 2-3m high, presumably contemporary with the timber forerunner of the castle wall, containing a single sherd of 13th-/14th-century pottery. The construction trench of the later castle wall cut through the bank, and a wall - formed of square chalk blocks set in clay - was laid 0.8m down.

Documentation: A licence for an oratory presumably in the manor house was granted in 1315, and licence to crenellate the manor in 1351. In 1537 the complex was said to consist of a tower, hall, chapel, courthouse, mill-house, as well as a 'great parlour', 'lord's parlour' and 'great barn'.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 26506

HAU 1995b

Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 1021

King 1983, 517, 537

Loughlin and Miller 1979, 94

OS Antiquity Model, No. TA 27 SW 9

Pevsner 1972, 230

VCH ER Yorks. II 1974, 155

FRAISTHORPE

Motte

Humberside

TA 154616

Situation: The medieval chapel of St. Edmund's surmounts the possible motte; both lie on the northern fringes of an extensive zone of SMV earthworks.

Preservation: The site comprises a large earthen mound only, the intrusion of the chapel on the summit presumably destroying any stratigraphy.

Description: The elliptical, artificial mound has dimensions of *c.* 35m east-west x 20m north-south and is raised a maximum of *c.* 3m above the surrounding terrain. Vestiges of a surrounding ditch flank the mound to the south and west, and earthworks suggestive of building foundations can be identified on its southern flank.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 361

HORNSEA†

Possible Motte
Hornsea
TA 187473

Situation: The mound rises from an area of marshy, low-lying ground on the north side of Hornsea Mere.

Preservation: A minor earthwork now under permanent pasture.

Description: The earthwork known variously as the 'Beacon' or 'Hermitage' comprises a small artificial mound raised *c.* 1.5m above the surrounding terrain, with traces of an associated earthen causeway on the landward (north) side. Although the feature has been claimed as a motte, post-medieval origins as a hunting stand have also been suggested.

Excavation: Excavations on the summit of the mound in 1961 revealed traces of a building of 'wattle and daub' construction with vestiges of plaster. The results are otherwise unknown.

Documentation: None

Sources:
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 8856

LECONFIELD

Stone Castle/Fortified Manor
Leconfield
TA 012431

Situation: The site lies south of the present village of Leconfield.

Preservation: The earthwork is generally well preserved, although the outer bank has been much destroyed by ploughing.

Description: The site comprises a large, irregular trapezoidal island measuring *c.* 140m east-west, with the eastern arm *c.* 110m long and the western arm *c.* 120m in length, surrounded by a moat up to *c.* 4m deep and *c.* 3-6m wide, although up to *c.* 10m wide at the corners. An external earthen counterscarp bank up to *c.* 5m wide can be identified on the north-east and southern sides of the enclosure, and heavily denuded traces can be identified to the west. The entrance to the complex lies west of the centre of the northern arm, where a causeway crosses the moat. The surface of the island contains no earthworks indicating the former plan of internal structures.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Licence to crenellate was granted in 1308, and the site acted as the main seat of the Percy family from the 14th to 16th century. It was abandoned in favour of WRESSLE, and was entirely ruinous by 1608, being demolished shortly afterwards in order to provide building materials for its successor.

Sources:
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series) No. 21172
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 3696

King 1983, 533, 541
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 30
OS Antiquity Model, No. TA 04 SW 6
Pevsner 1972, 303
VCH ER Yorks. IV 1979, 126-27

LOCKINGTON (Hall Garth)

Motte and Bailey
Lockington
SE 998465

Situation: The castle site and manorial earthworks of Hall Garth form a complex of medieval earthworks south of Lockington village.

Preservation: The motte is well preserved, although densely overgrown; but the possible bailey has been mutilated by later remodelling, making interpretation difficult.

Description: The site comprises a low motte with a wet ditch. The encircling ditch, up to *c.* 8m wide and *c.* 4.5m deep provides much of the site's defence, with an external counterscarp bank surviving to a height of *c.* 2m. The motte is a relatively low platform, the level interior measuring *c.* 50m east-west by *c.* 45m north-south, and raised *c.* 4m above the surrounding ditch. On the south-west side of the platform a short length of bank seemingly represents the vestiges of an enclosing breastwork. The site is thus at the interface between a low motte and a ringwork, although the artificially raised nature of the interior most appropriately puts it in the former category. The mutilated manorial earthworks immediately east of the site reflects a remodelled bailey of uncertain format.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), ER Yorks. No. 144
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 3731
Illingworth 1938, 128
King 1983, 521
King and Alcock 1969, 123
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 31
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 94 NE 63731
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 33

PAULLHOLME I

Tower House
Paull
TA 185248

Description: The site comprises a brick-built tower with a barrel-vaulted undercroft; the whole surviving as an empty shell. This structure represents the surviving north wing of a castellated residence of H-plan, although earthworks of the remainder of the complex are vague and confused.

Sources:

Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 709
King 1983, 531
Le Patourel 1973, 115
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 56
MSRG 1992, 24-25
Ryder and Coleman 1983

PAULLHOLME II†

Vanished Early Castle
Paull

Situation: An earthwork mound identified as a motte lay within the vicinity of Paullholme village.

Description: No other details of the former motte are known.

Sources:

King 1983, 532
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

RISE (Mote Hill)

Possible Motte
Rise
TA 146417

Situation: Mote Hill lies within an extensive complex of mediæval and post-mediæval earthworks on the low natural rise known as Blackhall Hill, to the west of the parish church of All Saints.

Preservation: The site is preserved as a well defined earthwork under permanent pasture and scrub.

Description: A low, flat-topped mound interpreted as a motte, with no evidence of an associated bailey. The feature has an irregular trapezoidal plan with maximum dimensions of c. 45m north-south x 30m east-west and is artificially raised c. 3m. Although the feature has been interpreted as a motte, the situation of the feature in an extensive zone of landscape park associated with Rise Hall may point towards remodelling of a mediæval feature, or entirely post-mediæval origins for the mound.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 3605
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 58

ROOS

Possible Stone Castle
Roos
TA 290295

Situation: The earthwork lies on level ground immediately south of the parish church of All Saints, at the southern extremity of Roos village.

Preservation: Minor earthworks under permanent pasture.

Description: The key element of the site is a sub-rectangular island, *c.* 90m north-south x 65m east-west, entirely surrounded by a waterlogged moat. There is presently no evidence of the traces of stone walls noted at the site, although the island appears to have been divided into northern and southern units by a low bank, whilst a series of amorphous earthworks on the island are suggestive of buried features. A series of associated fishponds lay in the marshy ground to the south and west, remodelled in part from the moat.

Excavation: The northern arm of the moat was excavated to its present dimensions by C. Sykes in 1825, finds including a brooch and wooden-handled dagger.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 21197
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 3571
King 1983, 531
Le Patourel 1973, 116
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 58

SKIPSEA†

Motte and Bailey
Skipsea
TA 161592

Situation: The castle lies north of the failed borough of Skipsea Brough and *c.* 2km west of the north-sea coast. The motte stands prominently upon a natural island of sand and gravel, surrounded in the medieval period by the lake known as Skipsea Mere, drained in 1720; the bailey is located on a ridge of boulder clay.

Preservation: The earthworks are remarkably well preserved, with the silted deposits on the former bed of the mere potentially holding valuable palaeoenvironmental data.

Description: The motte is *c.* 11m high, has a base diameter of *c.* 100m, its summit enclosed by a bank surviving to a height of *c.* 1.5m with a width of *c.* 5m, and a ditch *c.* 7-10m wide. The motte-top exhibits no evidence of building foundations other than a fragment of mortared wall on the south-east side, possibly evidence of a gatehouse structure. Access between the motte and ground to the east was afforded by a causeway across the mere represented by traces of an earth bank east of the motte. A huge kidney-shaped bailey is located west of the motte, formerly separated from it by the mere. It measures *c.* 400m north-south and *c.* 100m east-west, and is enclosed on all but the east side by a clay rampart scarped from natural, this raised *c.* 2.5-4m above the interior of the bailey, and an external ditch with an average width of *c.* 10m. Opposing gaps in the north and south sides of the bailey reflect original entrances, whilst

'Scotch Gap' in the south-west corner is alleged to relate to the slighting of the castle. The southern entrance, known as 'Bail Gate' opens to an area in the south of the bailey characterised by the foundations and platforms of internal structures, and is linked to the northern entrance by a hollow way which follows the east side of the bailey; a similar zone of building foundations can also be recognised in the north-east segment of the bailey. The channel between motte and bailey served as a large inland harbour, linked to the North Sea by a now largely lost watercourse. An 'inner harbour' was marked by a bank running parallel to the east side of the bailey for c. 200m, formerly extending as a causeway as far as the motte.

Excavation: The only artefacts recovered from Skipsea Castle are casual surface finds; an 'ancient vessel' resembling the top part of a pitcher was recovered in the 19th century, in 1974 the base of a 15th-century jug was found, and 12th-century pot sherds were recovered during survey in 1987.

Documentation: The castle was founded by Drogo de la Beuvriere in the late 11th century and a castle chapel had been founded by 1102. Skipsea functioned as the baronial *caput* of the fee of Holderness prior to its removal to BURSTWICK. Its destruction was ordered in 1221 following rebellion against Henry III by its owner, William de Forz, Count of Aumale. It was certainly disused by 1350, when a herbage plot inside it is recorded.

Sources:

Atkins 1988
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13334
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 3403
Illingworth 1938, 103-05
King 1983, 526, 539
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 129
OS Antiquity Model No. TA 15 NE 10
RCHM Archive, UID 848807
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 37-39
Youngs *et al.* 1988, 259

SKIRPENBECK

Motte
Skirpenbeck
SE 473458

Situation: The site lies in a coppice on the east bank of the Derwent, on a steep natural scarp overlooking the river.

Preservation: The earthwork is well preserved in dense woodland.

Description: A small flat-topped mound, c. 3-4m high, is flanked to the south and east by an enclosing ditch, c. 1m in depth, whilst to the north and west the natural scarp falling down to the Derwent makes a ditch unnecessary. Although lacking obvious signs of a bailey, a linear bank striking east of the motte for c. 100m, may be functionally associated with it. Other than a motte, the site has alternatively been interpreted as a barrow.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 2572
King 1983, 526
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 130
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 75 NW 72572

STORWOOD

Possible Early Castle
Cottingworth
SE 713439

Situation: The site lies south of the hamlet of Storwood, on the marshy ground east of, and above the old line of the Derwent and the modern Pocklington canal.

Preservation: The site survives as a well preserved series of earthworks, notable for the survival of water-management features.

Description: In its present form the site can be morphologically be recognised as a moated manor site; only circumstantial documentary evidence suggests that it could be a remodelled castle site, and if correct, the ditched feature west of the site may have originated as a bailey. The earthworks comprise a central rectangular island measuring *c.* 90m north-south x *c.* 70m east-west, enclosed by a now dry moat *c.* 14m in width, although up to *c.* 25m wide at the corners, and *c.* 2-3m deep. An external bank *c.* 7m wide and up to *c.* 1.5m high encloses the island on the north and west sides, and a second section of bank flanks the west side of the site. A channel associated with water management, *c.* 10m wide and up to 2m deep extends west from the north-west corner of the moat, where a large earthen bank containing a large depression can be identified as a dam with associated sluice gates. A second, similar channel extends south from the south-west corner of the moat, where earthworks of a second dam with sluice gates, and earthworks once supporting a bridge allowing access to the island, can be identified. Both channels are evidently designed to control the drainage of excess water into the old line of the Derwent *c.* 350m to the west. There are no identifiable earthworks within the level island interior.

Excavation: None

Documentation: A castle is mentioned at Wheldrake in 1149 when apparently destroyed, and again in the period 1178-85 and 1219. An apparently verbal licence to re-fortify the site was immediately revoked by the Crown in 1200, before work was completed. The manor house on the site is mentioned in 1285, and was ruinous by 1343. It is suggested that the manor may have contained a chapel, since in 1414 Beatrice de Ros left money for a chaplain to celebrate mass in Storwood chapel.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23829
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 741
Le Patourel 1973, 116
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 89
Renn 1968, 344
VCH ER Yorks. III 1976, 184

SUTTON-UPON-DERWENT (Giant's Hill)

Possible Early Castle
Sutton-upon-Derwent
SE 710486

Situation: Giant's Hill lies in a coppice, c. 90m east of a bend in the Derwent.

Preservation: The site is generally well-preserved if densely overgrown, although the summit is somewhat mutilated.

Description: The earthwork comprises a sub-rectangular mound, raised c. 4m above ground level, with a base diameter of c. 23m. It is surrounded by a ditch c. 2m wide and seasonally wet. Le Patourel has suggested that the feature is a moated site, functionally related to another at St. Lois farm, c. 550m to the north, although other sources suggest that it could be a small motte or castle mound.

Excavation: Unrecorded, apparently clandestine excavation has occurred on the motte-top.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 21192
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 3897
King 1983, 532
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 51

SWINE I (Branceholme Castle; Castle Hill)

Early Castle
Wawne
TA 125343

Situation: Castle Hill is an artificially modified glacial knoll rising from the low-lying marshes of the River Hull.

Preservation: The earthwork, while impressive in scale, is seriously mutilated by gravel quarrying, footpaths and cycling activity, severely depleting sections of the ramparts and ditches.

Description: The site comprises a large oval earthen mound, raised c. 3.5m above the surrounding terrain, and with maximum dimensions of c. 200 x 110m - the long axis oriented south-west - north-east. Although the earthwork has a relatively amorphous profile, a strong earthen rampart and formerly wet ditch can be identified as formerly defining the its perimeter. Slight evidence suggests that a transverse ditch divided the castle mound into two wards of roughly equal size.

Excavation: A practice trench was dug across the mound in 1918, excavated by military personnel and overseen by T. Sheppard of Hull Museums. It revealed the corner of the brick-built Elizabethan building referred to as the 'Mansion House' in the 18th century, 14th/15th-century pottery, and an assemblage of animal bones.

Documentation: The castle was licensed to John de Sutton in 1352, the same man having illegally held the site previously. The site is further mentioned in *Inquisitions Post Mortems* of 1356 and 1363 - the fact

that the latter document refers to the castle lying within an area of pasture presumably indicating that it was disused.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 21181
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 1515
Illingworth 1938, 131
King 1983, 527, 539
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 37
OS Antiquity Model, No. TA 13 SW 3
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 23

SWINE II (Giant's Hill)

Motte
Swine
TA 131358

Situation: Giant's Hill lies on low ground west of the village of Swine, on the north-west fringe of an extensive complex of medieval earthworks, including fishponds and garden features associated with the Cistercian nunnery.

Preservation: The mound is well preserved as an earthwork under permanent pasture.

Description: The site comprises a large oval mound, c. 60m east-west and c. 32m wide, rising c. 3.5m above the surrounding land surface and with a flat summit. A large earthen ramp, c. 30m in length appends to the north-east side of the mound, rising to the summit. There is no evidence of a surrounding ditch, nor any sign of an associated bailey, and if it were not for evidence derived from excavation (see below), the mound would appear to be a burial mound; it has otherwise been variously listed as a windmill or dovecot mound.

Excavation: The site was excavated in 1919 by T Sheppard of Hull Museum, revealing the corner of a 16th-century brick building within the mound, in addition to pottery and a volume of animal bones and oyster shells. Further excavation was carried out in 1960-61 by W. Varley of Hull University, revealing two concentric rings of postholes, c. 12.2m and 14m in diameter respectively, around the perimeter of the mound. These were apparently associated with a construction phase, as they were removed before the completion of its upper portion, and much of the material of which the mound was composed was shown to have been obtained from the pond immediately to the south-east. A depression in the centre of the feature was interpreted as the foundation of a small building with a maximum width of 2.1m. Pottery finds dated from the 13th to 15th-centuries prompted Varley to date the construction of the mound - which he interpreted as a look-out mound associated with the medieval park - broadly to the 14th century.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 23804
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 1535
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 60
OS Antiquity Model, No. TA 13 NW 2
Varley 1973a

WRESSLE I

Stone Castle
Wressle
SE 706315

Situation: The castle lies immediately east of the Derwent, on the west side of the hamlet of Wressle. A possible predecessor (WRESSLE II) lies in the same parish.

Preservation: Only the south wing of the castle survives as a standing building, although now in a ruinous condition.

Description: Wressle Castle was conceived as four ranges arranged around a rectangular court, with a massive tower in each corner and a gateway tower in the centre of the east front. The original hall formed the south range, and the east tower contained the chapel. A number of ancillary features associated with the castle include a moated enclosure to the north which was destroyed by landscaping in the 17th century, described by Leland as the "basse Court all of timber" (SE 70633168), probably reflecting a garden feature, and a square ashlar bakehouse in the angle between the north and west ranges. The site was encompassed by a square moat, which was extant only on three sides by Leland's time, indicating the fourth side to have been infilled by the 16th century.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle itself is first mentioned in 1403, although the circumstances of the manorial descent make it likely that the castle was built in the second half of the 14th century. The castle was largely demolished by act of Parliament in 1648, although the south range was occupied until the late 18th century.

Sources:

Humbs. SMR Site Files, Nos. 6477; 5416
King 1983, 528; 540
Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 52-53
Loughlin and Miller 1979, 51
Pevsner 1972, 374-75

WRESSLE II†

Possible Early Castle
Wressle
SE 724292

Situation: The site comprises a cropmark identified some 550m south-east of Warp Farm in the area known as Newsholme Parks. The stone castle at WRESSLE I lies in the same parish.

Preservation: Cropmark only, no above-ground remains survive.

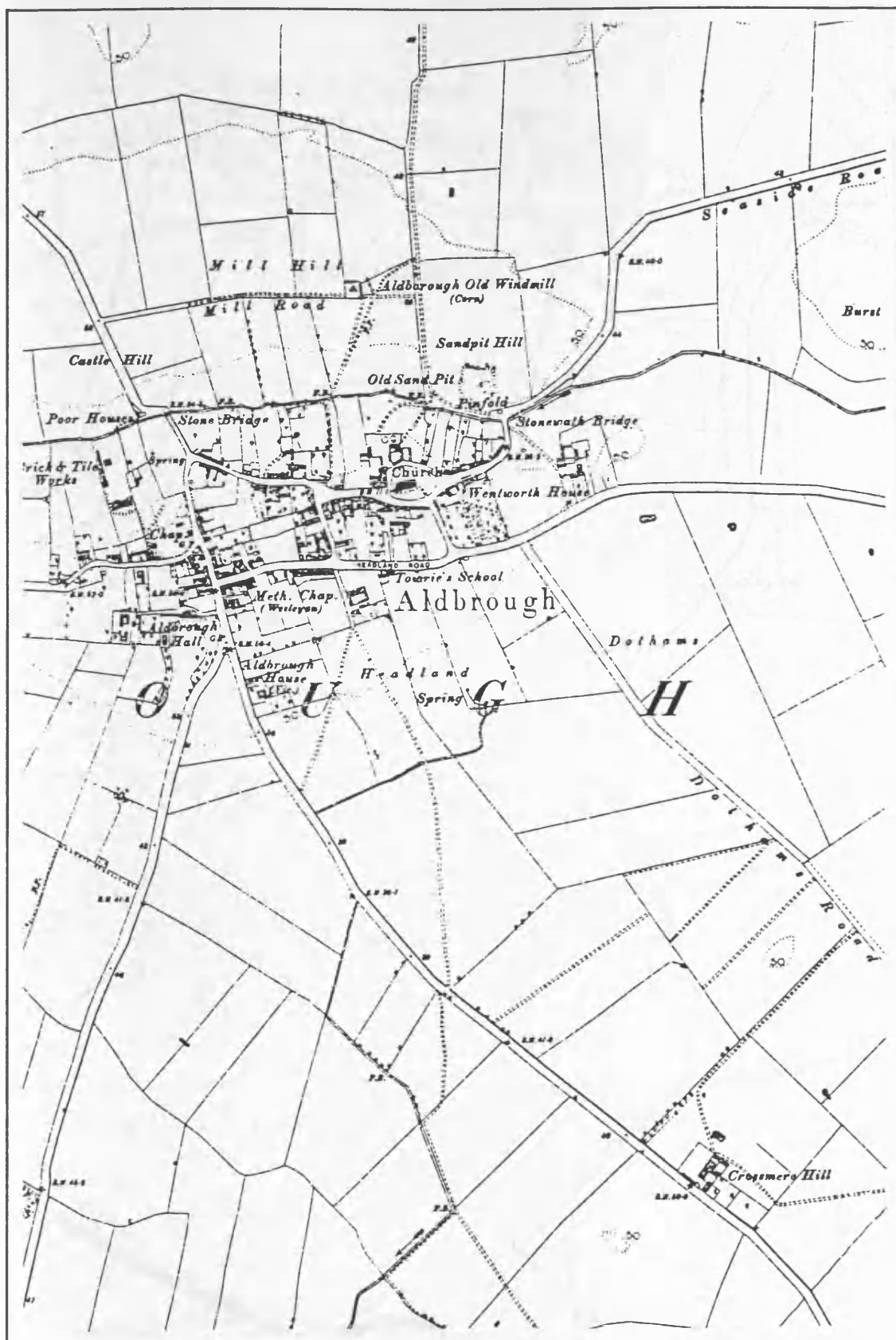
Description: Aerial photographs have revealed a cropmark comprising a 'ring' type feature of c. 40m diameter, with an oval enclosure measuring c. 30m east west x c. 70m north-south appended on its east side. The feature could reflect a hitherto unrecorded motte (or ringwork?) and bailey.

Excavation: None

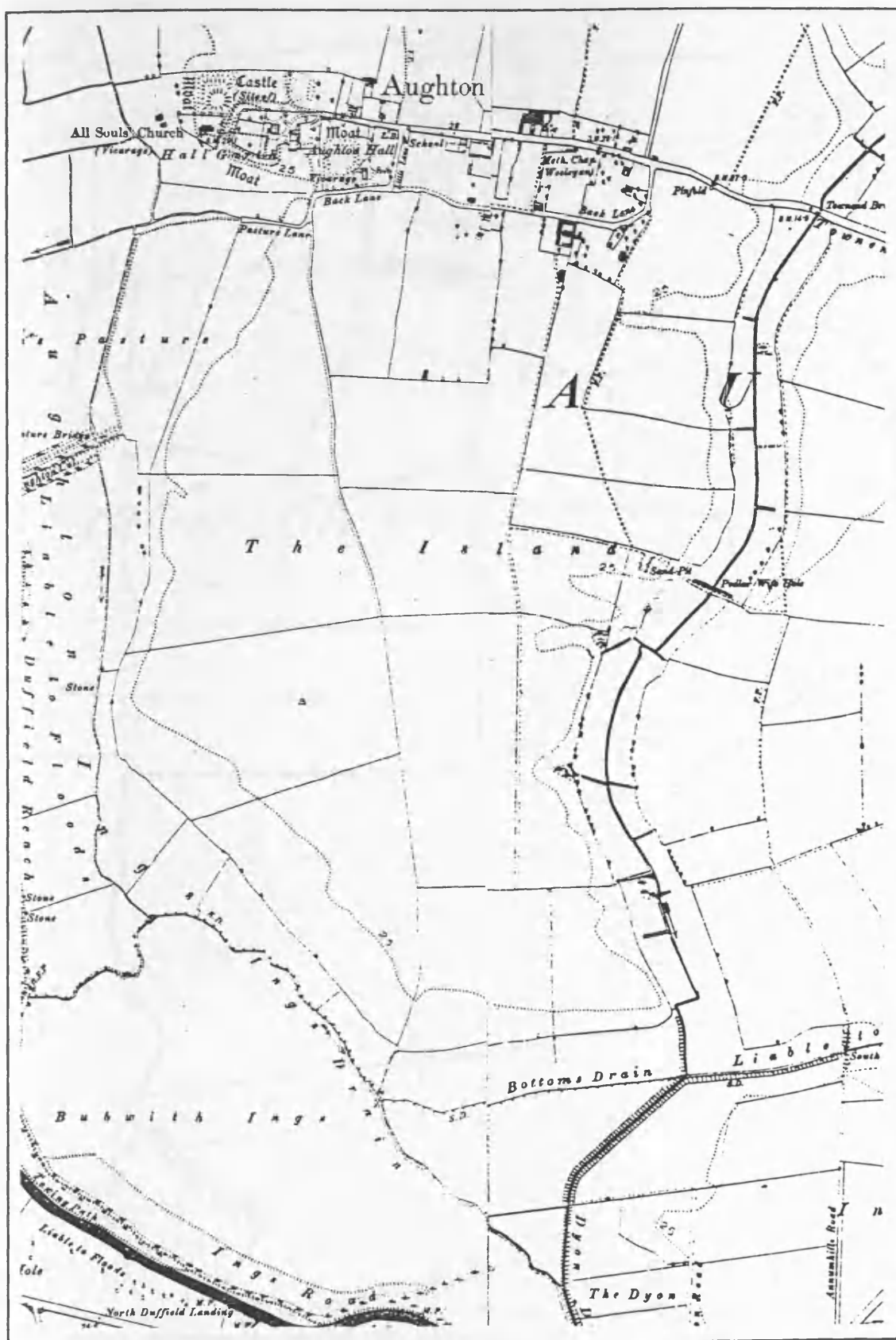
Documentation: None

Sources:

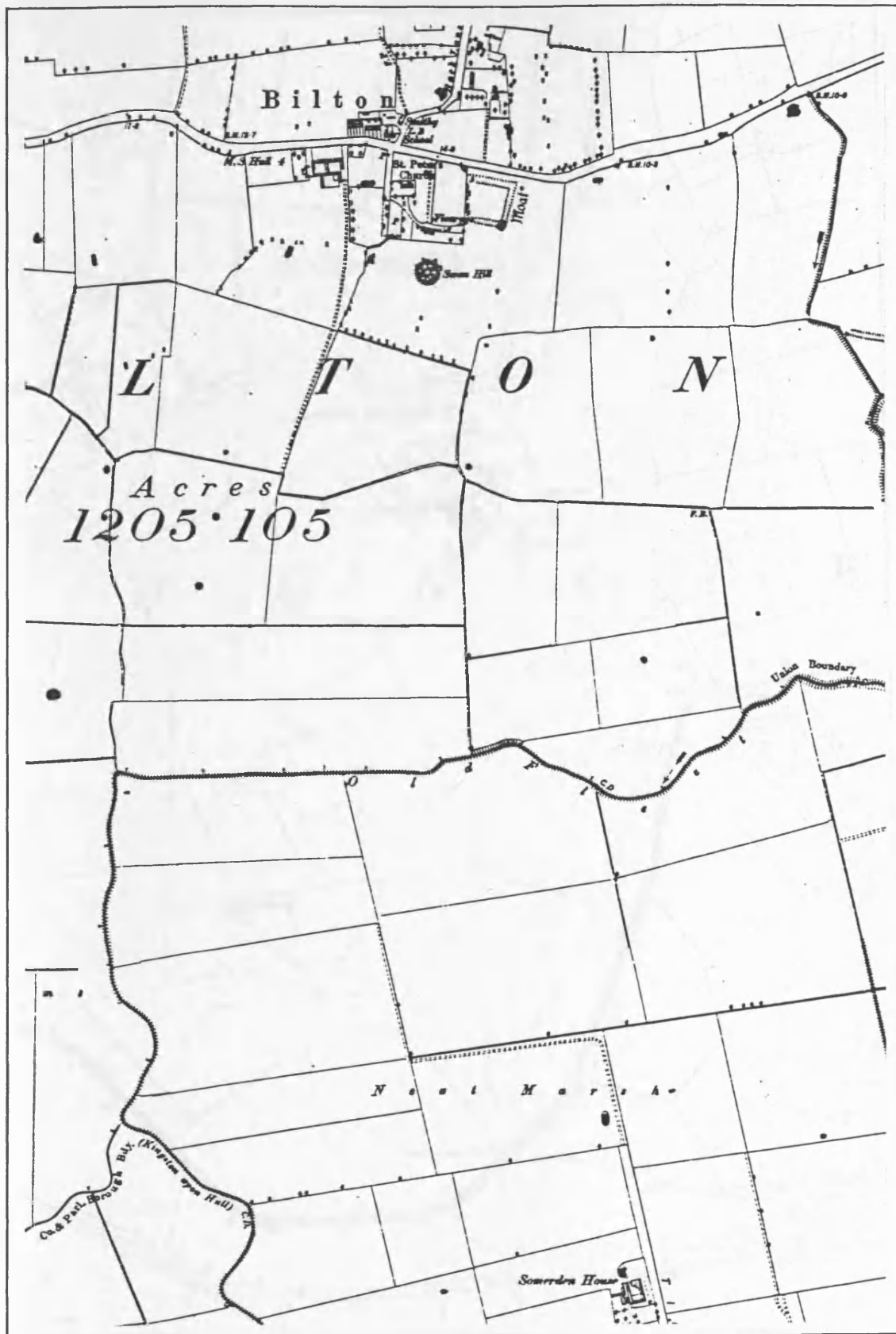
Humbs. SMR Site File, No. 181167



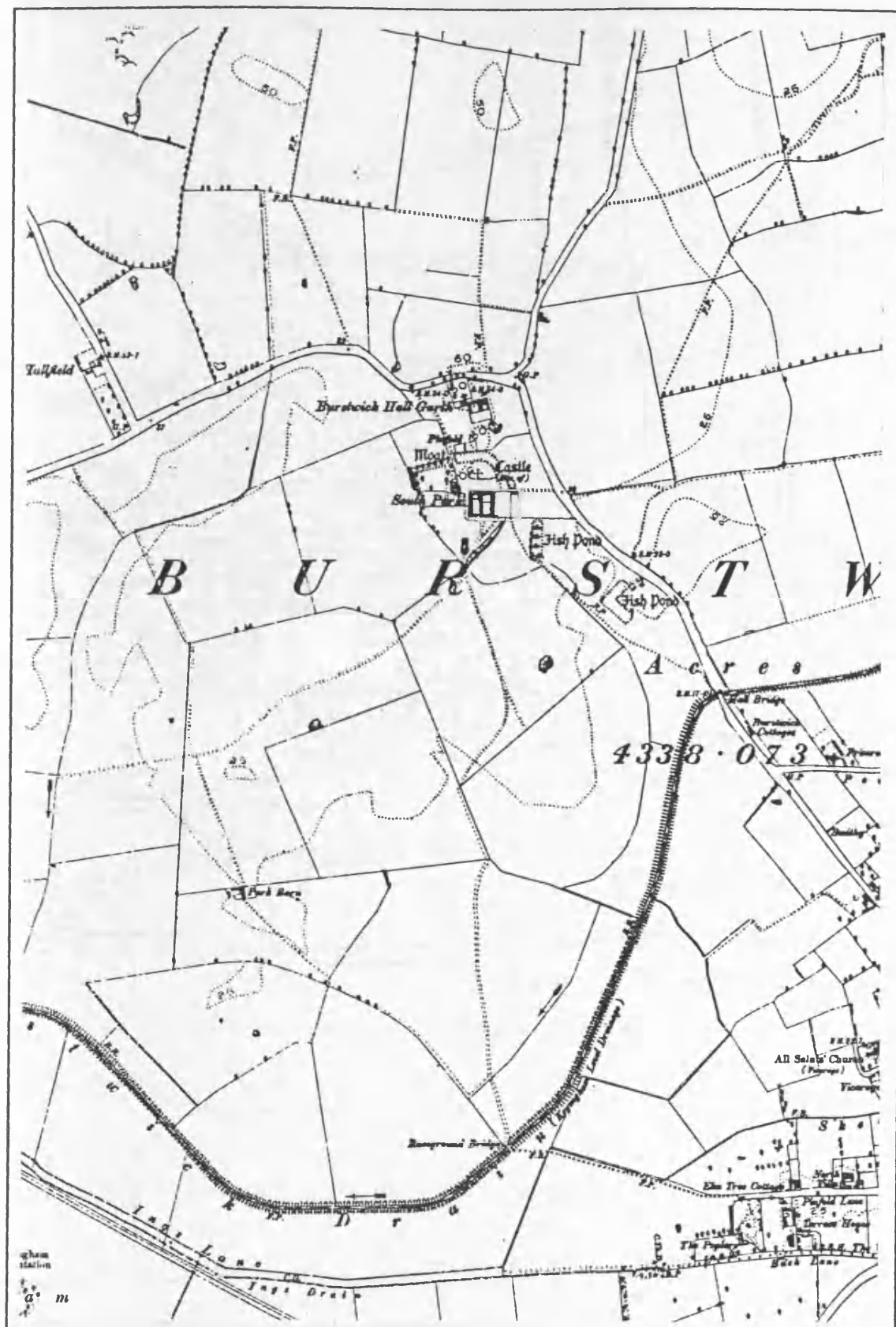
Aldbrough
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXIII SW (1892)



Aughton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CCVII SW, and CCVII SE (1892)



Bilton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXXVII NE (1891)



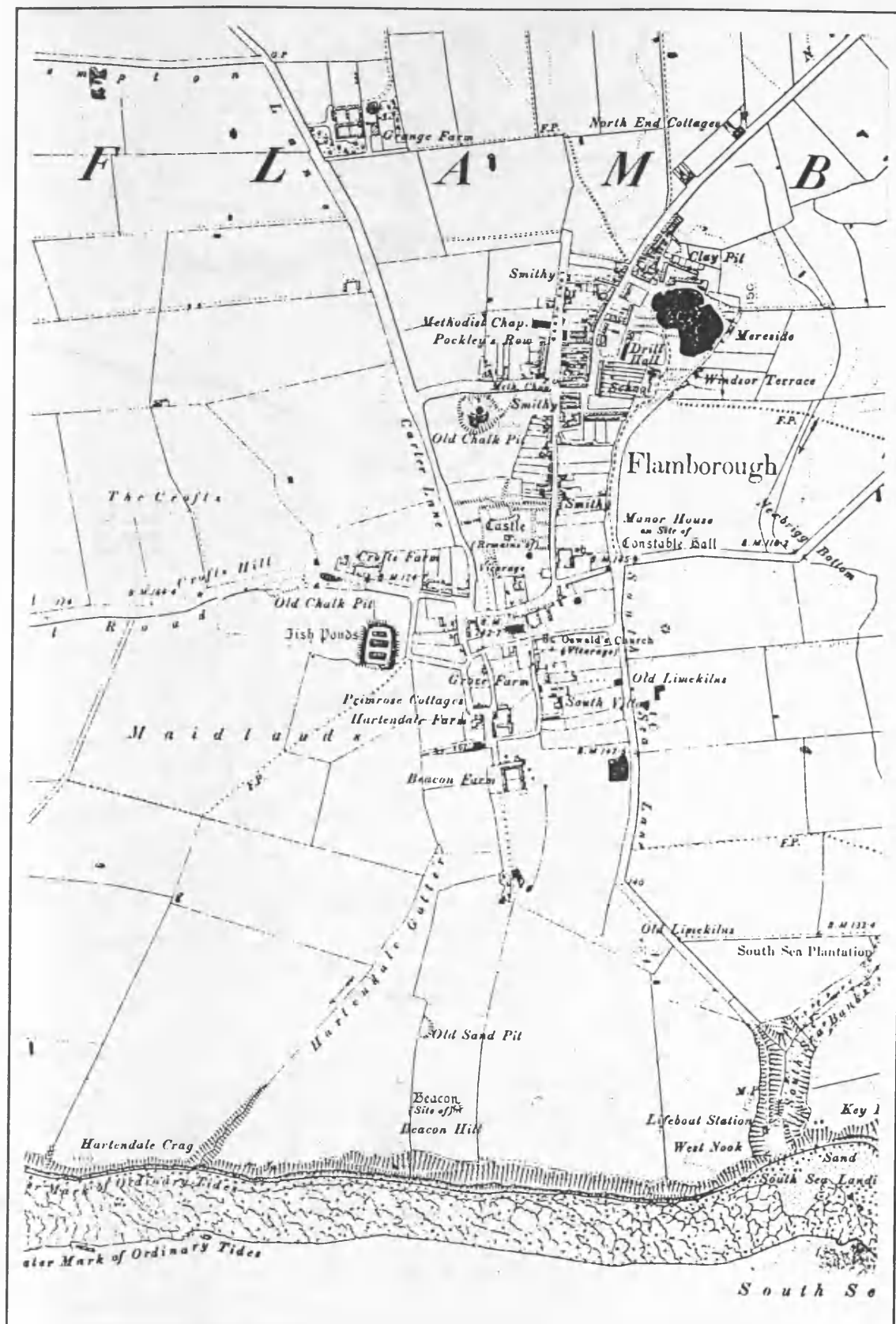
Burstwick
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXLI NE (1891)



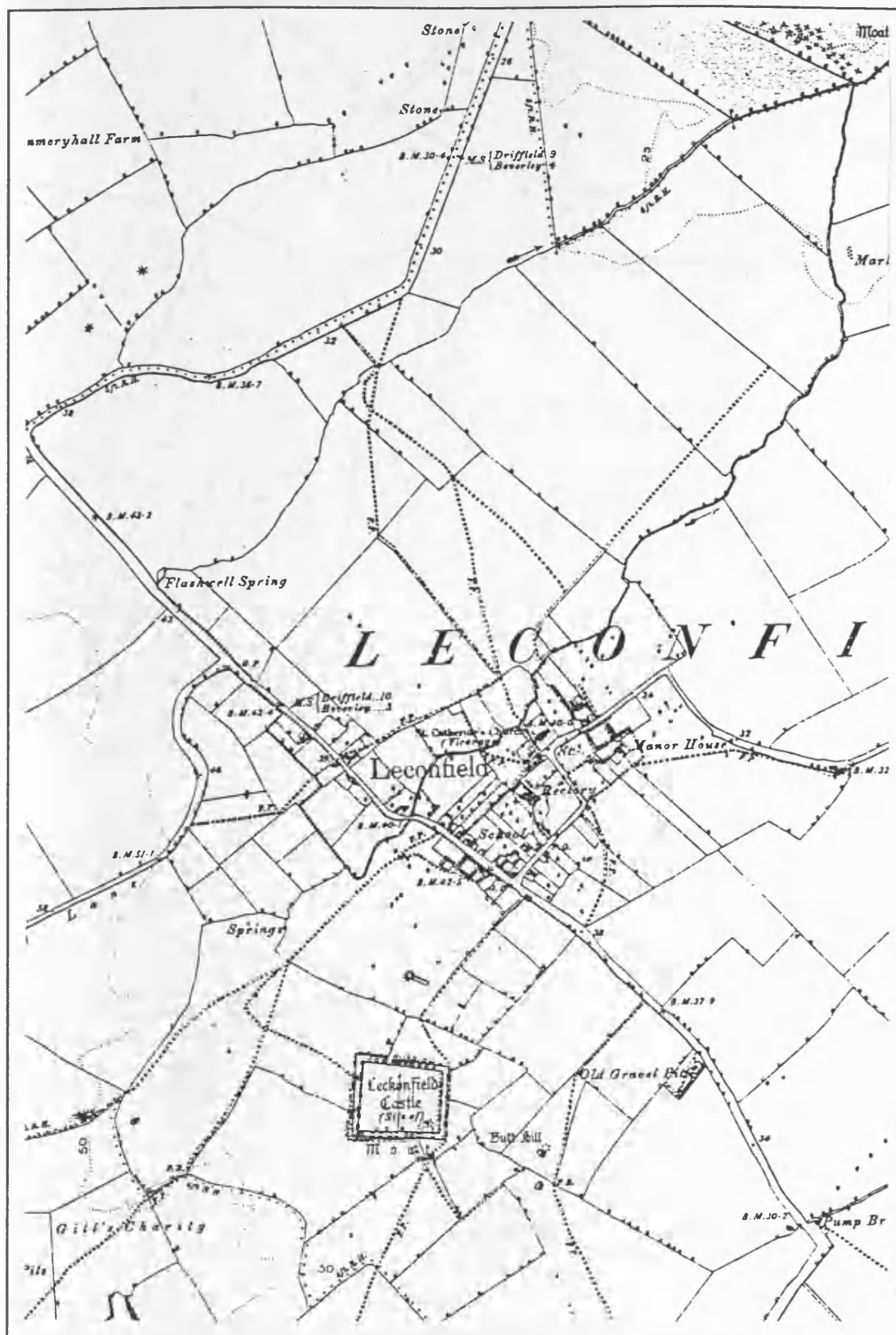
Cottingham
 OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CCXXV NE (1891),
 CCXXV SE (1891), CCXXVI NW (1894), and CCXXVI
 SW (1894)



Driffield
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CLXI SE (1894)



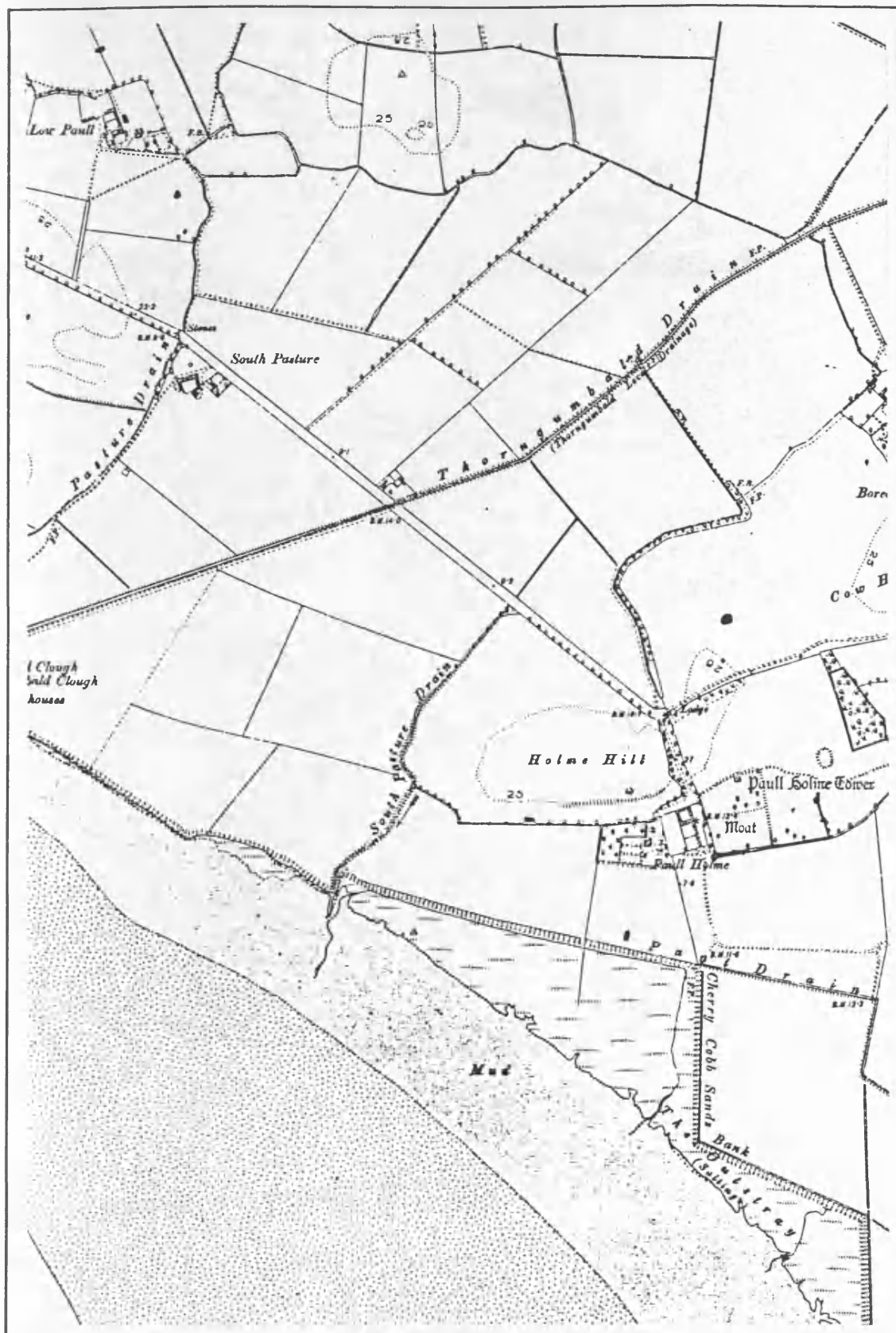
Flamborough
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXXVIII SE (1892)



Leconfield
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXC SE (1892)



Lockington
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXCIV NE (1892)



Paullholme I
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXLI SW (1892)



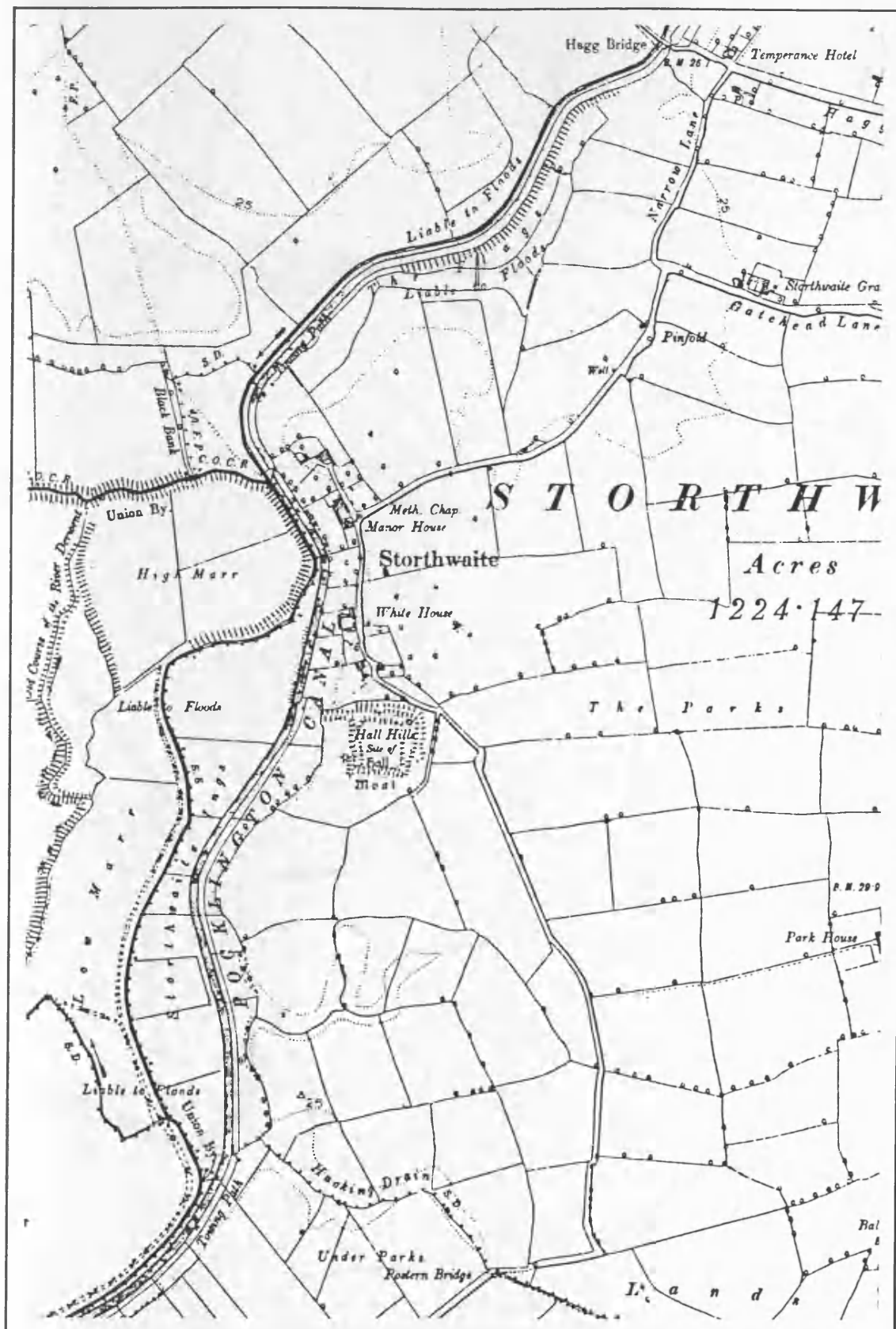
Rise
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXII NW (1892)



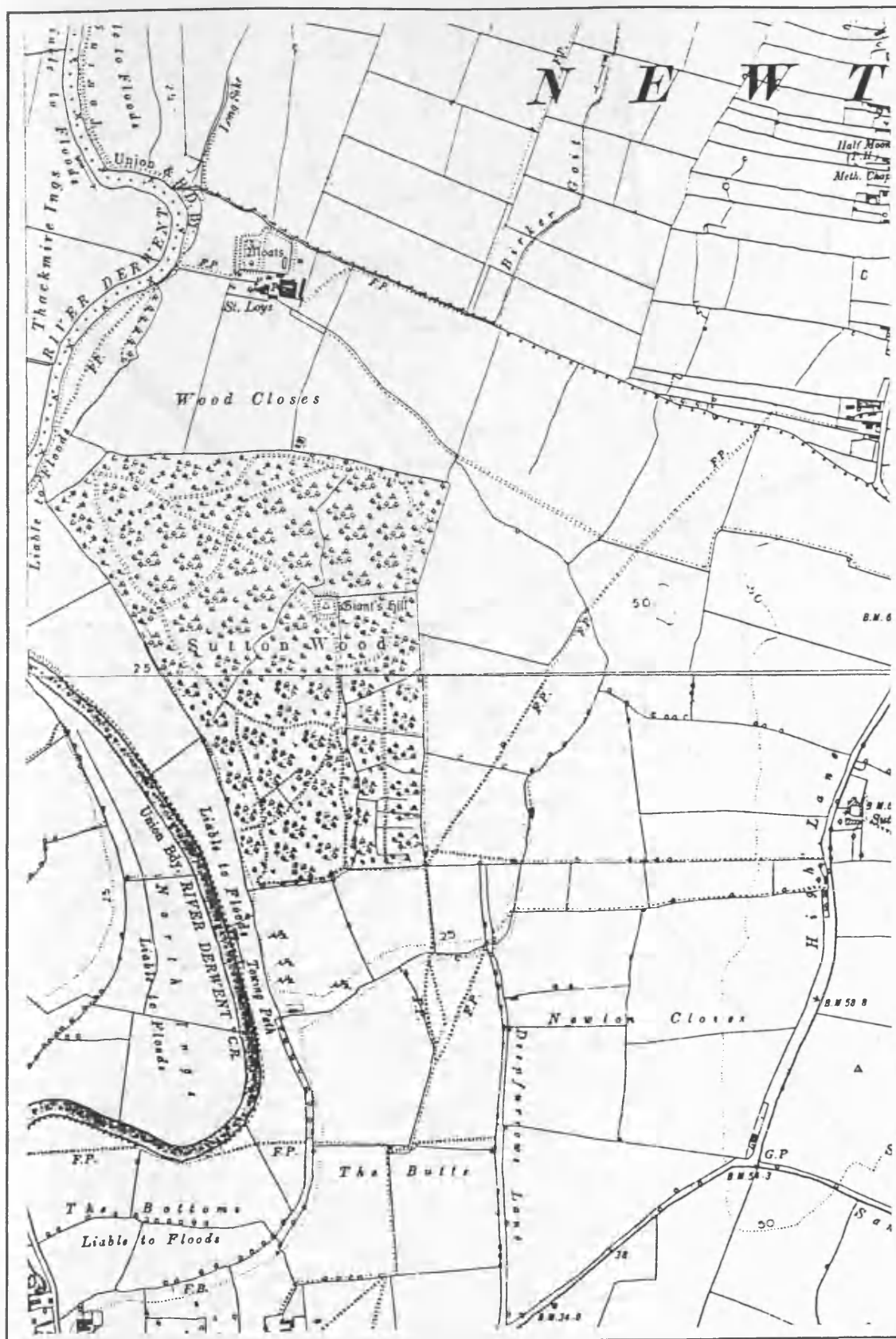
Roos
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXLII NE (1892)



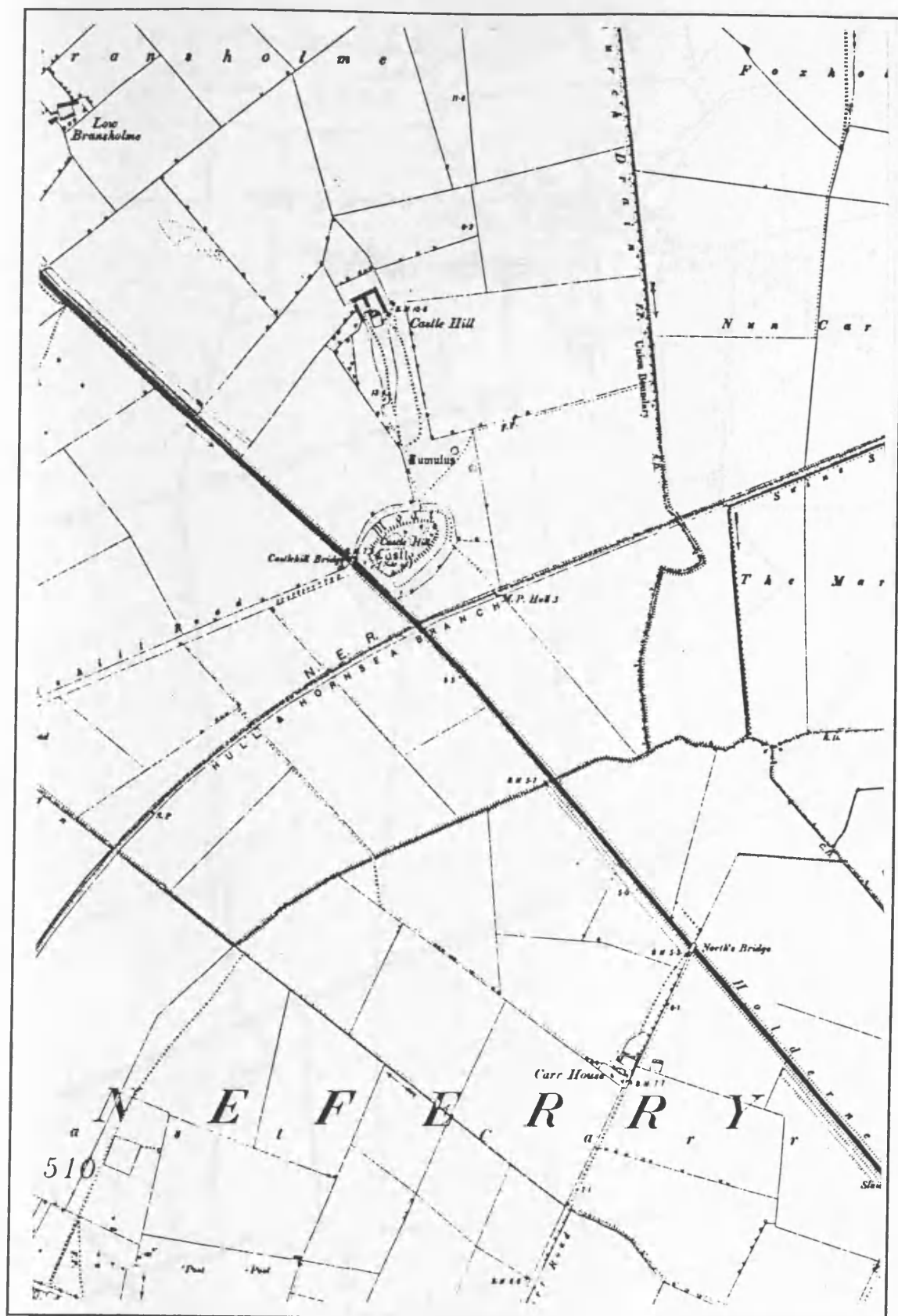
Skirpenbeck
OS First Revision, Yorkshire: Sheets CLVIII NE (1911), and CLVIII SE (1911)



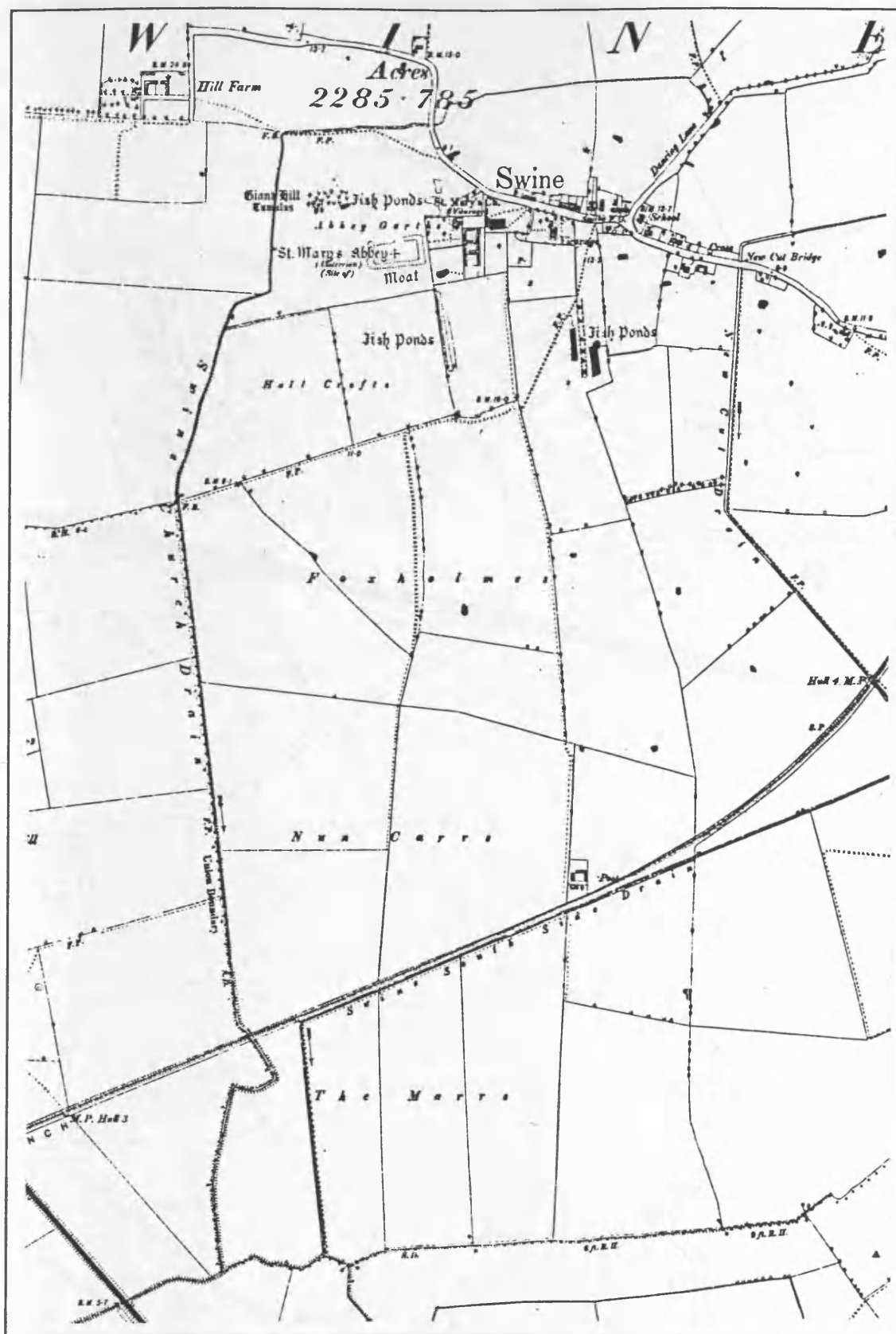
Storwood
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXCII SE (1893)



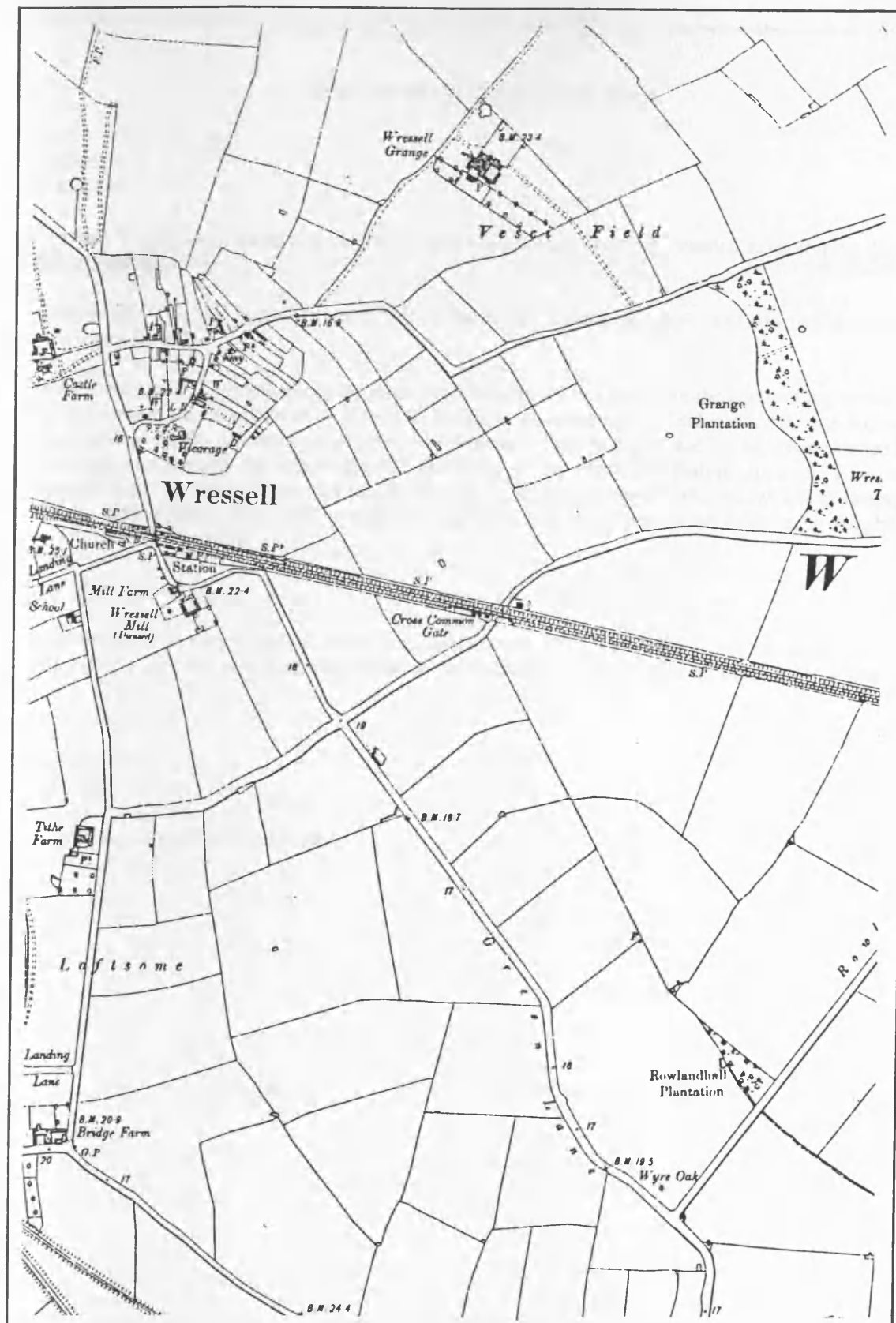
Sutton-upon-Derwent
 OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CXCI NE (1893), and Second Edition Sheet
 CLXXV SE (1911)



Swine I
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXXVI NE (1891)



Swine II
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXXVI NE (1891)



Wressle I
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXXII SE (1910)

GISBURN IN CRAVEN† (Castle Haugh)

Motte
Newsholme
SD 830508

Situation: This isolated motte is set against Castle Haugh Scar - the steep, wooded scarp sloping down to the River Ribble.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as an earthwork feature, although land-slip has denuded the motte's west flank.

Description: Castle Haugh is a circular motte artificially raised *c.* 3.5m above the surrounding terrain and with an average base diameter of *c.* 40m. The feature is surrounded on all sides other than to the west - where site topography renders it superfluous - by a ditch *c.* 1.5m in depth, and further characterised by a breastwork surrounding the motte summit, surviving as an earthwork feature up to *c.* 1.5m high. Although listed by King as a ringwork, the feature is doubtless a motte, the breastwork crowning an artificial mound rather than itself constituting the site's defences. There is no evidence to suggest the former existence of a bailey.

Excavation: None

Documentation: A minor castle in the Craven district referred to as a *munitiuncula* was destroyed by the Scots in 1151; the site is occasionally listed as 'lost', though may well refer to the earthwork described above.

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 127
King 1983, 517; 529, 549
King and Alcock 1969, 123
OS Antiquity Model, No. SD 85 SW 3
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 21

NORTH YORKSHIRE

ACKLAM

Motte and Bailey/Possible Stone Castle

Acklam

SE 783613

Situation: The motte and bailey occupy a strong natural promontory projecting north-west towards the stream known as Acklam Beck. The site lies on the southern edge of the hamlet of Scotland, on the opposite side of Acklam Beck to the village of Acklam. A motte and bailey of similar but grander format lies at BIRDSALL, c. 2.8km to the south-west.

Preservation: The slight nature of the earthwork - now under permanent pasture - has lead King to suggest that the castle may be unfinished.

Description: A roughly circular motte lies at the western extremity of the promontory, artificially raised c. 1.5 m above the natural ground surface, and with a base diameter of c. 15m; it seems formerly to have been surrounded by a ditch - presently no more than a vague depression. Three baileys can be identified; respectively defined by ditches cut transversely across the promontory. The first comprises a level platform immediately west of the motte c. 20m north-south and c. 30m east-west; the second lies east of the motte, measures c. 40m east-west and is marked at its eastern limit by a scarp; the third, outer bailey can be identified between the eastern bailey and the line of the modern road. Slight evidence of stone footings can be detected in exposed areas of the motte and eastern bailey.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20526

King 1983, 531

N. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 016720

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 76 SE 7

ALDBOROUGH (Studforth Hill/The Stadium)

Ringwork

Boroughbridge

SE 406659

Situation: Studforth Hill lies c. 100m south of the south-east corner of the Roman town of *Isurium*.

Preservation: Interpretation is rendered extremely difficult due to destruction through agricultural levelling and ploughing. This has effectively divided the site into two isolated fragments of a bank and ditch system.

Description: The site comprises a much denuded oval earthwork most appropriately rationalised as a ringwork, its long axis oriented north-south. The element of the earthwork known as the 'Stadium' seems to constitute the northern section of the ringwork, and 'Studforth Hill' the southern section. The central

bowl-shaped depression, interpreted by Collingwood as an amphitheatre represents the much denuded ringwork interior, following the respective levelling of the east and west sides of the defences.

Excavation: A section across the northern 'bank' excavated in 1935 revealed that it was apparently natural.

Documentation: The site is first mentioned in 1115; a *vetus burgus* is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of 1205-06.

Sources:

Collingwood and Richmond 1969, Fig. 42

Jones 1971, 40-41

King 1983, 512

Lawson-Tancred 1948, 18

Myres *et al.* 1959, 5

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 46 NW 1

Renn 1968, 88

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

ASKE†

Tower House

Aske

NZ 178034

Description: Aske Hall contains a 15th-century peel tower that was incorporated into the complex when it was enlarged in the late 16th or early 17th century.

Sources:

Bernard Wood 1960, 1481

King 1983, 517

OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 10 SE 15

Pevsner 1966b, 65-66

ASKRIGG (Nappa Hall)

Tower House

Askrigg

SD 965908

Description: Nappa Hall is a structure built 1459-60 for Sir Thomas Metcalfe. It comprises two rectangular embattled towers linked by a single-storey hall, the hall being the original building and the towers later additions. The west solar tower is c. 13m high and the dominant of the two, the eastern service tower being c. 8m high and featuring a projecting wing.

Sources:

Bernard Wood 1960, 1482

Degnan 1993, 52

Illingworth 1938, 141-42

King 1983, 531

AYTON

Tower House
West Ayton
SE 987851

Description: Ayton Castle is a peel tower, excavated by F. C. Rimmington between 1958-61. Five phases were revealed:

Phase I: A stratum of farmyard refuse on which the site was constructed.

Phase II: A manor house constructed in the late 12th century, and associated with a hoard of iron tools.

Phase III: A manorial complex of c. 1250, including a kitchen and dovecote, showing signs of slighting, presumably by the Scots after Bannockburn.

Phase IV: The present 'castle' dates from c. 1400, constructed for Ralph Eure over the hall of the Phase III complex, the ground surface being levelled with a large volume of domestic refuse prior to construction. The building comprised an oblong three-storey tower-house with a single arched entrance in the south-west side, having a corbelled parapet, and enclosed by a stone wall which survives as an earthwork.

Phase V: Following disuse, the site was converted into a cattle byre in the 17th century.

In 1975 a large dump of 13th-/14th century pottery was recovered in a garden backing onto the bailey wall, in the vicinity of the kitchen block, and interpreted as an associated domestic dump.

Sources:

Degnan 1993, 31
Evans 1968, 64-71
Illingworth 1938, 135
King 1983, 513
N. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 03745
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 98 NE 35
Pevsner 1966b, 68
Thorp 1976, 7
VCH NR Yorks. 441
Wilson and Hurst 1962-63, 37-38

BARDEN (Barden Tower)

Tower House
Barden
SE 050571

Description: The earliest fabric within this three-storey tower house dates to 1485, when constructed for Sir Henry Clifford in preference to the residence at SKIPTON. A banqueting hall and chapel were added to the tower shortly after construction, and the complex stands within an extensive zone of earthworks

indicative of ancillary structures. The building was heavily restored in 1658-59, as indicated by an inscription. It is now entirely ruinous.

Sources:

Bernard Wood 1960, 1482
Degnan 1993, 32
King 1983, 513
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 05 NE 7
Pevsner 1959, 89

BEWERLEY (Castlestead)

Possible Motte

Bewerley

SE 165645 (Approx.)

Situation: The place-name 'Castlestead' is associated with the site of a farm building on the west bank of the River Nidd.

Preservation: No earthworks survive on the site at present.

Description: An account from 1894 describes a large ditched mound with a hollow summit on the site of the farm buildings. Along with the place-name, the evidence suggests the previous existence of a motte or motte-like feature - the tradition that the site represents a Roman station seemingly mistaken. Aerial photography has revealed two sunken trackways leading to the present farm buildings, possibly once leading to the castle site.

Excavation: Roman pottery was apparently recovered from the vicinity when a house was built at this location in 1862, although no building foundations were recognised.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Elgee and Elgee 1933, 135
Grainge 1863, 64
King 1983, 529
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 16 SE 4
Raistrick 1933, 217
RCHM: NMP (N. Yorks.), Sheet No. SE 16 SE
Speight 1894, 435

BIRDSALL (Mount Ferrant)

Motte and Bailey

Birdsall

SE 795639

Situation: Situated on a natural promontory, projecting west from the wolds, the site is flanked by steep slopes except to the east, where it is linked to high ground by a narrow neck. Mount Ferrant lies c. 2.8km north-east of the motte and bailey at ACKLAM.

Preservation: The castle earthworks are well preserved under permanent pasture.

Description: A natural knoll at the western extremity of this natural escarpment constitutes a motte, apparently not artificially modified, although isolated from the baileys by a ditch approximately 15m wide and c. 2-3m deep on the east side, and a similar, although weaker ditch to the west. Three baileys can be identified, all to the east of the motte and defined by earthworks cutting transversely across the promontory. The smallest, inner bailey measures approximately 50m x 50m and is divided from the lower middle bailey by a ditch, c. 25m, wide with ascarp of c. 5m on its west side and c. 2m on its east side. This middle bailey is approximately 100m east-west and is divided from a large outer bailey, measuring c. 200m east-west by a slight ditch. At the eastern extremity of the complex an earthen rampart c. 2m in height and associated ditch c. 10m wide isolates the entire complex from the terrain to the east.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle was slighted c. 1154-56 as a punishment of William Fossard by Henry II; the timbers from the site were granted to Meaux Abbey and used during rebuilding operations Leland described the site as defaced and overgrown with vegetation.

Sources:

Bannister 1994, 40-43

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20527

Illingworth 1938, 125

King 1983, 513

Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 58

N. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 01653

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 76 SE 2

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 2, 4

BOLTON-UPON-SWALE

Tower House

Bolton-on-Swale

SE 253991

Description: Bolton Old Hall is a rectangular two-storey peel tower. Against its south side has been constructed a 16th-century range, effectively forming the south wing of an L-shaped building. The structure was extensively modified c. 1680.

Sources:

Bernard Wood 1960, 1481

Degnan 1993, 35

King 1983, 514

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 29 NE 5

Pevsner 1966b, 82

BOSSALL

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Buttercrame with Bossall
SE 717607

Situation: The site lies within Aldby Park, adjacent to St. Botolph's church and at the crest of high land west of the Derwent.

Preservation: The surviving elements of the site are poorly preserved, tipping having reduced the depths of the ditches, and post-medieval building covering many parts of the site.

Description: The present remains comprise the 16th-/17th century buildings of Bossall Hall situated within a square moated enclosure, with signs of an outer moated line to the north. The inner platform measures c. 105m north-south by c. 70m east-west, and the enclosing ditch is up to 10m wide and c. 2.5m deep. In 1885 it is stated that a double curtain wall with square and round towers and a barbican were still visible as foundations at the site. Vestiges of the curtain wall are represented by sections of a bank, up to 5m wide, visible in places around the inside edge of the moat. The moated line to the north represents an outer court, formerly surrounding the north, east and west sides of the inner moat. The 19th-century brick bridge on the east side of inner moat appears on the site of the original entrance.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Licensed in 1201.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20525
King 1983, 514
L'Anson 1913, 332-33
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 76 SW 2
Pevsner 1959, 84

BROMPTON (Castle Hill)

Motte
Brompton
SE 945821

Situation: Castle Hill is a low knoll of apparently natural origin lying in the centre of Brompton village.

Preservation: Only fragmentary evidence of grassed-over walls survive on the site.

Description: The site consists of a natural knoll, artificially scarped and surmounted with a substantial right-angled section of walling - this surviving as a stony earthwork. The site is interpreted as a motte with wet defences by some authorities, perhaps later adapted as a fortified manor house. Although tradition dictates that the site was an early fortification and a seat of the kings of Northumbria, there is no supporting evidence.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 514
L'Anson 1913, 332
N. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 03512
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 98 SW 6
VCH Yorks. II, 424

BURTON-IN-LONSDALE

Motte and Bailey/Ringwork and Bailey
Burton-in-Lonsdale
SD 649722

Situation: The site lies at the western end of the village of Burton-in-Lonsdale, adjacent to the church.

Preservation: The motte and bailey is extremely well preserved.

Description: The site consists of a circular motte with an average base diameter of c. 60m, height of c. 10m high and is characterised by a substantial breastwork c. 3m in height surrounding the circular motte summit of c. 30m diameter. A sub-rectangular bailey, c. 48m east-west x c. 43m north-south, lies immediately west of the motte, and a smaller lunate enclosure, c. 18m wide, adjoins to the south, separated from the motte by a shallow ditch.

Excavation: Excavations by H. White and J. Walker took place on the motte summit, and within the bailey and lunar-shaped earthwork south of the motte, the evidence being reassessed more recently by S. Moorhouse. The excavations revealed the breastwork surmounting the motte-top as a mortared masonry structure with an entrance on the west side. The surface of the motte was shown to be paved, and associated with a thick layer of charcoal, whilst its interior was composed of sand piled around a natural outcrop. Various sections across the ramparts of the bailey and southern enclosure demonstrated the defensive banks to be encased with clay studded with stones and boulders. Finds included a flint arrowhead, bone needles and a large quantity of animal bone, apparently including deer and boar. S. Moorhouse suggests a sequence of a primary ringwork, later converted into a motte, with the surmounting revetment being a later addition.

Documentation: The castle is mentioned in 1130 as one of a number of castles confiscated in 1095. Apparently abandoned by 1173, it is not mentioned with the other Mowbray castles by this time (e.g. KIRKBY MALZEARD, THIRSK).

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 125
King 1983, 514-15, 536
King and Alcock 1969, 123
Moorhouse 1971
OS Antiquity Model, No. SD 67 SW 10
Renn 1968, 124
RCHM Archive, UID 616294
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 27-29

CARLTON-IN-COVERDALE (Round Hill)

Motte
Carlton Town
SE 06808460

Situation: Round Hill is located at the east end of the village of Carlton, on gently-sloping ground above a stream known as Goodman's Gill.

Preservation: The site exists as a well preserved earthwork under pasture.

Description: The site comprises a conical motte *c.* 3.7m high, with a base diameter of *c.* 32m, and a summit *c.* 9m in diameter with a slight downward slope to the north-west. It is partially surrounded by a ditch *c.* 1.5m deep, with an average width of *c.* 4m; to the north the course of a stream provides natural defence rendering the ditch superfluous. There are signs of dressed stone blocks on the north-west side of the motte, perhaps suggesting some masonry element to the defences. There is no evidence of an associated bailey.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 531
L'Anson 1913, 334
RCHM: NMP (N. Yorks.), Sheet No. SE 08 SE
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 08 SE 3
Pevsner 1966, 102

CASTLE BOLTON

Stone Castle
Castle Bolton with East and West Bolton
SE 034918

Situation: Castle and church form a discrete cell at the western end of Castle Bolton village.

Preservation: The structure is in extremely good condition. The west and part of the south wings are still in use and contain a museum.

Description: Castle Bolton is a quadrangular castle with square angle towers and a central courtyard, the main gate-arch opening being in the centre of the east range. The doors in the courtyard are provided with portcullises, and the longer ranges (north and south) have small turrets. Architectural analysis has rationalised the interior arrangement into eight major household units and twelve lesser lodgings, combined within a single-phase conception; key elements include the third-floor chapel in the south range and first-floor Great Hall in the north range. Vestiges of an alleged moat at the south-west corner are most probably landscaped garden features.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Licence to crenellate was granted to Richard le Scrope in 1379; the indenture drawn up between Scrope and the builder, John Lewyn survives and details building specifications and materials used. The castle was besieged and apparently slighted by Parliament in 1645.

Sources:

Faulkner 1963, 225-30
Hislop 1996
Illingworth 1938, 136-37
King 1983, 513, 536
Nenk *et al.* 1991, 197-98
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 09 SW 2
Pevsner 1966b, 104-06
RCHM: NMP (N. Yorks.), Sheet No. SE 09 SW
VCH Yorks. I, 272-73

CASTLE HOWARD

Stone Castle
Henderskelfe
SE 715700

Situation: The medieval castle was on the site of the present mansion of Castle Howard.

Preservation: Nothing survives of the medieval building phases.

Description: Henderskelfe castle was destroyed in advance of the construction of the new castle Howard in the early 17th century. The site seems to have had at least two distinct phases, as it was documented as ruinous in 1359, but by Leland's time was described as "....a fine quadrant of stone having four toures buildid castelle like", seemingly reflecting a quadrangular format.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Apparently built in the reign of Edward III by the Greystoke family, but ruinous in 1359. Following subsequent rebuilding, the site was destroyed by fire.

Sources

Barley 1978, 358-60
King 1983, 530, 540
Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 65
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 77 SW 12
Pevsner 1966b, 106-09

CASTLETON (Castle Hill)

Ringwork
Danby
NZ 688082

Situation: The earthwork projects from Castleton Ridge on the northern edge of the village of Castleton, c. 200m south of, and overlooking the River Esk. The castle appears to be the antecedent of DANBY.

Preservation: The ringwork is poorly preserved as a series of denuded earthworks - hence it is often erroneously listed as a motte. The insertion of 18th-century farm buildings has eradicated any traces of internal features.

Description: The site comprises a large horseshoe-shaped ringwork, raised a maximum of c. 6m above the ground surface on the north side and covering a total area measuring c. 50m north-east - south-west and c. 40m north-west - south-east. A small mound rises from the south-west corner of the enclosure, presumably once supporting a tower flanking the entrance. Traces of a ditch can be identified on the north and east sides of the site, and a strong counterscarp bank rises outside the ditch on the vulnerable south-east side; there is no evidence of an associated bailey.

Excavation: Excavations by S. Sherlock took place in advance of redevelopment of the farm buildings in 1988, revealing the entrance as defended by a stone-revetted ditch and demonstrating the site to have been occupied as a farm during the 16th century, as indicated by an agricultural building characterised by padstone construction. An assemblage of medieval pottery, including Staxton-type and Tees Valley ware, was deemed consistent with a high status household.

Documentation: The castle is mentioned in a fine of 1242, and as a 'ruined pel' in 1335.

Sources:

Atkinson 1884, 270-27
Clark 1881, 340
Gaimster *et al.* 1989, 221
Illingworth 1938, 126
King 1983, 515, 538
King and Alcock 1969, 125
L'Anson 1913, 337-40
N. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 00814
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 60 NE 16
Pevsner 1966b, 119
Sherlock 1992
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

CATTERICK I (Palet Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Catterick
SE 240981

Situation: Palet Hill is located centrally within Catterick on a natural promontory, immediately north of the church. The motte and bailey of Castle Hills (CATTERICK II) lies c. 1.6km to the south-east.

Preservation: The motte is small, possibly much denuded, whilst evidence of a bailey is fragmentary.

Description: The site comprises a large mound, possibly a motte (although interpreted by the OS as a *tumulus*), with what appears to be a triangular bailey enclosing the church and churchyard to the south. The putative bailey occupies a triangular promontory position, and is defended on all sides by steep natural slopes; traces of a ditch can be identified on the west side.

Excavation: A watching brief by P. R. Wilson during footpath construction on the south side of the motte in 1983 demonstrated considerable post-medieval disturbance in this zone.

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 515

L'Anson 1913, 340-41

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 29 NW 18

Pevsner 1966b, 120

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

Youngs *et al.* 1984, 248

CATTERICK II (Castle Hills)

Motte and Bailey

Catterick

SE 254971

Situation: The earthwork is situated upon a prominent natural eminence of boulder clay rising from the marshy flood-plain on the west bank of the River Swale. The site overlooks a natural ford below a series of cataracts, less than 1.5km east of the Great North Road. The possible motte and bailey within the village of Catterick at Palet Hill (CATTERICK I) lies *c.* 1.6km to the north-west.

Preservation: The site lies on the east side of an airfield, and has been used as a crashed aircraft park and training area, resulting in a great deal of damage to the site. The motte is mutilated and reduced, and the bailey earthworks to the south damaged by the insertion of concrete gun emplacements.

Description: The site consists of an oval motte measuring *c.* 55m north-south x 50m east-west at the base. It is raised *c.* 3.5m, has a flat summit, and is surrounded by a ditch surviving to a maximum depth of *c.* 1.6m. A sub-rectangular bailey measuring *c.* 70m east-west x 75m north-south lies to the south, and is defended on its eastern side by a rampart *c.* 1.3m high supplementing the natural defence of a steep slope, whilst to the east the rampart is supplemented by an external ditch. As early as 1849 it is noted that the southern bailey rampart was deliberately spread and used to infill the ditch.

Excavation: Allegedly Roman 'remains' were recovered in an unrecorded excavation some time prior to 1849; no other details are recorded.

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 512

L'Anson 1913, 359-60

OS Antiquity Model, SE 29 NE 3

Pevsner 1966b, 120

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 30, 32

Wilson *et al.* 1996, 6-7

CAWOOD

Fortified Ecclesiastical Site
Cawood
SE 574373

Situation: The 'castle' lies on the south bank of the Ouse, south east of the village centre of Cawood. The site overlooks the ferry crossing on the road between Sherburn-in-Elmet and York.

Preservation: The structure comprises an extensive complex of surviving masonry remains.

Description: The remaining standing buildings of the palace complex comprise a three-storey stone gatehouse dating to 1426-52, and an adjacent two-storey brick range. Together these buildings formed part of the south-west range of the complex. The palace buildings lay within a rectangular enclosure c. 110m x 100m, bounded to the north-west by Bishop Dyke, and to the north-east by the line of Old Road.

Excavation: A watching brief by D. Brinklow in 1986 revealed the gatehouse as a stone-clad structure of brick. A further watching brief in 1987 examined deposits within and immediately outside the courtyard.

Documentation: Although the palace is first mentioned in 1181, it was transformed into a fortified site by Archbishop Neville some time prior to 1391

Sources:

Blood and Taylor 1992
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20539
King 1983, 515, 536
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 53 NE 2
Pevsner 1959, 160
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 48
Youngs *et al.* 1987, 168; 1988, 290

CLIFTON-UPON-URE†

Possible Stone Castle
Clifton-on-Ure
SE 218842

Situation: The modern Clifton Castle lies c. 100m north of a bend in the River Ure.

Preservation: Other than the evidence cited below, all evidence of the original castle has been obliterated by the building of the modern Clifton castle in 1808.

Description: The only possible surviving fabric from the medieval phases of Clifton castle is a length of rubble wall, c. 2.5m wide, running c. 17m north from a quadrangle of buildings on the north-west corner of the modern mansion.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Licence to crenellate was granted to Geoffrey le Scrope in the reign of Edward II (1307-27).

Sources:

King 1983, 532
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 28 SW 2
Pevsner 1966b, 122

CLOUGHTON†

Possible Motte
Cloughton
SE 985969

Situation: The site lies c. 540m north of Linglands Farm, at the base of the scarp forming the edge of Cloughton Moor.

Preservation: The site is preserved as an earthwork under permanent pasture.

Description: The feature comprises a bowl-shaped mound entirely surrounded by a dry ditch. Despite common interpretation as a possible motte, its situation in a landscape abounding with *tumuli* renders identification problematic, the feature seeming more likely to be a barrow.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:
King 1983, 531
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. SE 99 NE 55

CRAYKE (Castle Garth)

Motte and Bailey
Crayke
SE 559706

Situation: Crayke Castle occupies a prominent natural knoll on the southern edge of the Vale of York, immediately west of the village of Crayke.

Preservation: The alleged 'motte' is well preserved as an earthwork.

Description: Suggestions have been made that the later tower-house was built on the site of an earlier motte and bailey, although it is probable that early accounts have erroneously interpreted a large mound immediately north of the later structure as a motte; later analysis has however suggested that this is rather a natural feature terraced due to landscape gardening. The later tower-house comprised two self-contained blocks.

Excavation: Excavation in the castle precinct in 1983 revealed a pit containing 13th-/14th-century pottery and an ash deposit, whilst a further pit was interpreted as the hard standing for a gateway. These features combine to denote the line of the north-south edge of a precinct, which joins the line of a linear earthwork running to join the present castle.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Adams 1990, 44-47
Illingworth 1938, 137-138
King 1983, 516, 536
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 57 SE 15
Pevsner 1966b, 131
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

CROPTON**Motte and Bailey**

Cropton
SE 754893

Situation: A motte and bailey is located adjacent to the church, on the western edge of the village of Cropton. It lies above Cropton Beck, on the point of a promontory projecting westward and commanding extensive views over Rosedale.

Preservation: The motte and bailey earthworks have been altered by the filling-in of the motte ditch and the insertion of a track, which has obliterated the bailey ditch on the east side; nonetheless the degree to which the internal earthworks are preserved is exceptional.

Description: A circular motte *c.* 6.5m high, with a base diameter of *c.* 45m and a flat top *c.* 18m across. A depression on the motte summit *c.* 5m in diameter and *c.* 2m deep may indicate the former position of a crowning structure. The motte is at the apex of a triangular bailey that lies to the east. This measures *c.* 125m east-west x 105m north-south, and is defended by a bank surviving to a maximum height of *c.* 1m and a ditch up to *c.* 8m wide and *c.* 2.5m deep, although the latter has been removed on all but the north side; a gap in the bank on the east side of the defences indicates the former entrance. Clear earthworks can be recognised within the bailey, comprising a Great Hall with smaller apartments, and a platform possibly once supporting a tower on the north side. A small circular pond is located outside the bailey on the east side. The Great Hall and associated domestic buildings would seem to represent a sizeable manorial complex on the site long after it had become militarily redundant.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Mentioned in 1334, but documented as ruinous by 1349.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20528
Illingworth 1938, 126-27
King 1983, 516, 536
L'Anson 1913, 344-45
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 78 NE 5
Pevsner 1966b, 133
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 30

DANBY

Stone Castle
Danby
NZ 717072

Situation: The castle lies on the south side of the Esk valley.

Preservation: The castle is much mutilated by the insertion of a farmhouse which incorporates the south-east tower, although the south range exists as a much altered, roofed structure. Elsewhere, the north-east tower survives to first-floor level, the north-west tower survives as a shell, and the south-west tower only as foundations.

Description: The castle was originally quadrangular, comprising four wings arranged around a central courtyard, with four corner towers projecting diagonally from the angles. The south-east tower contained a chapel. To the west of the castle, a trapezoidal enclosure c. 30m x 25m and demarcated by a buried wall, contains internal earthworks indicative of ancillary buildings.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. NZ 70 NW 6
King 1983, 516
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 70 NW 6
Pevsner 1966b, 136

DANBY-ON-URE

Tower House
Thornton Steward
SE 159871

Description: Danby Hall contains a 14th-century peel tower, forming the north-east wing of the later complex which dates to the 16th/17th century.

Sources:

King 1983, 516
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 18 NE 9
Pevsner 1966b, 137

DOWNHOLME† (Walburn Hall)

Tower House
Walburn
SE 119959

Description: Walburn Hall is a two storey 15th-/16th-century fortified house, constructed in an L-shaped plan and featuring a 15th-century chapel. Traces of an antecedent phase, of 12th-century date and later can be identified, incorporated in the north-east corner.

Sources:

King 1983, 533
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 19 NW 3
Pevsner 1966b, 139
VCH NR Yorks. I 1914, 227-28

DRAX

Possible Vanished Early Castle
Drax
SE 676260

Situation: It is possible that the 12th-century castle documented at Drax was on the site of the moated enclosure at Castle Hill, *c.* 200m south of the village.

Description: The moated site consists of a raised sub-rectangular platform, surrounded by a moat much denuded on its north and east sides. A castle of Drax was destroyed by King Stephen in 1154. The manorial site at Castle Hills was flooded and worth nothing in 1421, and listed as waste.

Sources:

King 1983, 530, 540
Le Patourel 1973, 124
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 62 NE 3
Renn 1968, 173

EASBY (Castle Hill)

Ringwork
Easby
NZ 589084

Situation: The motte is located *c.* 1km east of the village of Easby, on a steep scarp overlooking the River Leven.

Preservation: The somewhat irregular profile of the motte is attributable to natural landslip and to early excavations on the summit.

Description: The site comprises an irregular, horseshoe-shaped motte with a maximum diameter of *c.* 45m, the top of the motte being slightly hollowed. It rises *c.* 2.5m above the surrounding ground level on the north side, but is less than *c.* 2m high on the south side, where it lies against the natural scarp, and was formerly surrounded on all but the south side by a ditch surviving to a width of *c.* 5m. There is no evidence of a bailey.

Excavation: A small excavation on the motte summit was carried out by Rev. Howells in 1903, apparently recovering only a single flint scraper; no further details are available.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20534

King 1983, 517
King and Alcock 1969, 123
L' Anson 1913, 345-47
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 50 NE 1
Pevsner 1966b, 148
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 4

EAST GILLING (Gilling Castle)

Tower House
Gilling East
SE 611768

Description: The 18th-century building of Gilling Castle preserves the ground-floor of a large 14th-century tower house built by Thomas Etton. The site is associated with the earthworks of a series of fishponds.

Sources:

King 1983, 517
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 67 NW 1
Pevsner 1966b, 167
VCH NR Yorks. I 1914, 479-80

ELSLACK†

Vanished Tower House

Description: A tower at 'Estlake' was licensed in 1318, but the site remains obscure.

Sources:

King 1983, 530

FARNHILL

Tower House
Farnhill
SE 0030465

Description: Farnhill Hall, a largely 19th-century building, contains the remains of a rectangular 14th-century fortified manor house built in a single range with four corner towers.

Sources:

Bernard Wood 1960, 1482
King 1983, 531
Pevsner 1959, 196

FELIXKIRK (Howe Hill)

Possible Motte and Bailey
Felixkirk
SE 467846

Situation: The 'motte' occupies a prominent knoll at the head of a spur on the southern edge of Felixkirk village.

Preservation: Roads to the north, east and west of the 'motte' have virtually eradicated the surrounding ditch, and the format of the bailey is largely conjectural.

Description: Although sometimes cited as a motte or motte and bailey, the Howe Hill earthwork has been scheduled as a bowl barrow. The site comprises a large dome-shaped and flat-topped mound artificially raised c. 1.5m above the summit of the natural hill-top, and with a base diameter of c. 10m. There are traces of a surrounding ditch, although this is too denuded to allow its dimensions to be estimated. The level area in which the Vicarage stands, to the south of the mound, may represent a rectangular bailey, c. 70m east-west x c. 80m north-south.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20460
King 1983, 517
L'Anson 1913, 347
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 48 SE 1
Pevsner 1966b, 162

GILLING (Sedbury Hall)

Tower House
Gilling with Hartforth and Sedbury
NZ 197051

Description: Sedbury Hall incorporates a three-storey embattled tower of probable 15th-century date.

Sources:

King 1983, 517
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 10 NE 3
VCH NR Yorks. I 1914, 72

GIVENDALE (Round-about)

Ringwork
Givendale
SE 337693

Situation: The motte lies c. 200m east of the River Ure, immediately north of Givendale DMV.

Preservation: The earthworks are well preserved under pasture.

Description: The site comprises a large circular ringwork, c. 140m across, defined by a spring-fed moat up to 20m wide and an internal rampart raised c. 1.8m above the level of the moat.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 531

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 36 NW 3

HAVERAH PARK† (John of Gaunt's Castle)

Stone Castle

Haverah Park

SE 220545

Situation: The earthwork occupies a spur-top position south of, and overlooking, the former course of Beaver Dyke, dammed to form a reservoir in modern times.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as an earthwork.

Description: John of Gaunt's Castle comprises an earthwork platform c. 55m square and enclosed by a ditch c. 8m wide and surviving to a maximum depth of c. 2.8m. A small mound c. 12m square stands centrally within the platform, probably once supporting a tower, and the masonry footings of a projecting stone gatehouse can be identified on the south side of the platform. The site seems to represent a hunting lodge associated with Haverah Park.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site is first mentioned in 1316 when building work was in progress, and is further mentioned during work in 1333-37, when referred to as *fortalicium regis Haywra*.

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 127

King 1983, 518

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 25 SW 2

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 21

HAZLEWOOD

Stone Castle

Stutton with Hazlewood

SE 448397

Situation: The castle stands at the east end of a low ridge.

Preservation: Very little medieval fabric survives, due to 17th-/18th-century enlargement and remodelling as a mansion.

Description: The date of crenellation suggests that in its original form this site was as a castle rather than a fortified manor; certainly the 15th-century square peel tower at the western extremity of the building is related to a later phase. The medieval chapel at the east end of the complex survives in its original medieval form. The present ornamental moats may re-cut original medieval moats.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The chapel was built in 1286. Licence to crenellate was granted to William le Vavasourin in 1296.

Sources:

King 1983, 518

Le Patourel 1973, 125

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 43 NW 8

Oswald 1957, 1380-383

Pevsner 1959, 256-57

HEALAUGH

Possible Motte

Healaugh

SE 499480

Situation: The 'motte' lies adjacent to the parish church at the northern extremity of Healaugh village.

Preservation: The moat is preserved as a substantial but confused earthwork under permanent pasture and woodland.

Description: Thick woodland north of St. John the Baptist's church obscures a scarped natural eminence denoted as a 'Manor House' on OS maps, but likely to be a motte. The feature is approximately square, c. 40m across, and flanked by a deep ditch, c. 10m across and c. 2-3m deep on its western flank.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 531

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 44 NE 13

HELLIFIELD (Hellifield Peel)

Tower House

Hellifield

SD 858556

Description: Hellifield Peel was a three-storied rectangular crenellated building constructed c. 1550, and formerly surrounded by a moat. The fabric of the present structure is substantially modern, although with signs of 15th-century detail in the central range. It is roofless and dilapidated following partial demolition in 1959.

Sources:

King 1983, 518, 537
OS Antiquity Model, No. SD 85 NE 3
Pevsner 1959, 261
Ryder and Birch 1983

HELMSLEY

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Helmsley
SE 6110083650

Situation: The castle is situated on the west side of the town of Helmsley, the earthworks scarped from a low rocky outcrop on the north bank of the Rye.

Preservation: The castle is well preserved as a heritage site.

Description: The present remains comprise the sum of several phases of development:

Phase I: The earliest phase of the castle, forming the basis of later developments, is a large rectangular enclosure, internally measuring c. 90m north-west - south-east x c. 65m north-east - south-west. This was defended by two concentric rock-cut ditches with associated ramparts. The entrance to the enclosure lay on the north-west side.

Phase II: The second phase of development saw the lowering of the inner rampart, and its replacement with a curtain wall containing round corner towers. Two round towers were added to flank the original entrance, and a second gate, within a square tower, was set in the south-east corner.

Excavation: A series of ovens in the north-west of the inner ward were excavated and consolidated by M.Thompson in 1957, although no firm dating evidence was recovered. Excavation of the major linear earthwork on the west of the castle site in 1985 revealed a clay-lined leat serving the outer castle ditch - demonstrating the existence of at least partially wet defences. A geophysical survey of the outer bailey in 1995 revealed probable evidence of a former structure, although no clear interpretation was made.

Documentation: The site is first mentioned when Robert de Ros II - the lord from 1183 to 1226 - is credited with the building of *Hamelak*, although the site is probably earlier. The castle was held against King John in 1216. It was besieged and taken in 1644 during the Civil War.

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 45-51
King 1983, 518, 537
Nenk *et al.* 1994, 266; 1996, 291
Pevsner 1966b, 188-89
Renn 1968, 204-205
Youngs *et al.* 1986, 173
Wilson and Hurst 1958, 196

HOOD (Hode Castle/Hode Hill)

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Kilburn
SE 504814

Situation: The earthwork is raised on a commanding ridge, c. 800m west of the Hambleton Hills.

Preservation: A well preserved, if overgrown, site. The partial nature of the defences are due to an adaptation to natural topography rather than later erosion.

Description: This earthwork castle is formed by the artificial scarping of the hill-top, to form a partially ditched and embanked platform approximating a low motte. The earthworks comprise a ditch up to c. 10m wide, cut into the west side of the hill-slope, with the resultant spoil dumped downslope to form an external rampart, surviving to a height of c. 2m. This bank and ditch appear to have enclosed the central area on all but the east, where precipitous slopes provide natural defence. The hill-top has been artificially levelled to form a platform c. 40m north-south x 20m east-west, and there are signs of a further levelled area to the north possibly indicative of a bailey, although this is poorly defined.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Licence to crenellate Hood Castle was granted in 1264, with provision for a dyke and wall of stone; it is last mentioned in 1322.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20524
King 1983, 518-19, 537
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 58 SW 8

HORNBY

Stone Castle
Hornby
SE 226937

Situation: The castle lies at the southern end of a natural hill-top, to the east of, and overlooking, Hornby church and DMV.

Preservation: Very little medieval fabric remains, due to remodelling as a mansion c. 1800, although the south range of the present mansion features an apparently original 15th-/16th-century archway into the courtyard.

Description: There is enough evidence to suggest that the original castle plan was of the northern quadrangular model, conceived around a rectangular courtyard and featuring four corner towers.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 519
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 29 SW 2

HUNMANBY

Motte and Bailey
Hunmanby
TA 094775

Situation: The motte and bailey is central within, the village of Hunmanby which it dominates from a low natural spur projecting from the wolds.

Preservation: The motte is well preserved as an earthwork, although the bailey has been disturbed by post-medieval terracing, and its format is partially conjectural.

Description: The motte, scarped from a natural knoll, has a base diameter of c. 60m and is raised c. 4m above the surrounding ground surface. It was defended on the south, east and west sides by a ditch, c. 10m wide and c. 3m deep, whilst to the north the steep natural scarp provided adequate natural protection. The curvilinear alignment of Castle Hill Road appears to fossilise the northern limit of a large adjoining bailey.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site is referred to as 'Castlegarth' in 1302

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20531

King 1983, 519

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

HUNSINGORE (Hall Orchard Hill)

Possible Motte
Hunsingore
SE 428531

Situation: The 'motte' is located between the bridgehead settlement of Hunsingore and the River Nidd.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as a large earthen mound.

Description: The evidence would seem to indicate a motte which continued as a manorial seat. The site comprises a large oblong mound, possibly with natural origins, which appears to have been artificially flattened. The summit of the feature shows evidence of the stone footings of a rectangular building.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site is thought to be the site of the hall of the Goodricke family, which was demolished in the Civil War.

Sources:

King 1983, 532

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 45 SW 5

Speight 1894, 156
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

HUTTON COLSWAIN

Early Castle/Fortified Manor
Huttons Ambo
SE 763674

Situation: The site lies on a low spur overlooking the River Derwent, on the south-east side of the village of Low Hutton.

Preservation: The site is largely levelled, and survives as a minor earthwork feature only.

Description: The earthwork comprises a low earthwork platform, c. 50m square, enclosed by a ditch.

Excavation: Excavations were carried out by M. Thompson in 1953-54 in advance of the proposed levelling of the site, revealing two clear phases of medieval occupation:

Phase I: A 12th-century timber hall set within a triangular enclosure of little strength.

Phase II: The hall was rebuilt in sandstone rubble and enlarged. The enclosure was remodelled in squarish form, and a revetted entrance with gateposts and an entrance causeway added. A deep pit was revealed in the south-east angle of the earthwork. Pottery finds testified occupation from the mid-12th to the late 13th century, whilst a Roman coin, sherds of Crambeck ware and Neolithic flints were also recovered.

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 532
Le Patourel 1973, 119
OS Antiquity Model SE 76 NE 2
Renn 1968, 207-08
Thompson 1957

HUTTON CONYERS (Hall Garth)

Early Castle
Hutton Conyers
SE 326735

Situation: The site lies immediately north of Hutton Conyers village and occupies a natural eminence on the fringe of Hutton Moor. The castle lies c. 2.5km north-east of Ripon, separated from the town by the Ure and its floodplain.

Preservation: The castle comprises extremely badly mutilated earthworks only, probably due to deliberate slighting, although a combination of landslip and quarrying on the south side has further confused the site.

Description: The mutilated earthworks can be rationalised as a squarish central platform c. 50m across, enclosed by a series of concentric banks and ditches, with two adjoining rectangular courts to the north and east. Further earthworks to the south-east may reflect a hollow way leading to a point of access. Although the remains are too vestigial to allow further analysis, the superficial resemblance to the earthworks at HELMSLEY is notable.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle is mentioned only as a Stephanic castle, founded c. 1136 by Count Alan Niger, Earl of Richmond as a threat to Ripon, and presumably destroyed c. 1154 by Henry II, although there is no direct documentation of the latter.

Sources:

King 1983, 519, 537
L'Anson 1913, 356-57
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 37 SW 26
Pevsner 1966b, 199
Renn 1968, 208
VCH NR Yorks. I 1914, 403

KILDALE

Motte/Motte and Bailey
Kildale
NZ 603096

Situation: The site lies immediately west of St. Cuthbert's church, north-west of the village of Kildale.

Preservation: A post-medieval farmhouse surmounts the mound, and the southern side of the earthwork has been clipped by the cutting of the Whitby-Middlesborough railway. Unrecorded excavation has further mutilated the mound summit.

Description: The site consists of a mound upon which a later medieval manor complex has been sited. The mound has been interpreted as a poorly-preserved motte, yet alternatively as a scarped natural knoll of glacial origin. It is oval in plan, measuring c. 90m x 60m, and oriented north-east - south-west. A slight hollow representing a silted motte ditch surrounds the base of the feature.

Excavation: Excavations were carried out on the north-west side of the mound by R. Close in 1961. A building constructed of thick ashlar and measuring c. 11.5 x 7.5m was revealed, and stone and timber revetted flat-bottomed ditches running around the base were defined. The building was associated with a probable rubbish pit on the north-west slope, containing medieval pot sherds, moulded stonework of late-13th-century date, roofing slabs and a large volume of animal bone including whale-bone.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20538
King 1983, 533
L'Anson 1913, 357
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 60 NW 14
Pevsner 1966b, 207
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

Wilson and Hurst 1962-63, 338

KIRKBY FLEETHAM (Hall Garth)

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Kirkby Fleetham with Fencote
SE 285943

Situation: The site lies south-east of the triangular green of Kirkby Fleetham village.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as an earthwork.

Description: The site comprises a low sub-rectangular platform, measuring 40m east-west x 50m north-south, surrounded by a ditch. To the south-east lie the remnants of a bailey, this surviving as a curvilinear scarp and external depression, indicative of a former rampart and ditch, and encloses a pennanular area with maximum dimensions of c. 60m x 60m. It is projected that the motte was lowered into its present form when the site was converted into a stone castle in the early 14th century. Evidence from this phase comprise the superficial remains of what was presumably a low curtain wall, surmounting the platform.

Excavation: None

Documentation: Licence to crenellate was granted in 1314.

Sources:

King 1983, 519, 537
L'Anson 1927, 17
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 29 SE 2
Pevsner 1966b, 214

KIRBY KNOWLE

Stone Castle
Kirby Knowle
SE 459874

Situation: The 'castle' site lies on a natural spur, north-east of Upsall village.

Preservation: There are no extant medieval architectural remains of the castle.

Description: A mansion ('New Building') was built in 1653-64 and occupies the site of Kirby Knowle castle. It has been alleged that a corner tower of the medieval castle remains within the angle between the north and west wings, although this is in reality also of 17th-century date. The main castle complex appears to have occupied the area of the bowling green.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The original castle was built in the late 13th century, and destroyed by fire in 1568.

Sources:

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 48 NE 14
VCH NR Yorks. II 1923, 45

KIRKBY MALZEARD

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
Kirkby Malzeard
SE 237745

Situation: The castle lay on the north-east side of Kirkby Malzeard village.

Preservation: The site exists as a confused earthwork, as its plan is been obscured by landscaping.

Description: The site comprises a triangular motte, measuring c. 60m east-west x 35m north-south, raised c. 3m above the natural ground surface. An irregular pentagonal bailey appends to the east, surrounded by a steep scarp and a superficial hollow indicative of a former ditch, and signs of a surviving inner rampart can be identified on the north-west side of the bailey facing the motte. There is presently no evidence of stone structures in either the motte or bailey, although loose masonry has been noted on the site in the past.

Excavation: An early account suggests that the outlines of buildings including the Great Hall, chapel, apartments and probable stables near the north wall of the bailey were traced while digging for stone, and that Norman bases and capitals were recovered from the vicinity.

Documentation: The castle was first mentioned in 1130, when in the hands of Nigel d'Aubigny, and documented as one of a group of Mowbray castles seized in 1095; it was dismantled following the Mowbray rebellion in 1176.

Sources:

Gowland 1936-38, 357-59
King 1983, 520, 537
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 27 SW 4
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

KIRKBY MOORSIDE I (Stuteville Castle)

Stone Castle
Kirkby Moorside
SE 699867

Situation: The site lies at the top of a south-west facing slope, north-east of the village of Kirkby Moorside. The Neville 'castle' (KIRKBY MOORSIDE II) lies c. 400m to the north-west.

Preservation: The site is preserved as an earthwork under thick scrub.

Description: The site comprises a rectangular moated enclosure measuring c. 96m east-west x 72m north-south, defended by a moat surviving to c. 2m in depth, and an average width of c. 12m on the north, south and east, and c. 22m to the east, where it appears to have been widened to form a fish-pond. Signs of a heavily eroded counterscarp bank can be identified on the north and west sides. A natural stream runs along the southern ditch, and the ditches were presumably once wet. A bank running parallel to, and c. 23m external to the east side of the enclosure for a length of c. 90m and curving around to the north-west at its northern end seems to represent a contemporary outwork defending the more vulnerable approach from the east.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 128
King 1983, 520, 537
Le Patourel 1973, 119-20
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 68 NE 30
Parker 1982, 14
Pevsner 1966b, 216

KIRKBY MOORSIDE II (Neville Castle)

Stone Castle
Kirkby Moorside
SE 699868

Description: The Neville 'castle', lying at the southern tip of a spur of land on the north side of the village of Kirkby Moorside, is a manorial site which excavation by B. Davison and A. Dornier in 1963-65 has shown to have been rebuilt, possibly in fortified form, in the 16th century. The 16th-century phase comprised a courtyard plan of probable quazi-military form in the early 16th century, although it remains unclear whether there were any corner towers. The site was redundant by the end of the 16th century when replaced by the present High Hall to the south. The 'site is described as a hunting-lodge in a survey of 1570.

Sources:

Dornier 1967, 98-102
Illingworth 1938, 128
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 68 NE 28
Wilson and Hurst 1964, 274-75

KNARESBOROUGH

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Knaresborough
SE 349569

Situation: The castle lies within the town of Knaresborough, sited so as to take advantage of a promontory on the east bank of the Nidd.

Preservation: The site lies within a public park. The keep is well preserved in its lower levels, and elements of the east gatehouse survive. However, only fragments of the curtain wall survive, and landscaping has mutilated the north arm of the moat.

Description: Little remains of the original castle. In a second phases the site was reconstructed as a two-ward castle. In the early 14th century the castle was strengthened by the addition of round turrets to the curtain walls. The keep is irregularly hexagonal in plan, with a basement and ground floor, plus two upper storeys. The site features three underground sally-ports cut through the limestone bedrock and giving access to the ditch.

Excavation: Excavation by J. Le Patourel in 1961 revealed the low roofing arch with portcullis slot of the known sally port in the north-east of the curtain wall, complete with an ashlar-lined pit interpreted as the housing for portcullis machinery; the sally port was dated as pre-15th century on the basis of coin evidence. Evidence of the robbed foundations of an earlier wall - interpreted as an early tower - cut by a medieval rubbish pit were also recovered.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned when work was carried out for the king in 1129-30. Later Pipe Rolls show that just under £1300 was spent in rebuilding for John in 1203-12, largely on entrenchment; the site was again extensively rebuilt in 1307-12. It was taken and subsequently retaken in 1317-18, and again in 1644 during the Civil War.

Sources:

Colvin *et al.* 1963, 687-91

Illingworth 1938, 200-04

King 1983, 520, 537

Le Patourel 1963-66

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 35 NW 14

Pevsner 1959, 298-99

Renn 1968, 219

Wilson and Hurst 1962-63, 324

LANGTON

Possible Early Castle

Langton

SE 795670

Situation: The site lies at the west end of a spur overlooking Langton Beck, at the west end of the village of Langton.

Preservation: The site has been damaged by quarrying on its north-west and south-west corner; this activity can be traced elsewhere on the south side of the spur.

Description: Other than a motte, the feature has been interpreted as a possible SMV earthwork, or a prehistoric enclosure. The work comprises an irregular earthwork platform approximating an oval, oriented east-west. The summit is bounded by a low bank, although there is no indication of internal earthworks, nor of a surrounding ditch. Certainly the ditch-like feature running along the north side of the mound seems to be the line of a hollow way rather than a defensive feature.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 531

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 76 NE 15

RCHM: NMP (Howardian Hills), Sheet No. SE 76 NE

LAWKLAND

Tower House
Lawkland
SD 777652

Description: Lawkland Hall is a 16th-/17th-century mansion embracing an earlier pele tower. A number of later additions obscure the tower, although a priest-hole is evident.

Sources:

Bernard Wood 1960, 1481
King 1983, 531
OS Antiquity Model SD 76 NE 4
Pevsner 1959, 301

LEPPINGTON

Possible Motte
Scrayingham
SE 764612

Situation: The site lies on the east side of Leppington village.

Preservation: The north side of the mound has been mutilated by digging.

Description: The site is interpreted as a low and mutilated motte. There is a tradition of a castle at Leppington, yet the earthwork has also been identified as a moated manor site. The mound is oval in plan, measuring c. 55m east-west x 35m north-south, and is raised a maximum of c. 2m above the surrounding ground surface, where slight irregularities may former indicate outworks. The original entrance appears to have been to the north, where a low ramp leads to the summit. The mound is defended by a ditch surviving on the south and east as an earthwork entrenchment c. 10m wide and c. 1.5m deep, and elsewhere as a marshy hollow.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20542
King 1983, 531
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 76 SE 3
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

LYTHE I (Mulgrave Castle)

Stone Castle
Lythe
NZ 839117

Situation: Mulgrave Castle stands on a narrow ridge between two parallel valleys. Its antecedent (LYTHE II), stands c. 700m to the west, on the opposite side of the valley.

Preservation: The site has been extensively landscaped and the ruins 'romanticised' as part of Humphrey Repton's 18th-century remodelling of the gardens of New Mulgrave Castle.

Description: The site is defended by an earthwork ditch, up to c. 15m wide and c. 1.5m deep, cut transversely across the ridge to the east of the site. The masonry defences comprise an irregular polygonal curtain wall with interval towers; the 13th-century gatehouse lies on the west side, and is flanked by two semi-circular towers. A keep, c. 12m square, with four round corner towers stands centrally within the enclosure. Internal earthworks demonstrate the existence of a number of ancillary buildings, although no clear ground plan is evident.

Excavation: The foundations of a number of internal buildings were excavated some time before 1923 by the Marquis of Normanby, although no further details are known.

Documentation: The castle was surrendered in the Civil War before 1645, and dismantled in 1647.

Sources:

King 1983, 522, 537-38

OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 81 SW 4

Pevsner 1966b, 260-61

Renn 1968, 42

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

LYTHE II

Motte and Bailey

Lythe

NZ 831117

Situation: The castle lies on a spur immediately north of, and overlooking Barnby Beck. Its successor (LYTHE I) stands on the opposite side of the Beck, c. 700m to the east.

Preservation: The site is generally well preserved as an earthwork, although a track-way cuts through the northern bailey and clips across the north-west side of the motte ditch.

Description: The site comprises a circular motte, with a base diameter of c. 50m, and a large flat summit of c. 30m diameter, raised c. 4m above the surrounding ground surface. The vestiges of a circular parapet around the motte-top can be identified as a low bank, c. 0.5m high. The motte is surrounded by a ditch, c. 8m in width and c. 2m deep on all but the south side, where the precipitous slopes provide natural protection. A sub-rectangular bailey, measuring c. 45m x 55m, appends to the south-east. It is naturally defended by the steep slopes that form the north bank of Sandsend Beck to the south and west, and by a rampart and ditch to the east. A second, triangular bailey adjoins to the north of the motte, measuring c. 60m x 30m and is defended by a steep scarp, c. 5m high.

Excavation: It is recorded that the summit of the motte was excavated prior to 1817, although no further details are available.

Documentation: The *Castrum de Mulgreit* mentioned in 1133 may be a reference to the motte.

Sources:

King 1983, 521

King and Alcock 1969, 123

L'Anson 1913, 348-51
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 81 SW 3
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

MALTON

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Malton
SE 790716

Situation: The castle lay on the site of the Roman fort of *Denentio*, on a foreland position north of the River Derwent, and in the south-east quarter of Malton town.

Preservation: Masonry remains on the site comprise the lodge and a screen wall of the Jacobean mansion known as Malton Lodge. There are no extant remains of the castle.

Description: It has been suggested that a motte may have been inserted in the vicinity of the south-west corner of the fort, possibly adapting the perimeter of the Roman defences as a bailey or outer bailey.

Excavation: The Roman fort was extensively excavated in 1927-30. It is suggested that a ditch, c. 9.6m wide and of unknown depth, lying south-west of the fort and external to the Roman defences, represents part of the defences of a motte and bailey. The feature is omitted from the published excavation report, but is noted by Robinson.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned when taken in 1138. It was dismantled in 1214, when certainly a stone castle, as pick-men were used in the demolition. It was subsequently rebuilt, as it was taken by Robert the Bruce in 1322 and used as a headquarters and raiding base prior to in the same year. It was entirely destroyed c. 1600 to make way for a Jacobean mansion, itself destroyed in 1674.

Sources:

King 1983, 521, 537
L'Anson 1913, 362
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 77 SE 465
Robinson 1978, 13, 31
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

MARKENFIELD

FTower House
Markingfield Hall
SE 295673

Description: Markenfield Hall has 14th-century origins as an L-shaped building containing a hall, chapel, kitchen and vaulted cellars, with outbuildings; a gatehouse was added in the 15th-/16th-century. Licence to crenellate was granted in 1310. The structure is surrounded by a rectangular moat contained within stone walls.

Sources:

King 1983, 533, 541
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 26 NE 5
Pevsner 1959, 359-60

MIDDLEHAM I

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Middleham
SE 127876

Situation: The site lies on level ground on the south side of the village of Middleham. Its predecessor, William's Hill (MIDDLEHAM II) lies c. 300m to the south.

Preservation: Well site is well preserved as a managed heritage site

Description: The castle comprises a great keep surrounded by a curtain wall, combining to form a castle in the proto-concentric model. The rectangular 12th-century keep, measures c. 32m x 24m, the thick rubble walls being faced in limestone ashlar. The first floor is divided in the hall and chamber model, and was formerly approached via an external staircase on the east side, whilst the basement contained a vaulted cellar and the kitchens. A chapel was added to the east side in the 13th century. The keep is closely surrounded by a ditch, c. 10m wide and c. 5m deep, which was crossed by a bridge on the east side, linked to the keep by a tower. The early-14th-century curtain wall originally contained irregularly-shaped angle towers, and a round tower on the south-west known as Prince's Tower. The 14th-century gatehouse lies in the north-east angle, featuring diagonal turrets, and is machicolated over a segmental arched opening; the interior is rib-vaulted. The late 14th century saw the heightening of the curtain wall and all but the south-east tower, and the addition of domestic ranges to three sides of the curtain. A larger outer enclosure formerly existed to the east, although this has now entirely disappeared.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in the reign of John.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13276
Illingworth 1938, 64-67
King 1983, 521, 537
King and Alcock 1969, 123
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 18 NW 2
Pevsner 1966b, 245-47
Renn 1968, 243

MIDDLEHAM II (William's Hill)

Ringwork and Bailey
Middleham
SE 125873

Situation: The site lies on an east-west ridge-top position of natural strength, south of the village of Malton. Its successor (MIDDLEHAM I) lies c. 300m to the north.

Preservation: The earthwork is well preserved under pasture and scrub.

Description: The site has sometimes been classified as a motte and bailey, and indeed the platform on the north-west side of the ringwork could have served as a virtual motte, although the strength of the site is in

its enclosing ramparts, and it is hence classified as a ringwork. The earthwork comprises an oval ringwork with base dimensions of *c.* 70m east-west x 55m north-south, defended by a surrounding bank surviving to a maximum height of *c.* 1.7m, with a gap to the south-east representing the original entrance. To the north-west of the ringwork the rampart widens to form a triangular platform, *c.* 20m x 10m, forming the probable base for a tower. The ringwork work is entirely surrounded by a periodically wet ditch up to 5m wide with external counterscarp banks up to *c.* 2m high. The ditch is crossed on the south-east side by an earthwork causeway linking it to a single, D-shaped bailey measuring *c.* 25m x 65m. The bailey is surrounded by a ditch which is linked to that surrounding the ringwork, and is defended on all sides other than facing the motte by a rampart surviving to a height of *c.* 1m. A gap in the bank in south-east corner represents the original entrance. A possible outwork is represented by a linear earthwork running along the summit of the ridge, east of the bailey.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Allcroft 1908, 444
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 18 NW 7
Illingworth 1938, 64
King 1983, 521
King and Alcock 1969, 123
L'Anson 1913, 363-65
Pevsner 1966b, 245
Renn 1968, 243
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 33

NEWTON KYME†

Tower House
Newton Kyme-Cum-Toulston
SE 466449

Situation: Kyme 'Castle' denotes the vestiges of a masonry structure situated in the grounds of Newton Hall, on the south bank of the Wharfe. The only surviving evidence is a length of rubble walling, *c.* 1m thick, containing a single-chamfered lancet window, and an adjoining fragment of walling containing a doorway. The present remains are certainly medieval, although the ground-plan of the structure can not be deduced, nor be accepted as evidence of the existence of a castle. The structure seems more likely to represent a fortified mansion house.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 26951
King 1983, 531
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 44 SE 19
Pevsner 1959, 378
Speight 1902, 363-64

NORTHALLERTON I

Ringwork
Northallerton
SE 362942

Situation: Castle Hills occupies an elevated site north-west of the town of Northallerton. Bishop's Palace (NORTHALLERTON II) lies c. 300m to the south-east.

Preservation: The west side of the ringwork was obliterated by a railway cutting in 1838, and the insertion of piggeries has further encroached upon the site.

Description: The surviving remains comprise the extreme eastern portion of an approximately circular ringwork consisting of a bank standing c. 1.5m above the raised interior, and c. 3m above the ground surface to the east. A curvilinear scarp c. 1.5 high, with slight vestiges of an external ditch, adjoining to the east of the ringwork, represents the northern edge of a former bailey. Surviving lengths of a bank, up to c. 3.5m high, west of the ringwork may represent a second bailey.

Excavation: A series of unpublished excavations occurred on the site in 1938.

Documentation: The site is first mentioned in 1141 when seized by William Cumin for King David of Scotland, and was destroyed under Royal mandate in 1176.

Sources:

King 1983, 522, 538

L'Anson 1913, 365-368

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 39 SE 1

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 34-35

NORTHALLERTON II (Bishop's Palace)

Motte and Bailey

Northallerton

SE 365940

Situation: Bishop's Palace lies within the town of Northallerton, on the west side of High Street. Castle Hills (NORTHALLERTON I) lies c. 300m to the north-west.

Preservation: The utilisation of the bailey as a cemetery ensures that any internal features have been largely destroyed.

Description: The site comprises a circular motte with a base diameter of c. 55m, and a flat summit with a diameter of c. 25m. A small bailey measuring c. 50m x 50m appends to the south-west, presumably going out of use when the Bishop's Palace was constructed. A larger, trapezoidal bailey appends to the north-east and contained the Bishop's Palace.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site is likely to represent the adulterine *castellum novum* built by Bishop Hugh Pudsey in 1174, surrendered to Henry II in the same year, and destroyed by Royal mandate in 1166. It is, however, likely that a residence at the site was rebuilt soon afterwards, as the Archbishop of Canterbury is recorded as staying in Northallerton in 1199, as did King John in 1201. A residence is certainly documented in 1226, and monarchs are recorded as visiting throughout the 13th and 14th centuries. The site was decayed in the 17th century, and in 1663 stone was removed for the repair of a mill.

Sources:

King 1983, 522, 538

L'Anson 1913, 368-69
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 39 SE 7
Pevsner 1966b, 272
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 34-35, 45

NORTH DEIGHTON (Howe Hill)

Possible Motte
North Deighton
SE 394517

Situation: The earthwork known as Howe Hill lies immediately east of North Deighton village. It is raised unconventionally on ground sloping gently away from the settlement.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as an earthwork under permanent pasture.

Description: The site comprises an artificial oval mound, artificially raised *c.* 2.5m and measuring *c.* 50m east-west x 55m north-south. The feature is characterised by its conical profile and flat summit measuring *c.* 10m x 6m, although the feature appears to be ditchless, casting some doubt on its identification as a motte. There is no evidence of stone structures on the site, and earthworks to the south-east, previously taken as evidence of an associated bailey, have proven to be farm tracks of probable post-medieval date.

Excavation: Undated excavation apparently showed the mound to be a motte rather than a barrow, although the results remain unpublished.

Documentation: None

Sources:

DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), NR Yorks. No. 230
King 1983, 531
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 35 SE 10

NORTH DUFFIELD

Stone Castle
Northallerton
SE 692373

Situation: The site lies on a low spur north-east of North Duffield village and *c.* 500m west of the River Derwent.

Preservation: Vestigial earthworks only survive; the main site is presumably occupied by the modern farm house known as North Duffield Hall.

Description: The site is occupied by a farm known as North Duffield Hall, the modern building containing reused ashlar work. The only intelligible earthworks on the site are the remains of a broad ditch cut transversely across the spur, isolating the eastern end. There are signs that the east end of the spur has been artificially scarped, although to the north and south the natural slopes provide protection.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The manor house of the Salvains is documented in 1320.

Sources:

King 1983, 531

Le Patourel 1973, 111

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 63 NE 1

VCH E. Yorks. III, 95

OULSTON† (The Mount)

Possible Motte

Oulston

SE 557750

Situation: The site lies within a commercial plantation (Mount Plantation), on a natural, oval hill top.

Preservation: If the site is indeed a motte it has been mutilated by conversion to a garden feature; otherwise it is a well-preserved post-medieval earthwork.

Description: The Mount is a circular mound with a base diameter of c. 30m, raised c. 2m above the surrounding ground surface, and characterised by two small earthen ramps adjoining to the south and east of the feature, which lead to its summit. A dry-stone, plastered building (possibly a cellar) is sunk into the mound, accessed from the north via a passage cut through it. Although it has been alleged that the mound is a small motte, it appears rather to be a post-medieval landscape garden feature on the edge of Newburgh Priory Estate.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

N. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 0104101000

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 57 NE 9

PADSIDE (Padside Hall)

Tower House

Thornthwaite with Padside

SE 149600

Description: Padside Hall is a mansion largely of 16th-/17th-century date, constructed around a courtyard. It formerly incorporated a square peel-type tower in the north-east corner, which was largely destroyed and converted into a barn when the Hall was converted in 1893. The entire building is now derelict and in poor condition.

Sources:

Harrington 1953-54, 26-7

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 16 SW 3

PICKERING I

Motte and Bailey
Pickering
SE 798845

Situation: Pickering castle lies on a limestone bluff to the north of the town of Pickering. The site overlooks the east-west route through the Vale of Pickering and the north-south route through Newton Dale to Malton. The Beacon Hill earthwork (PICKERING II) lies c. 500m to the west.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as a managed heritage site.

Description: The site comprises a motte lying between two adjoining horseshoe-shaped baileys, the whole re-fortified in stone. The development of the site falls into three clear phases:

Phase I: The site originally comprised a circular motte, c. 25m high, with base diameter of c. 50m and a surrounding ditch, lying between the baileys. The smaller, inner bailey to the north may be slightly earlier, and measures c. 120 x 35m. The larger bailey to the south measures c. 185m x 25m. The original hall lay against the north wall of the bailey, featuring opposing entrances in the short sides.

Phase II: A circular shell keep was constructed on the motte-top, and the northern bailey re-fortified with a masonry curtain wall constructed in straight sections and running up the slopes of the motte to link with the shell keep. Early-13th-century rebuilding work can be identified in both shell-keep and curtain. The entrance on the south-west side of the north wall was flanked with a square rubble tower containing a stair-case which rises with the curtain wall, to the shell.

Phase III: The southern bailey was given a curtain wall containing projecting towers, including the square Mill Tower in the south-west angle.

Excavation: A section through the outer bailey ditch was cut by M. Thompson immediately west of the barbican in 1962, revealing the feature to be c. 3.5m deep, flat bottomed, and to have been deliberately filled in the post-medieval period prior to domestic building work; further minor excavation in 1963 restored another section of the ditch to its medieval profile.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in 1179-80 when the Pipe Rolls record minor Royal building, further operations being recorded in 1182-83, 1185-86 and 1209 - the latter episode the more costly. A total of £150 was spent on Pickering and SCARBOROUGH in the period 1216-20. Following a period of non-royal ownership from 1267-1322, major repairs were carried out to the keep and curtain, and the replacement of the timber palisade around the outer ward with a stone wall ordered. The site was in decay by the time of Henry VIII and utterly ruinous from the 17th century.

Sources:

Colvin *et al.* 1963, 779-80
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13301
King 1983, 522, 538
L'Anson 1913, 369-71
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 78 SE 25
Pevsner 1966b, 284-85
Renn 1968, 279-80
Wilson and Hurst 1962-63, 324; 1964, 260

PICKERING II (Beacon Hill)

Motte
Pickering
SE 792844

Situation: The site is raised on a prominent natural summit west of Pickering Beck, commanding views of Pickering Castle (PICKERING I), c. 500m to the east.

Preservation: The earthwork as a whole is extant, although individual areas of the various ramparts and ditches are heavily eroded.

Description: The motte is adapted and scarped from a natural mound. The summit of the hill-top is surrounded by a breastwork surviving to an internal height of c. 0.7m, although the bank has been destroyed on the west side; a gap in the bank to the south-east appears to be original, and may represent an entrance. The rampart encloses an internal area measuring c. 29m from north-east to south-west and c. 24m from north-west to south-east, although no signs of internal features are apparent. The feature was formerly surrounded by a ditch, although this only survives on the south-west side, and a section of an external counterscarp bank surviving up to c. 4m high can be recognised north-east and south-west of the mound. There are no apparent remains of a bailey, and it is thought that a section of the motte ditch turning to dog-leg down the hill-side is a drainage ditch or later field boundary rather than evidence of a bailey or outwork associated with the ringwork.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Armitage 1912, 85
King 1983, 523
King and Alcock 1969, 123
L' Anson 1913, 303-99
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 78 SE 14
Pevsner 1966b, 285
Renn 1959, 106-12
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 35-36

PICKHILL (Money Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Pickhill with Roxby
SE 346838

Situation: The motte lies immediately north of Pickhill village green, on a low eminence flanked by Pickhill Beck.

Preservation: The earthwork has been bisected by a (now dismantled) section of railway; the bailey is entirely denuded by ploughing.

Description: The remnants of the motte suggest a squarish plan, approximately c. 33m east-west x 28m north-south, raised c. 3.5m above ground level. A moat apparently once fed from Pickhill Beck surrounds

the motte, being similarly squarish, and up to c. 15m wide. The vestigial earthworks of a sizeable, apparently crescentic, bailey formerly lay to the west.

Excavation: As part of railway workings in 1851 the Leeds and Thirsk Railway company opened the centre of the motte prior to laying the line. The excavations established that the motte had never been fortified in stone, and recovered a number of artefacts including a thin iron fragment thought to be part of a medieval helmet, cooking utensils and fragments of brick and tiling.

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 523

L' Anson 1913, 372-74

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 38 SW 10

Pevsner 1966b, 286

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

RAVENSWORTH

Early Castle/Stone Castle

Ravensthworth

NZ 141076

Situation: The castle lies immediately south-east of the green of Ravensworth village. It is raised upon a natural platform in a valley bottom, surrounded by marshland.

Preservation: A number of masonry elements survive: two stretches of curtain walling to the west and south-east, two towers, and the gatehouse. The earthworks are exceptionally well preserved.

Description: The castle is set upon an artificially scarped rectangular platform, measuring c. 140m north-east to south-west, with a width of c. 70m. This was divided by a transverse ditch cut from north-west to south east, thus originally isolating the motte in the north-east of the feature from the bailey, which occupied the remainder. The platform was entirely surrounded by a wet ditch, with an external counterscarp, visible on the south-east. This was crossed by a bridge, whose outer abutment survives as a stony mound. A curtain wall linked a number of rectangular towers around the perimeter; sections of the curtain wall attached to these towers demonstrate it to have been c. 1.1m thick and 5.8m high to the top of the associated parapet. On top of the motte a gateway tower is of three storeys, being c. 5.2m square internally, and containing architectural details such as fireplaces and window surrounds, and with walls c. 1.5m thick. Within the enclosure, irregularities in the internal ground surface indicate the former positions of internal buildings, mostly too indefinite for analysis, although a rectilinear range of buildings can be traced. The belfry tower of the castle chapel stands, and its plan survives as earthworks. A series of associated fishponds can be identified north-east of the castle site, and a complex of water management features some 110m south-east of the castle are part of a complex of earthworks containing a substantial artificial lake surrounding the castle.

Excavation: None

Documentation: In 1201 the castle was visited by King John; in 1467 a chapel dedicated to St. John the Apostle was founded as a chantry. The castle was largely demolished by 1616.

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 130

King 1983, 523
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 10 NW 1
Pevsner 1966b, 288
RCHM: NMP (N. Yorks.), Sheet No. NZ 10 NW
Ryder 1979, 81-100
VCH NR Yorks. I 1914, 88-89

RICHMOND

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Richmond
NZ 172008

Situation: The castle is situated on a high rocky bluff backing onto the River Swale, on the south side of the town.

Preservation: The standing remains of the castle are exceptionally well preserved.

Description: The early castle took the unconventional form of a great triangular ward walled with shale blocks from the outset, the more vulnerable eastern curtain being supplemented by four squarish mural towers and the apex of the ward provided with a two-storey gate tower. The southern side of the enclosure was initially defended by palisade alone, natural defence being afforded by steep natural slopes down to the Swale, the other curtains supplemented with a ditch. Of the internal buildings of the early castle, Scolland's Hall - a two-storied hall in the south-east corner of the ward - is the only surviving feature of significance. Late-11th/early-12th century additions saw the construction of a barbican associated with the point of access to the north, a walled second ward to the east known as the Cock Pit Ward, the walling of the southern side of the main ward, and the construction of the keep. This latter three-storied structure - accessed from the wall walk - was based on the former gate-tower, a new gateway being pierced through the curtain to the east, and is remarkable in its lack of residential facilities.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site was raised before of immediately after Domesday, as Earl Alan the Red is credited with a castlery (i, 381a). Otherwise, for a major castle the site has surprisingly little history, although it is recorded that over £100 was spent on the castle, tower and houses in the period 1171-87. The site was captured in 1216, when the granting of permission to destroy it does not appear to have been taken up.

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 84-89
King 1983, 524, 538
Pevsner 1966b, 292-94
Renn 1968, 294-95
Tyler, 1976, 7-8

RIPLEY

Tower House
Ripley
SE 283605

Description: The earliest identifiable phase of Ripley Castle comprises a short tower block built in 1548-55, although possibly including earlier work, as the gatehouse is 15th century; the rest of the house was rebuilt in the late 18th century.

Sources:

King 1983, 534
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 26 SE 12
Pevsner 1959, 402

RIPON I (Ailcy Hill)

Possible Motte
Ripon
SE 316711

Situation: The earthwork lies immediately east of Ripon Minster, on the eastern fringe of the town.

Preservation: The feature comprises a substantial, tree-covered earthwork; its amorphous profile is attributable to post-medieval quarrying.

Description: Ailcy Hill is a large circular mound rising a maximum of *c.* 11m above the surrounding terrain and with a base diameter of *c.* 60m. Although it has been alleged by Allcroft that the mound is a motte, it appears to have peri-glacial origins (see below). Whilst evidently utilised as an early-medieval burial mound there is no positive evidence of re-usage as an early castle.

Excavation: Trial excavation by B. Kent and H. Strickland in 1937 indicated that the mound was morainic in origin, as undisturbed gravel was found *c.* 0.9m below the surface, and a number of Anglian and medieval burials were found on the slopes of the feature. In 1965 a number of 9th-century Northumbrian brass coins were found on the mound. Six further zones of the earthwork were sampled by R. Hall in 1986-87, revealing two clear groups of inhumations inserted into the natural gravel feature, associated with nails and 7th to 11th-century iron coffin/chest fittings; on the basis of this evidence, the excavators suggest a buried population of *c.* 2000 individuals.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Allcroft 1908, 423
Hall and Whyman 1996, 65-124
King 1983, 524
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 37 SW 18
Youngs *et al.* 1987, 169; 1988, 290

RIPON II

Tower House
North Stainley with Sleningford
SE 302737

Description: The site comprises a small artificially-raised island surrounded by a moat and supporting the base of what is apparently a large drum tower. Traces of associated buildings identifiable as earthworks lie to the north-west.

Sources:
King 1983, 531
Le Patourel 1973, 126
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 37 SW 22

RHYLSTONE† (Norton Tower)

Tower House
Rhylstone
SD 976571

Description: Norton Tower is a rectangular structure surviving to c. 5m in height. It stands on the strongest point of a natural ridge, and to the east and west run the linear earthworks of a bank and ditch, the bank surmounted in places with wall footings, apparently associated with deer herding.

Sources:
King 1983, 524, 538
OS Antiquity Model, SD 95 NE 7

SAXTON

Motte and Bailey
Saxton with Scarthingwell
SE 476366

Situation: The earthworks occupy the field immediately east of Main Street, forming a central feature within the topography of Saxton village.

Preservation: The motte is well preserved, although the remodelling of the bailey as part of a later manorial complex makes this feature less obvious.

Description: The site comprises a motte and bailey, much altered by the insertion of a later manor house and ancillary buildings. The circular motte has a two-tiered profile, a base diameter of c. 40m, and is artificially raised c. 2m above the natural ground surface; it is further characterised by a slightly concave summit perhaps indicative of the former existence of a crowning structure. The motte is surrounded by a ditch, which although much silted up, survives to a maximum width of c. 15m. The feature lies in the north-west corner of a large rectangular enclosure measuring c. 150m north-south x 180m east-west, its profile defined to the east by a low bank and elsewhere fossilised in property boundaries. In its present form this enclosure seems consistent with a manorial feature, although probably it was formed through remodelling an earlier castle bailey. The later manor-house was demolished in the 19th century, and its

foundations can be recognised south of Manor Farm, associated with a hollow way which runs diagonally across the enclosure. Probably associated with the later manorial complex is a pond on the south side of the bailey, and the addition of a minimum of three rectangular enclosures immediately west of the motte, each c. 20m across, representing either garden features, ancillary buildings or house plots. Other than a motte, the mound has been variously interpreted as a windmill mound or natural hillock; nonetheless, its morphology and position within the remodelled bailey render its status as a motte secure.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20518

King 1983, 524

N. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 0963904110

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 43 NE 6

Speight 1902, 219

SCARBOROUGH

Early Castle/Stone Castle

Scarborough

TA 049891

Situation: Scarborough castle occupies a position of immense natural strength on a triangular headland overlooking Scarborough town, with steep slopes on all but the south-west side.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as a managed heritage site.

Description: The castle is conceived around the natural topography of the headland, resulting in a complex and unconventional format. To the west, the narrow neck of land providing the single ready point of access to the rest of the site is heavily defended by a barbican and walled triangular barbican ward, gatehouse and double drawbridge. The inner zone is divided into three irregular wards; a small enclosure north of the rectangular three-storied and basemented keep, an outer ward to the south of the keep known as the 'ballium', and large inner ward occupying the remainder of the plateau. The defences are strongest on the exposed south-west side where the double scarp known as 'Castle Dyke' is topped by a powerful curtain containing eleven half-round towers. Key features within the inner ward comprise the hall and range against the south-western curtain known as Mosdale Hall, and Norman chapel to the extreme east of the promontory.

Excavation: Excavations in 1888 revealed a Great Hall with ancillary service block in the south-west of the inner ward dated to the late 12th century. Excavations in the 1920s revealed a chapel overlying a cemetery containing Anglian burials; this in turn overlay a Roman signal station.

Documentation: The site was founded in the reign of Stephen by the Count of Aumale, coming into Royal possession in or shortly after 1154. It was extensively rebuilt in the periods 1158-68, 1201-12 and 1336-37. The site was twice taken during the Civil War.

Sources:

Colvin *et al.* 1963, 829

Hamilton Thompson 1931

Illingworth 1938, 94-102

King 1983, 525, 538
King and Alcock 1969, 123
Pevsner 1966b, 324-46
Renn 1968, 306-07

SHERBURN-IN-ELMET I (Castle Hill)

Motte
Sherburn in Elmet
SE 531333

Situation: Castle Hill lies occupies a flat and marshy site within Rest park, at the confluence of Greendyke and Selby Dam. A fortified manor house (SHERBURN-IN-ELMET II) lies *c.* 1km to the east.

Preservation: The feature is seriously damaged by ploughing, which has entirely levelled the western flank of the earthwork.

Description: The earthwork comprises a sub-rectangular ditched mound, presumably a motte, measuring *c.* 70m east-west x 40m north-south. The summit is defined by a rampart bank surviving to a maximum height of *c.* 1.2m, and the heavily silted external ditch is of *c.* 0.2m depth. There are no indications of the former access to the site, nor of any intelligible internal features.

Excavation: None

Documentation: At the time of the enclosure of Rest Park in 1222, a portion of land known as 'Castell toft' is named, thought to relate to the earthwork. The place-name *Swythemun* ('burned mound/embankment') is recorded in 1283 and 1304, and possibly relates to the site, perhaps implying that the habitation was destroyed by fire.

Sources:
King 1983, 532
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 53 SW 3

SHERBURN IN ELMET II (Manor Garth)

Tower House
Sherburn in Elmet
SE 542336

Description: The site, now entirely levelled, comprised a double-moated courtyard forming an archiepiscopal palace of the Bishops of York. OS plans record a central island linked to a raised causeway deviating around its north and west sides before providing the principal point of access to the south. Excavations in 1963 showed a sequence of non-defended stone buildings replaced by a defensible complex in the late 14th century. Licence to crenellate a *forcelettum* in Rest Park was granted to Archbishop Alexander Neville in 1382.

Sources:
King 1983, 533, 541
OS Antiquity Model, Site No. SE 53 SW 1
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 46-47

SHERIFF HUTTON I

Stone Castle/Fortified Manor
Sheriff Hutton with Cornbrough
SE 652662

Situation: The castle and its associated earthworks constitute a distinct cell of property on the southern side of Sheriff Hutton village. The site's predecessor (SHERIFF HUTTON II), lies c. 420m to the east.

Preservation: Two western towers are well preserved along with their connecting range, as is the gatehouse. The other towers and ranges survive only in fragmentary form.

Description: The castle site at Sheriff Hutton is in fact a massive fortified manor constructed of sandstone and limestone rubble. It comprises four rectangular angle towers and connecting ranges enclosing an inner court measuring c. 31m x 26m. The plan is somewhat irregular, with the southern range projecting outwards as an angled salient. The rectangular gatehouse appears architecturally to be a later, 15th-century addition, offset south of the centre of the east range. To the south, the structure is defended by two moats, the northernmost c. 270m long and c. 9-12m in width, whilst the southern one is c. 360m long and c. 6-13m wide.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site was constructed in 1382 following the abandonment of the first castle at Sheriff Hutton. It was described as ruinous by 1618.

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 142-43
King 1983, 525, 538
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 66 NE 1
Pevsner 1966b, 339-40
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45-46

SHERIFF HUTTON II

Early Castle
Sheriff Hutton with Cornbrough
SE 657662

Situation: The earthwork lies immediately adjacent to the parish church, raised at the eastern limit of a low spur at the eastern limit of the village of Sheriff Hutton. The site's successor (SHERIFF HUTTON I) lies c. 420m to the west.

Preservation: The motte is extant, although any internal features have been mutilated by quarrying; the bailey is badly mutilated.

Description: The site comprises a rectangular motte, formed by ditches cut transversely across the ridge to delimit the east and west ends of the work, and by artificial scarping and ditches on the north and south sides. The upcast from these ditches has been placed internally to form a low motte measuring c. 50m east-west x 46m north-south, raised a maximum of c. 3.2m above the natural summit of the ridge. Extensive robbing of the interior has resulted in an irregular depression, giving the specious impression that the site is a ringwork. Access appears to have been via a causeway across the ditch, c. 8.5m wide, on

the west side. The bailey lay to the west, approximately 60m wide north-south, and running along the line of the natural ridge. It is defined on the north side by scarp c. 50m long, and on the south side by a similar scarp running for c. 140m. A platform measuring c. 8m north-south x 6m east-west, at the projected west end of the bailey may indicate the former position of a gatehouse.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site was presumably abandoned before 1382, when the new Sheriff Hutton castle was constructed.

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 130

King 1983, 525, 538

King and Alcock 1969, 123

L' Anson 1913, 379-79

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 66 NE 8

Pevsner 1966b, 339

RCHM: NMP (Howardian Hills), Sheet No. SE 66 NE

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45-46

SIGSTON

Stone Castle

Winton, Stank and Hallikeld

SE 416951

Situation: The site occupies gently sloping ground on the western edge of the Cod Beck flood plain, c. 0.5km north of Kirkby Sigston DMV and church but within a separate parish.

Preservation: Although the format of the enclosure is intelligible, the remains of the curtain wall have suffered from robbing.

Description: The site consists of a trapezoidal moated enclosure containing a central mound, often alleged to be a motte, but undoubtedly the earthworks of a small rectangular keep. The enclosure has maximum dimensions of c. 160m north-south x 120m east-west, the moat being approximately 15m wide and varying in depth from c. 8m in the north-west arm to c. 1m in the south-west arm. There are signs of an external bank, up to c. 10m in breadth, to the south-west, north-west and north-east sides, although this is absent to the south-east, where the ground is naturally marshy. The vestiges of an internal curtain wall can be identified as stony bank up to c. 1.4m high and 4m wide, running for short lengths around the north of the enclosure, although elsewhere it has been eroded or removed. A causeway across the ditch on the west side of the enclosure appears to represent the original point of access, as it is aligned with the north-west face of the internal mound. This feature is c. 30m square and c. 1.5m high, with a markedly concave summit, although mutilated on its south-west side. A zone of slight and confused earthworks immediately south of the mound may represent the foundations of ancillary buildings, although these earthworks are too fragmentary for interpretation.

Excavation: It is reported that a 'rude pavement' was revealed in the vicinity of the internal mound, although further details are lacking.

Documentation: The land on which the site is constructed was acquired by John de Sigston in 1313, and licence to crenellate granted in 1336.

Sources:

King 1983, 520, 537
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 49 NW 9
Pevsner 1966b, 212
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 51

SKIPTON

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Skipton
SD 991520

Situation: The castle lies at the north end of Skipton High Street, adjacent to the parish church. Town and castle lie at the head of the Aire valley, the site backing onto a river steep cliff above the Eller, a tributary.

Preservation: The site was heavily remodelled as a 17th-century private residence following slighting after the Civil War.

Description: The key surviving fragment of medieval masonry is a barrel vaulted passage leading into the inner ward; this was flanked by two massive round towers. The ward was irregularly pentagonal in profile, with large projecting circular towers at the angles; a single-storey range of 16th-century domestic apartments lies external to the east of the ward, abutting the north-east tower. An outer ward/bailey lay to the south.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site is first mentioned in 1130. It was rebuilt in 1310-14. The castle's destruction was ordered in 1221. It was attacked unsuccessfully in 1536, and again in the Civil War.

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 106-111
King 1983, 526, 539
OS Antiquity Model, SD 95 SE 6
Pevsner 1959, 479-80
Renn 1974

SLINGSBY

Stone Castle
Slingsby
SE 696748

Situation: The earthworks of Slingsby Castle form a distinct cell of property on the west side of Slingsby High Street.

Preservation: The site of the castle is built over by the 17th-century quadrangular structure of Slingsby Castle, itself slighted in the Civil War. The eastern and southern arms of the moat have been infilled and obscured by building, although they are visible as superficial depressions.

Description: The only earthworks surviving from the castle are the north and west sides of a large moat, c. 22m wide and c. 3.4m deep, defining a squarish platform c. 90m across, formerly containing the

buildings of the medieval castle. Earthworks visible on aerial photographs indicate what may be an outer enclosure, or a series of associated fishponds occupying a considerable area to the north and west of the castle, although these features may equally be a product of post-medieval remodelling.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site was licensed in 1344, and again in 1474.

Sources:

King 1983, 526, 539

N Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 00396

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 67 SE 12

Pevsner 1966b, 346-47

RCHM: NMP (Howardian Hills), Sheet No. SE 67 SE

VCH NR I 1914, 558

SNAPE

Stone Castle

Snape with Thorp

SE 262844

Situation: Snape Castle marks the western terminus of the regular street village of Snape.

Preservation: The building has suffered from extensive rebuilding and modification. Although the north and east ranges and the chapel are largely original medieval fabric. The north-east and south-east towers were rebuilt in the first half of the 16th century, whilst the west range and the north-west and south-west towers were remodelled by Lord Burghley after 1577.

Description: The castle is quintessentially of the northern quadrangular type (*cf.* CASTLE BOLTON): rectangular in plan, with four angle towers, symmetrically arranged around a central courtyard. The first-floor castle chapel is an original feature, projecting beyond the south-east tower and featuring Perpendicular windows.

Excavation: A number of coins were found in the castle yard in 1887 during improvements, although no further details are recorded.

Documentation: The castle was built under the orders of George Nevill, the first Lord Latimer (d. 1469).

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 143

King 1983, 526

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 28 SE 7

Pevsner 1966b, 347-48

SOWERBY (Pudding Pie Hill)

Possible Motte
Sowerby
SE 437810

Situation: The site is raised upon, and partially scarped from the edge of an area of high ground immediately east of Cod Beck, c. 300m east of the village of Sowerby; the feature sits at the heart of an area of prehistoric(?) field boundaries identified from aerial photography on the slopes either side of Cod Beck. THIRSK Castle lies c. 1.5km to the north - Pudding Pie Hill is possibly an associated defensive work.

Preservation: The earthwork is well preserved under permanent pasture.

Description: Pudding Pie Hill is a circular mound with a base diameter of c. 52m, artificially raised c. 3m above the ground to the east and standing c. 6m above the flood-plain of Cod Beck. The summit of the feature is slightly hollowed, due to excavation. It is surrounded by a ditch between c. 5-10m wide, and c. 1.5m deep to the east, although less than c. 0.5m deep to the west, where there are vestiges of an external counterscarp bank. Other than a motte, the site has been interpreted (and scheduled) as a bowl barrow.

Excavation: Small-scale excavation on the summit of the mound by Lady Russell under the auspices of the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club in 1855 revealed three male inhumations (one with Anglian weaponry), a quantity of cremated bone, a number of early medieval weapons, and a quantity of Roman coins and pottery, whilst animal bones were recovered from another - unspecified - part of the mound.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20459
N Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 0015803000
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 48 SW 12

SPOFFORTH

Tower House/Fortified Manor
Spofforth with Stockeld
SE 361511

Situation: Spofforth Castle is a fortified medieval building standing on a low hillock on the south-west side of Spofforth village. Although only the west range survives as a standing building, the other elements are visible only as earthworks. The west range is of two storeys, the undercroft dating to the 13th century, and the Great Hall and private rooms to the 14th/15th century following the granting to Henry Percy of licence to crenellate in 1308. The dwelling was slighted during the Wars of the Roses and subsequently re-fortified in 1559 when a further licence was granted; it was further slighted during the Civil War.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13273
Illingworth 1938, 143-44
King 1983, 532
OS Antiquity Model, SE 35 SE 6
Pevsner 1959, 487-88

TADCASTER

Motte and Bailey
Tadcaster
SE 484436

Situation: The motte and bailey stands on the west bank of the Wharfe, on the north side of Tadcaster.

Preservation: Survey by Tadcaster Historical Society in 1967 revealed the motte and bailey to be mutilated by re-adaptation as Civil War defences; thus the motte has been re-used as a bastion, and another bastion constructed on the west side of the bailey. The southern part of the bailey has been built over.

Description: The remnants of an extremely mutilated and irregular motte with a base diameter of c. 10m, raised a maximum of c. 4.5m stands at the east end of an approximately oval bailey. Both motte and bailey are flanked to the north by a linear depression indicative of a former ditch, the relationship suggesting that both motte and bailey may be constructed immediately south of an extant defensive earthwork. The bailey would have measured approximately 100m east-west x 40m north-south, as indicated by mutilated fragments of a surrounding rampart, although the condition of the earthworks make further analysis impossible. Leland speaks of a "....mighty great hill, ditches and garth", demonstrating that the motte has certainly been reduced; he also mentions that stone from the castle was utilised in the construction of the new bridge, presumably indicating that the site was fortified or re-fortified in stone.

Excavation: The motte was sectioned by D. Dymond in 1961, demonstrating the motte to contain Roman building debris evenly distributed through the mound. Examination of an exposed section by H. Ramm in 1965 revealed 2nd-/3rd-century pottery and a single sherd of 'Norman' pottery. Limited excavation on the western edge of the bailey ditch in 1996 revealed two distinct phases: an initial flat-bottomed rock cut ditch c. 4m wide, and a later V-shaped recut; the ditch was deliberately filled, perhaps as late as the 16th century, as indicated by a lack of medieval finds.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Illingworth 1938, 132
King 1983, 527
Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i 44
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 44 SE 6
Radley 1967-70, 116
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 39
WYAS 1996

THIRSK I (Castle Garth)

Motte and Bailey
Thirsk
SE 427820

Situation: Thirsk Castle occupied the area immediately west of the market place in New Thirsk. THIRSK II lies c. 300m to the north-east, and the possible motte at SOWERBY, c. 1.5km to the south, may be a subsidiary fortification.

Preservation: Most of the area occupied by the castle has been destroyed by development and landscaping; only vague earthworks survive.

Description: The visible remains of the castle comprise an artificial mound, excavated evidence recommending identification as a denuded motte rather than a grassed-over keep, as is sometimes claimed. A length of denuded rampart apparently formed part of a rectangular bailey to the north, although no ground plan is intelligible.

Excavation: A watching brief by A. Clarke in Castle Yard in 1981 recorded a visible section of the motte, counterscarp, revealing it to be of piled clay and sand construction and containing a substantial burned horizon. A further watching brief by Clarke in the vicinity of the Surgery in 1994 noted probable ridge and furrow underlying a clay rampart associated with the castle's outer defences.

Documentation: Thirsk Castle is first mentioned in 1130, when in the hands of Nigel d'Aubigny, and documented as one of a group of Mowbray castles seized in 1095 following the fall of Robert, earl of Northumberland. The castle was slighted or downgraded c. 1176 after being held by Robert de Mowbray against Henry II. The site was subsequently adapted as a manor destroyed by the Scots in 1322; from 1376 Castle Garth was used as a garden.

Sources:

Clarke 1991; 1995
Illingworth 1938, 132
King 1983, 527, 539
L'Anson 1913, 390-93
N. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 0015102000
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 48 SW 2
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

THIRSK II (Tenter Croft)

Possible Motte and Bailey
Thirsk
SE 429823

Situation: The site lies in a marshy ground in a bend of Cod Beck, c. 300m north-east of THIRSK I.

Preservation: The earthwork is generally well preserved as an earthwork under pasture, although the platform forming the west of the site is disturbed by the construction of two small brick buildings.

Description: The site comprises a square moated platform, c. 20 x 20m, partially surrounded by a low bank and accessed via an earthen causeway over the north-east arm. A low sub-circular platform, c. 25m across lies immediately to the east, artificially raised c. 1.5m above the natural land surface. Although conventionally identified as a moated site or island associated with a mill race, the earthwork may represent a remodelled motte and bailey, the low platform being the former motte and the main moat the bailey.

Excavation: Minor excavations in 1966 recovered some flints, coins and a single sherd of pottery, although the work is not fully recorded. Geophysical survey during an evaluation in 1993 defined the square perimeter of the moat and detected an anomaly in the south-west corner of the main moated platform suggestive of a stone structure. Auger holes and three small trial trenches demonstrated the main platform to comprise sandy clay, and recovered sherds of medieval pottery including Tees Valley ware, and a medieval buckle.

Documentation: None.

Sources:

CCAS 1993

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20532

MSRG 1993, 62

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 48 SW 14

THORGANBY

Ringwork

Thorganby

SE 693395

Situation: The earthwork lies on a natural south-east facing spur c. 200m east of the line of the Derwent, in the angle where the tributary known as the Old Derwent flows in to join it from the north-west.

Preservation: It is unlikely that the earthwork ever formed a full-ringwork - its partial nature is more a response to the natural spur-top position than a result of erosion. Nonetheless, ploughing has severely reduced the rampart, and a natural depression to the east suggests that it formerly continued for another c. 25m.

Description: The surviving earthwork consists of a crecentic section of rampart and ditch, c. 60m in length. The ditch is c. 8m wide and c. 1.9m deep externally, the earthen rampart being raised c. 3.4m above base of the ditch, but only c. 1m above the internal ground surface. The vestigial earthwork can most appropriately be seen as a partial ringwork, the rampart and ditch isolating the south-east section of a natural spur.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 532

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 63 NE 7

TOPCLIFFE (Maiden Bower)

Motte and Bailey/Fortified Manor

Topcliffe

SE 410750

Situation: Maiden Bower motte and bailey stands c. 80m east of the later defended manor. Both stand on the east bank of the Swale on a spur of land between the main river and the tributary known as Cod Beck, surrounded by the lower marshy ground of the floodplain.

Preservation: The complex of earthworks are exceptionally well preserved; a gap in the bank and ditch on the east arm of the manorial site appears the result of farm vehicles traversing the site rather than representing an original entrance.

Description: The site takes the 'classic' form of a motte with a single D-shaped bailey adjoining to the west. The motte has a base diameter of c. 60m, a flat summit of c. 10m diameter and is raised c. 4m above the natural ground surface, and c. 15m above the surrounding floodplain where it is raised over ridge and furrow extending to the north. A series of spiralling terraces on the slopes of the motte are likely to result from landscaping associated with the later manorial successor to the west. To the east of the motte the tip of the natural spur has been artificially scarped to form a small triangular bailey or hornwork, whilst to the west the motte is isolated from a second bailey by a ditch surviving to a depth of c. 2.5m. This bailey measures c. 85m north-south x 65m east-west and is enclosed by a rampart up to c. 2m high and an external ditch up to 10m wide and c. 1.5m deep. External to the bailey on the north-east side is a linear banked and ditched earthwork linking the bailey to the line of Cod Beck, presumably representing a former causeway across the surrounding marshland. The later manorial complex stood within a large pentagonal enclosure with maximum dimensions of c. 200m north-west to south-east x 160m north-east to south west, defended by an external ditch up to c. 12m wide and c. 5m deep in places, and an internal rampart surviving to a maximum height of c. 2m. Access to the site appears to have been via a causeway across the ditch on the south side of the enclosure. A further ditch runs north-east across the enclosure, defining the north-west edge of a raised rectangular platform measuring c. 90m x 60m, in the south-west corner of which is an oval windmill mound c. 2.5m high with a base diameter of c. 15m. Elsewhere within the enclosure, a series of minor earthworks represent internal buildings garden features and later ridge and furrow.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site is first mentioned in 1174 when re-fortified during the Mowbray rebellion, thus indicating earlier origins.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20530

Illingworth 1938, 132-33

King 1983, 527, 539

L'Anson 1913, 393-96

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 47 NW 4/5

Pevsner 1966b, 375

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 40-42

UPSALL

Stone Castle

Upsall

SE 453869

Situation: The castle stands at the south-west end of Upsall village.

Preservation: Only a corner of the masonry structure survives to a height of c. 4m, incorporated into the retaining wall of a landscaped terrace associated with the later Upsall castle. Although no other masonry is visible, it is thought that undisturbed foundations exist to the north, although obscured when the terrace was constructed.

Description: The 19th-century Upsall castle stands on the site of an earlier, 14th-century quadrangular castle. The walls of the south-west corner survive, constructed of dressed stone in the lower courses, with an exposed rubble core. The remains of the 'Kitchen tower', a c. 16m square, externally projecting corner tower, survive at the east end of the surviving walls, and a D-shaped external bastion can be identified on

the western section of walling. The surviving remains suggest that the castle had overall dimensions of c. 85m east-west x 65m north-south. A series of associated fishponds lie south-east of the castle.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The castle was conjecturally founded c. 1327, when Geoffrey Scrope acquired the manor. It was in ruins by 1660.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20462

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 48 NE 11

Pevsner 1966b, 377

VCH NR Yorks. II 1923, 40

WEST HARLSEY

Stone Castle

West Harlsey

SE 415980

Situation: The site lies on the south side of West Harlsey DMV.

Preservation: An 18th-century farmhouse known as Harlsey Castle has been inserted into the north-west angle of the enclosure, apparently re-using masonry from the castle.

Description: The site comprises a large square enclosure, defended by a now dry moat, c. 8m wide on all sides apart from the west, where a series of terraces complete the perimeter. Internally, a range of 15th-century vaulted undercrofts may have formed the base of a central keep. A series of low scarps on the east side of the enclosure seem to represent the foundations of ancillary internal structures.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 528

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 49 NW 8

Pevsner 1966b, 151

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 48, 50

WEST TANFIELD I (Marmion's Tower)

Tower House

West Tanfield

SE 251799

Description: Marmion tower is situated adjacent to the parish church of West Tanfield, on the north bank of the Ure. The tower is the 15th-century former gatehouse of the fortified manor of the now demolished Tanfield Castle. It is a three-storey square structure with a projection in the north-west corner containing a newel stair. The gateway itself is barrel vaulted and has a guard chamber to the south. Licence to crenellate was granted in 1384.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13274

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 27 NE 14

Pevsner 1966b, 385-86

WEST TANFIELD II (Binsoe Hill)

Possible Motte

West Tanfield

SE 268787

Situation: The mound is located within the village of Binsoe, entirely encompassed by an oval circuit of the road.

Preservation: The feature is well preserved as an earthwork feature.

Description: Binsoe Hill is a large mound of artificial appearance, yet remains to be planned; its plan and dimensions remain obscure.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 534

DOE Ancient Monument Schedule (Old Series), NR Yorks., No. 319

WHORLTON

Ringwork and Bailey/Stone Castle

Whorlton

NZ 480024

Situation: The site lies on the west side of Whorlton DMV, on the west end of a natural spur overlooking lower ground to the north and west.

Preservation: The gatehouse survives as a three-storey masonry structure, and the bailey as a distinct earthwork.

Description: Whorlton castle comprises an early motte or ringwork and bailey, with a gatehouse inserted on the levelled motte/ringwork. The present field monument consists of a squarish castle mound which may reflect either a levelled motte or filled-in ringwork. The feature is c. 50m across and partially surrounded by a ditch c. 20m wide and c. 5m deep, and in places an external counterscarp. A single, semi-circular bailey lies to the east, indicated by a level platform defined by artificial scarpring. The rectangular gatehouse was built partially in the motte ditch and features a projecting stair turret and a central stone-vaulted passage, defended by a portcullis and flanked by heated guard chambers. To the north of the gatehouse a series of cellars indicate the position of further ancillary buildings. Further earthworks to the east include formal garden features, Whorlton DMV, and a park-pale.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site is first mentioned in 1216 as the castle of 'Potto' (i.e. the vill 1.2km to the north) when the castle of the de Meynell family, and again in 1214 and 1216 as *Hwernelton*. By 1343 the castle was in a state of poor repair.

Sources:

Corbett 1994
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 20519
Illingworth 1938, 114-15
King 1983, 528, 539-40
King and Alcock 1969, 123
L'Anson 1913, 396-97
OS Antiquity Model, No. NZ 40 SE 6
Pevsner 1966b, 401
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 42-43

YAFFORTH (Howe Hill)

Motte
Yafforth
SE 347950

Situation: Howe Hill is a natural hillock adapted as a motte, lying *c.* 0.5km north-east of the village of Yafforth. Although now drained, the site was previously marshy and the occupied an island-like eminence overlooking a fording place over the Wiske to the east.

Preservation: The motte is well preserved under pasture.

Description: The circular motte is raised approximately 4m above the surrounding ground surface, and has a base diameter of *c.* 60m. It has a flat top with a diameter of *c.* 22m, and traces of a terrace-feature possibly once supporting the footings for a bridge on the west side. It is surrounded by a heavily silted ditch, with signs of an external counterscarp bank surviving as a berm.

Excavation: None

Documentation: A fine of 1197-98 implies that the site, referred to as an island was given over to pasture and clearly disused.

Sources:

King 1983, 528, 540
L'Anson 1913, 398-99
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 39 NW 2
Pevsner 1966b, 406
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 23

YORK II† (Clifford's Tower)

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
York (NPA)
SE 602512

Situation: The site was raised on a narrow, marshy strip of land at the confluence of the Ouse and the Foss (now the Foss Navigation), on the south-east side of the town. The Old Baile (YORK II) lies *c.* 250m to the south-west, on the opposite bank of the Ouse.

Preservation: The extant remains comprise the motte and Clifford's Tower, and a length of curtain wall containing two towers, all well preserved as a heritage site. The remainder of the site has been developed piecemeal, with prison and courthouse buildings occupying much of its former extent.

Description: The motte of the 11th-century castle is entirely shrouded by the 13th-century mound supporting Clifford's Tower. The motte was associated with two former baileys, the main bailey lying to the south-east, and a second to the north-east. The Foss was dammed and diverted to create a wet moat around the motte and main (southern) bailey, the wet defences also incorporating the King's Pool and Mill Pool. The 13th-century rebuilding of the defences in stone comprised the construction of the quatrefoil stone keep known as Clifford's Tower, containing a ground floor with two upper storeys, and a rectangular forebuilding to the south-east containing a chapel, and the construction of a curtain wall around the southern bailey.

Excavation: Excavations in 1902 revealed the motte to be raised over a cist burial, and to comprise layers of clay, marl and gravel. Structural evidence from below the present surface of the motte-top comprised a timber-revetted rampart of large stones and clay, overlain by a roughly-hewn platform of oak. Finds included 13th-century mouldings, coins of William I and miscellaneous finds including combs, arrow heads and animal and human bones. Excavations east of the motte in 1935 revealed a mortar-lined post hole in a bank of yellow sand, interpreted as early bailey defences; attempts to reveal the lower gate failed as this zone was disturbed by 19th-century prison buildings.

Documentation: A castle was built by the Conqueror at York in 1068, besieged in 1069, and another built in the same year, on another site. Both were besieged a second time and destroyed, and subsequently repaired by William, all in 1069. Unfortunately, documentation does not clearly demonstrate which site is earlier. In 1190 the wooden tower on the motte was destroyed by fire during the Jewish massacre, and the motte raised and present tower built in 1246-72. The castle was slighted during the Civil War and further damaged by fire in 1684.

Sources:

Andrews 1984, 206
Colvin *et al.* 1963, 889-94
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13275
Illingworth 1938, 116-22
King 1983, 528-29, 540
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 65 SW 7
Renn 1968, 351-52
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 43-44

YORK II† (The Old Baile)

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
York (NPA)
SE 602512

Situation: The motte and bailey is situated on the west bank of the Ouse, and entirely contained within the angle of the town walls forming the south-east perimeter of the town. YORK I lies *c.* 250m to the north-east.

Preservation: The motte survives as a tree-covered feature, and has been artificially raised in the post-medieval period, although the encircling ditch and bailey have been entirely eroded.

Description: The site comprises a roughly circular mound with an average height of *c.* 7.7m, although the morphology of the feature relates largely to late/post-medieval remodelling rather than the original format of the early castle. A single, rectangular bailey with internal dimensions of *c.* 120m east-west x 90m north-south formerly lay to the west, its profile still defined on two sides by the town walls.

Excavation: Excavations by P. Addyman in 1968-69 revealed the inner lip of the motte ditch, complete with evidence of an associated earthwork berm and timber revetment. The motte was revealed to be constructed in a series of horizontal clay layers and to overlie an old ground surface with abundant evidence of Saxon and Roman occupation. A flight of steps was revealed on the motte's west flank, presumably the former point of access between motte and bailey. Features on the motte summit comprised a cobbled area abandoned in the 13th century and evidence for a rectangular timber structure partially enclosed by the mound and associated with a perimeter pallisade - interpreted as a possible corner turret.

Documentation: The early history of the site is entwined with that of YORK I. From at least the mid 14th century the site functioned merely as part of the town perimeter rather than a private fortification in its own right, and was let out for grazing.

Sources:

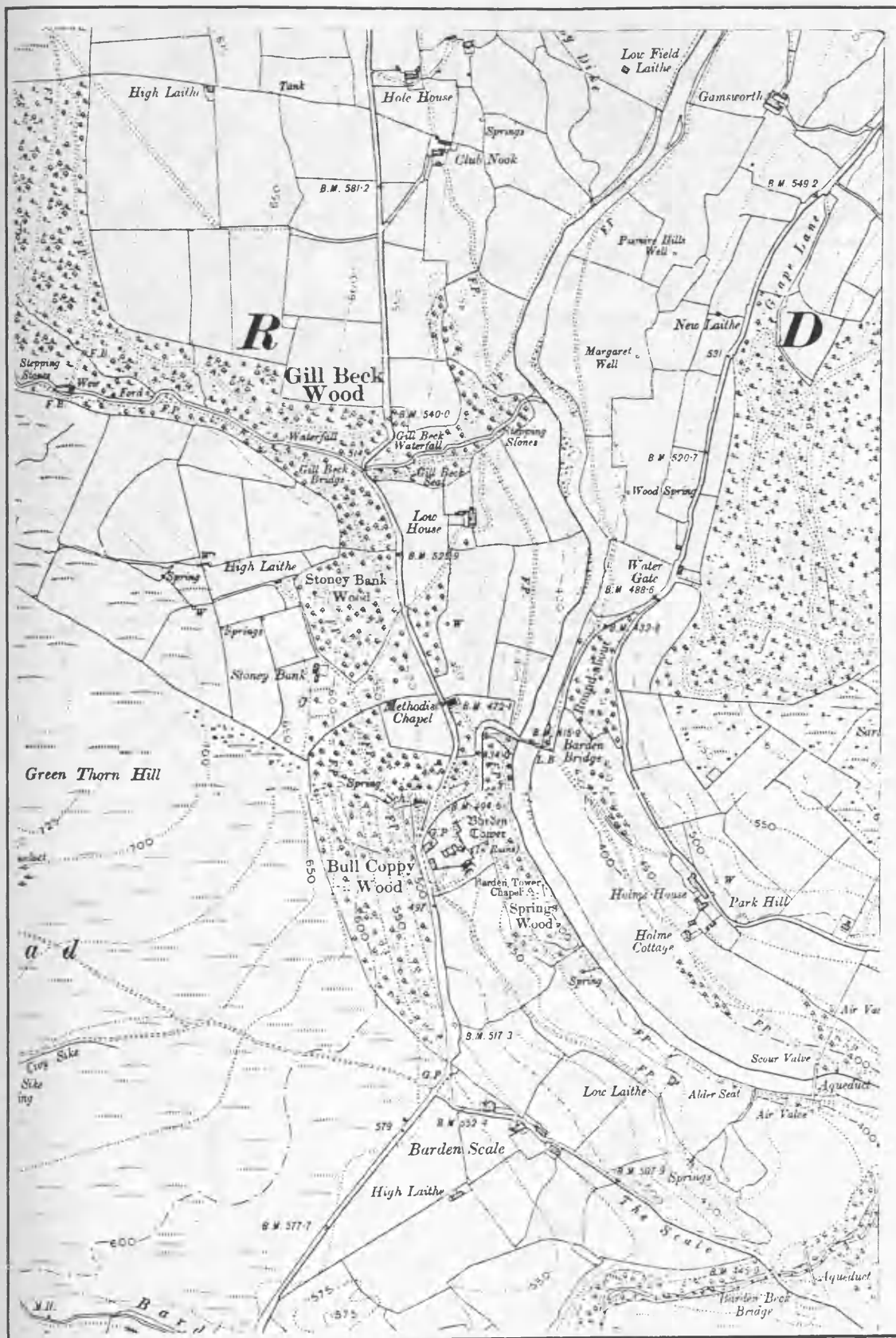
Addyman 1968; 1969a; 1969b
Addyman and Priestley 1977
Colvin *et al.* 1963, 889-94
Illingworth 1938, 116-18
King 1983, 528-29, 540
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 65 SW 8
Renn 1968, 351-52
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 44
Wilson and Hurst 1970, 177



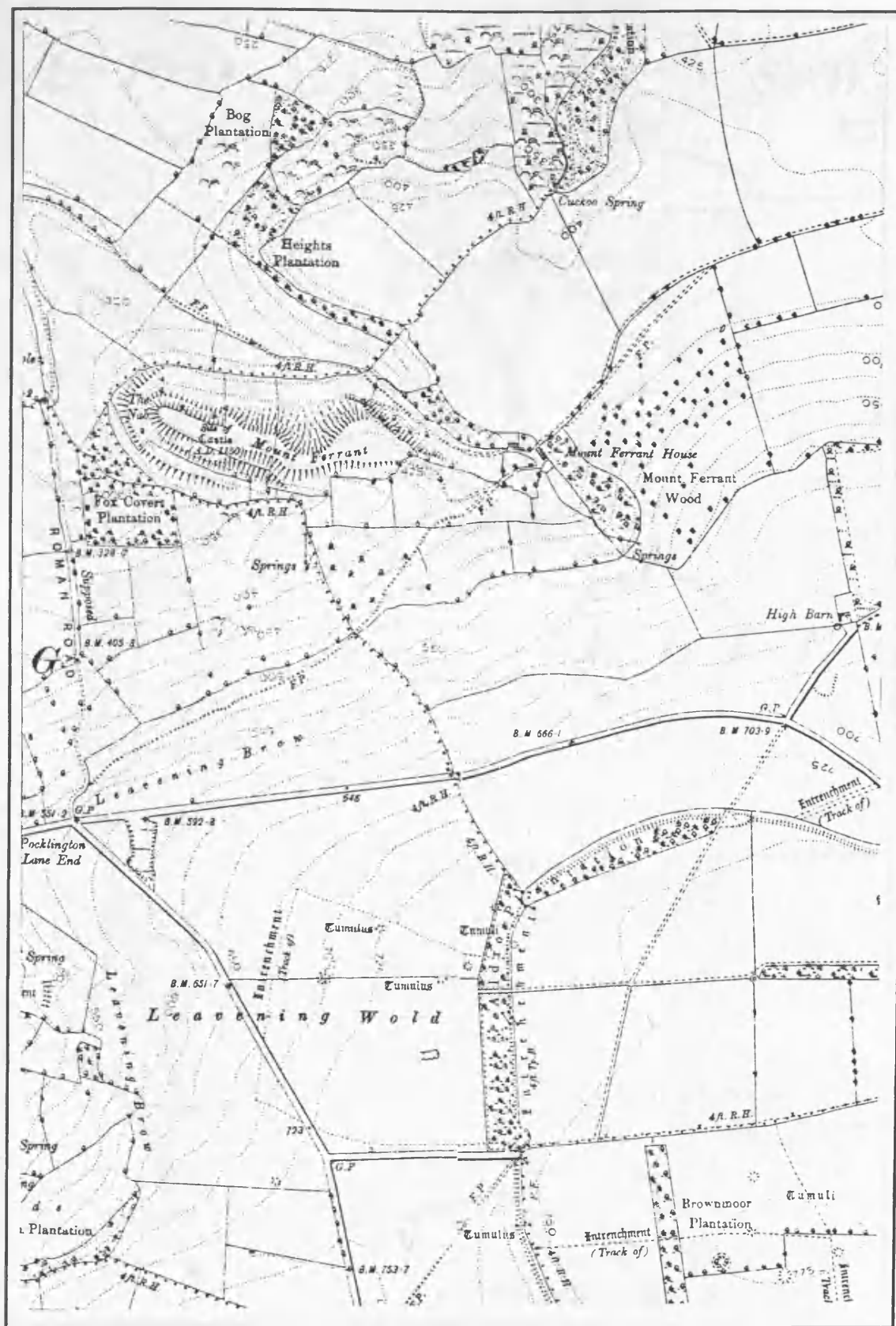
Acklam
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CLIX NW, and CXLII
SW (1894)



Ayton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet XCIII NW (1893)



Barden
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CLI NE (1910), and
CLI SE (1910)

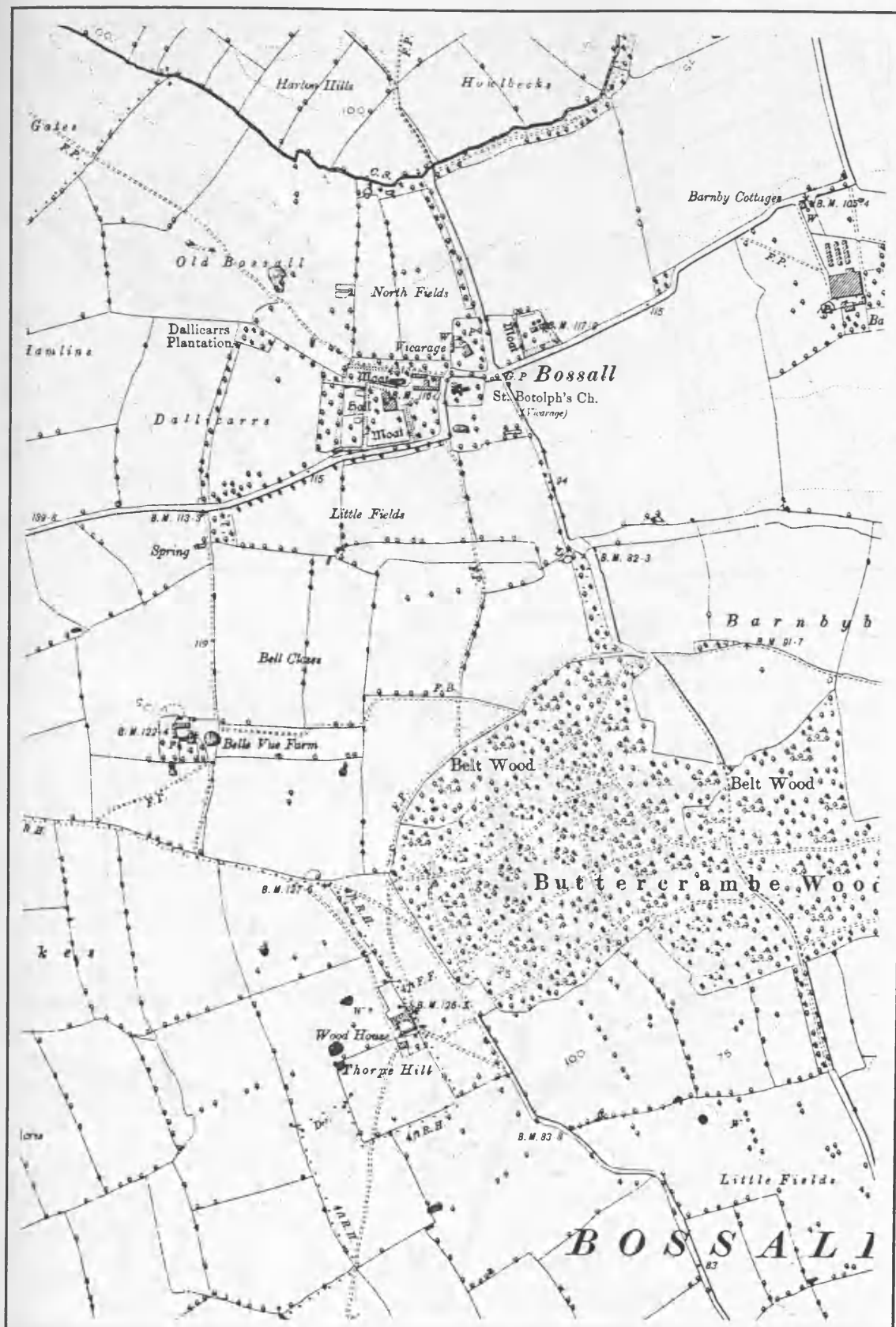


Birdsall

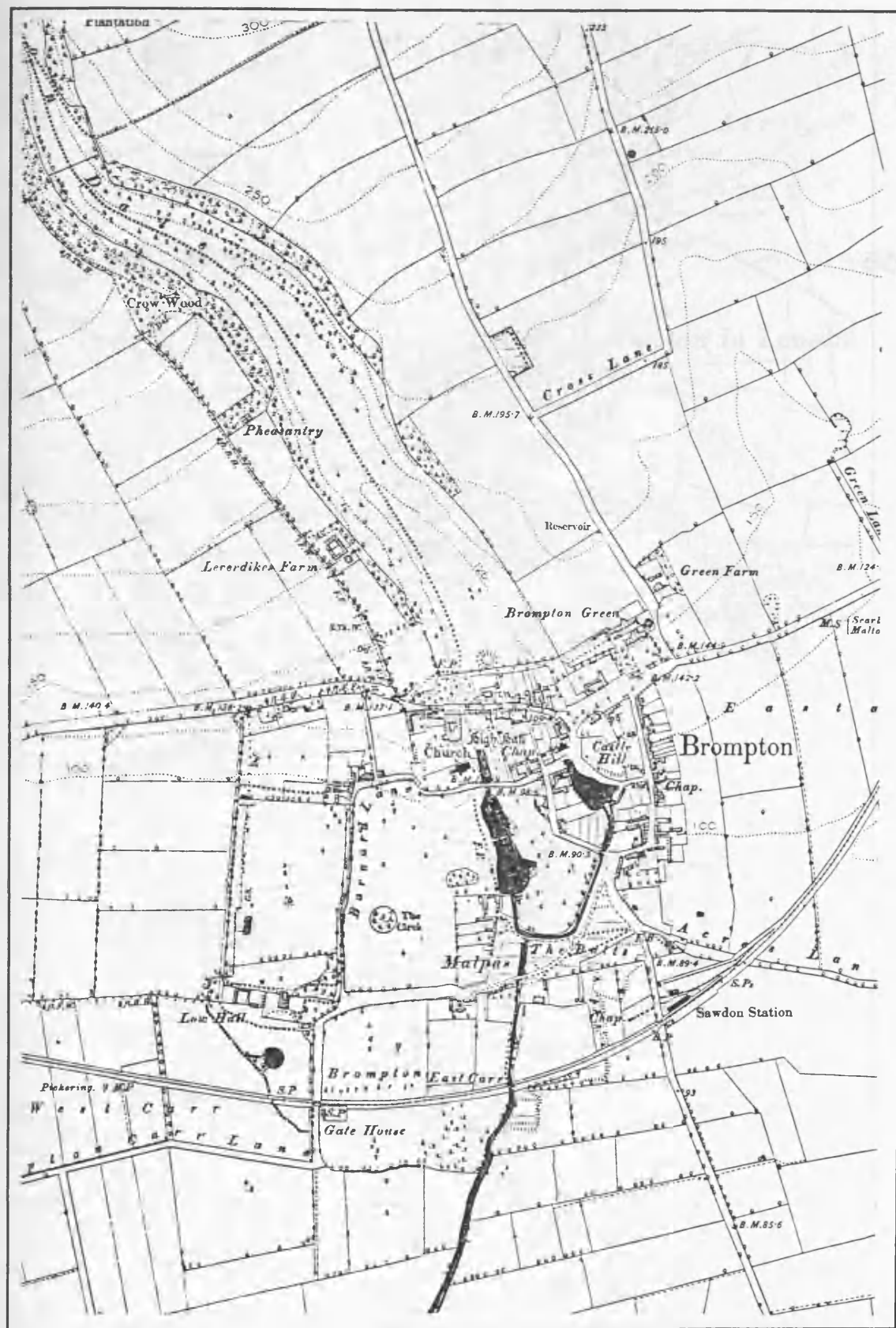
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CXLII SW (1894),
and CXLII SE (1893)



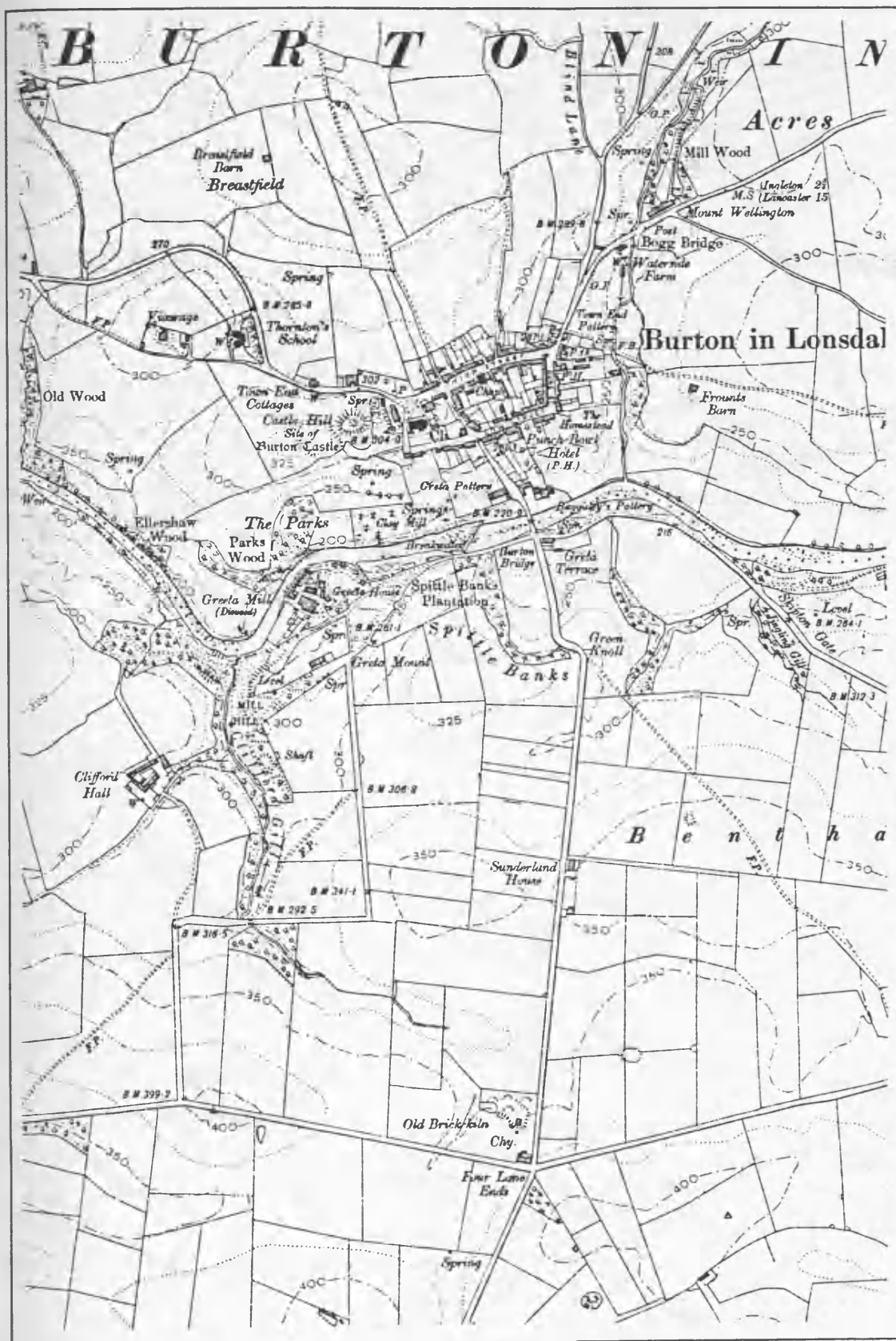
Bolton-upon-Swale
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LIV NE (1895)



Bossall
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CLVIII NE (1893)



Brompton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets XCII SE (1889), and
XCIII SW (1892)



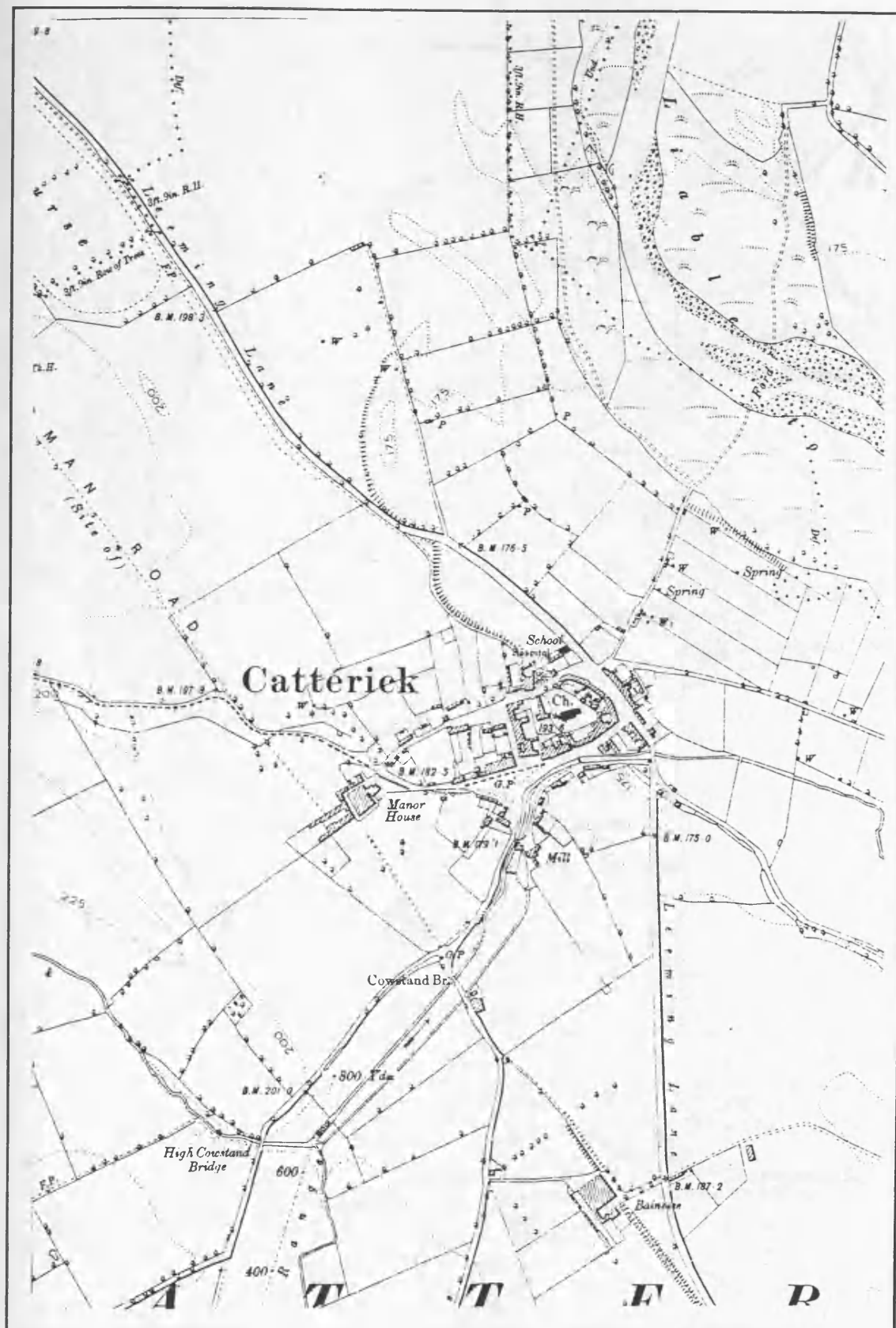
Burton-in-Lonsdale
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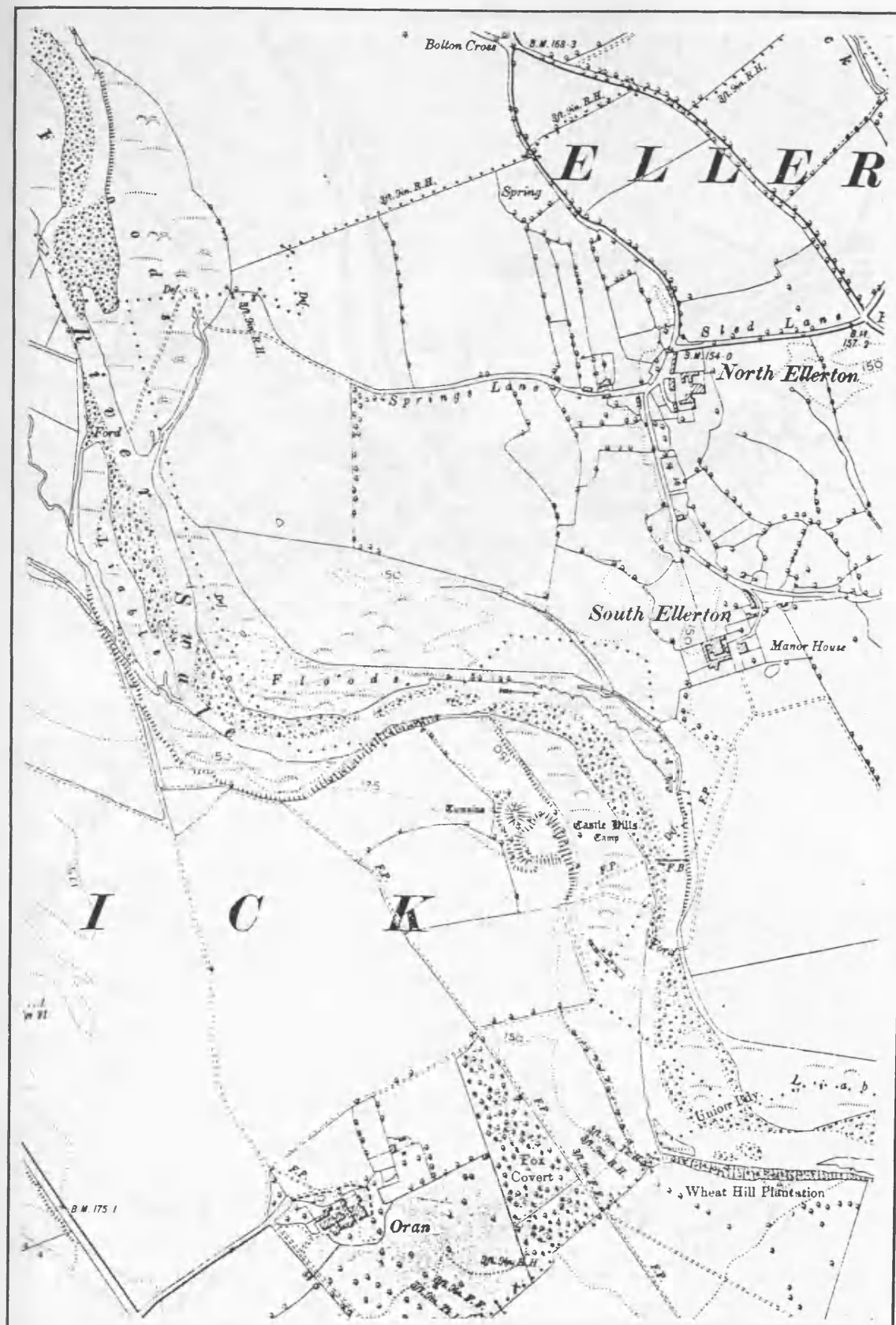
Castle Bolton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LXVIII NE (1895)



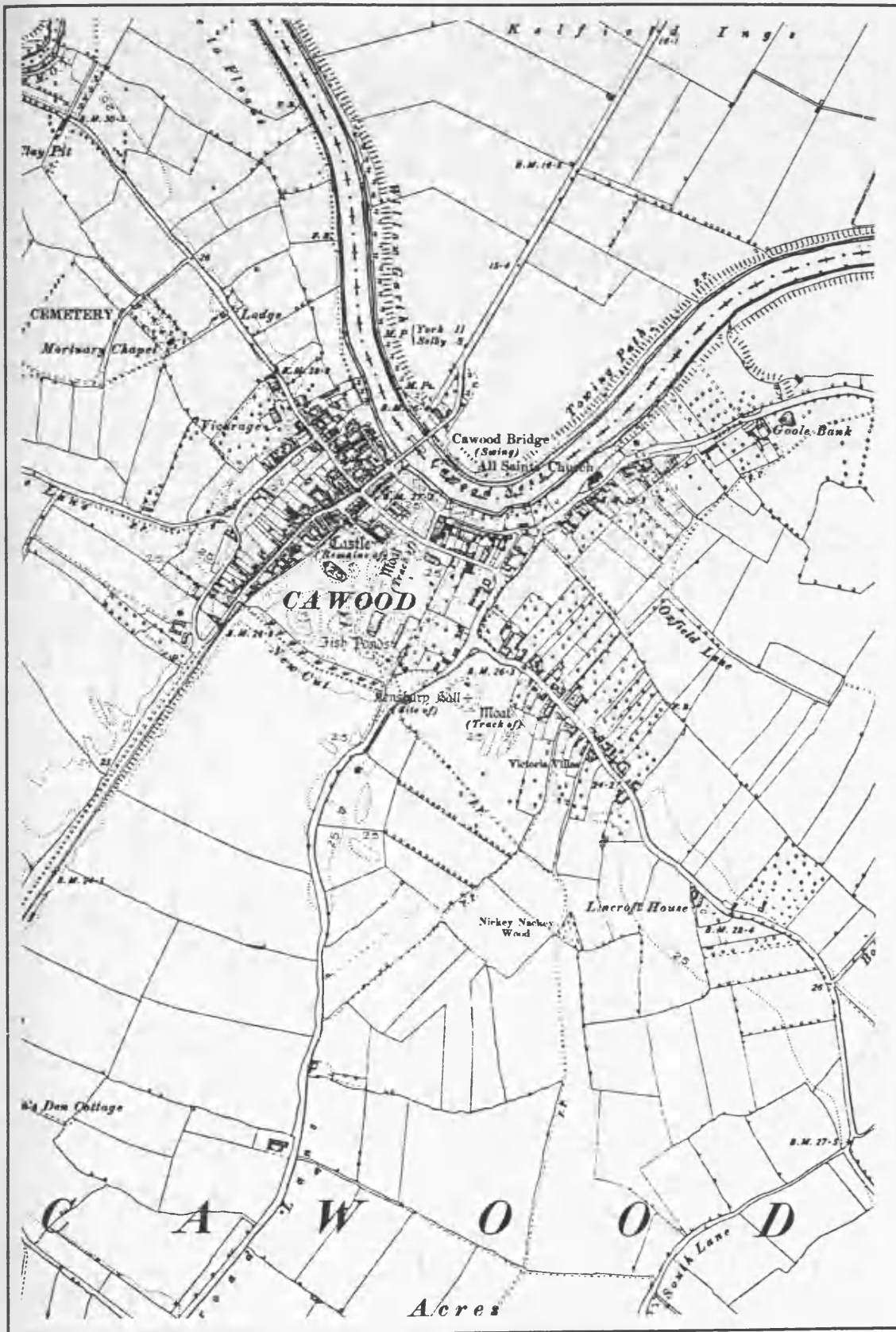
Castle Howard
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXXIII SE (1893)



Catterick I
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LIV NE (1895)



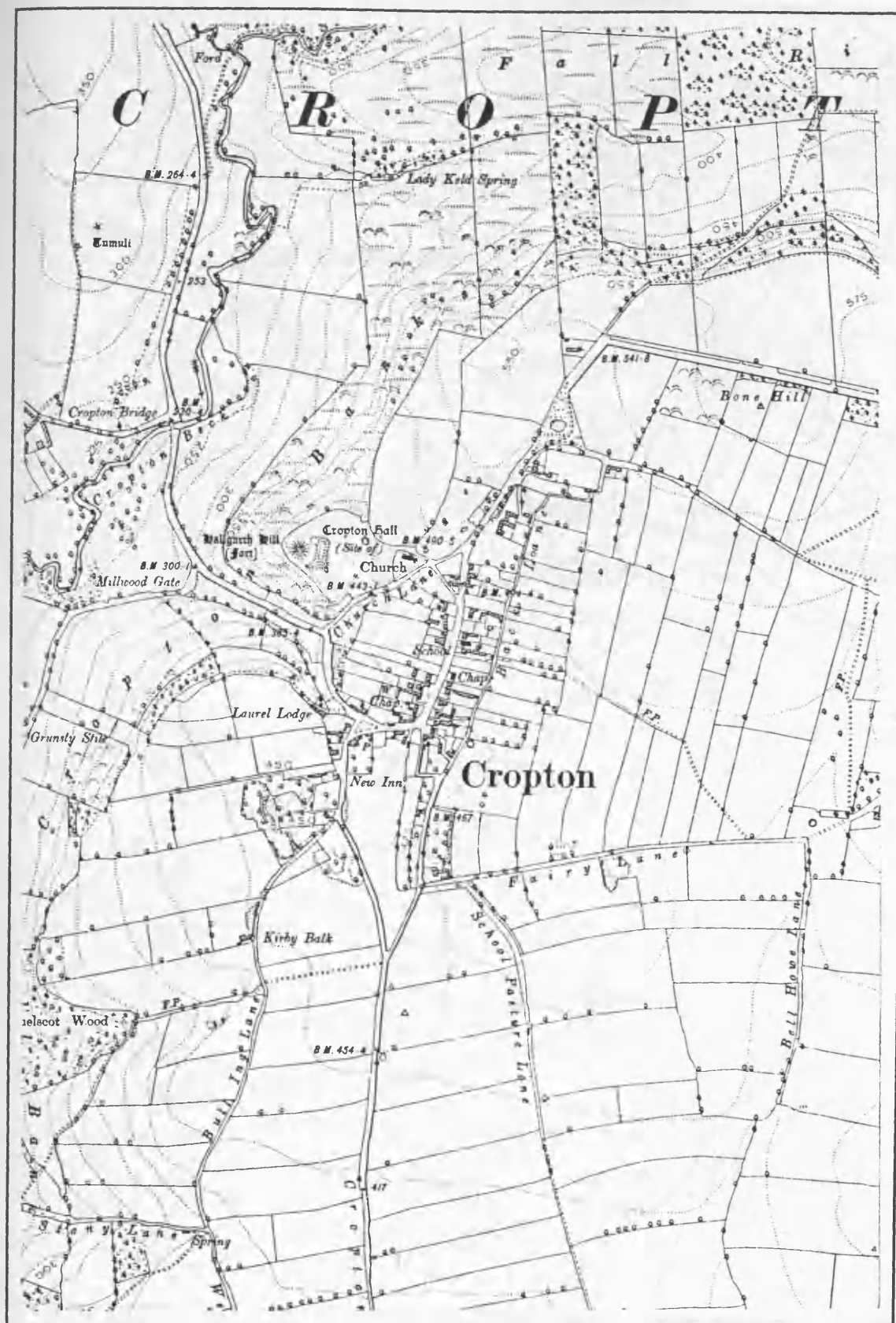
Catterick II
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LIV NE (1895)



Cawood
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCVI (1892)

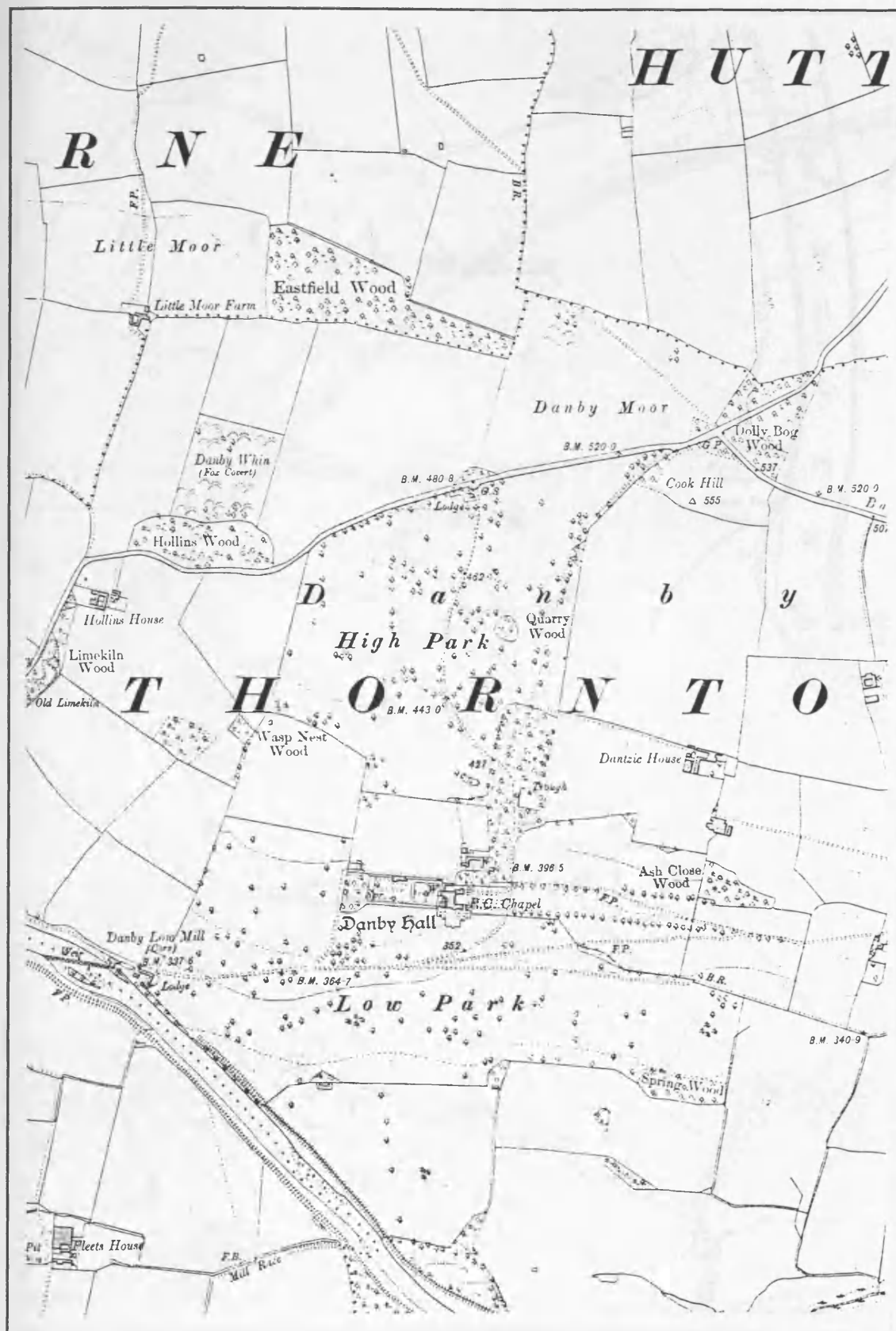


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OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXXII SW (1893)

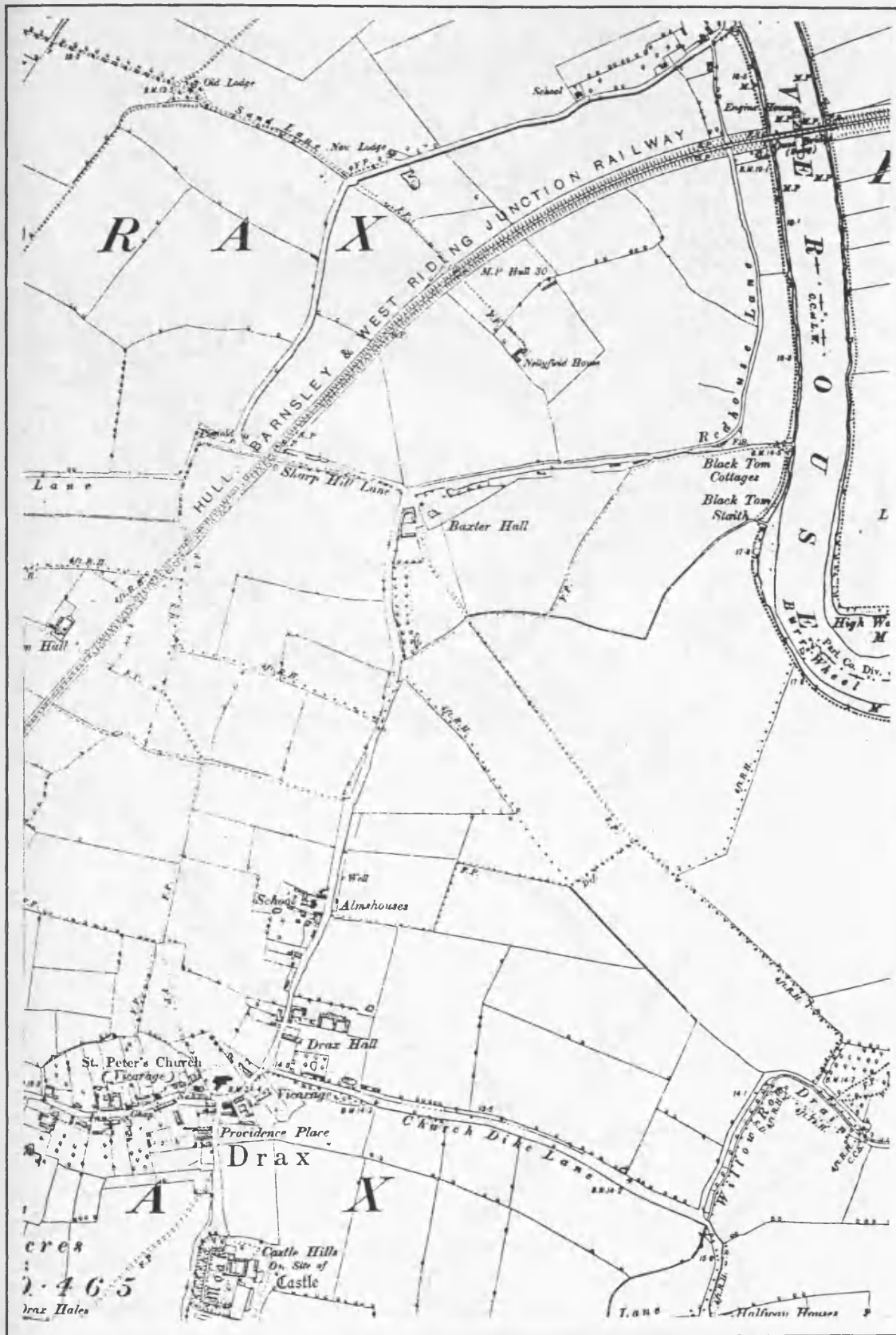


Cropton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LXXV SW (1893)

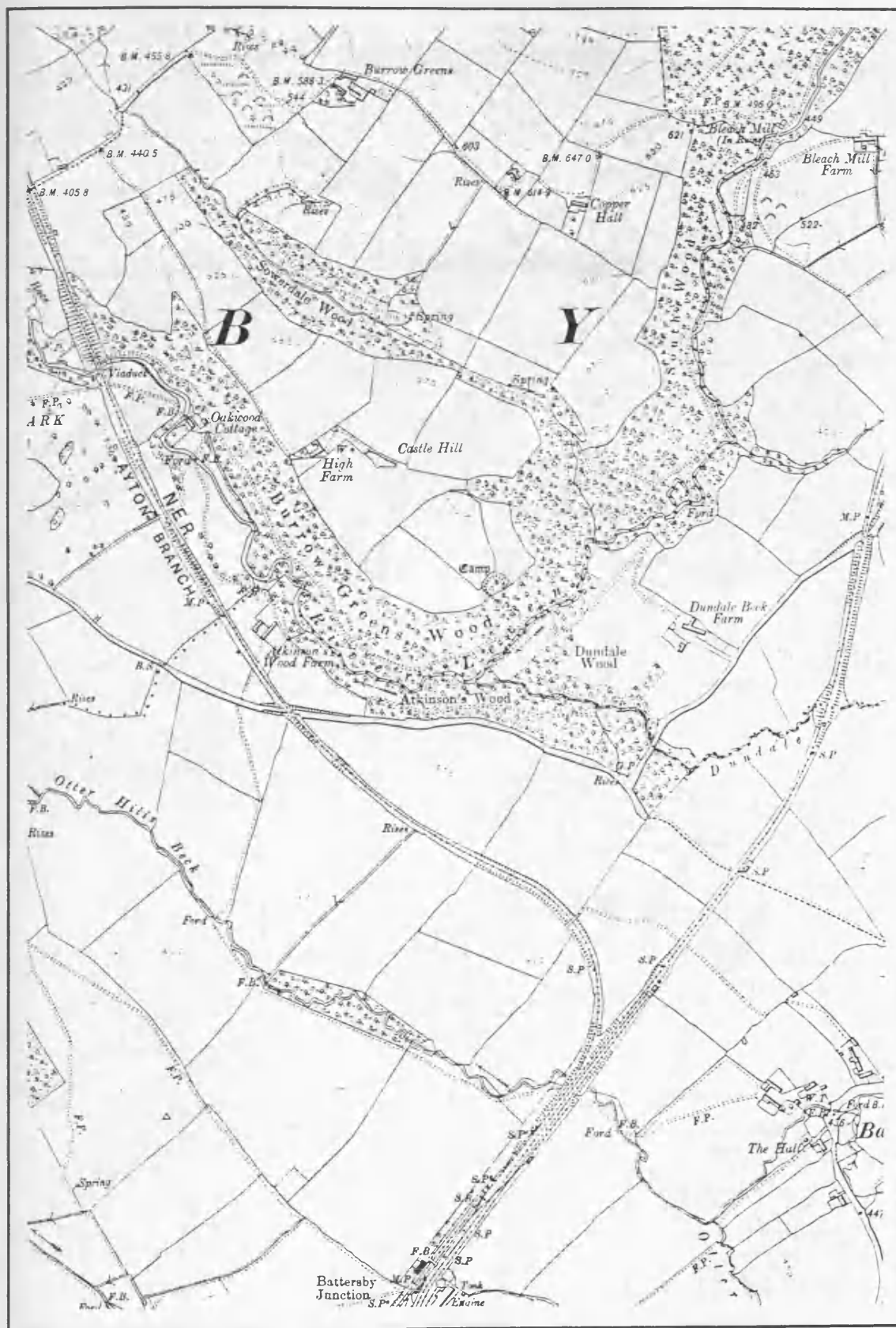




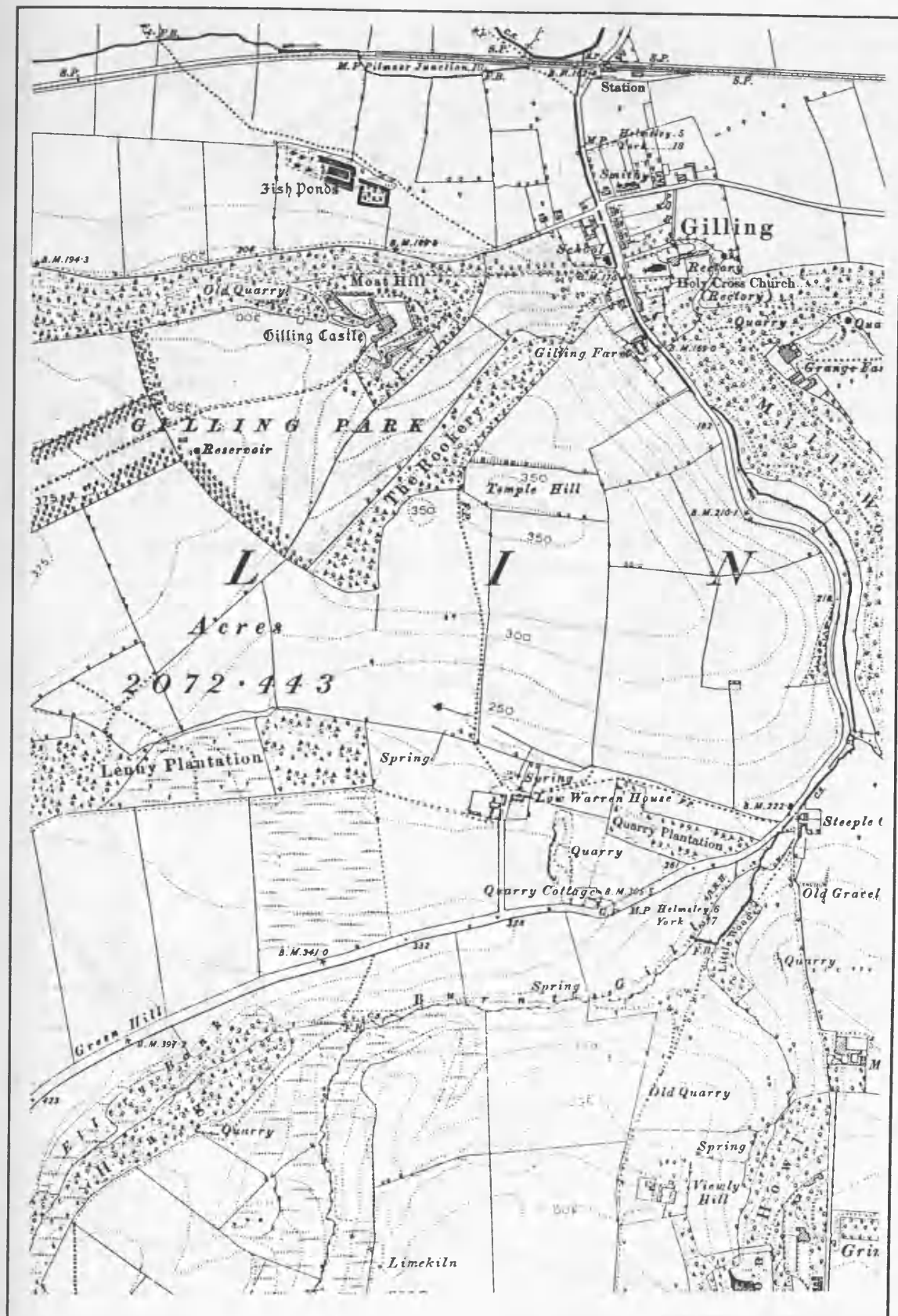
Danby-on-Ure
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LXVIII SE (1919)



Drax
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXXXVII NW
(1891)



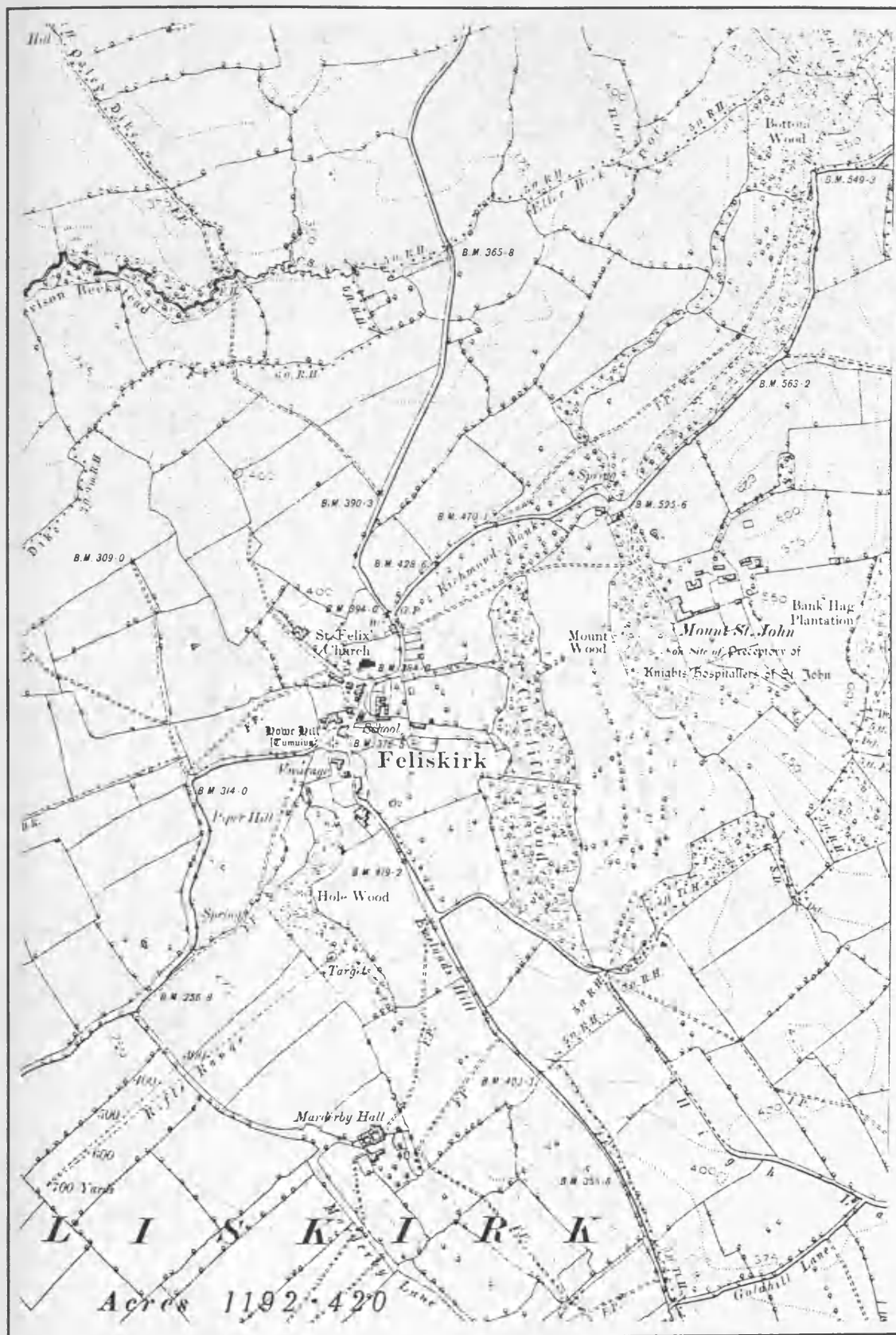
Easby
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet XXIX SW (1895)



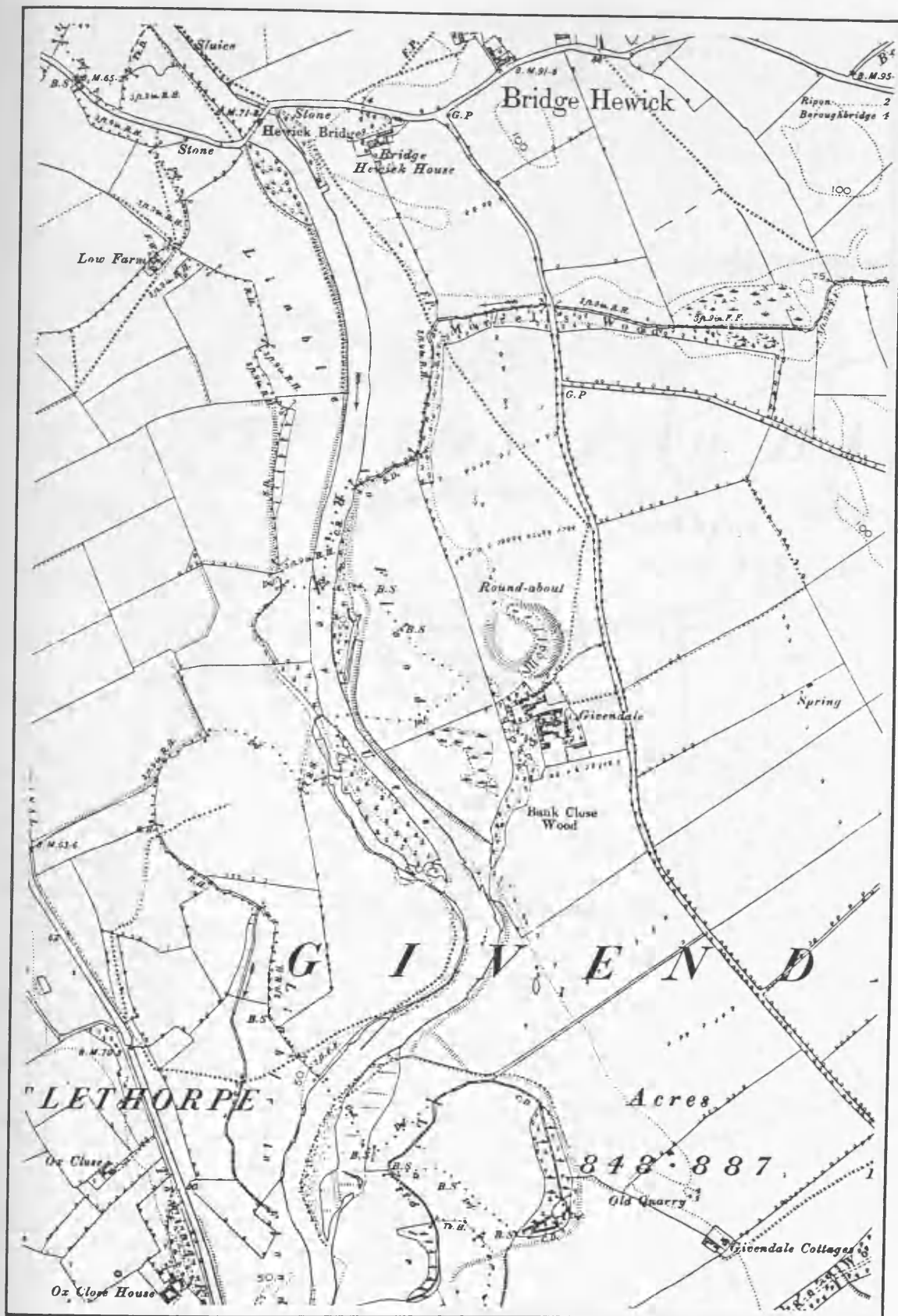
East Gilling
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CV SE (1892)



Farnhill
 OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CLXXXV NW
 (1895)



Felixkirk
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LXXXVIII NW (1895)



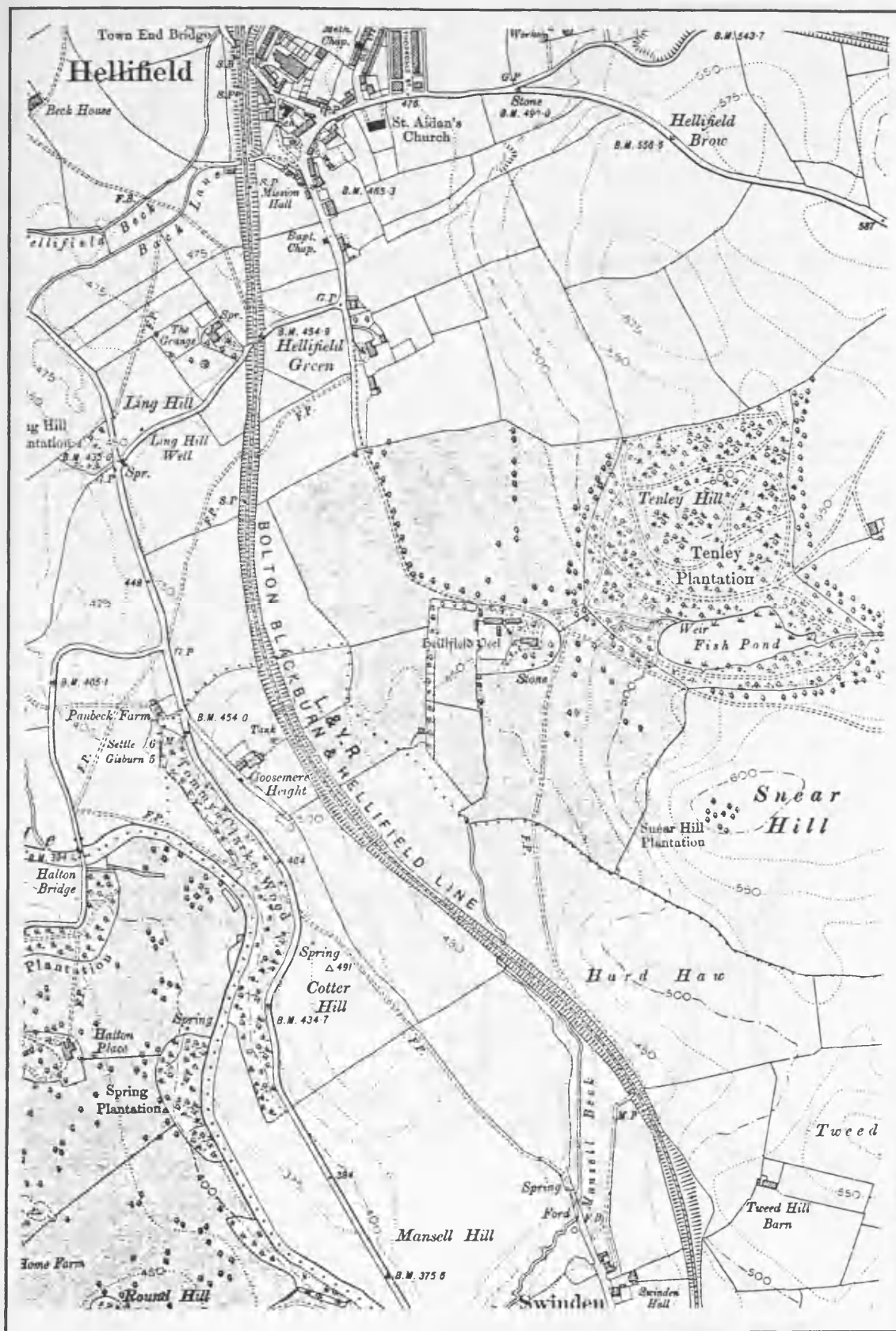
Givendale
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXIX SE (1892)



Hazlewood
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCIV NE (1894)



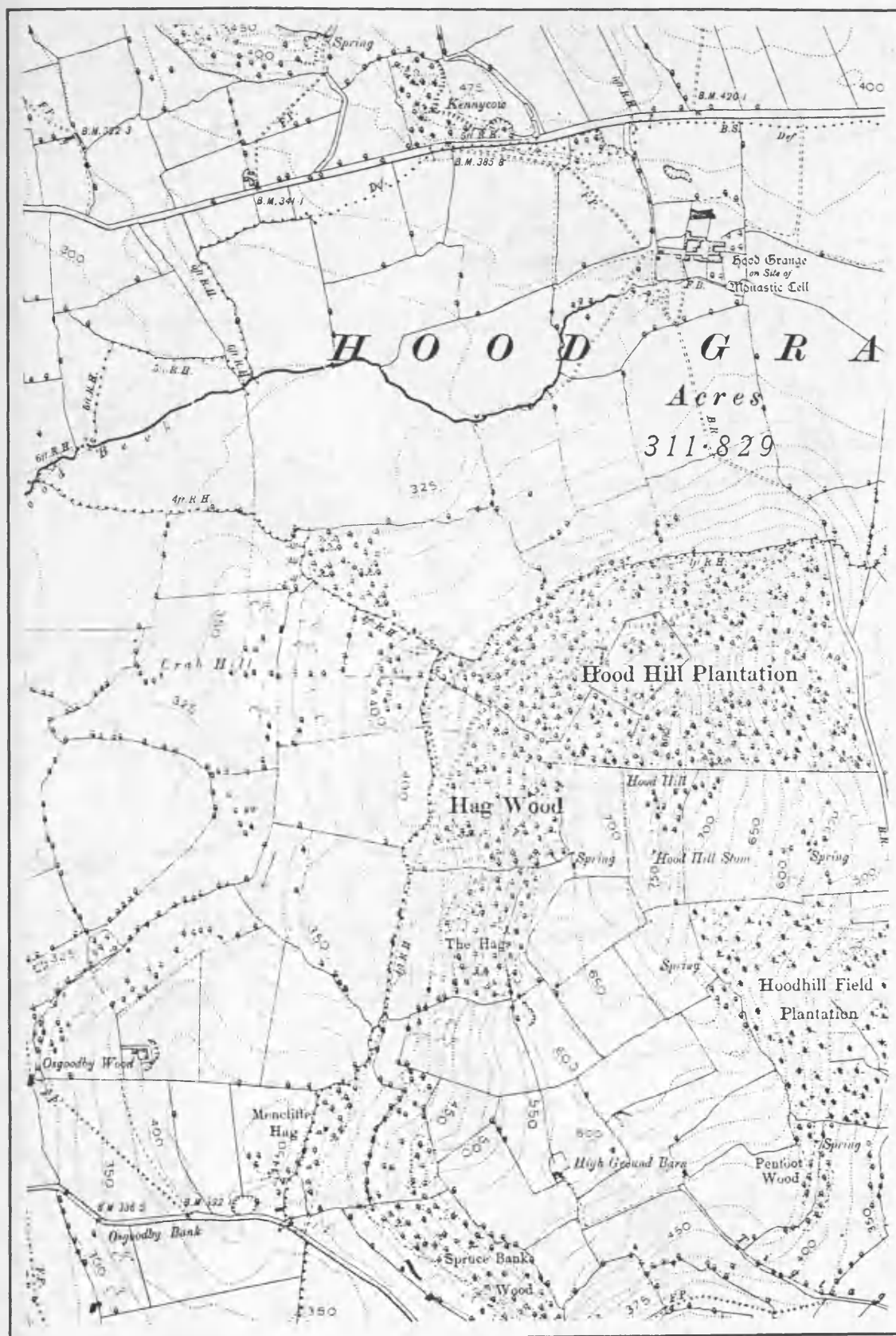
Healaugh
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXC NW (1895)



Hellifield
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXLIX SE (1910)

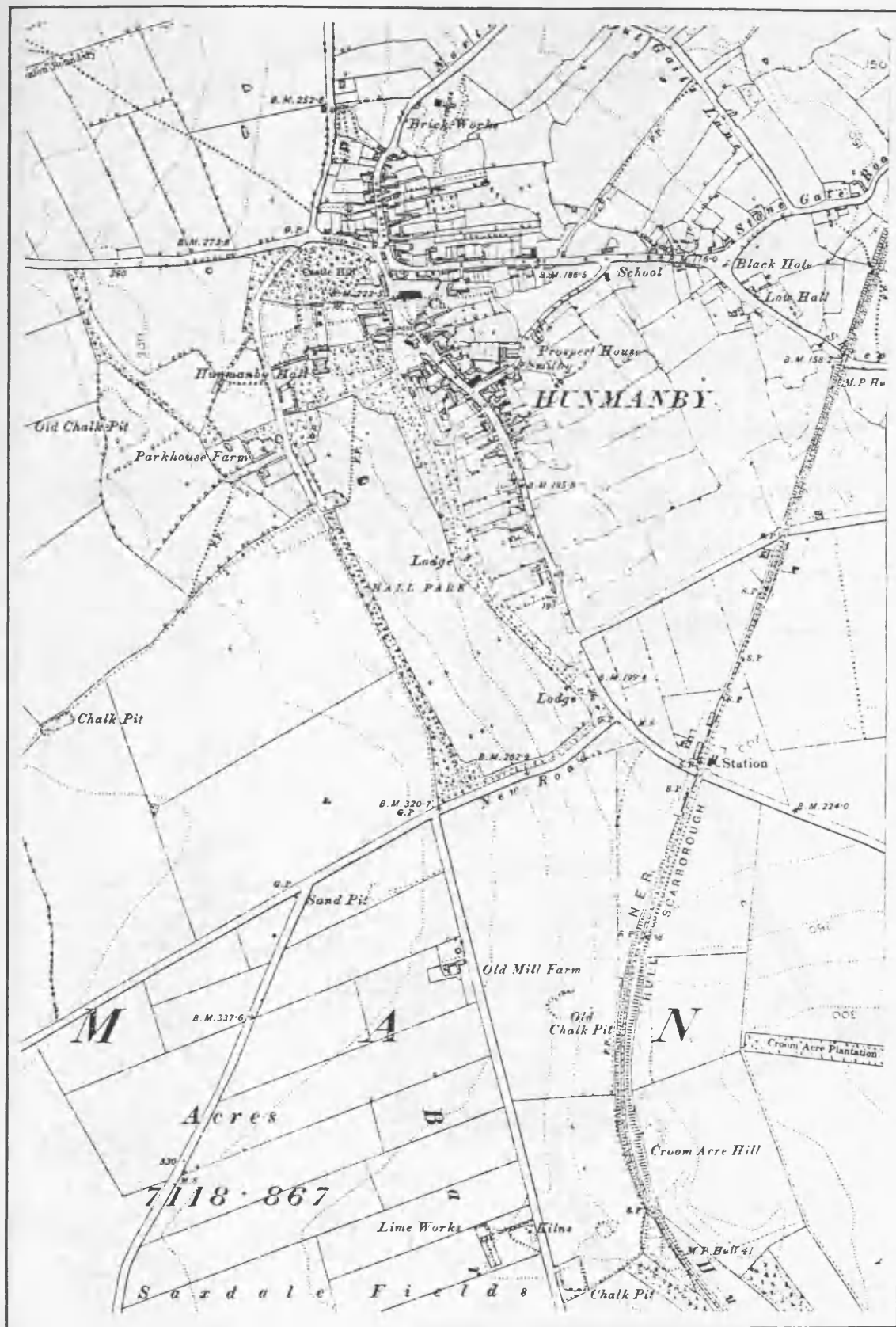


Helmsley
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets LXXXIX NE (1895),
and LXXXIX SE (1895)





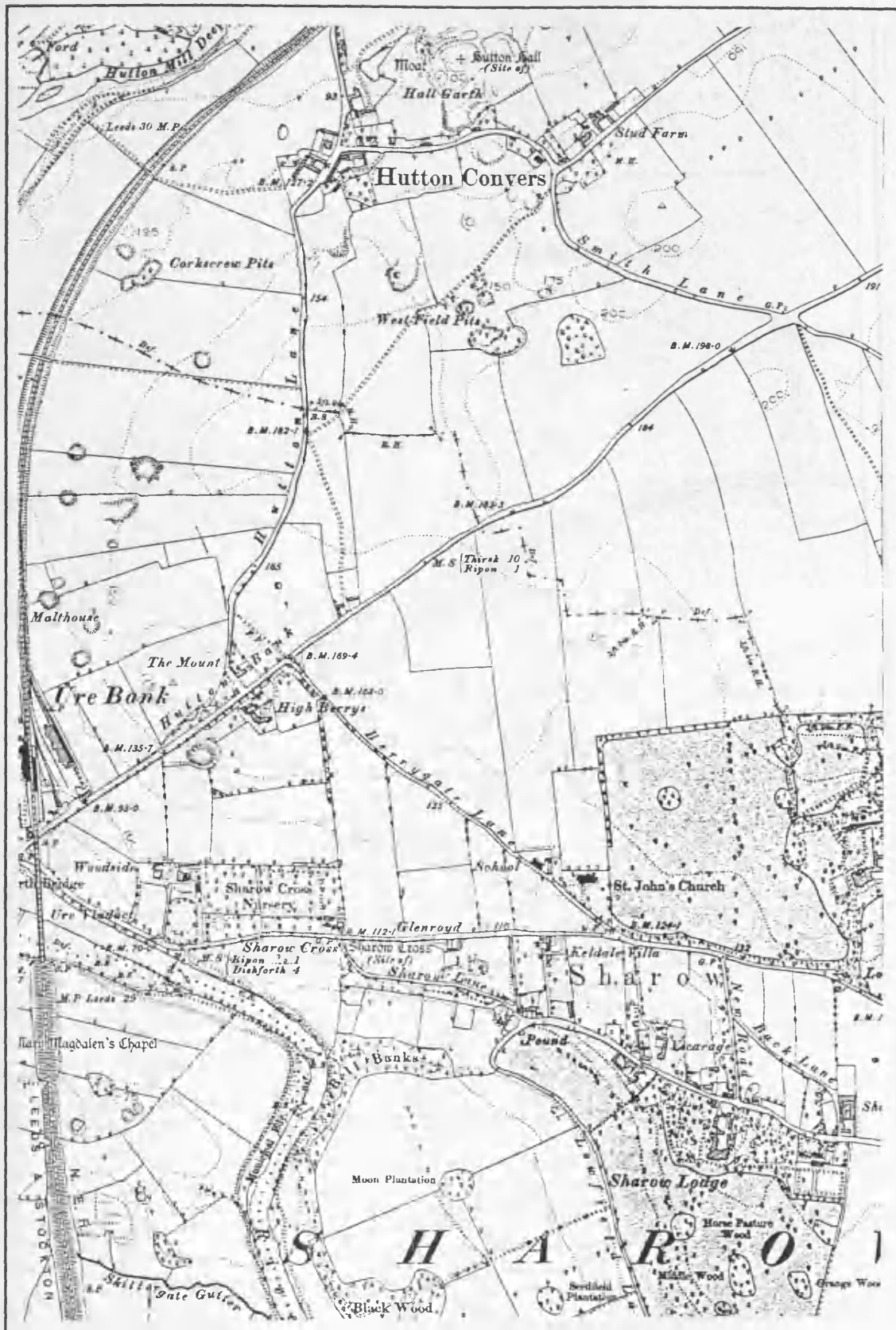
Hornby
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LIV SE (1895)



Hunmanby
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CX SE (1893)



Hunsingore
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CLV SE (1892), and
CLXXII NE (1895)



Hutton Conyers
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXIX NE (1895)



Kildale
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet XXIX NE (1895), and
Second Edition Sheet XXIX SE (1910)



Kirkby Malzeard
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CI SE (1895)



Kirkby Moorside I and II
 OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets LXXIV SW (1895),
 LXXIV SE (1895), XC NW (1895), and XC NE (1895)

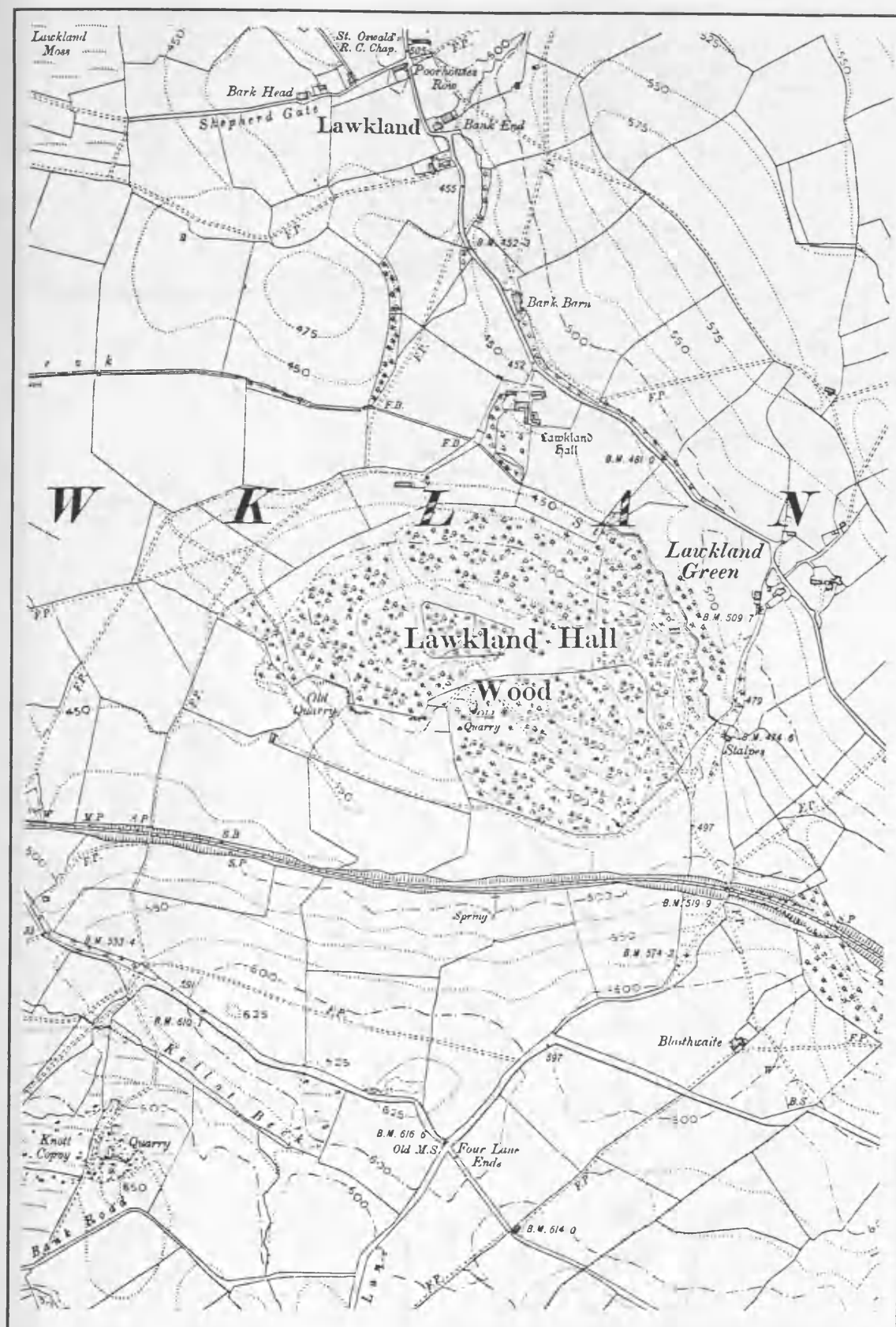


Kirby Knowle
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets LXXI SE (1914),
and LXXII SW (1914)

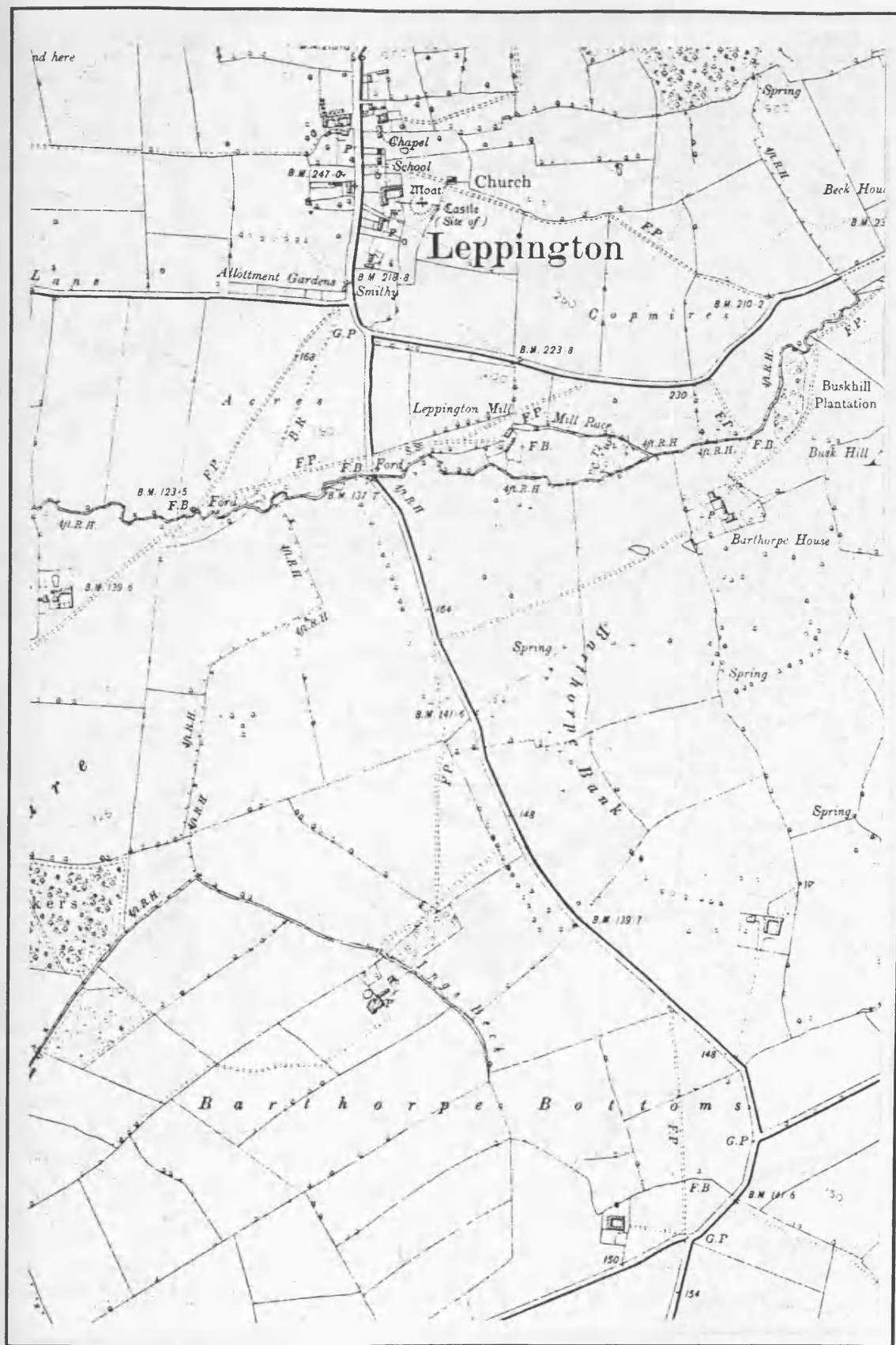




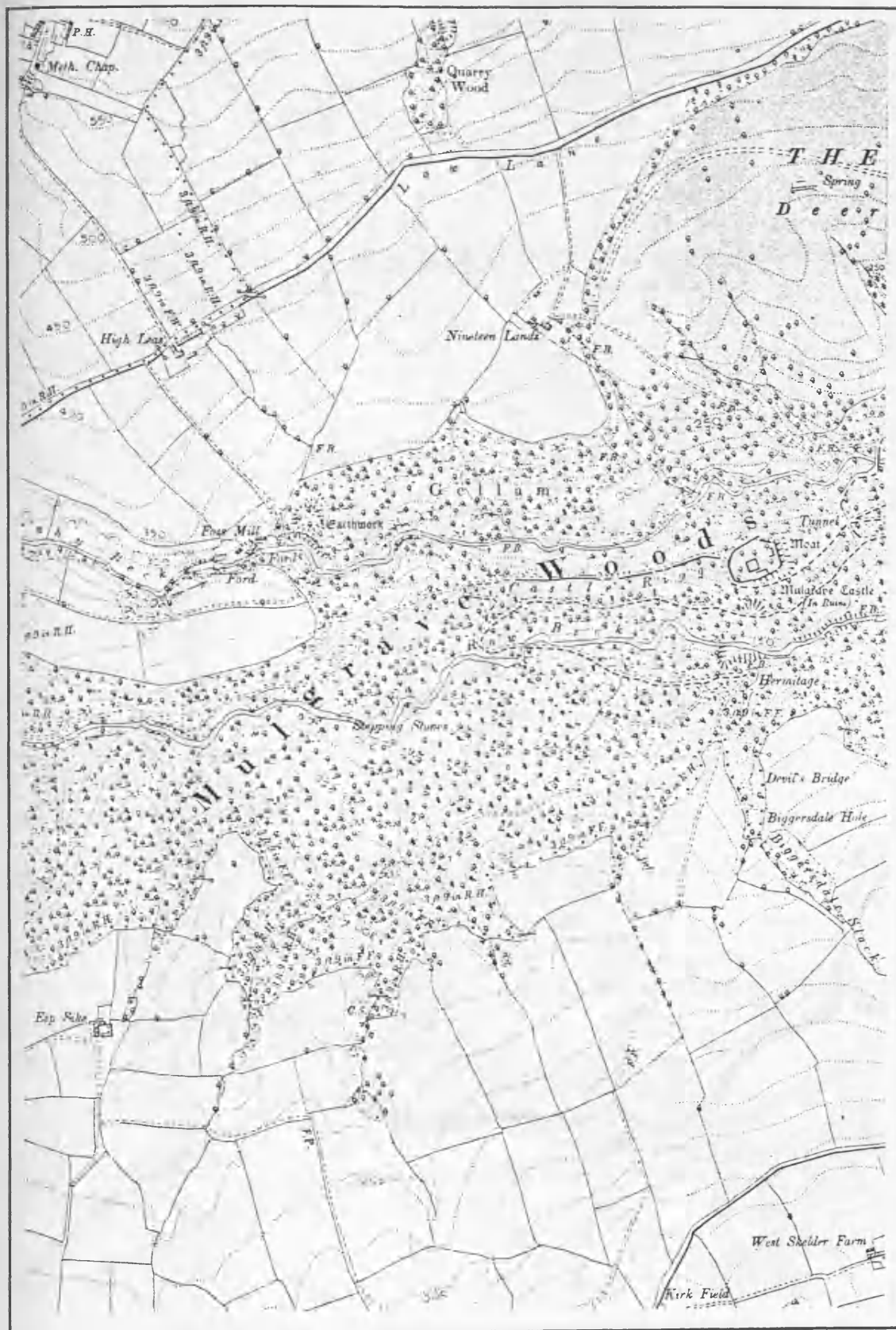
Langton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CXLII NW (1893),
and CXLII NE (1893)



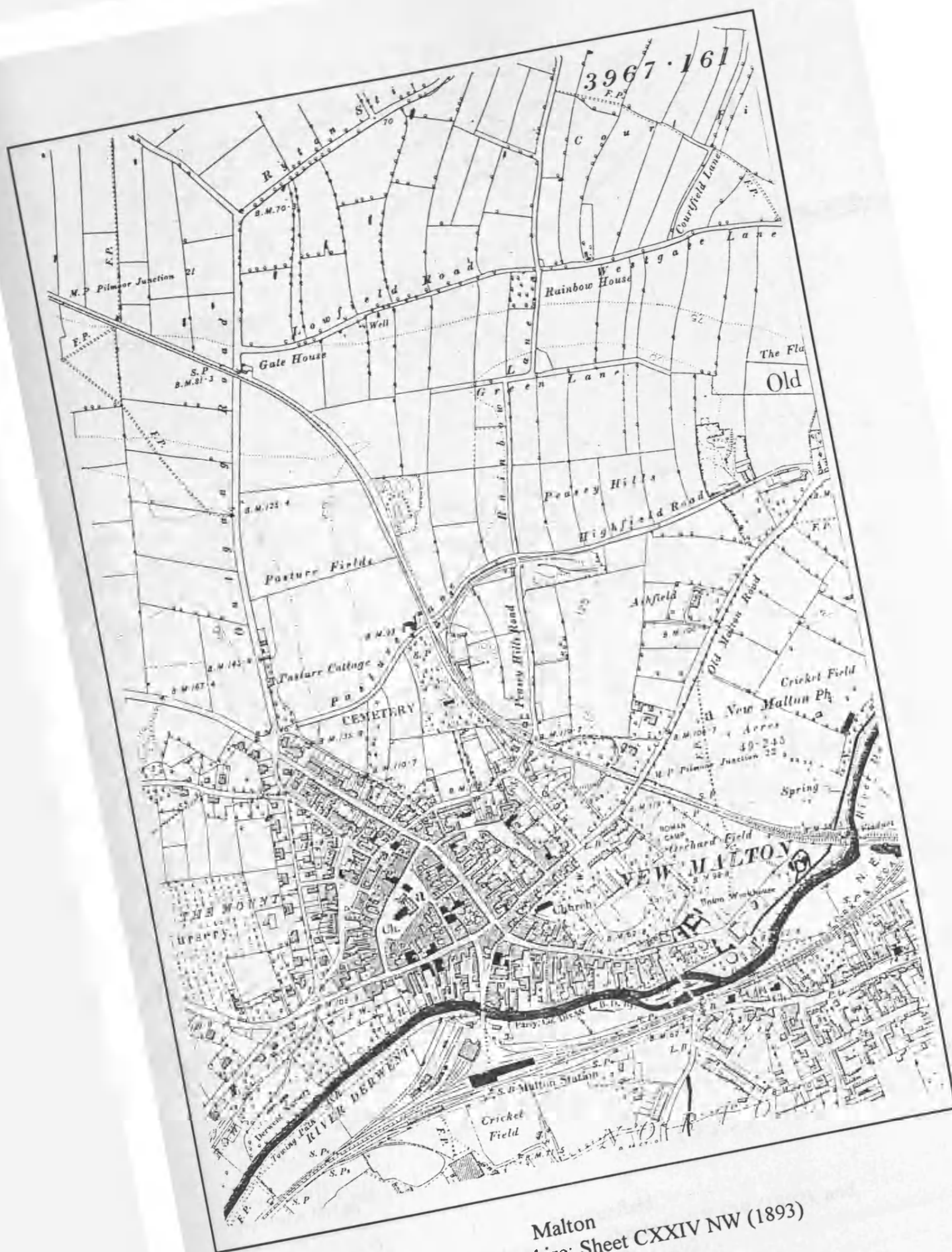
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OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXXXI NE (1910)



Leppington
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CLIX NW (1893)



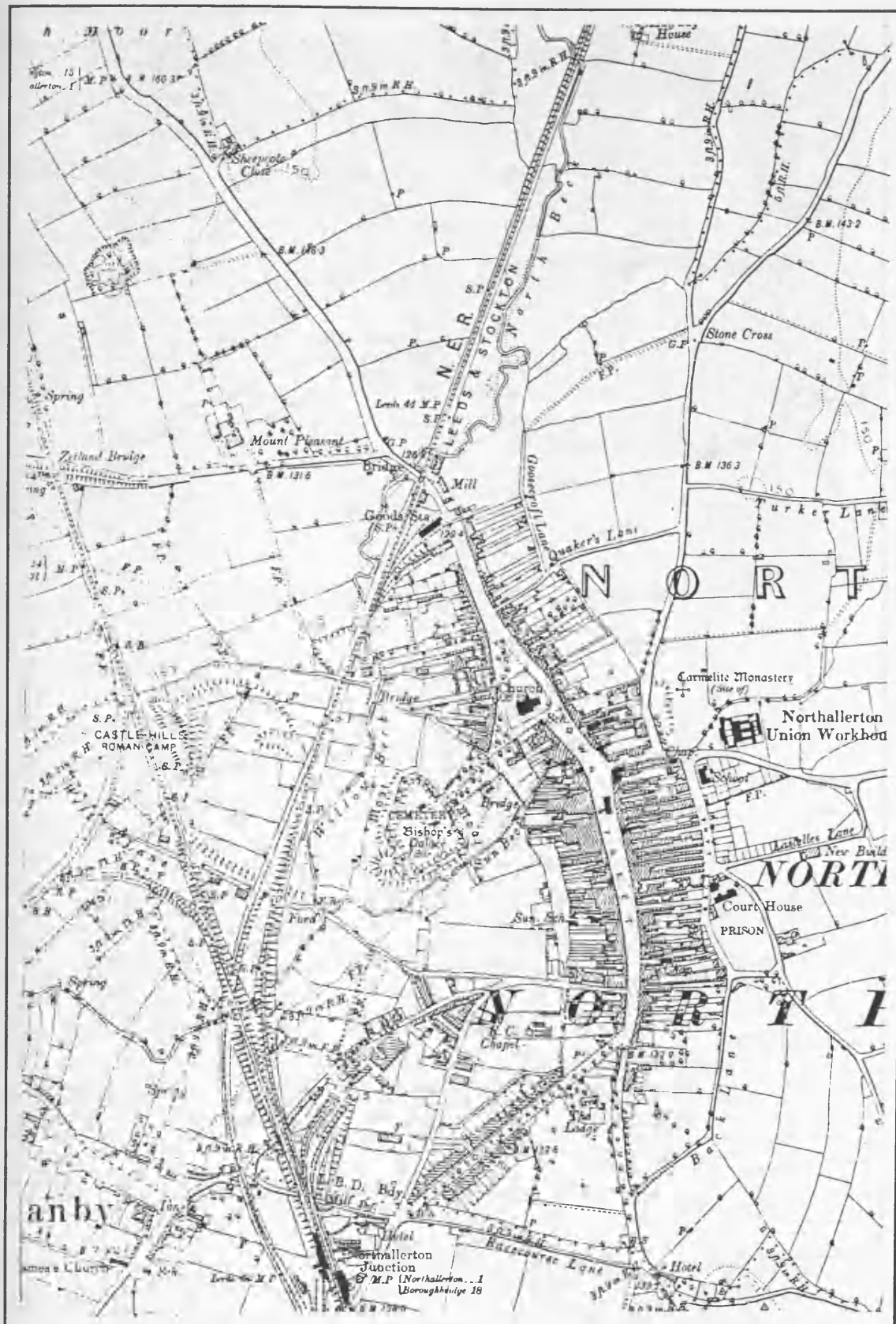
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Lythe I and II
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet XXXI NE (1895)



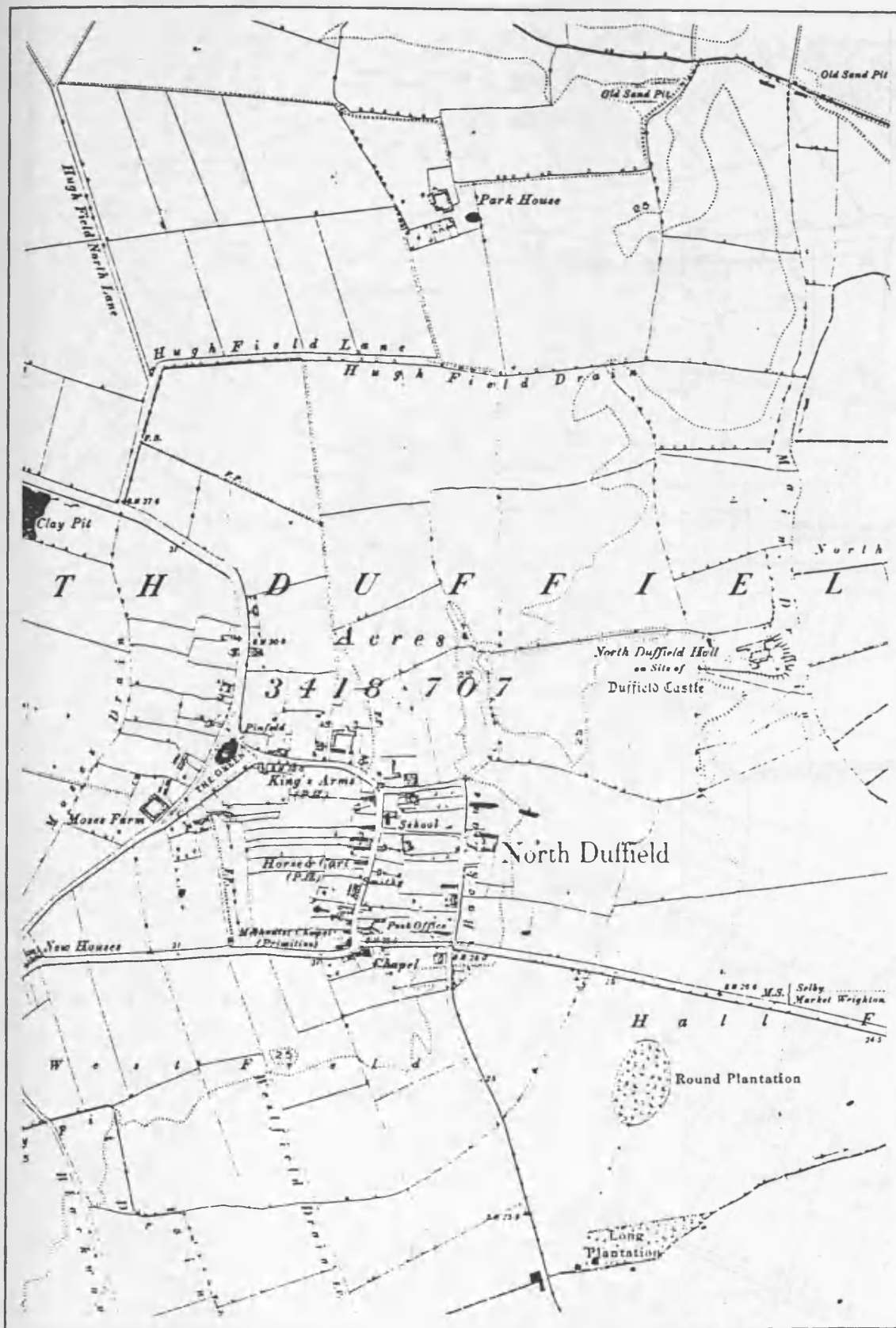
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OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXXIV NW (1893)



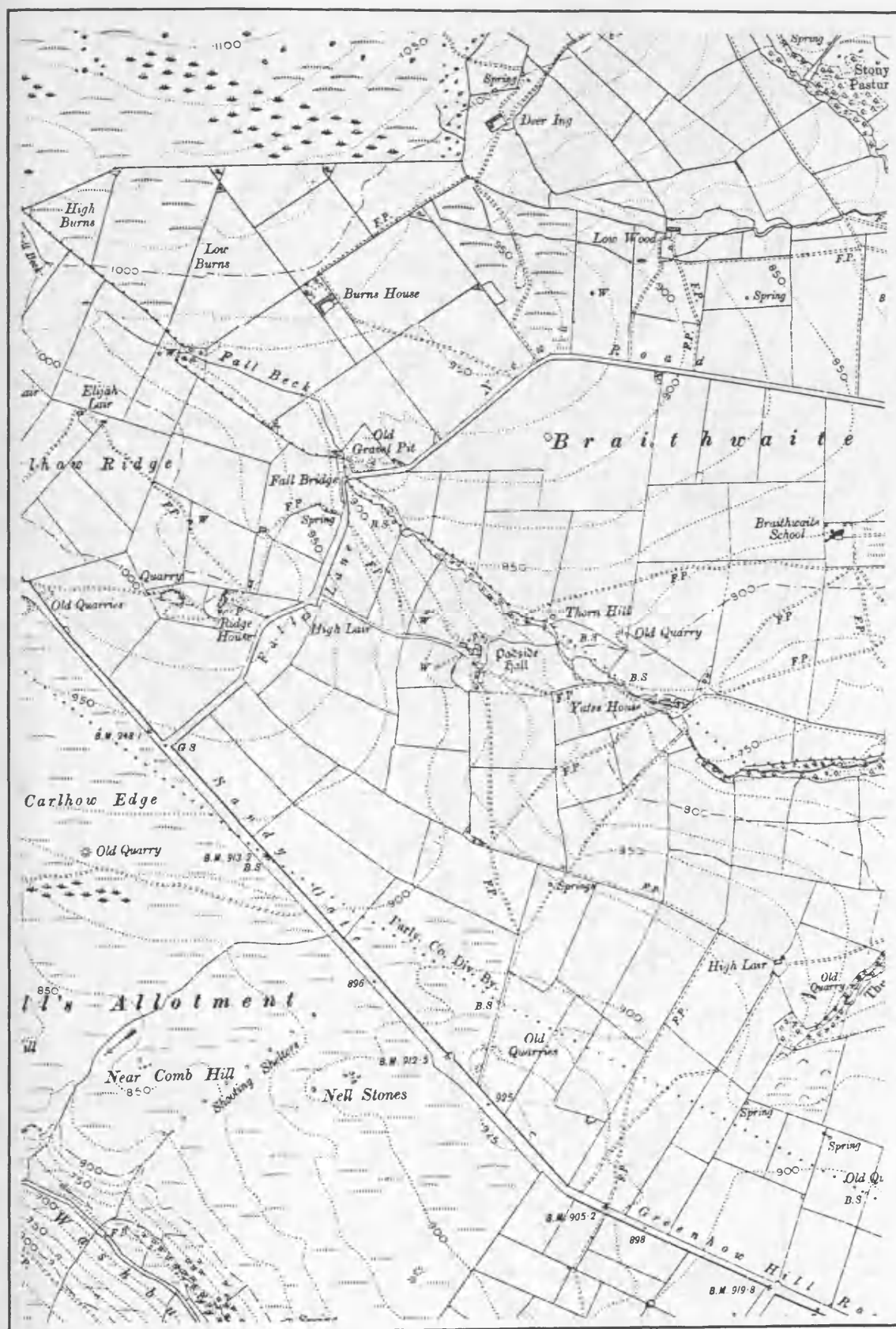
Markenfield
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CXIX SW (1892), and
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Northallerton I and II
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 LVI SW (1895)

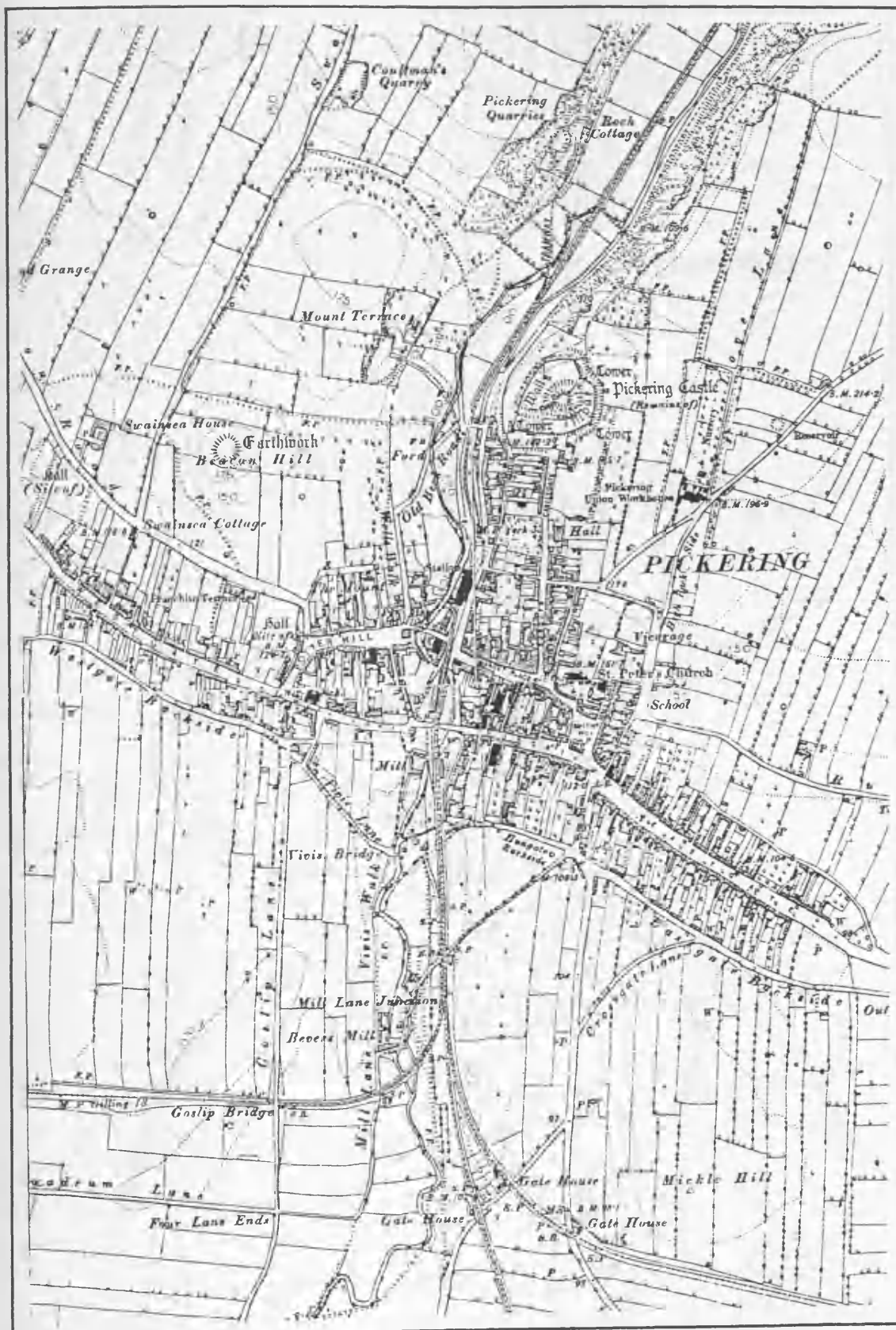


North Duffield
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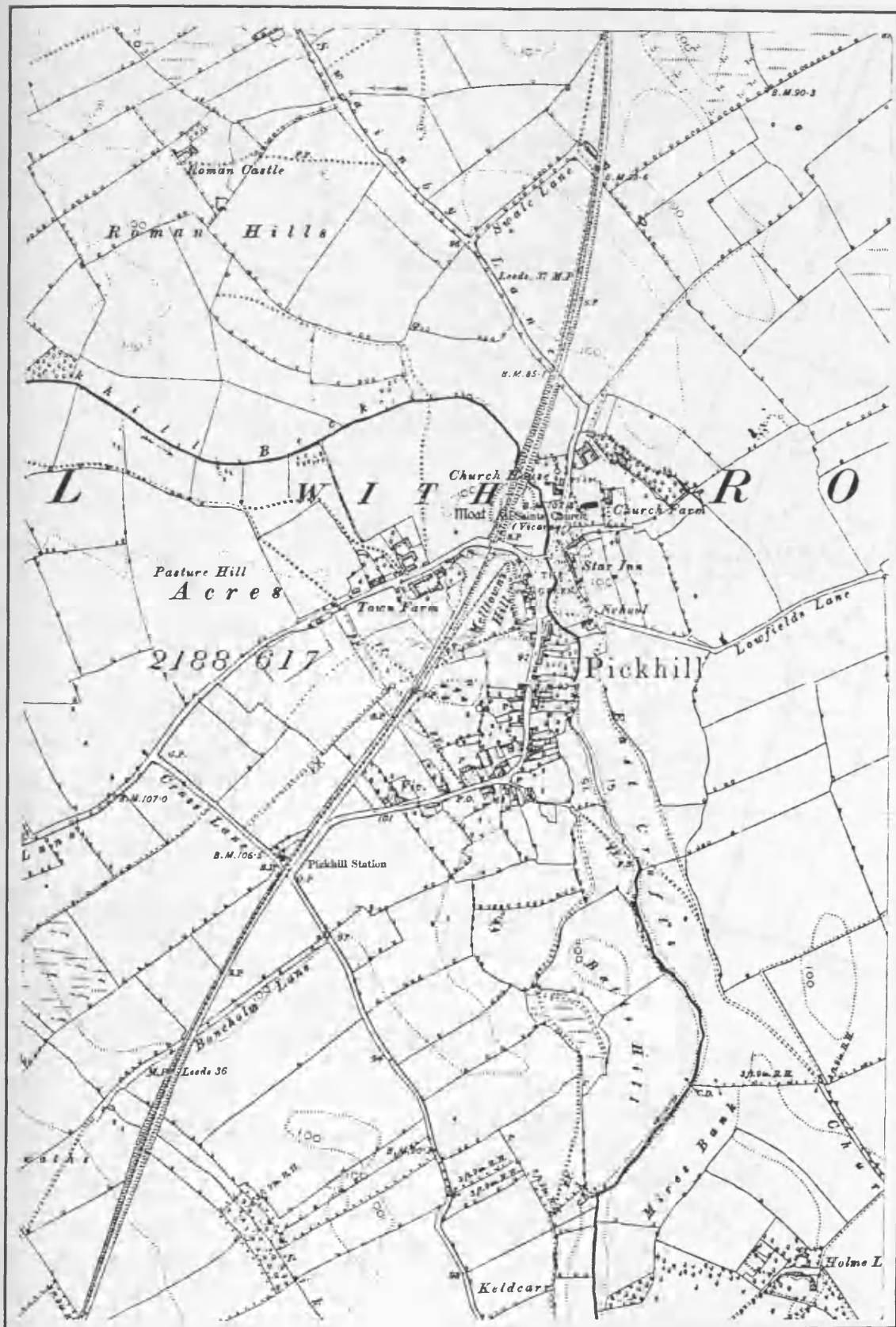


Padsid

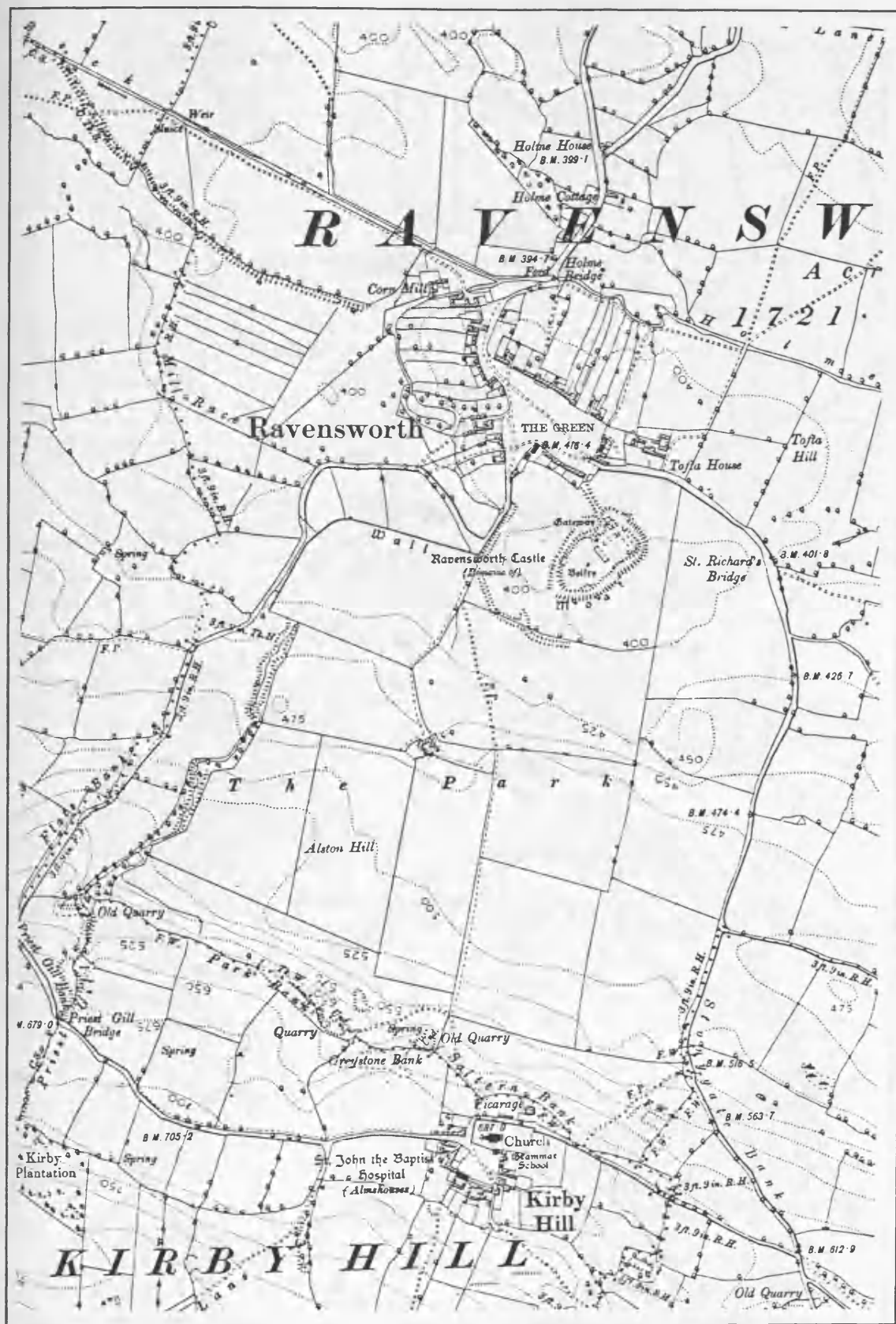
OS Second, Yorkshire: Sheets CLII NE (1910), and
CXXXV SE (1910)



Pickering I and II
 OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets XCI NW (1893), XCI
 NE (1893), XCI SW (1893), and XCI SE (1894)



Pickhill
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets LXXXVI NE (1893),
and LXXXVI SE (1893)

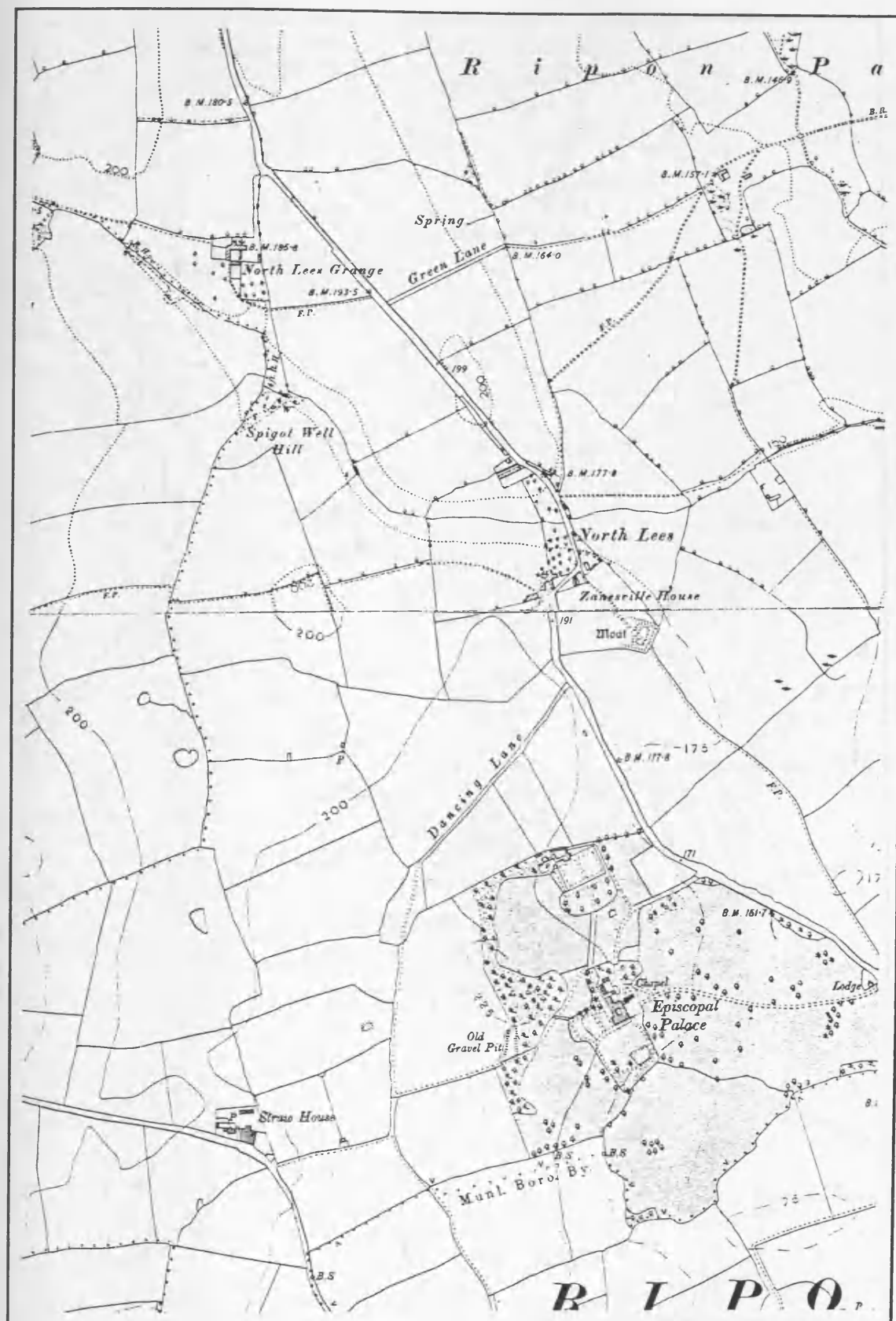


Ravensworth
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet XXIV SE (1895)



Ripley
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CXXXVII SW (1892),
and CLIV NW (1892)

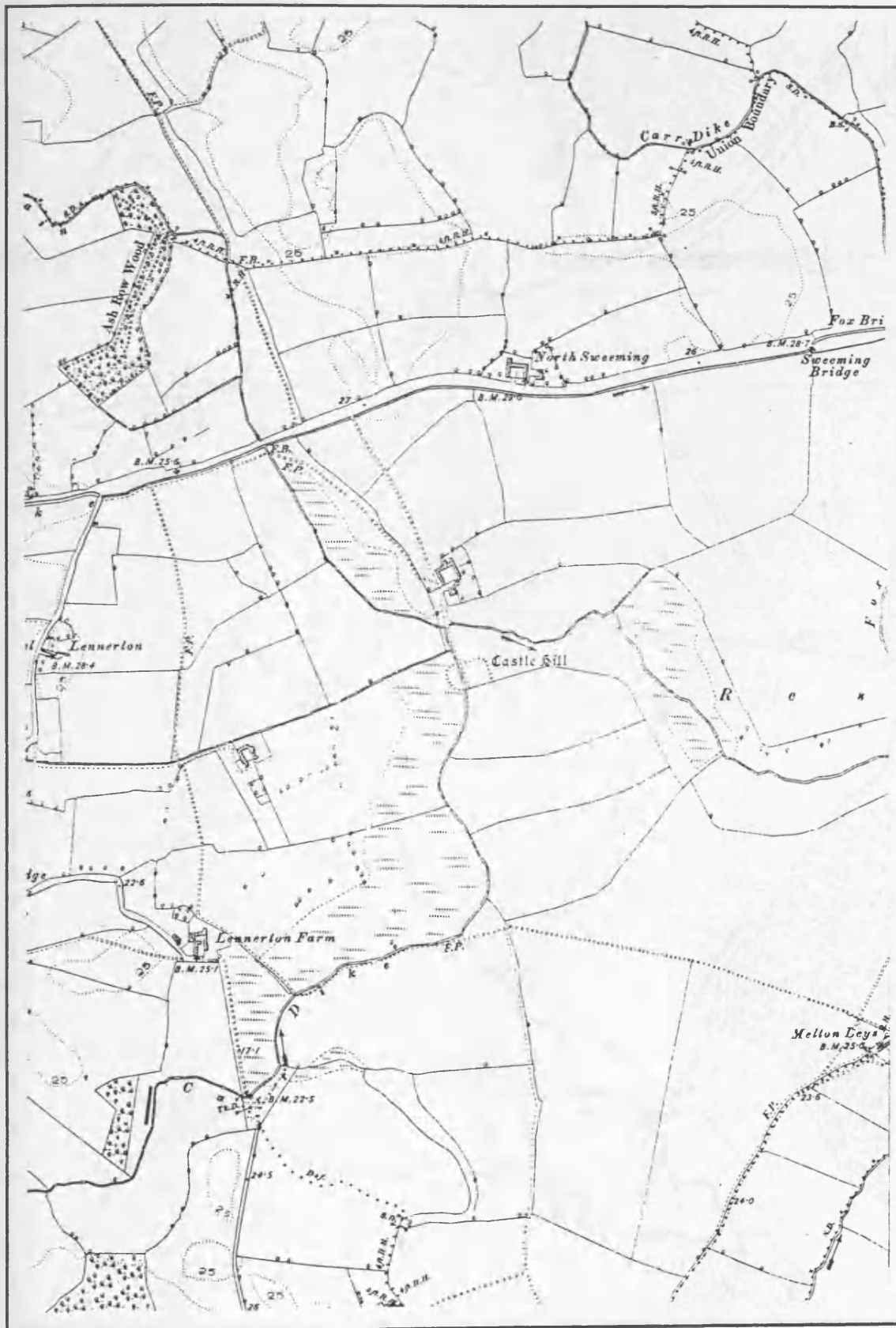




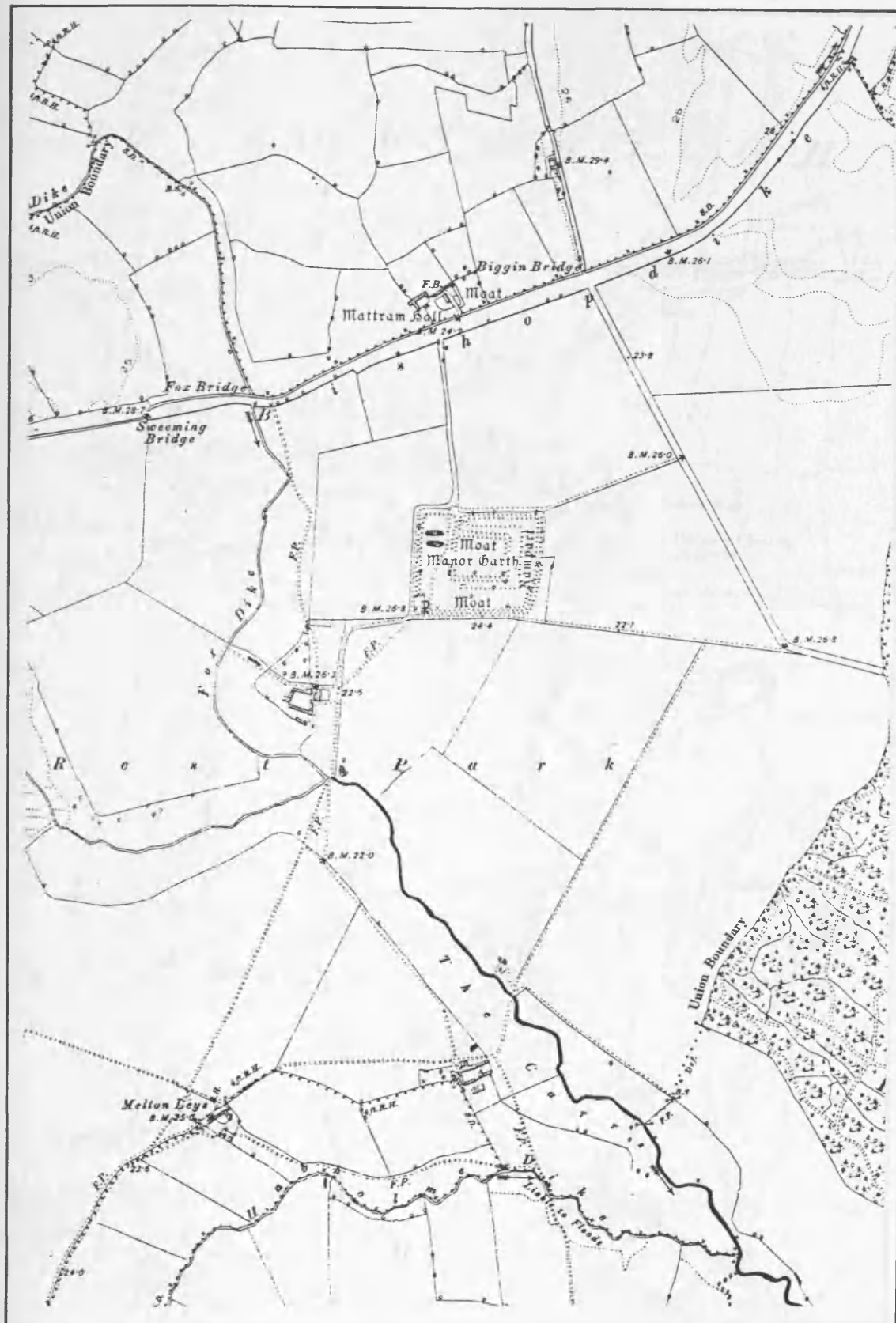
Ripon II
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 Second Edition Sheet CXIX NW (1910)



Saxton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCV SW (1895)



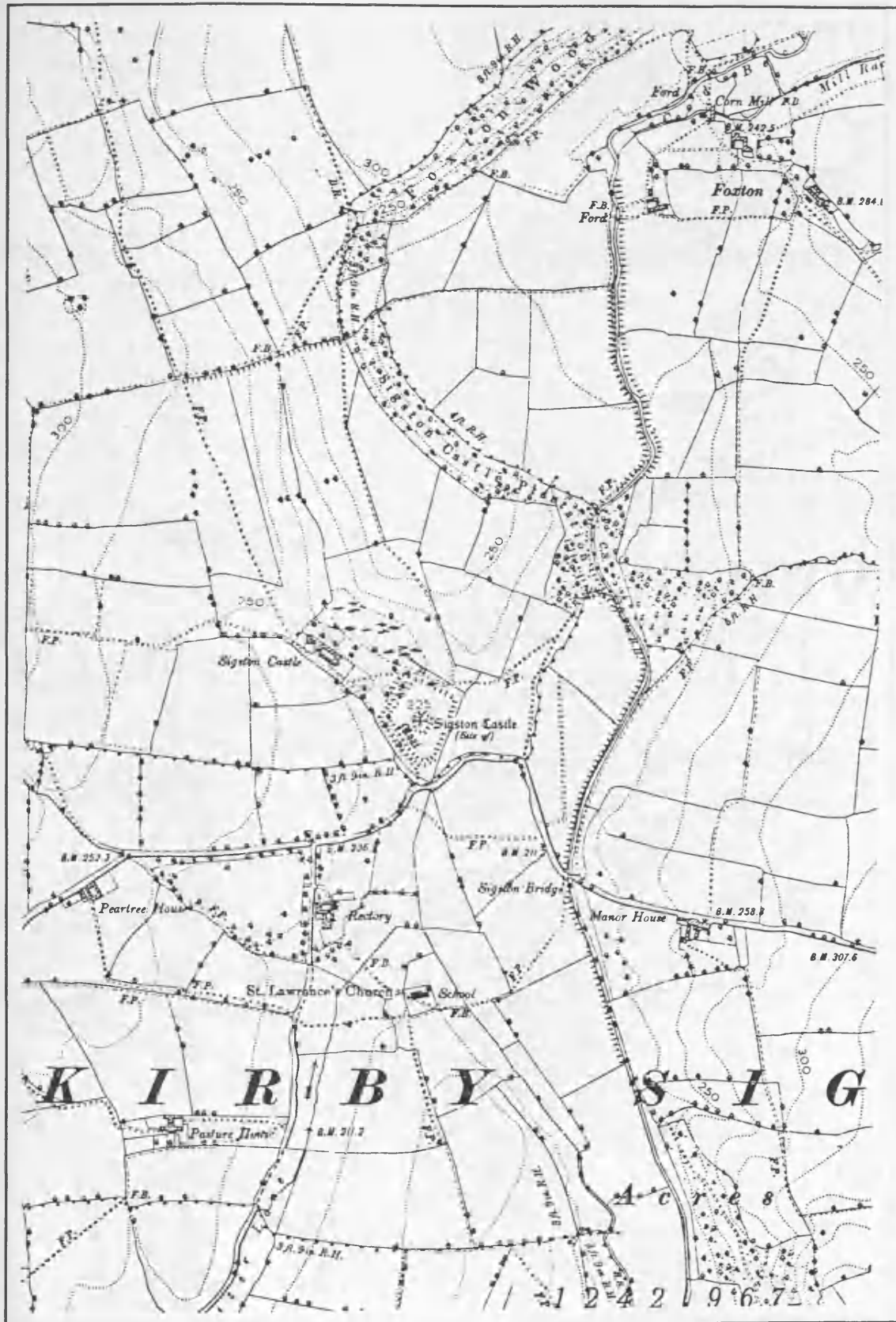
Sherburn-in-Elmet I
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXX NE (1892)



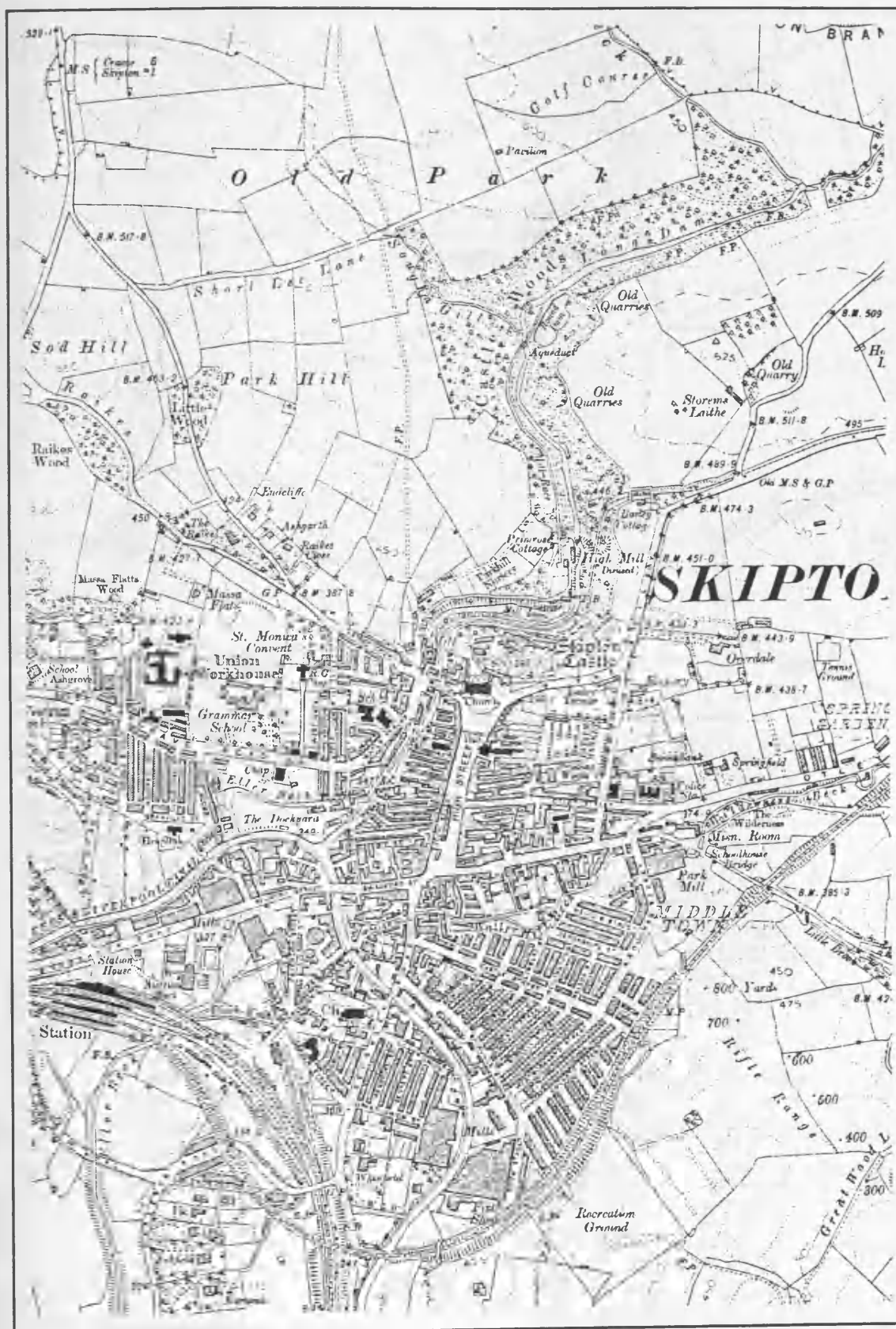
Sherburn-in-Elmet II
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXX NE (1892)



Sheriff Hutton I and II
 OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CXL NE (1895), and
 CXLI NW (1895)



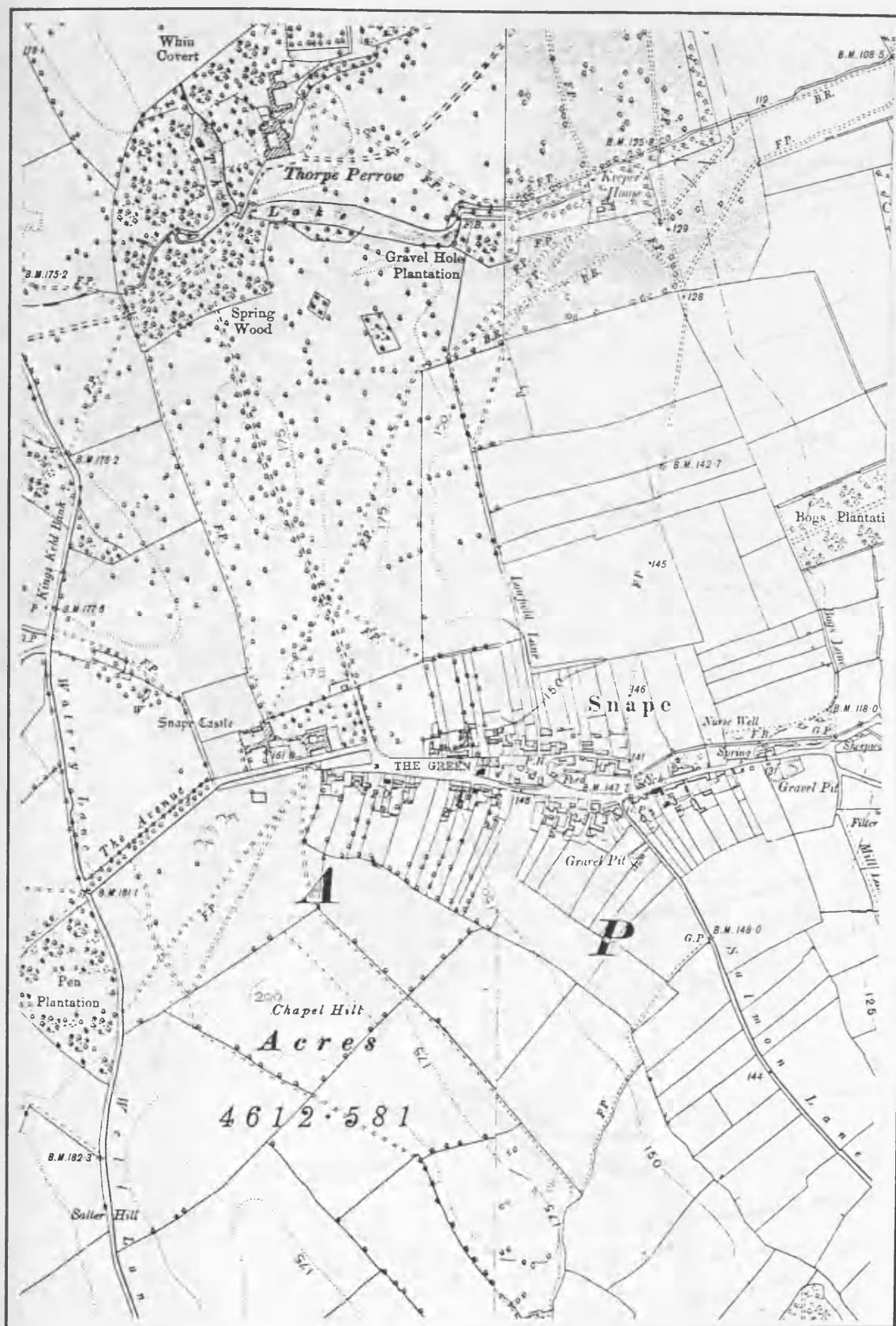
Sigston
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LVI SE (1895)



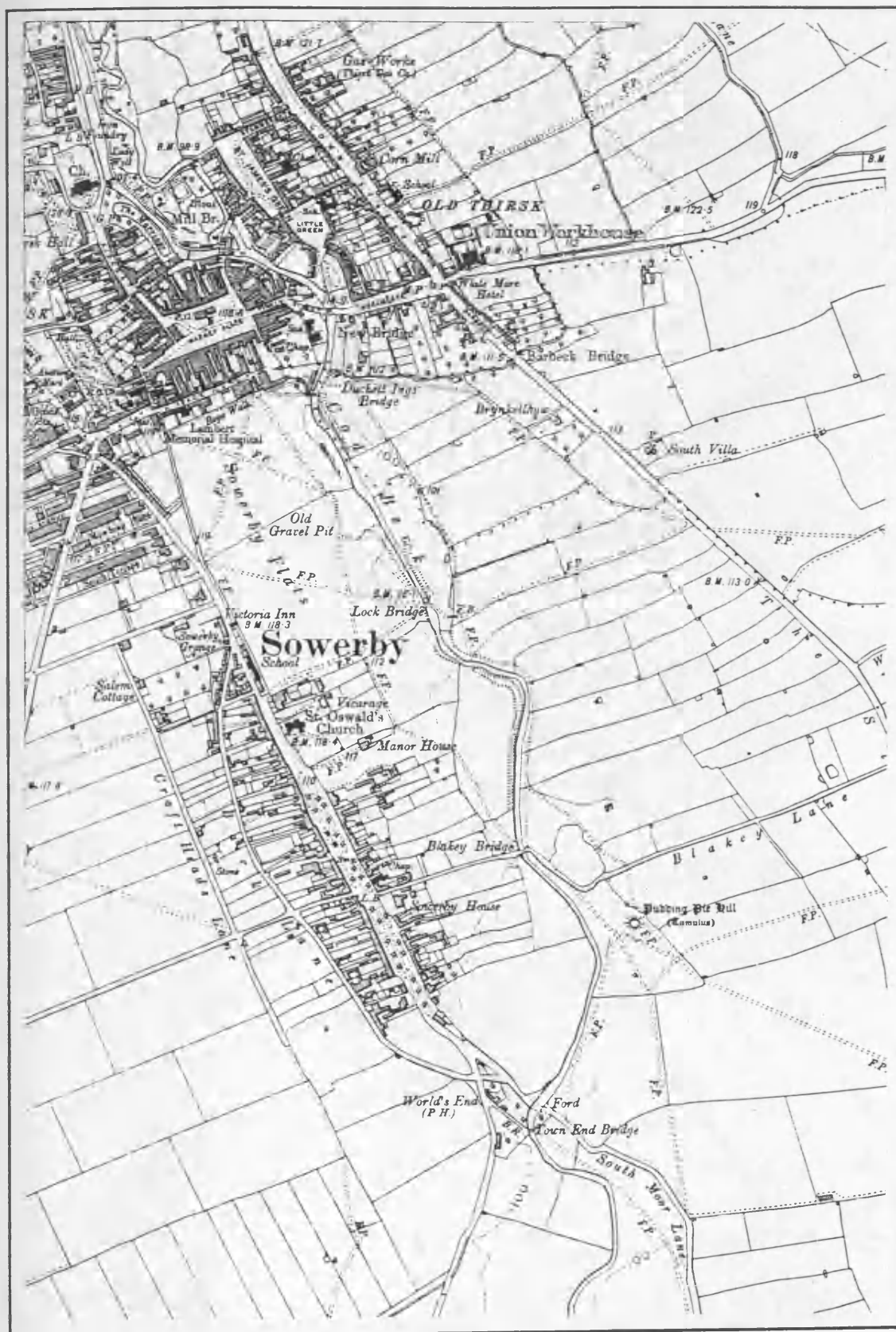
Skipton
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CLXVIII NW
(1907)



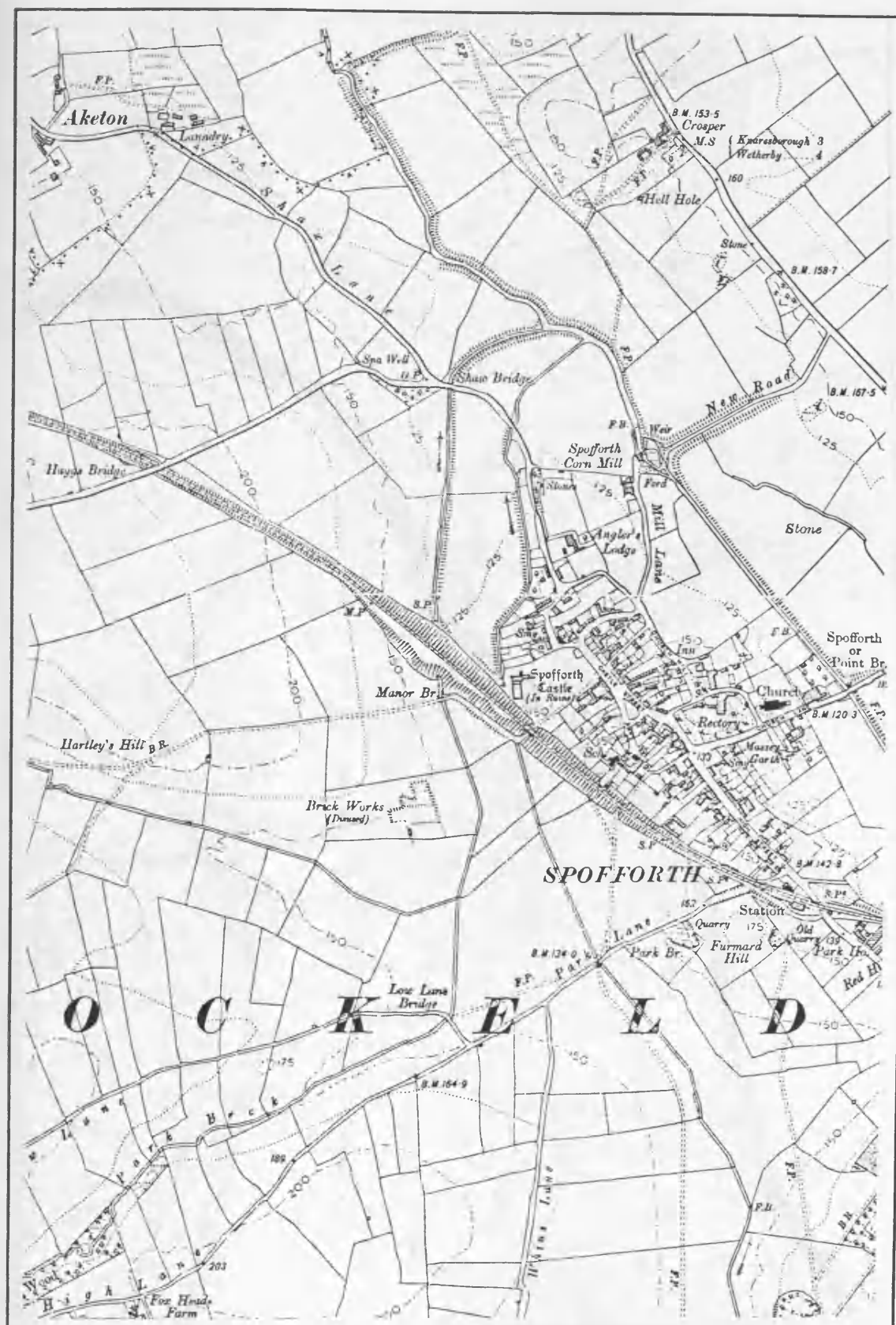
Slingsby
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CVI SW (1892)



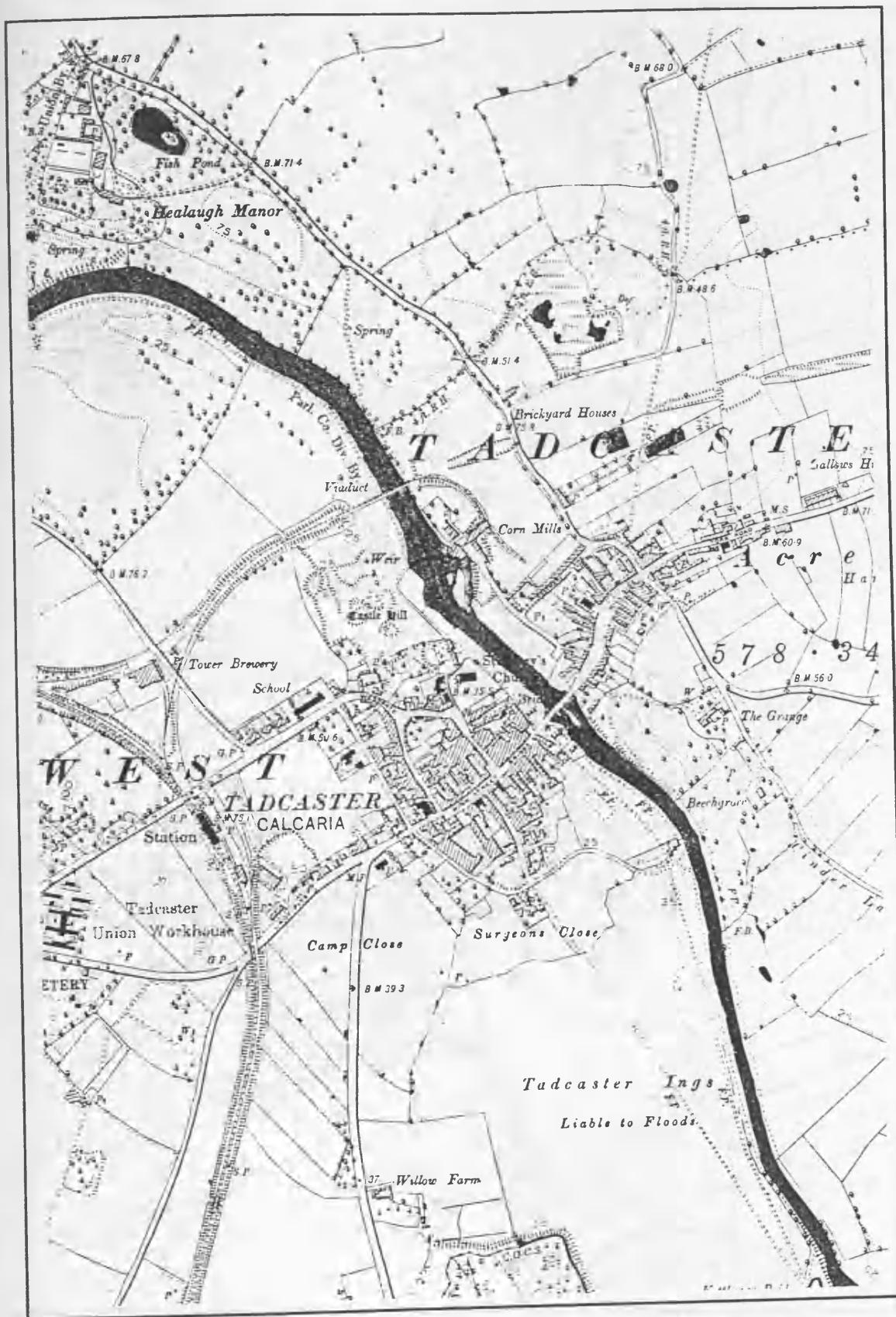
Snape
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LXXXV NE (1895),
and Second Edition Sheet LXXXVI NW (1914)



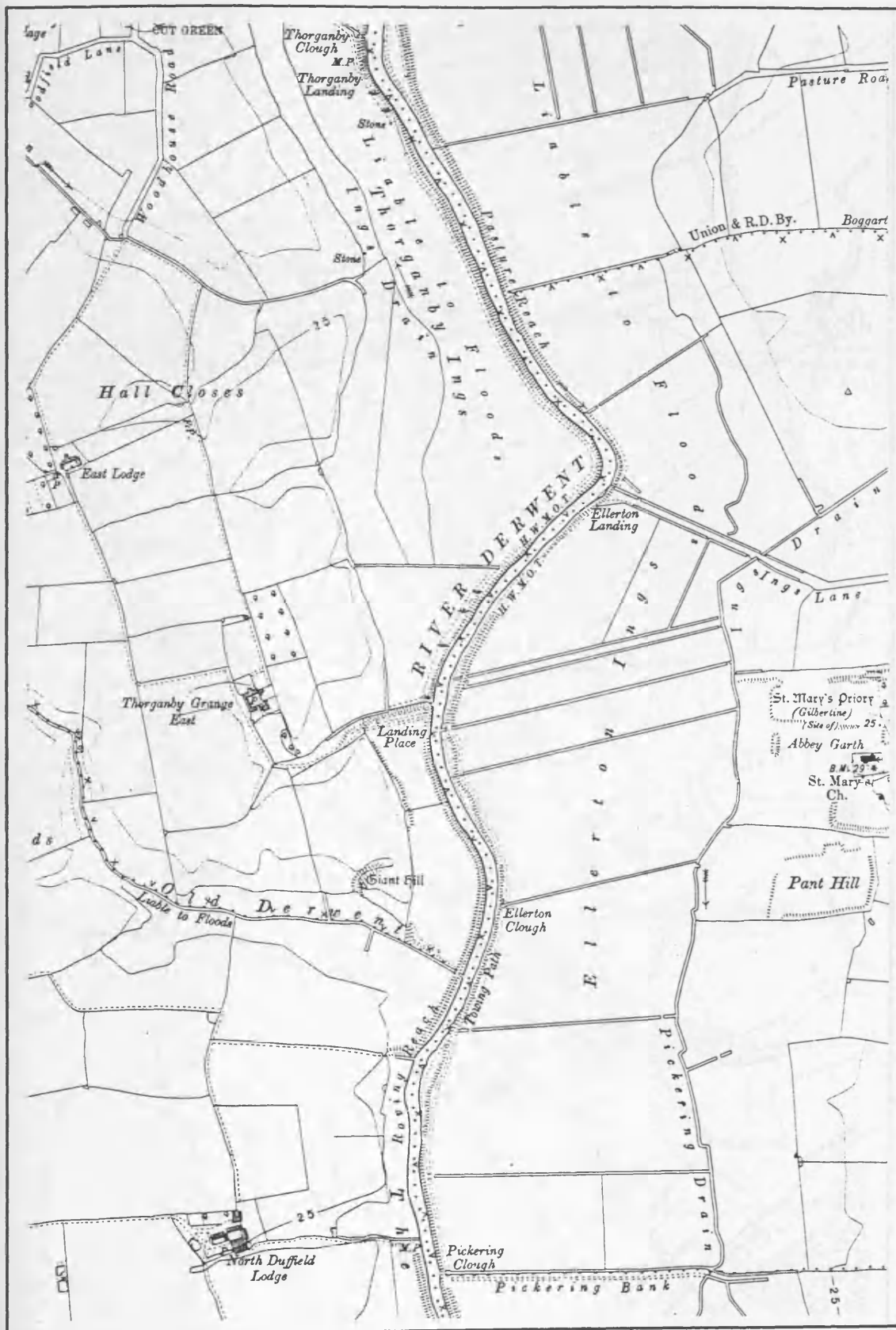
Sowerby
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LXXXVII SE
(1914)



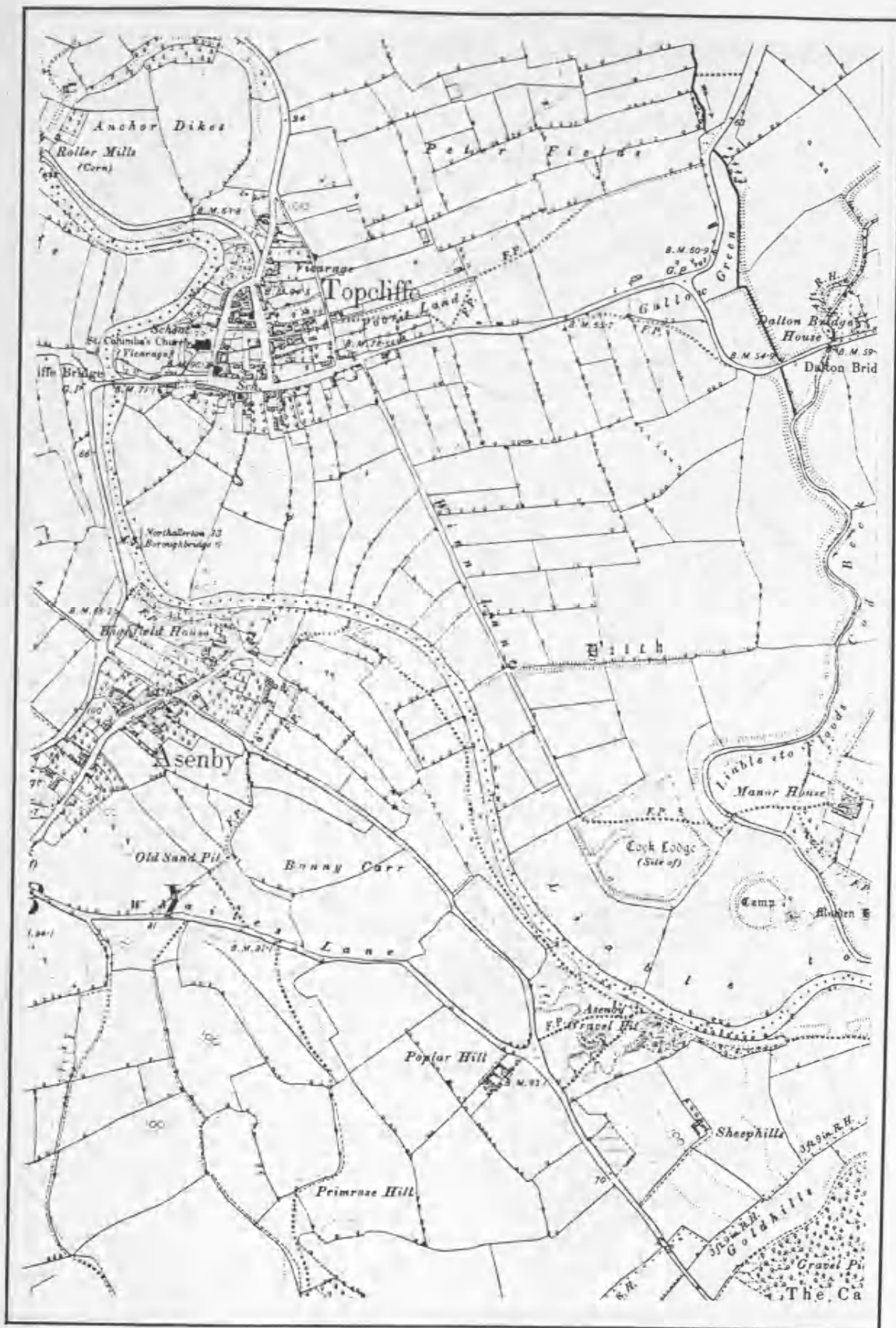
Spofforth
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CLXXI NE (1910),
and CLXXI SE (1910)



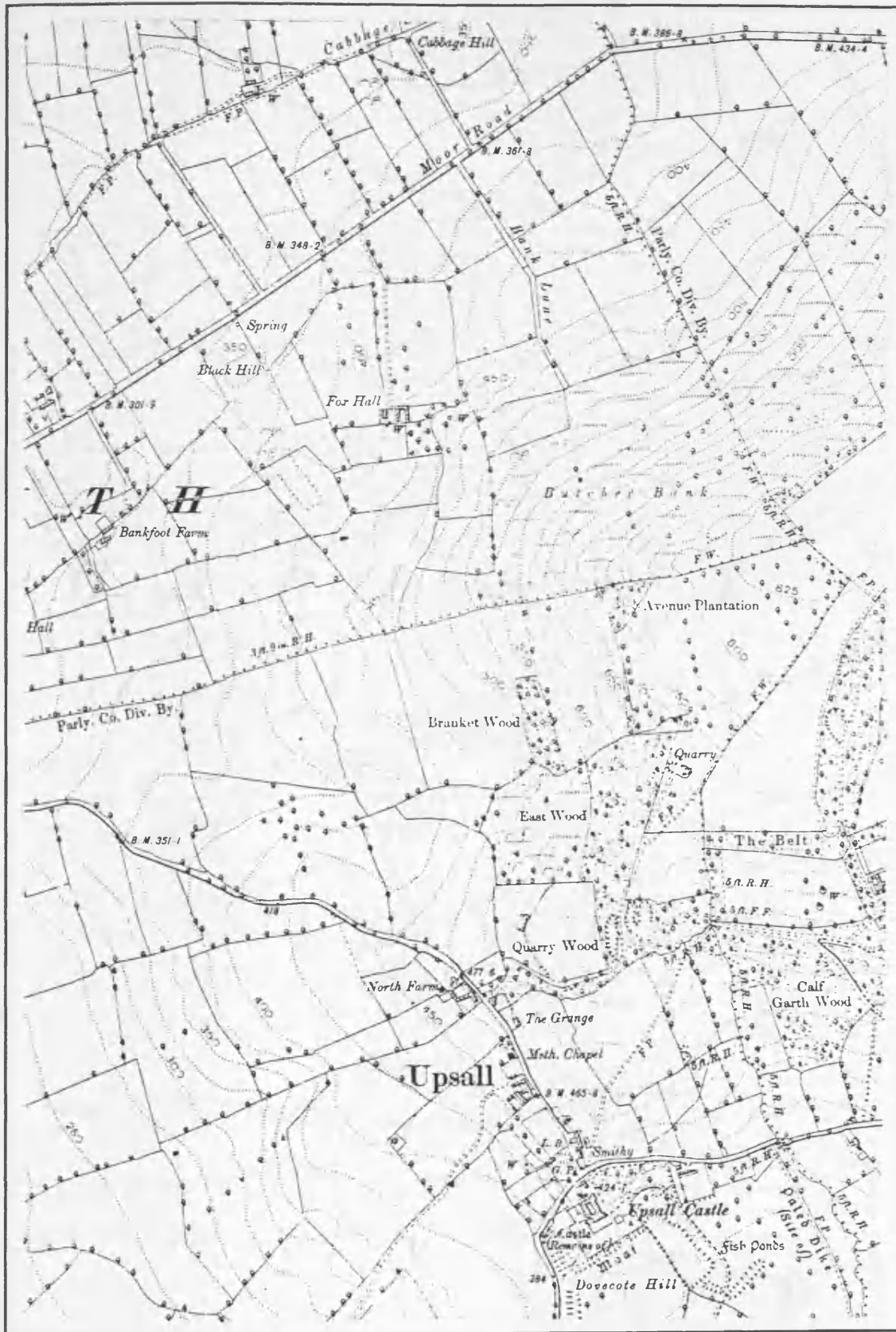
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OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CXC SW (1894)



Thorganby
OS Second Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCVII NW (1910)



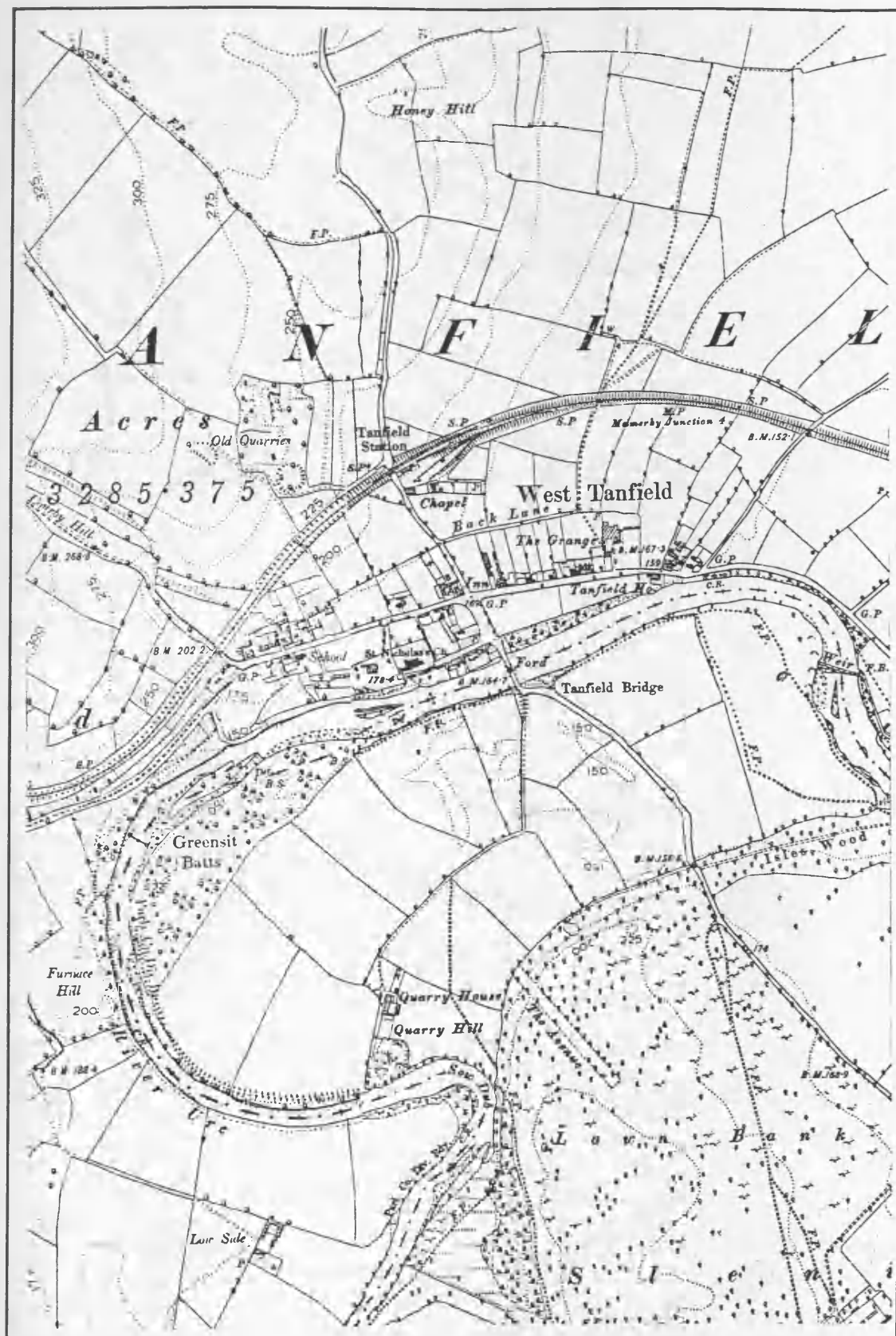
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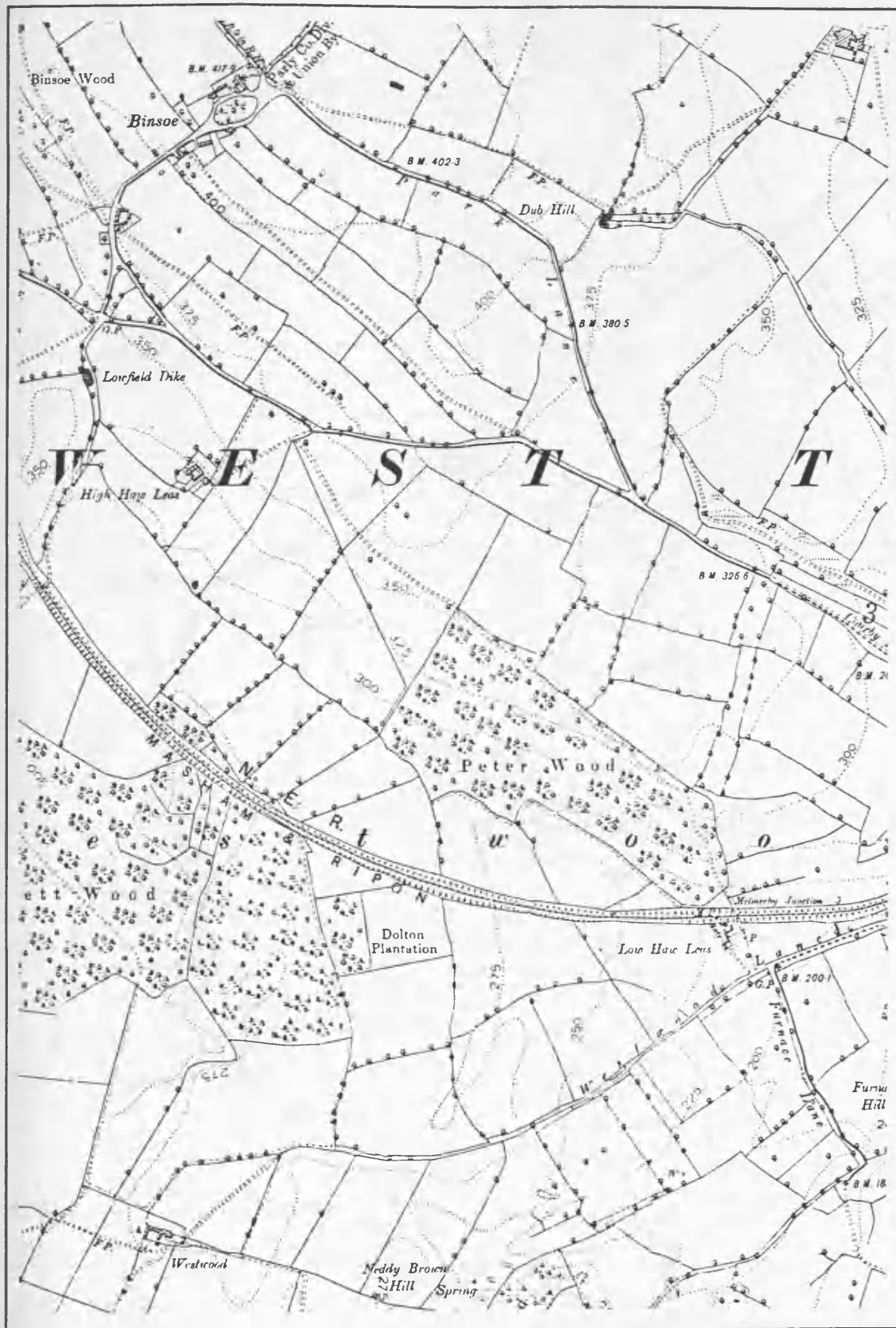
Upsall
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LXXI SE (1895)



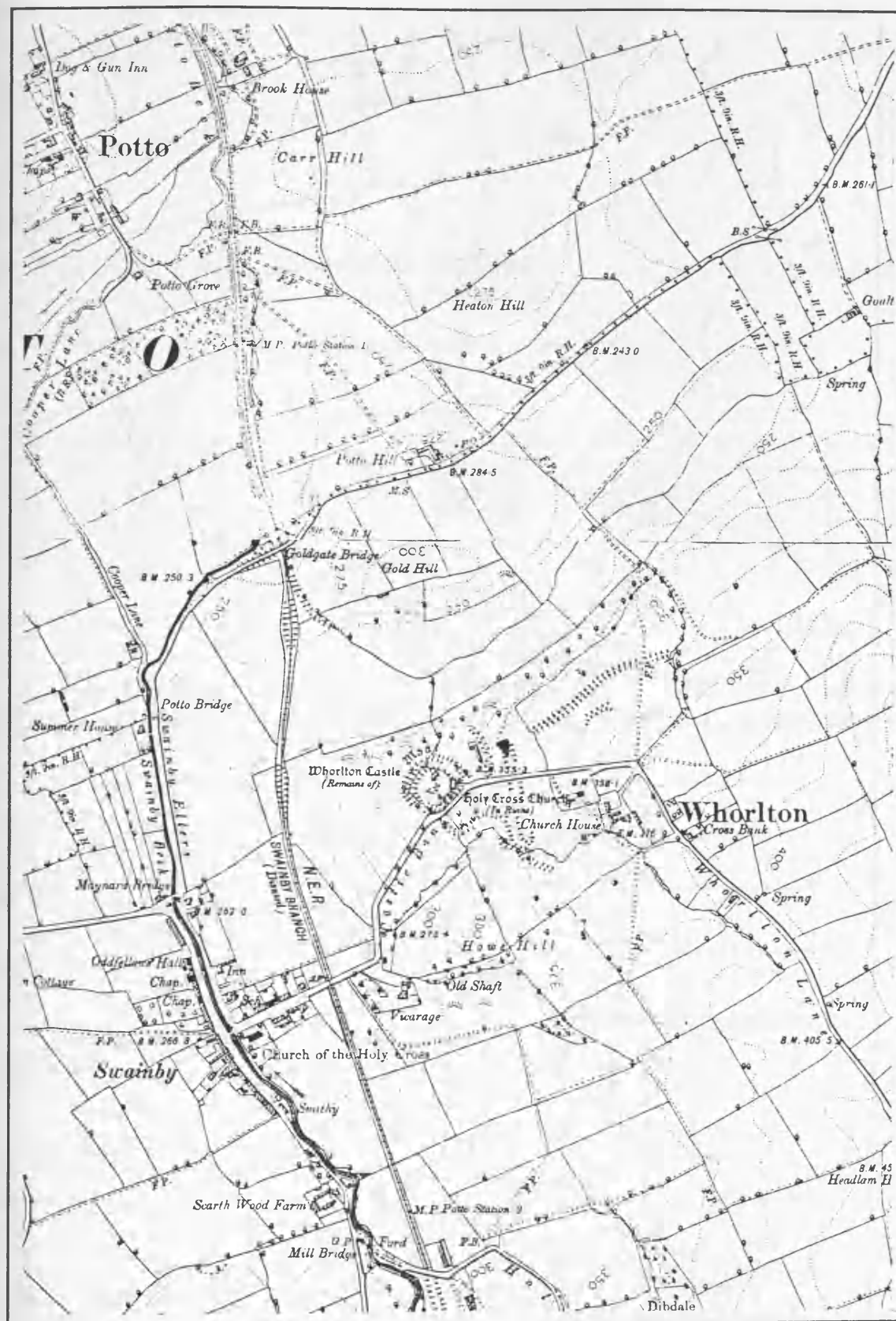
West Harlsey
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet LVI NE (1895)



West Tanfield I
 OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CI NE (1895), and
 CII NW (1895)



West Tanfield II
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CI NE (1895)



Whorlton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets XLII NW (1895), and
XLII SW (1895)

SOUTH YORKSHIRE

ADWICK-LE-STREET (Cromwell's Batteries)

Motte and Bailey
Adwick-le-Street
SE 529104

Situation: The earthworks lie centrally within Skellow village, astride the Cross Hill Road and partially contained within the formal gardens of Skellow Old Hall.

Preservation: The earthworks are seriously mutilated. Other than the relatively well preserved motte, the bailey earthworks survive in a number of isolated zones, partially destroyed through building development and road construction.

Description: The much denuded earthworks can be rationalised as a motte with at least one, and possibly two baileys. The motte survives on the south side of the road, in the grounds of Skellow Hall; identifiable as an earthwork mound, c. 5m high, with a base diameter of c. 22m, flat summit of c. 6m, and a ditch to the north only. The profile of a rectangular bailey can be traced as a curving section of bank in the field to the west, and a length of bank up to c. 3m high and in the field on the opposite side of the road to the north. Two lengths of curvilinear bank north of this latter feature may represent a further, denuded bailey enclosure, although this cannot be identified with any certainty.

Excavation: None

Documentation: There are no direct documentary references to the site, although the earthworks are traditionally assumed to be the site of a Civil War gun emplacement built against Hampole Old Hall - hence the local place-name 'Cromwell's Batteries'.

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13214
Hey 1979, 44
King 1983, 532
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 298

BEIGHTON (Castlesteads)

Motte and Bailey
Beighton
SK 447838 (Approx.)

Situation: The NGR refers to the place-name 'Castlesteads', a former moated enclosure on the course of the River Rother, the exact location of the site being otherwise uncertain.

Preservation: Nothing survives of the castle earthworks; the site was totally obliterated following bisection by the railway and diversion of the river in the 19th century. Until at least 1976 a section of the castle ditch between Great and Little Castlesteads survived as a pond, although this was itself destroyed when the Rother was again remodelled in association with open-cast coal workings.

Description: The site is certainly an early castle, probably a motte and bailey, although its destroyed status makes verification impossible. Beighton Enclosure Map (1779) describes two fields in the valley bottom to the east of the village, each moated around by the course of the Rother and respectively named 'Great Castlesteads' (c. 2.8 ha.) and 'Little Castlesteads' (c. 1.2 ha.). In plan, the former may represent a bailey and the latter a motte; the apparently 'pinched' outline of Little Castlesteads hinting that it may have been formerly divided into a motte and inner bailey.

Excavation: A 6 x 1m trench across the projected line of the ditch of Little Castlesteads was excavated in April 1976, revealing slight traces of the ditch's inner lip in the north end of the trench; no finds or datable material were recovered.

Documentation: An otherwise undated charter of the 13th century refers to "....the tower of the former castle" and a "...park and mill, great wood, fields" at Beighton.

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75

Hall and Thomas 1914, 105

Hey 1979, 45

S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 1479

BLAXTON (Pond o' the Hill)

Possible Motte and Bailey

Blaxton

SE 669007

Situation: The place-name Pond o' the Hill refers to an earthwork c. 250m north of Blaxton village, occupying a slight rise overlooking an extensive tract of land to the north.

Preservation: Very little survives of the earthwork, which lies under cultivation.

Description: The extant earthworks comprise the vestiges of the north and west sides of a former rectangular earthwork enclosure only. This feature has maximum dimensions of c. 52m east-west x c. 45m north-south, and is defined by an external scarp running along the present field boundaries, and an internal bank c. 1m high; this running at a slightly different orientation to the outer scarp and with signs of a rounded angle at its southern extremity. O.S. Records state the former existence of a ditched mound in association with the enclosure, although nothing of this nature is depicted cartographically nor survives. The site is thus occasionally listed as a 'possible' motte and bailey - the motte being apparently destroyed.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75

King 1983, 531

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 60 SE 5

BOLSTERSTONE

Stone Castle
Stocksbridge
SK 272968

Situation: The site lies centrally within the moorland hamlet of Bolsterstone.

Preservation: Only vestiges of standing medieval masonry survive, incorporated into the post-medieval cottage known as 'Porter's Lodge' - the nomenclature perhaps reflecting the former existence of a guard chamber on the site.

Description: Substantial elements of medieval masonry are incorporated into the south walls of two 19th-century cottages. The remains may be rationalised as part of a gatehouse, including the jamb and springer of one arch of a gateway, and a small doorway with a shouldered lintel behind, the latter possibly part of a former guard chamber. Although a modern inscription dates the doorway to 1250, a date no earlier than c. 1450 can be recommended on the basis of the present remains. Several large, carved stones have been located in the field to the south of the cottage, and the base of an adjacent field wall is traditionally recognised as the former site of a curtain wall.

Excavation: The site was partly excavated in 1878, although nothing else is known of this work.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 29 NE 1
Pevsner 1959, 109
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 143

BRADFIELD I (Bailey Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Bradfield
SK 266927

Situation: The motte and bailey is raised on a cliff-edge position to the west of Bradfield village, commanding extensive views over the upper reaches of the Loxley Valley to the west. The ringwork and bailey of Castle Hill (BRADFIELD II) lies c. 540m to the south-east.

Preservation: The site is preserved as an immensely powerful earthwork, although discrete areas of mutilation can be noted, most prominently on the motte-top itself, where (clandestine?) excavations have mutilated the formerly flat summit, and a track erodes the southern face of the motte.

Description: Bailey Hill is a large motte and single, partial, bailey of immense strength. The large conical motte has a base diameter of c. 55m, flat table top of c. 12m diameter, and is artificially raised c. 18m above the surrounding terrain. The motte is circumvallated by a ditch c. 12m wide, which also runs south to link with the bailey ditch. This single bailey occupies a triangular area to the south-west, defined by a large bank curving south-west from the south side of the motte to the natural cliff-edge which defines the western limit of the enclosure. Surface evidence suggests that the bailey bank is of piled stone construction; having a maximum height of c. 9m, breadth of c. 10m, and defended by an external ditch of c. 6-10m width. The fact that no artificial defences can be recognised on the western perimeter of the

bailey may reflect that, due to the natural strength of the site on this side, here the defensive perimeter comprised a timber palisade only, although the possibility that a former bailey bank may have totally eroded cannot be ruled out. Notably, the earthworks provide no clear indication of any former points of access.

Excavation: Excavation in the first quarter of the 18th century apparently uncovered squared tool-marked stones from the site, highlighting the possibility of masonry defences. Four small trenches were opened to the south of the bailey ditch by SYAU in 1990 in advance of planning application for the use of the area as a burial ground. The only definite feature identified was a spread of rubble on the southern edge of the bailey bank, interpreted as indicating a former counterscarp; no medieval artefacts were recovered.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Birch 1980a, 457-58; 1980d, 374-75

Hey 1979, 43-44

Illingworth 1938, 125

King 1983, 514

S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 124

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 26-27

BRADFIELD II (Castle Hill)

Ringwork and Bailey

Bradfield

SK 271923

Situation: The site is raised on a steep and rocky, natural promontory to the south of Bradfield village. The motte and bailey of Bailey Hill (BRADFIELD I) lies *c.* 540m to the north-west.

Preservation: The earthworks are poorly preserved, having suffered extensively from quarrying activity.

Description: Castle Hill represents a denuded series of earthworks, rationalised as a small oval ringwork enclosing an area with maximum internal dimensions of *c.* 35m x *c.* 10m, and defined by an embankment rising *c.* 4m above a surrounding ditch. The enclosure lies at the north-western extremity of the natural promontory, this having been artificially scarped on all sides. A steep, artificial scarp running south-east from the south-east corner of the ringwork for a distance of *c.* 60m, may represent the former southern perimeter of a single bailey, defined by the natural contours of the hill-top. Although a number of 19th-century sources mention the former existence of masonry defences, present field evidence makes verification impossible. A natural spring on the north side of the hillside may formerly have fed the (now dry) ditch.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Birch 1980b, 458-59; 1980d, 374-75

Gould 1904

Hey 1979, 43

Hills 1874

Illingworth 1938, 125

King 1983, 514
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 26-27

BRIERLEY (Hallsteads)

Possible Motte and Bailey
Brierley
SE 421093

Situation: The enclosure known as Hallsteads occupies an isolated yet elevated position *c.* 500m east of the present village of Brierley. The central hillock stands in the angle at the confluence of two minor streams flowing from the east.

Preservation: The site is extant as a natural feature with some artificial modification.

Description: Whilst often accepted as a motte and bailey, the earthworks can more appropriately interpreted as a former manor raised upon a scarped natural hillock. An oval knoll stands entirely within an artificially scarped squarish platform *c.* 105m across, and raised *c.* 1.5m above the surrounding terrain to the south and east. The only other certain evidence of human modification are two linear ponds respectively on the north and west sides of the site perimeter; formed by containing the two minor streams with an earthen dam on the west side of the site.

Excavation: Ploughing has revealed elements of a substantial stone wall at least *c.* 1.2m thick comprising mortared sandstone blocks, around the perimeter of the scarped platform; the north arm of the moat also contains a substantial scatter of masonry.

Documentation: None

Sources:
Birch 1980d, 374-75
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13233
King 1983, 533
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 534

CONISBROUGH

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
Conisbrough
SK 514989

Situation: Conisbrough Castle is raised upon a natural hillock on the north-east side of Conisbrough village.

Preservation: The condition of this remarkable keep and the curtain wall marks the site out as of national significance, although the earthworks formerly defining the outer bailey are entirely denuded.

Description: The present field monument comprises a round, buttressed keep and associated inner ward of stone, and traces of an outer bailey to the west. The bailey is largely denuded, with no evidence to suggest that it was ever fortified in stone. Its plan can be reconstructed on the basis of the curvilinear alignment of the High Road. The circular keep stands on the line of the northern curtain wall, projecting almost entirely within the line of the inner ward. The structure is *c.* 16m in diameter at first-floor level, its

plan characterised by six externally projecting buttresses, equally spaced around a battered base. Four storeys are extant, all with circular plans and comprise: a domed basement, first-floor storage space, second-floor Great Hall with associated lobby and garderobe, and third-floor solar with hexagonal chapel contained within the thickness of the wall. A fourth-floor chamber existed at the same level as the battlements, above which the six buttresses rise as self-contained turrets.

Excavation: M. Thompson excavated the base of the keep in 1967, demonstrating the faced ashlar to sink at least c. 2m below present ground level, suggesting the keep to have been raised over a levelled motte. Four further seasons of excavations were undertaken by J. Johnson between 1973-77; investigation focused on three main zones:

Areas A, D and E: Various casemate structures constructed against the curtain wall within the inner ward were cleared. Sections within the bailey interior and against the curtain wall revealed the basis of a large rampart formerly defining the inner ward prior to its fortification with masonry, whilst the present bailey interior was shown to be an artificially raised feature composed of levelling layers c. 1.0-1.2m thick, and of 13th-century date and later.

Area B: The gate passage of the inner ward was examined, demonstrating the western gate-tower to have tumbled prior to 1538, and the eastern tower to be irregular in plan and substantially intact, with adjoining evidence of an associated barbican passage.

Area C: A garderobe chute within the zone of casemate buildings c. 20m north of the gate-passage was cleared, demonstrating it to have been a natural cleft adapted to serve the first-floor domestic quarters. Finds recovered from the shaft include shell-gritted pottery, a chess piece, fragments of floor tile and miscellaneous bronze and iron artefacts, all from 14th-/15th-century contexts.

The excavator postulated two main phases of the masonry structures on the basis of the excavations: Phase I (c. 1180-90), comprising the erection of the keep and inner ward; and Phase II (early 14th century), witnessing the reinforcement of the gate-towers and walls, and the addition of extensive kitchens and a latrine chamber.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned 1174-78 with its constable, Henry Pichot. It was in the hands of Hamelin Plantaganet in the period 1163-1202, and repaired as late as 1482-83 when in Royal possession.

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75
Colvin *et al.* 1963, 616
Hey 1979, 45-47
Illingworth 1938, 36-44
Johnson 1980
King 1983, 515-16, 536
Magilton 1977, 28
Pevsner 1959, 167-69
Renn 1968, 155-57
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 29-30
Webster and Cherry 1976, 185
Wilson and Hurst 1969, 215

DONCASTER

Motte and Bailey
Doncaster
SE 574036 (Approx.)

Situation: The castle mound formerly stood within the north-east sector of the Roman fort of *Danum*, under the east end of St. George's church.

Preservation: The format of the castle can be reconstructed from topographical and archaeological evidence only; nothing structural survives, rendering the NGR approximate.

Description: Topographical evidence suggests the former existence of a circular motte which stood on the east side of a single, oval-shaped bailey; this feature largely following the alignment of the present churchyard. Both features were contained within the perimeter of the later Roman fort, which may effectively have formed a large outer bailey.

Excavation: Excavation by P. Buckland in 1970 demonstrated the motte ditch to be *c.* 3.5m deep, and to have been deliberately filled-in, although dating of any episodes was difficult due to the generally aceramic nature of the motte and bailey phase. A short length of herringbone-construction wall was also thought to relate to the castle, although its former purpose remains obscure. The castle motte was apparently constructed through the digging of a circular ditch and filling of the interior using material from the north-east of the fort, and appears to have been revetted with river cobbles. The bailey ditch has been noted and recorded at various times. The castle was apparently in use until the 13th century, at which stage the inner bailey ditch was allowed to silt up, the outer bailey defences being levelled, and the Roman fort wall suffering progressive robbing.

Documentation: None

Sources:
Birch 1980d, 374-76
Hey 1979, 52
King 1983, 530
Magilton 1977, 34
Wilson and Moorhouse 1971, 149, 135-36

FENWICK (Moat Hill/Ladythorpe Moat)

Possible Castle
Fenwick
SE 582150

Situation: This is a moated manor site in an isolated, low-lying position of little natural strength - its association with the documentary evidence for an otherwise lost castle site in the vicinity is pure conjecture.

Preservation: The earthwork is generally well preserved under permanent pasture, although there is limited disturbance on the east of the site where the ditch has been re-cut, and limited evidence of quarrying.

Description: Moat Hill is an irregular quadrilateral moat with a slightly raised central island. Although the present earthwork cannot in itself be identified as a castle site, documentary evidence makes it likely that the earthwork reflects a later modification of a castle. The central island has maximum dimensions of c. 40m x 50m, and is surrounded by a moat up to c. 5m in width, interrupted on the east side by a denuded earthen causeway. The moat is now dry, although must have previously relied a once lower water table for defensibility. An associated manorial fishpond is indicated by a waterlogged arm of the moat projecting to the north-west for c. 30m. There are no obvious signs of stone remains on the site at present, although *ex situ* limestone blocks are visible in the west arm of the moat, and wall footings have previously been identified on the site. Remains of ridge and furrow cultivation run north-south across the island, and further plough ridges to the east of the site can also be identified. The raised nature of the island makes it likely that the ridge and furrow postdates occupation here, whereas the entire site may itself post-date the ridge and furrow in the surrounding fields.

Excavation: Local reports suggest that worked limestone blocks have been recovered from the island.

Documentation: There is a documentary reference c. 1272 to a castle site in Fenwick.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13221
Fenwick 1997, 434-36
King 1983, 530, 540
Magilton 1977, 39
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 296

HAMPOLE (Castle Hill)

Motte/Motte and Bailey
Hampole
SE 512104

Situation: The earthwork lies c. 500m east of Hampole village on a position of little natural strength.

Preservation: The field is presently under cultivation, the earthwork surviving only as a slight, denuded feature and associated scatter of limestone blocks.

Description: Castle Hill is a low and apparently shapeless mound, the natural contours ensuring that it is artificially raised more on the southern than northern flank. The feature is oval in plan with maximum dimensions of c. 46 x 25m; the long axis oriented north-west - south-east. A superficial rise is apparent towards the east end, with a level area discernible to the west. Although the profile is perhaps suggestive of a small motte and bailey in the mode of KIMBERWORTH, no firm conclusion can be drawn from the present state of field evidence.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75
Hey 1979, 44
King 1983, 531
Magilton 1977, 43
OS Antiquity Model, Site No SE 51 SW 17

HICKLETON (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Hickleton
SE 480055 (Approx.)

Situation: The former castle site lay due north of Hickleton village, raised upon the end of a low, rocky natural promontory projecting north-west from the settlement core.

Preservation: The site was entirely destroyed by limestone quarrying; nothing remains and the NGR is thus approximate.

Description: The format of this early castle site can only be reconstructed from an imperfect 18th-century copy of a crudely measured sketch and brief description by Roger Dodsworth, made *c.* 1630. The site apparently comprised a rare type of motte and bailey, consisting of a circular rock-cut pedestal forming the motte, with at least one, but possibly up to three, successive, adjacent baileys in line to the south, also apparently hewn from the natural rock. The entire length of the site, including motte and bailey(s), was in excess of 200 paces, and the width in excess of 100 paces.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:
Birch 1980d, 374-76
Hey 1979, 45
Magilton 1977, 49-50
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 1158

KIMBERWORTH

Motte/Motte and Bailey
Rotherham
SK 406935

Situation: The motte and bailey occupies one of a series of natural eminence above the Rother, commanding extensive views over the Rother valley to the south.

Preservation: The mound itself is much worn down and its immediate environs extensively built over by a housing estate which entirely envelopes the feature.

Description: The site comprises a large, roughly elliptical mound with approximate dimensions of *c.* 110m x 65m, the long axis oriented east-west. The feature is raised a maximum of *c.* 3m above the surrounding ground surface, and has a markedly stepped appearance downwards from west to east, the west end of the mound being isolated by a scarp running transversely across it. Although not a conventional motte and bailey it seems most likely that the markedly raised west end of the mound represents a pseudo-'motte', and the east end an adjacent court. Traces of a surrounding ditch around the entire feature can be identified to the north and west, but is otherwise obscured by housing. There is no

evidence to suggest the former existence of any additional outer enclosures, although these too would presumably have been eradicated.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13224
Hey 1979, 44-45
King 1983, 530
OS Antiquity Model, No. SK 49 SW 2
Pevsner 1959, 285
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 121

LANGTHWAITE (Castle Hills)

Motte and Bailey
Adwick
SE 551067

Situation: The site occupies a low-lying position, apparently reliant on the surrounded marshy land for defence.

Preservation: The motte is heavily denuded and the remains of the outer bailey vestigial. Nonetheless, the fact that the site is waterlogged - with associated implications for the preservation of organic remains - marks it out as a potentially valuable site. The site is presently threatened by treasure hunting and motorbike scrambling.

Description: Castle Hills is a motte and bailey with a series of weak outworks. The motte is *c.* 5m high, with a flat top of *c.* 8m diameter, and has a bean-shaped bailey appended to the east. A small mound in the north-west angle of the bailey may represent a 'barbican'-type feature flanking the single identifiable point of access to the bailey in a manner paralleled locally at MEXBOROUGH. Although tradition suggests the former existence of a masonry tower on the motte-top, the present field monument has no indication of any stone element.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Addy 1914, 361-62
Birch 1980d, 374-75
Hey 1979, 44
Illingworth 1938, 128
King 1983, 512
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 392
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 32

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN (Castle Hill/Hall Yard)

Motte and Bailey
Thurcroft
SK 516881

Situation: The castle lies immediately west of the parish church. It is raised upon the western limit of a natural plateau upon which the village also stands, and from which the ground falls away naturally to the north and west.

Preservation: The site is well preserved, although presently under a dense covering of rough vegetation.

Description: The Castle Hill earthworks comprise a circular motte, *c.* 9m in height, with a base diameter of *c.* 30m and a top diameter of *c.* 9m. A dry moat, *c.* 9m in width and *c.* 1.5m deep, encircles the motte, with no sign of an entrance. The inner bailey is kidney-shaped, enclosed by a rampart averaging *c.* 2.5m in height, and having maximum internal dimensions of *c.* 35m x 70m. An outwork striking northwards from the north-west corner of the bailey is conjectured to have formed the basis of a second bailey. The profile of this enclosure is fossilised to the east by the curvilinear alignment of Brookhouse Lane, having approximate maximum dimensions of *c.* 60 x 150m and appears to have formerly enclosed the parish church.

Excavation: No excavation has taken place on the core elements of the site, although miscellaneous pottery fragments have been recovered from the churchyard, thought to have been enclosed within the outer bailey. These comprise a minimum of two Roman sherds, a Saxo-Norman pot rim and a small number of 13th-century medieval sherds recovered during grave-digging in 1957.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Addy 1914, 357-59
Birch 1980c, 429-430; 1980d, 374-75
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13227
Gould 1904
Hey 1979, 41
Illingworth 1938, 128
King 1983, 520-21
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 118
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 32-33

MEXBOROUGH (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Mexborough
SK 485999

Situation: The motte and bailey occupies the gently rising ground immediately north of the Don on the eastern fringes of Mexborough. The cutting of the Sheffield and South Yorkshire Navigation through the area to the south of the motte has blurred the natural prominence of the earthwork's position, overlooking the important crossing of the Don historically known as 'Strafforth Sands'.

Preservation: The site is preserved as a low earthwork within a public park (Castle Hills Park), much denuded by deliberate landscaping. A concrete bandstand occupies the bailey interior and a series of modern walls and artificially-surfaced pathways cut across the earthwork.

Description: Castle Hill is a motte and bailey; somewhat unconventional in the exceptionally circular plan of both features, and the presence of an unusual outwork. The circular motte has a height of *c.* 6m and a base diameter of *c.* 40m, although landscaping has obscured the summit. The single, almost perfectly circular bailey lies to the north-east, has a maximum diameter of *c.* 75m, yet encloses an artificially raised, level interior area of only *c.* 45m diameter; the defences comprise a substantial rampart raised *c.* 2m above the bailey interior, and external ditch, although the latter survives only as a minor hollow on the north side of the bailey perimeter. A prominent outwork takes the form of a semi-circular length of bank with traces of accompanying ditch, sited to the north-west of the junction between motte and bailey. Although occasionally suggested to be a stock-enclosure, the hornwork most likely represents a barbican-type feature in the mode of LANGTHWAITE; serving to flank the only recognisable point of access to the bailey. Numerous suggestions that the earthwork has pre-Conquest origins appear based merely on the place-name element '-burgh'.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Addy 1914, 359-61
Birch 1980d, 374-75
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13210
Glassby 1893, 16-19
Gould 1904
Hey 1979, 44
Ilingworth 1938, 129
King 1983, 521
Magilton 1977, 57
Pevsner 1959, 366-67
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 00122
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 33

SHEFFIELD

Early Castle/Stone Castle
Sheffield
SK 358877 (Approx.)

Situation: The castle occupied a natural prominence overlooking the confluence of the Rivers Don and Sheaf; an artificial diversion of these created a moat around its base.

Preservation: The format of the site is known through archaeology and topography only; nothing structural survives, rendering the NGR approximate.

Description: A combination of topographical and archaeological evidence suggests that the late-13th-century stone castle was constructed on the site of an earth and timber predecessor of uncertain form, and this in turn imposed upon a Saxon proto-castle, only partially investigated. The stone castle seems likely to have comprised a masonry enclosure including a minimum of one circular tower and a gatehouse on the

south side of the circuit, this guarding a drawbridge over the artificial diversion of the rivers which formed the castle moat.

Excavation: Extensive excavations took place from 1927-29, concentrating upon two main areas. Investigation on the site of the Co-operative stores revealed a rectangular gatehouse with circular bastion, the drawbridge pier and the course of a surrounding ditch. Excavation of the New Markets site revealed sections of walling forming the frontage of buildings on the east side of the castle court, the site of the castle chapel and defined the slope of the *glacis* and castle perimeter to the north and east. A cruck-constructed building of at least three bays was interpreted as Saxon in date, and a stockaded section on a markedly different line to the later castle perimeter was conjectured to have belonged to a similar period. The moat and gatehouse were re-examined by L. Butler during building work in 1958, partially defining the profile of the castle moat; this was approximately 11m wide and sunk c. 9-11m, with rock-cut walls in its lower levels. Pottery and small finds dated from the 12th to 17th centuries, with a few sherds of coarse shell ware (probable 11th-century date), indicating earlier occupation.

Documentation: Sheffield was the castle of the De Lovetots and subsequently the De Furnivals. It was first mentioned in 1184, when under de Lovetot ownership; it was burned soon afterwards. Licence to crenellate was granted in 1270, when it was to be 'built as a castle'. The castle was taken during the Civil War in 1644 and systematically dismantled soon after.

Sources:

Armstrong 1929-30
Birch 1980d, 374-76
Garfitt 1914
Hey 1979, 54-55
King 1983, 530, 540
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 242
Wilson and Hurst 1959, 308

SPROTBOROUGH (Castle Hill)

Possible Motte
Sprotborough
SE 543034

Situation: This isolated site occupies a highly defensive location on the edge of a small, steep-sided valley, presently isolated from Cusworth Park by the Doncaster Bypass.

Preservation: The site survives as a substantial earthwork mound, with the appearance of deliberate mutilation on its flank; it presently lies under dense undergrowth.

Description: Castle Hill is a substantial and patently artificial earthen mound. The feature is artificially raised c. 5m, has a base diameter of c. 35m and dimensions of c. 18 x 20m across the oval top. A surrounding ditch, c. 6m wide has been cut through rock on the west side, although largely filled-in to the east. A former counterscarp bank is preserved as a slight earthwork feature only on the north side. There is no evidence of a bailey, the steep scarp immediately to the south of the feature being entirely natural, although the surrounding terrain to the north and east is heavily wooded and may obscure any such feature. The apparent lack of bailey, in conjunction to the site's location within Cusworth park has prompted the suggestion that - rather than a motte - the feature is a formal garden earthwork. Coates equates the earthwork with the 'temple hill', said to have a diameter of 20ft, constructed as a feature of Cusworth Park in 1762-63, complete with ha-ha.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75

Coates 1963, 300

English Heritage Ancient monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13253

Hey 1979, 45

Illingworth 1938, 131

King 1983, 526

Magilton 1977, 50

S. Yorks. SMR, Site File No. 120

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 23

STAINBOROUGH ('Staynber Law')

Possible Ringwork

Stainborough

SE 316030

Situation: The earthwork is located on a low natural promontory site, overlooking the valley of the Dove.

Preservation: The earthworks are seriously denuded, and the standing masonry entirely post-medieval, being a small neo-Gothic folly erected by Horace Walpole in 1789.

Description: The earthwork on this site is usually referred to as an iron age hill-fort or enclosure, although in the absence of any detailed investigation the feature may equally represent a medieval ringwork. The earthworks comprise a roughly circular ditched and ramparted enclosure of c. 50m diameter. The 18th-century Gothic gatehouse on the perimeter could have replaced an earlier structure of approximately similar dimensions and appearance, although its origins remain obscure.

Excavation: Minor excavations in 1963 revealed the present masonry structures to have been inserted in an earlier ditch, although no datable deposits were recorded; the only artefact recovered was a residual mesolithic flint found within a mixed rubble context.

Documentation: A Court Roll of 1613 refers to 'castle ruins' at Stainborough.

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75; 1980e, 448-49

Elgee and Elgee 1933, 118

Pevsner 1959, 540

Preston 1944-50, 91

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 10

THORNE (Peel Hill)

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
Thorne
SE 689133

Situation: Peel Hill was a highly defensible site, formerly comprising an island in a low-lying, swampy area, although presently situated centrally within the town of Thorne, immediately north of the parish church of St. Nicholas.

Preservation: The motte is relatively well preserved, although artificially lowered through post-medieval market gardening, whilst the surrounding ditch exists in three denuded fragments; the foundations of the keep are today barely visible. The bailey has been swamped by market gardens and housing to the south.

Description: The site comprises a motte surmounted by the remains of a circular/polygonal tower, with vestiges of a destroyed bailey. The motte is *c.* 8m high, has a base diameter of *c.* 25m and a flat top *c.* 8m across; vestiges of a surrounding ditch are visible to the north and west. A description by Leland in 1534 implies the tower was apparently still standing, whilst a description by Casson in 1829 suggests that the keep - then little more than foundations of *c.* '3-4ft thickness' - may have been of a similar form to CONISBOROUGH, though on a smaller scale, describing three buttresses or outworks pointing north-east, west and south-east. Casson further quotes 17th-century documentary evidence of a group of buildings, which must have existed in a bailey to the south of the motte, including a 'Hall Garth', 'King's Chamber', 'Chamber over the outward gate', and 'Gatehouse', which apparently stood in Stoneygate, near the church. Nothing remains of the bailey, although a quadrilateral plan is fossilised in the alignment of the streets around St. Nicholas's church.

Excavation: Small-scale excavations occurred on the motte in the first quarter of the 19th century, as Casson (in 1829) mentions that John Benson Esq. "bared the foundations of the castle"...."a few years ago". The excavations are otherwise unknown.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Birch 1980d, 374-75
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13213
Hey 1979, 44
Ilingworth 1938, 132
King 1983, 527
Leland (ed. Smith 1910) i, 36)
Magilton 1977, 73
S. Yorks. SMR, Site File, No. 296
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 23

TICKHILL I

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
Tickhill
SK 594928

Situation: The motte and bailey was raised on a knoll of soft sandstone on the north bank of the Torne. It lies *c.* 200m east of the parish church, on the south-east side of the medieval town. Marginal evidence exists for a possible early castle (TICKHILL II) *c.* 2.5km to the north-east.

Preservation: Both earthworks and masonry are in stable condition, with only minor areas of severe disturbance, such as the incorporation of a post-medieval building into the north-west interior of the curtain wall - which may re-use a Norman round-headed arch from the domestic quarters - and the robbing of section of the south-west curtain.

Description: The first identifiable phase is a powerful motte and bailey. The motte is approximately 18m in height, with a base diameter of *c.* 55m and flat top *c.* 18m. The motte is raised upon a natural eminence, meaning that only one third is artificial. A single oval bailey lies to the east, with maximum dimensions of *c.* 75m x 130m; both motte and bailey being entirely surrounded by a water-filled ditch up to 9m in width, although only traces remain of the ditch formerly dividing the two. The site was subsequently curtain-walled from the 12th century, and features an ashlar Norman gate house on the west side of the enclosure. This feature is *c.* 10m square and contains an unvaulted tunnel entrance, although the front of the feature is masked by a 14th-/15th-century gate arch and the interior was partially remodelled in the 16th century. Whilst likely that the gatehouse was constructed shortly before the curtain walling of the bailey proper, this cannot be proved. The curtain walling is *c.* 3-4m thick, *c.* 6-9m high and surmounts the bailey rampart on all but the west side where it is set *c.* 4-5m behind the bank, which here forms a berm between curtain and ditch; it also runs *c.* one third of the way up the motte. An 11-sided stone tower was raised on the motte-top, with walls *c.* 3m thick, projecting pilasters at each angle and entered from the south-west. A substantial fishpond east of the bailey is presumably a late manorial development.

Excavation: Excavation on the keep by R. Young in 1961, achieved little more than uncovering the foundations, demonstrating the structure to have been irregularly set upon on a circular plinth; evidence also pointed to the tower not being a shell keep as is commonly held. Excavations on the motte-top in 1987 further exposed the keep wall and demonstrated the survival of early stratigraphy.

Documentation: Although presumably a foundation of the Conquest, the castle is first mentioned when forfeited to the crown by Robert de Belleme in 1102 (along with Arundel, Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury); Ordericus (writing 1123-41) further mentioning that the castle of 'Blythe' was formerly in the possession of Roger de Busli. The Pipe Rolls record Royal expenditure on the site throughout the later 12th and early 13th century, including £30 in 1129-30, and in excess of £120 on the tower and bridge in 1178-80. The castle was taken 1102, 1194, 1265 and 1644, and attacked without success in 1322. A survey of 1538 describes the keep as decayed, along with the bakehouse, kitchen, pantry and gatehouse, all of which must have lain within the bailey.

Sources:

Abramson 1988, 186
Birch 1980d, 374-76; 1980f, 416-417
Colvin *et al.* 1963, 844-55
Hey 1979, 47-49
Illingworth 1938, 112-13
King 1983, 527, 539
Magilton 1977, 75
Pevsner 1959, 512-13
Renn 1968, 322-23
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 117
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 39-40
Wilson and Hurst 1962-63, 325

TICKHILL II (Dumpling Castle)

Possible Early Castle

Tickhill

SK 615942

Situation: The NGR relates to the place-name 'Dumpling Castle', remembered in 'Dumpling Castle Covert/Farm'. The names occur immediately below the locally prominent natural eminence of 'Bog Hill', c. 2.5km north-east of TICKHILL I.

Preservation: Other than the place-name, there is no evidence for the existence of an early castle site.

Description: Conjecturally, the place name may indicate the former site of a castle, and the 'dumpling' element most likely refers to an earthwork motte.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

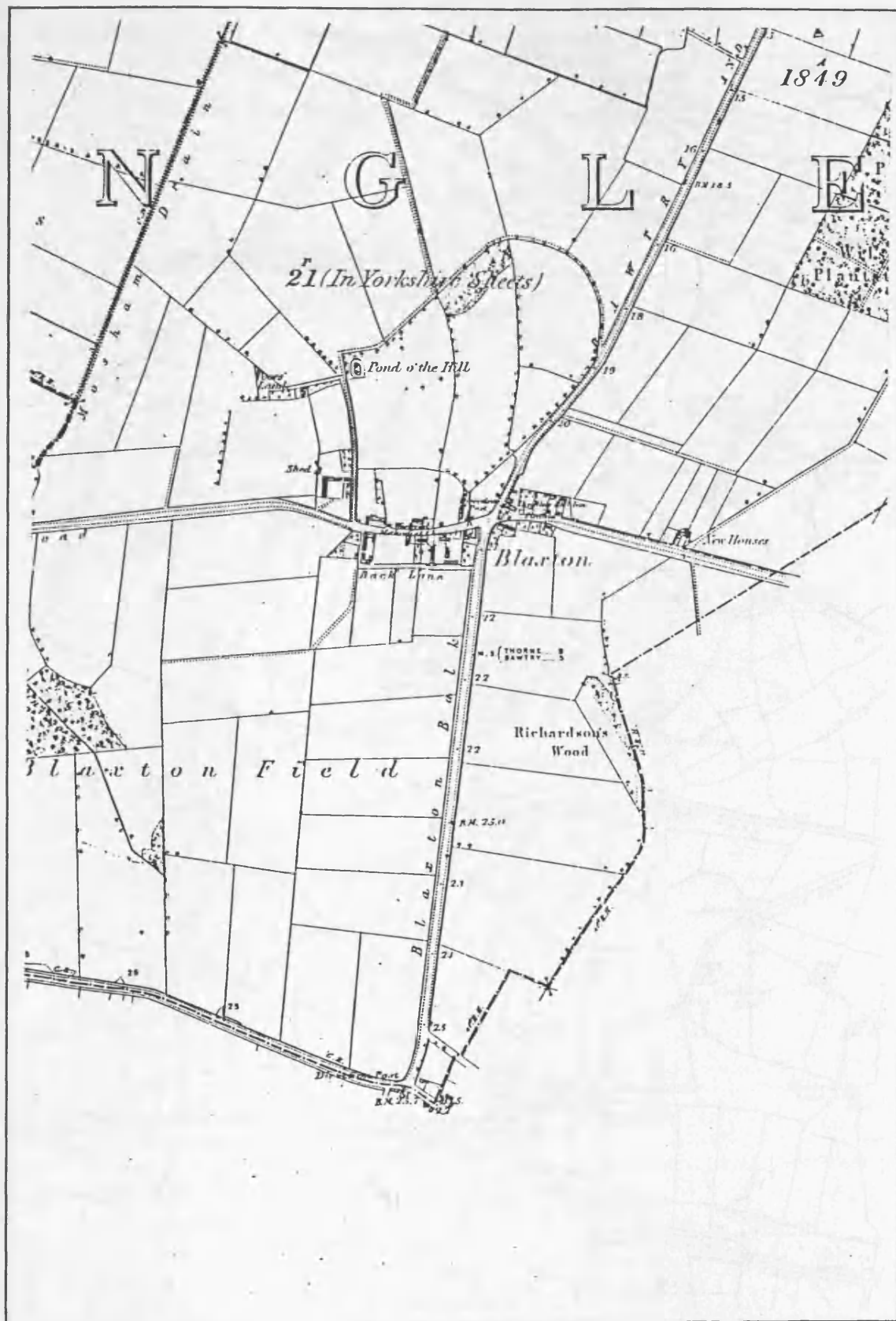
S. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 3939



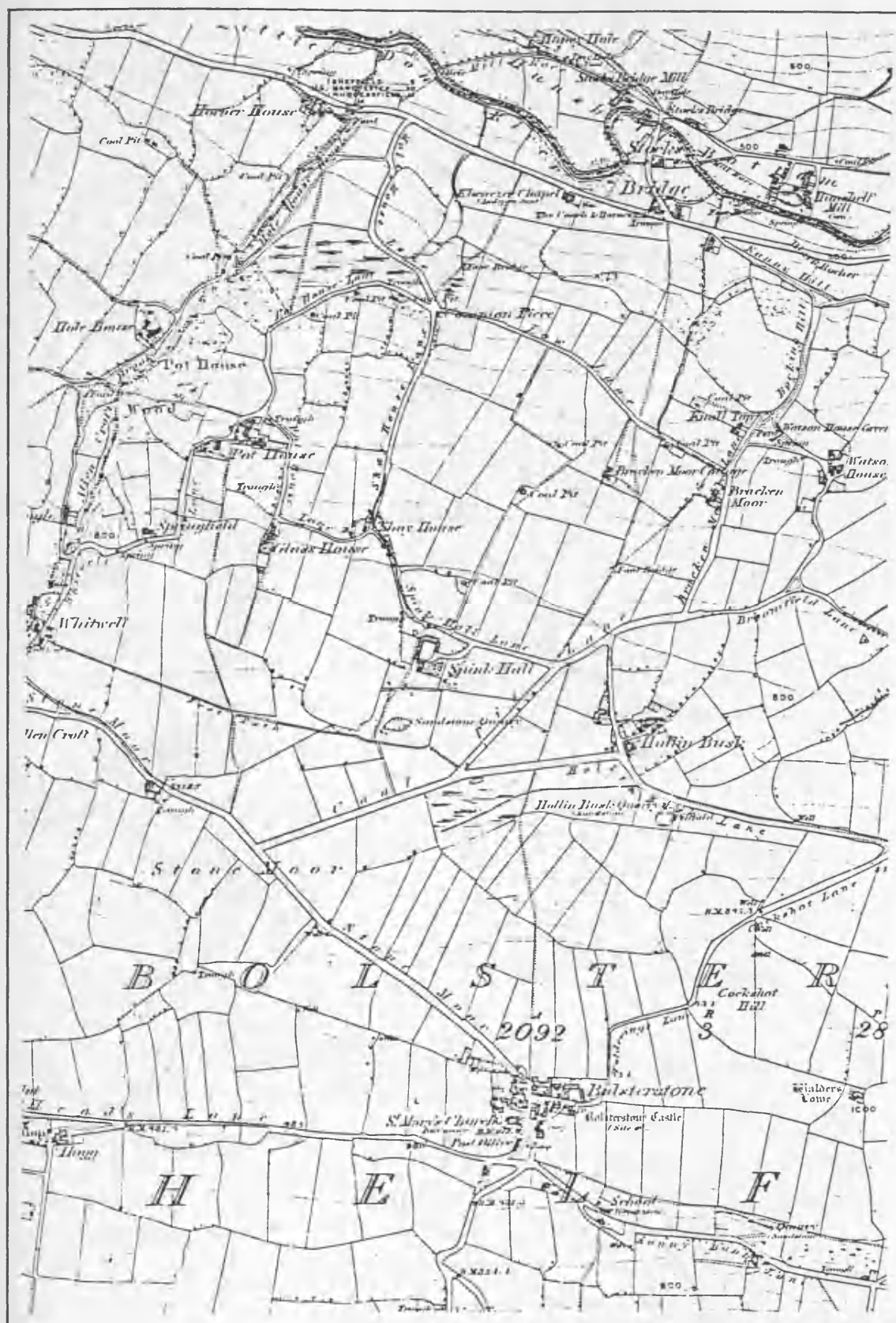
Adwick-le-Street
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXIV SE (1892)



Beighton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CCXCV SE (1903),
and CCXCIX NE (1892)



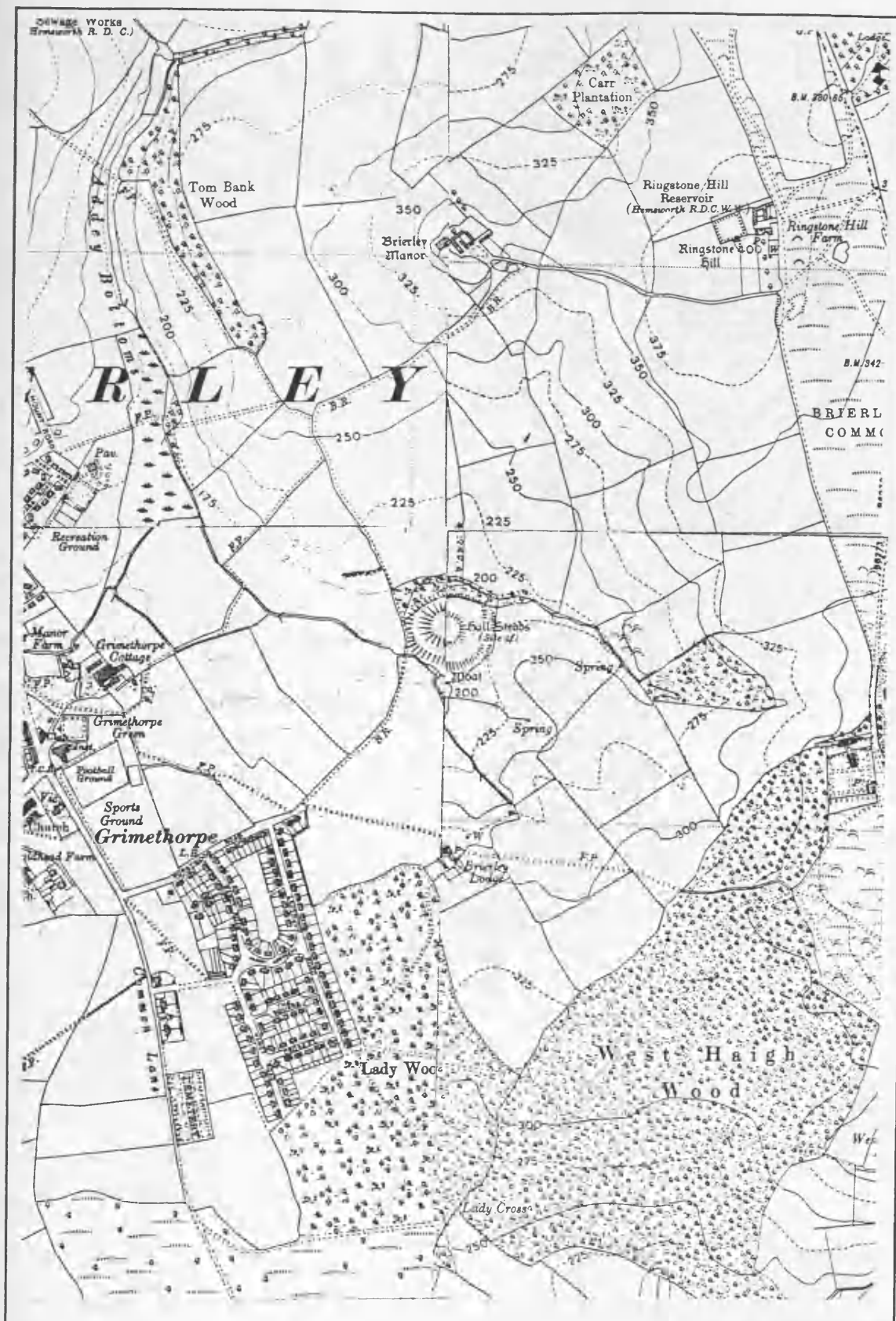
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OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXXXVI NW
(1891)



Bolsterstone
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXXXI SE (1893)

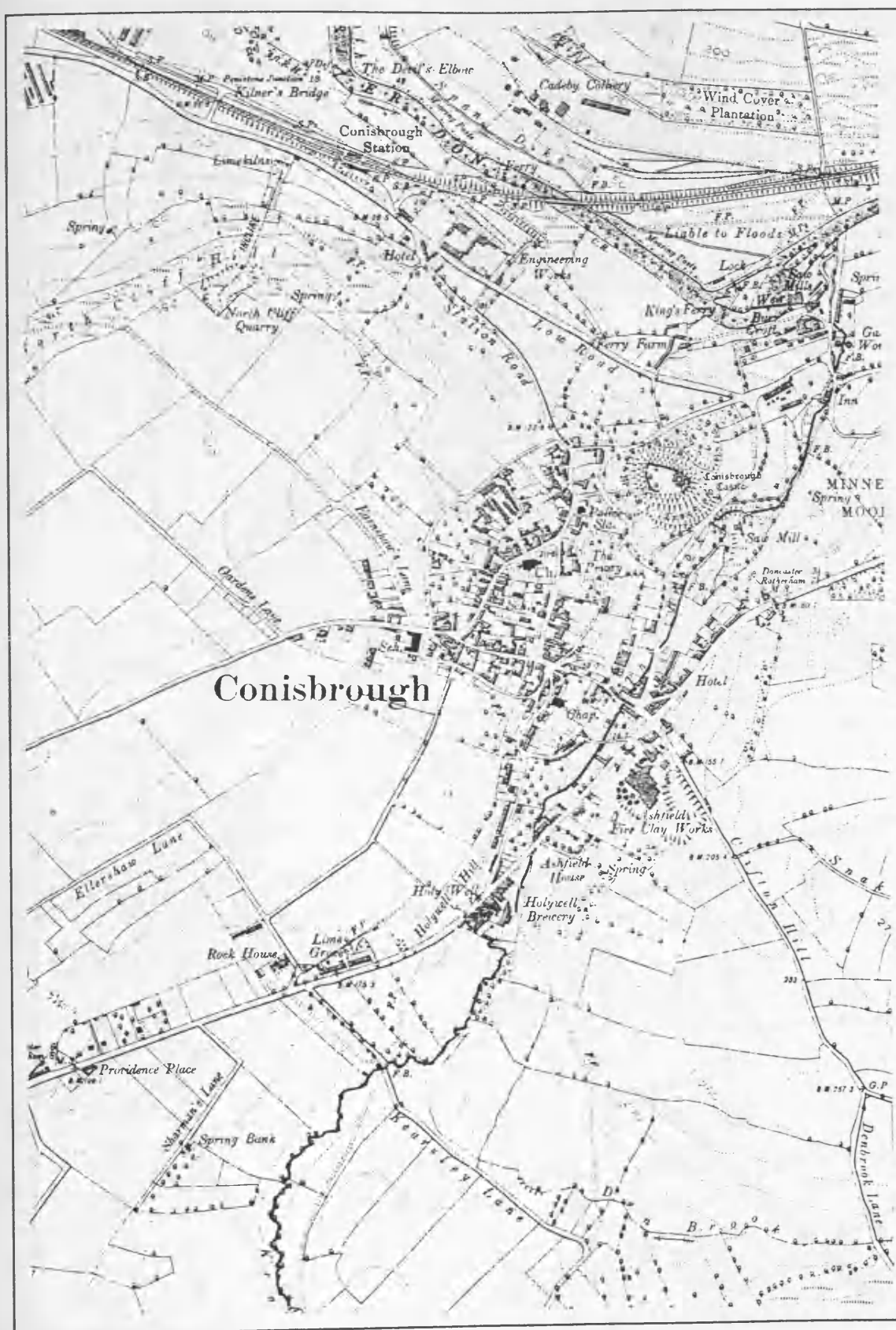


Bradfield I and II
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXXXVII SE
(1893)

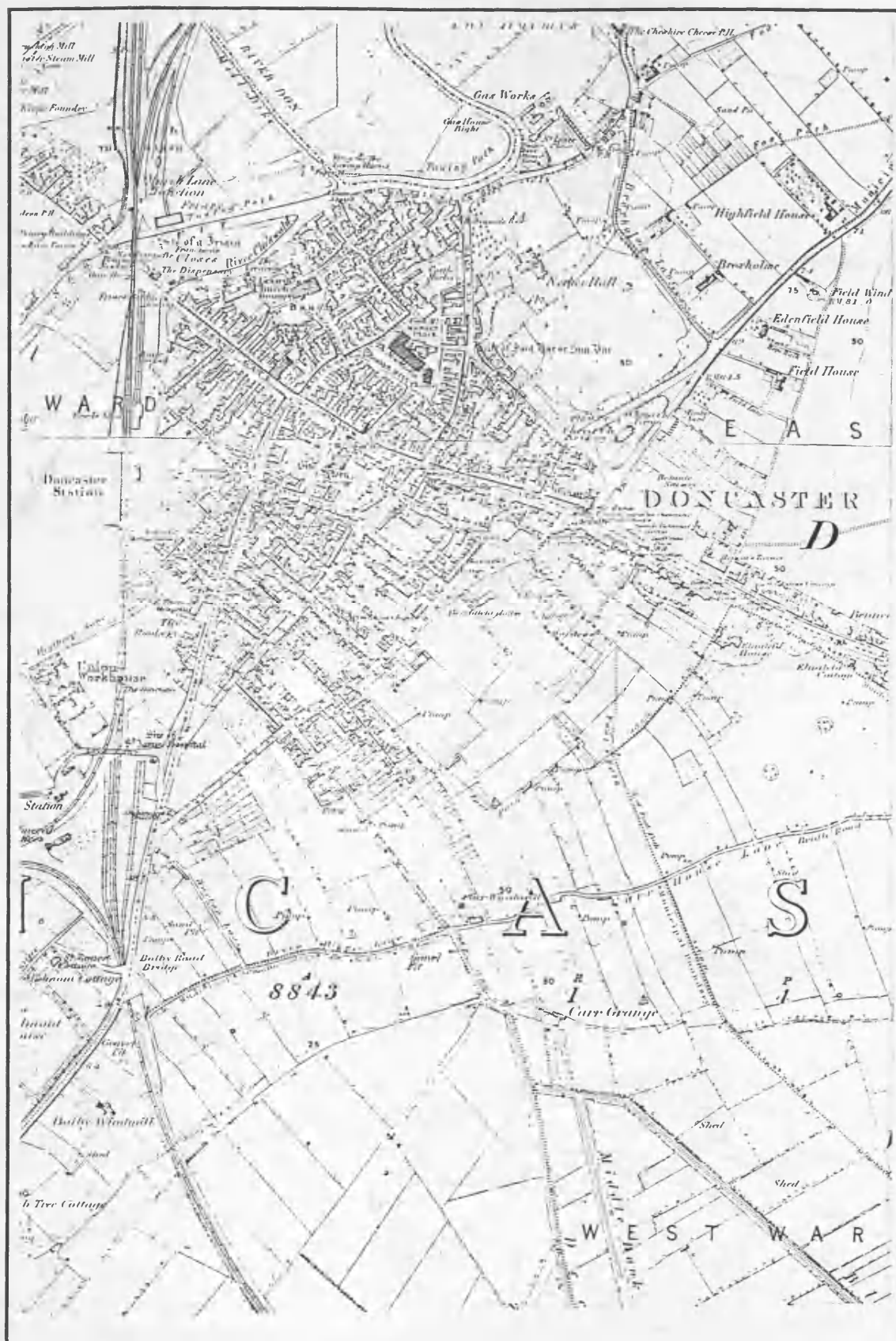


Brierley

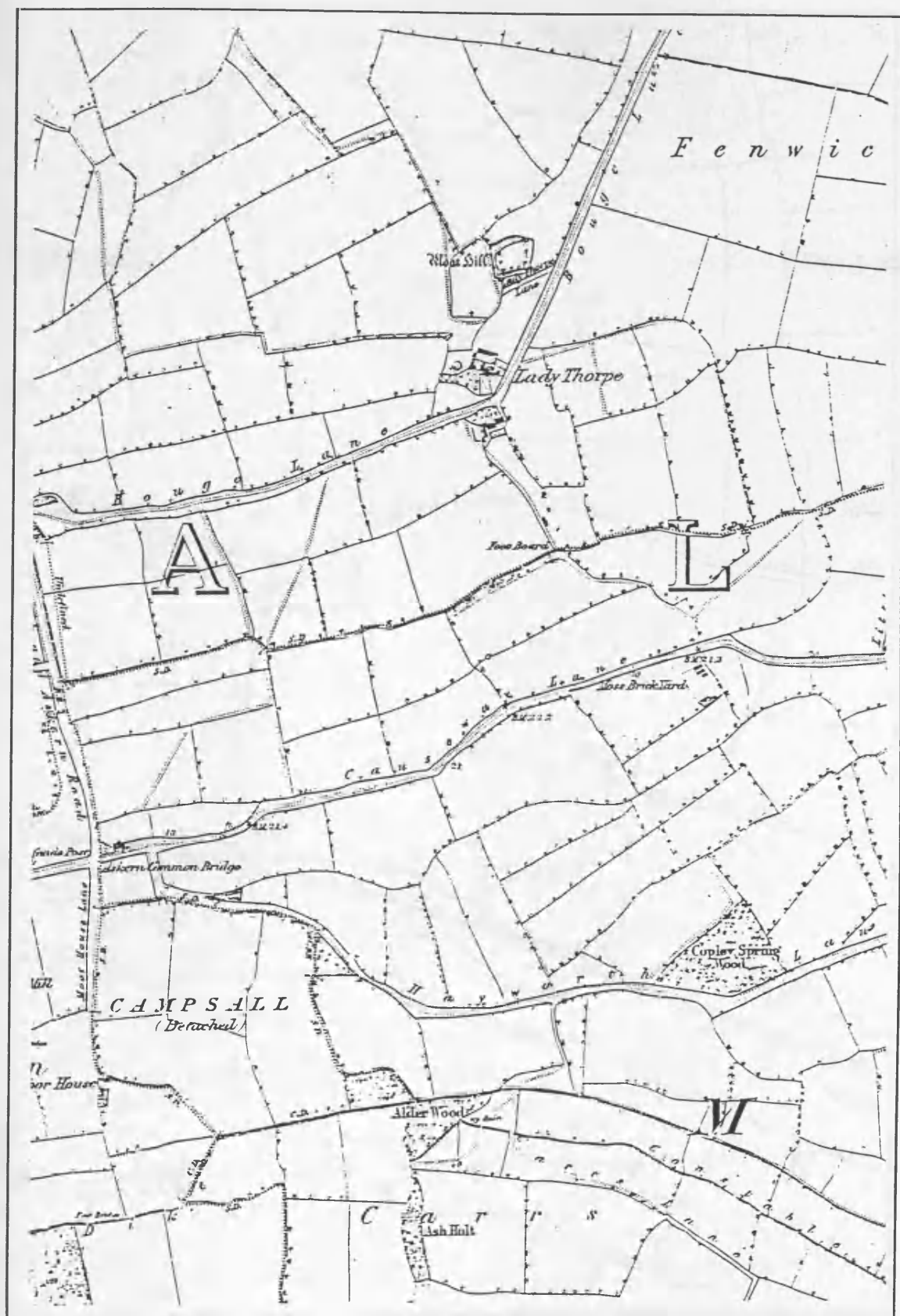
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CCLXIII SW
(1903), CCLXIII SE (1903), CCLXXV NW (1902), and
CCLXXV NE (1902)



Conisbrough
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXXXIV SW
(1893)



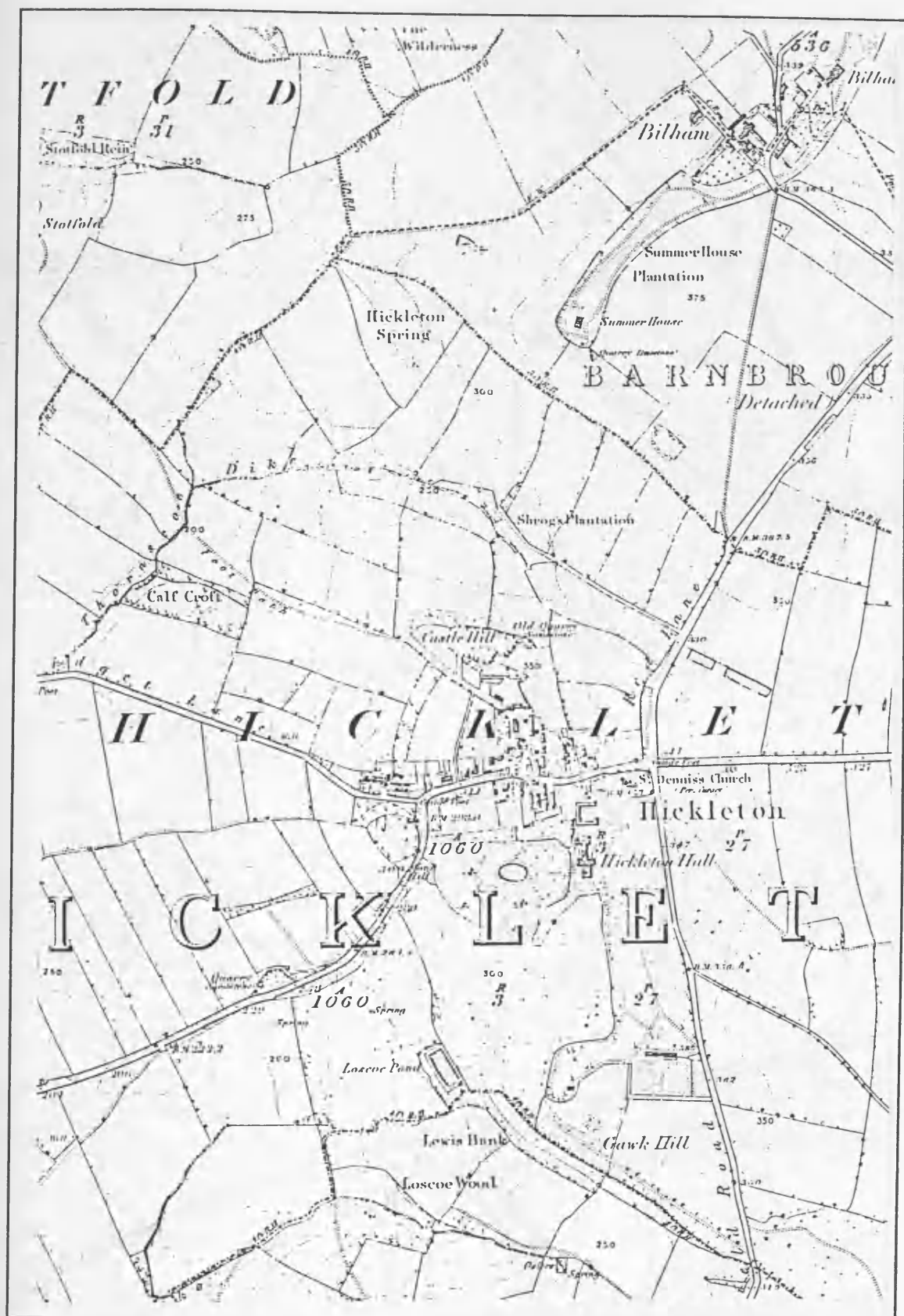
Doncaster
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CCLXXVII SW
(1891), and CCLXXXV NW (1891)



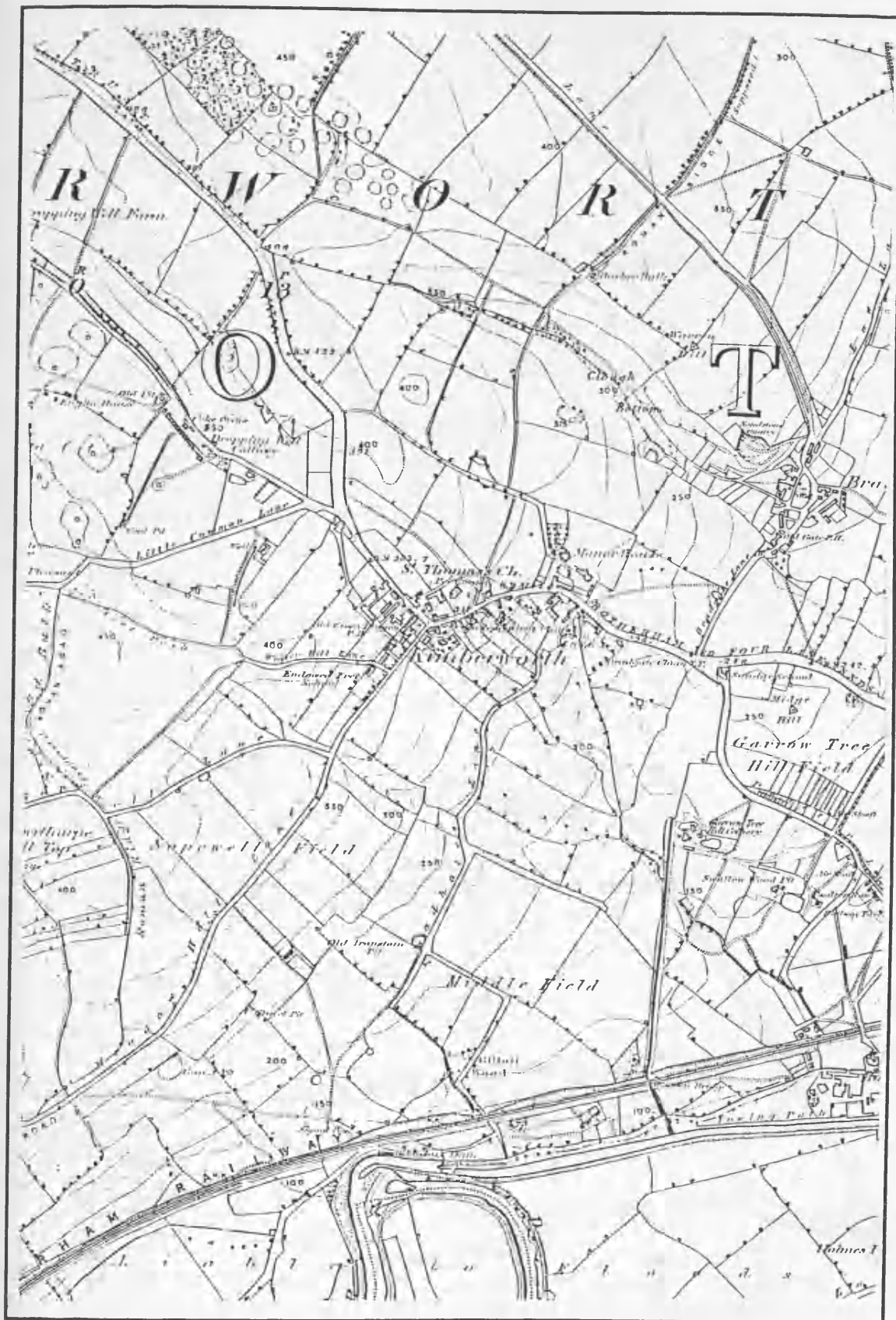
Fenwick
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXV NW (1893)



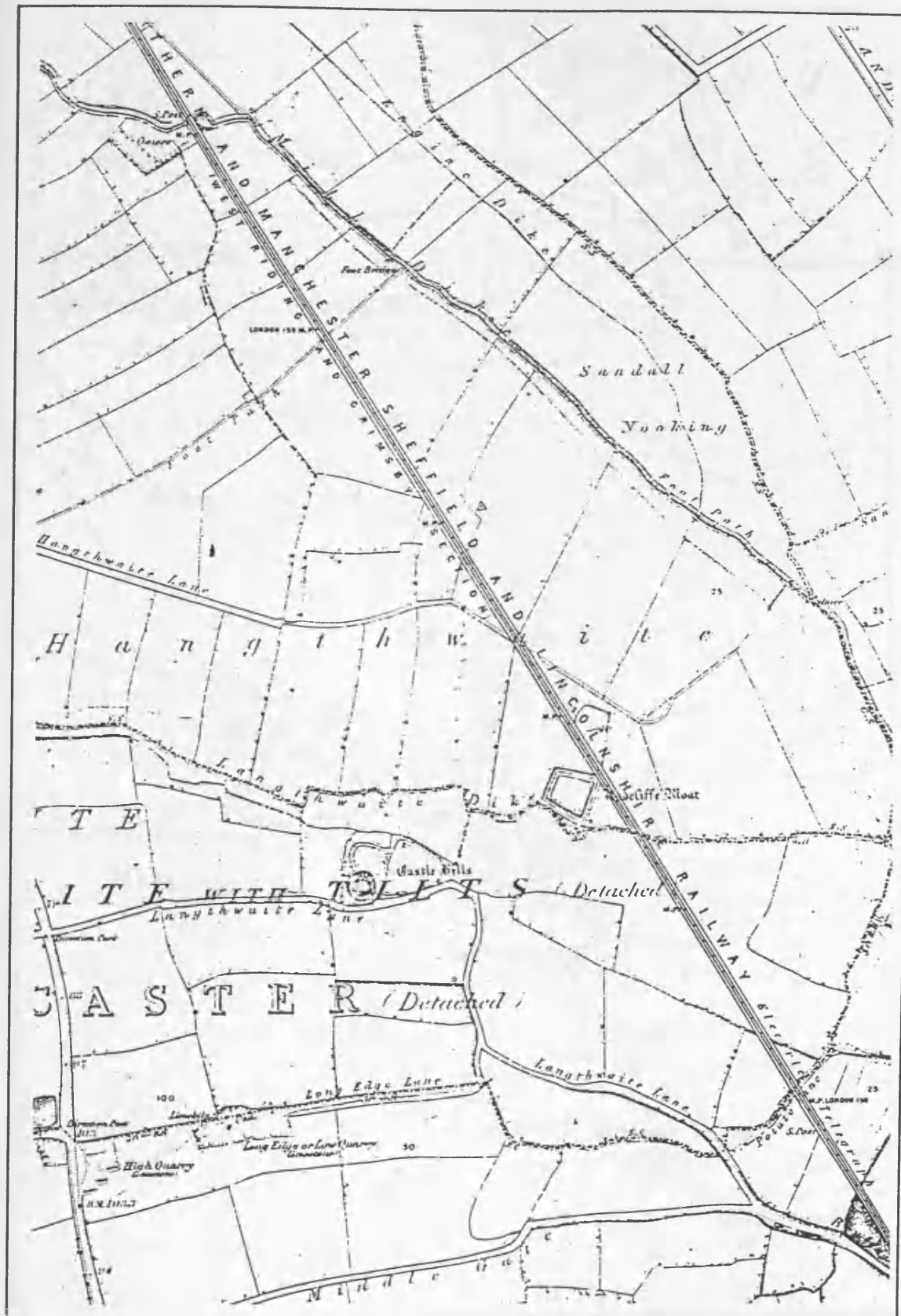
Hampole
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXIV SW (1893)



Hickleton
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXXVI SW
(1892)



Kimberworth
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXXXIX SW
(1894)



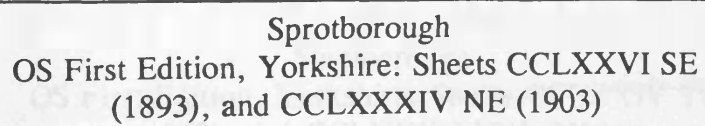
Langthwaite
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXXVI NE
(1891)

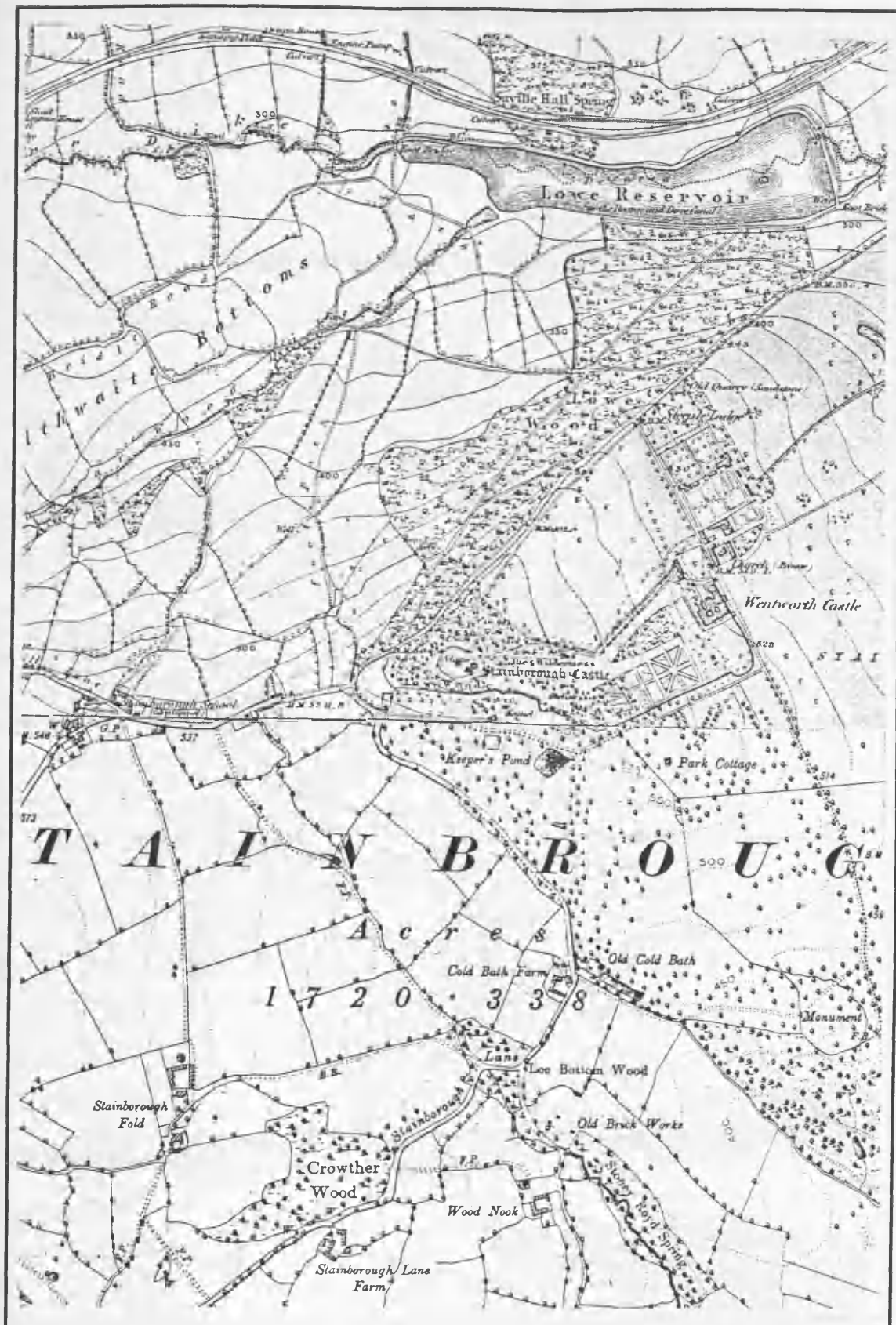


Mexborough
 OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCLXXXIV NW
 (1903), and CCLXXXIV SW (1903)

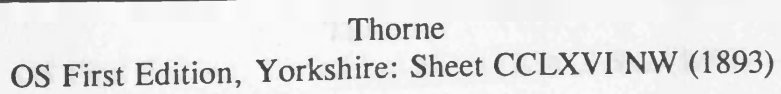


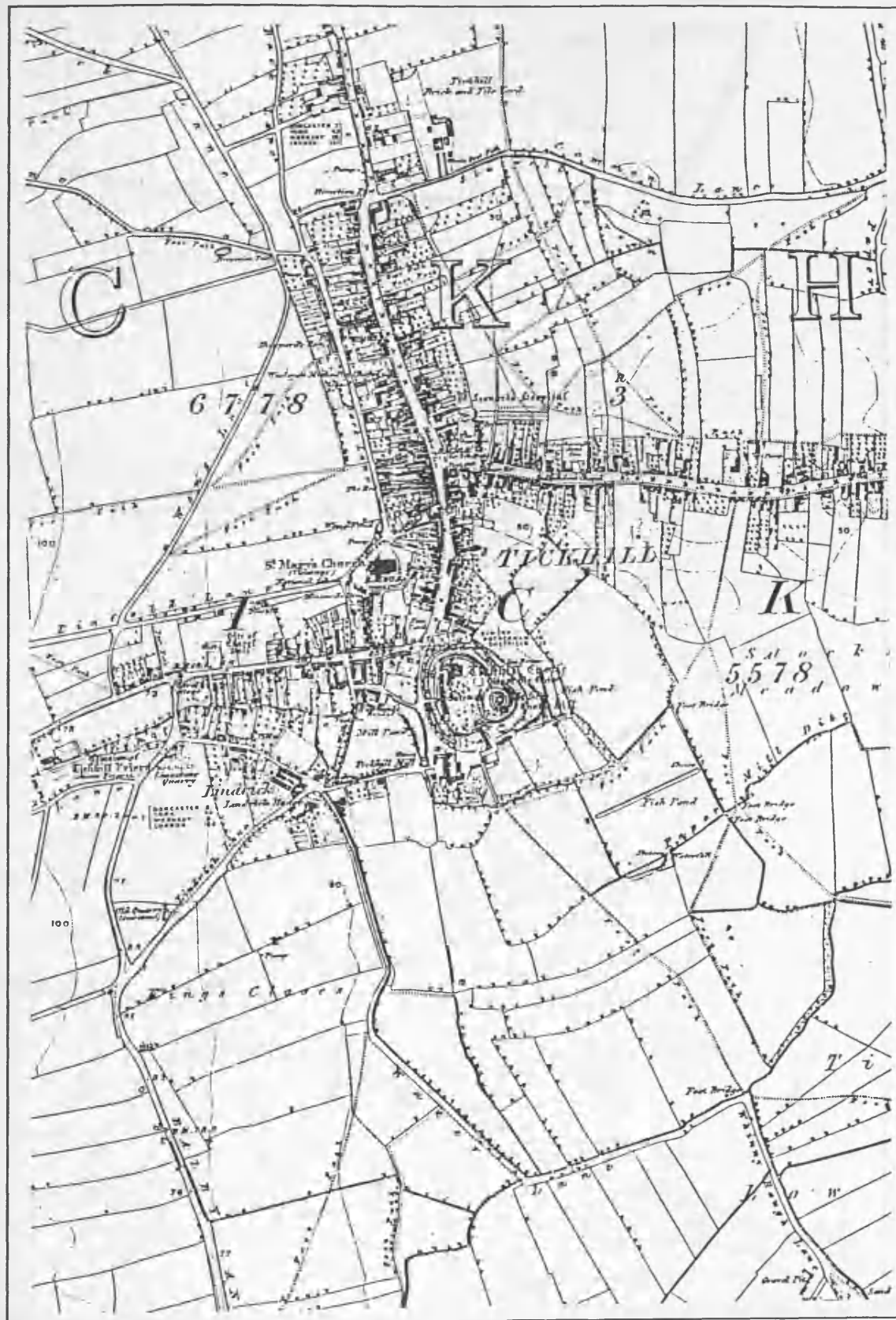
Sheffield
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXCIV NE (1894)





Stainborough
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheets CCLXXIV SW
(1892), and CCLXXXII NW (1896)





Tickhill I
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXCI SW (1892)



Tickhill II
OS First Edition, Yorkshire: Sheet CCXCI SW (1892)

WEST YORKSHIRE

ALMONDBURY (Castle Hill)

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle

Almondbury

SE 153140

Situation: Castle Hill is a prominent hilltop forming part of the eastern foothills of the Pennines to the south of Huddersfield, overlooking the confluence of the Rivers Holme and Colne.

Preservation: Areas of the hilltop are variously occupied by the Victoria Jubilee Tower, Castle Hill Hotel, and the road; nonetheless the multi-phase earthworks are, in general, well preserved, and Castle Hill functions as a heritage site.

Description: The earthworks comprise a multi-phase hillfort, re-occupied and adapted as a motte with two baileys, the profile of the site being largely dictated by the topography of the oval hilltop. The motte lies at the south-west extremity of the plateau, being roughly triangular in plan with maximum dimensions of c. 50 x 70m, and formed from the upcast of a ditch, c. 27m wide and c. 9m deep, cut transversely across the hill-top to isolate the motte. This ditch is crossed by an earthen causeway linking the motte to two large baileys, the inner being sub-rectangular and measuring c. 90 x 110m, and defended by a rampart and ditch constructed on the line of the prehistoric fortification. An outer bailey occupies the triangular promontory formed by the north-east extremity of the hilltop, of maximum dimensions c. 115 x 125m, defended by a substantial rampart and ditch based on the prehistoric defences. Beyond the north-east end of the outer bailey is a small embanked quadrilateral enclosure termed the 'annexe' by Varley; also, the entire base of the hill-top is surrounded by a double bank interpreted variously as a hollow way or outer line of defence.

Excavation: During the erection of the Victoria Jubilee Tower on the motte in 1900, the unwallled shaft of the castle well was located. This was c. 1.6m square and surrounded by a stone pavement upon which was piled a platform of material, c. 2.4m high, excavated from the shaft. The clearance of the shaft recovered a number of dressed stones, some belonging to a door and window.

The hillfort was substantially excavated by W. Varley in 1939, 1946-47, and 1969-73. The work is not fully published, and the printed sources sometimes contradictory. The site was shown to have at least three main prehistoric phases, the final being the reconstruction of virtually the whole fort with a revetted rampart, destroyed by fire in the 6th/5th century BC. Varley interprets that a 'great interlude' characterised by the formation of a land surface over the prehistoric phases pre-dated the conversion of the site into a castle, which pottery finds broadly date to c. 1135-54. This was achieved through the piling of a great shale bank over the prehistoric inner rampart to form the outer perimeter of the castle, whilst the transverse bank of the original promontory fort was reconstructed and the ditch re-cut to isolate what became the inner from the outer bailey. The southern end of the hill was isolated with a newly-cut ditch, and a motte thrown up within. A curtain wall of dressed and mortared masonry was subsequently raised over the motte, with associated pottery suggesting a date in the second half of the 12th century. Stone-built structures, or at least structures with stone footings were constructed within the ringwork following the apparent destruction of earlier buildings by fire, as evidenced by an abundance of reddened earth and wood ash. A collection of animal bone recovered from the oak-lined well shaft within the ringwork fully fits the site's function as a hunting lodge in its later phases, but also reflects the presence of domesticates.

A geophysical survey in 1995 failed to reveal archaeologically significant features in the inner bailey, although it did define the probable sites of kilns or other industrial features in the outer bailey and the foundations of a building with opposed entrances on the north and south sides in the annexe.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in a charter of 1142-54 as the *castellum de Almanberia*. The castle is further mentioned in 1307 following a murder in the dungeons, illustrating that buildings were standing, if not in use, although by the time of an *inquisition post mortem* in 1340, mention is made of "two acres of land on the hill where the castle once stood", clearly indicating that it was deserted.

Sources:

Ahier 1946
Chadwick 1900
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13297
Illingworth 1938, 124
King 1983, 512, 535
Manby 1968
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 11 SE 1
Pevsner 1959, 80
RCHM 1996
Rumsby 1992
Varley 1973b; 1976; Unpublished Excavation Archive
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 24-25
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 2
Wilson and Moorhouse 1971, 149

ARMLEY (Giant's Hill)

Early Castle
Armley
SE 279340 (Approx.)

Situation: The wholesale destruction of the site means that the NGR is approximate. The site was located on the south bank of the Aire, in an area now entirely swamped by industrial development.

Preservation: The site has been wholly obliterated: the Leeds-Liverpool canal cuts a section of it, and other zones are disturbed by a factory and a modern industrial tip.

Description: A number of early descriptions mention a prominent mound at Armley, combining to suggest the former presence of a motte and bailey. In 1691 Thoresby described a 'high mount' known as Giant's Hill, said to have a base circumference of *c.* 150m, which he took for a probable Danish fortification. In 1889 Clark mentions that the mound was flat-topped, encircled by a ditch, with one or two enclosures defended by earthen ramparts abutting the ditch. The only feature on the present site which may relate to the earthwork castle is a short, curvilinear length of bank running between the Aire and the Leeds-Liverpool canal, seemingly representing the north-east corner of the feature. The presence of a number of 'castle' place-names recorded on the 19th-century Tithe Maps for Armley and Wortley (Castleton Close, Park, Bridge and Lodge) substantiates this evidence.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

King 1983, 529
Smith 1983
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 4391

BARDSEY-CUM-RIGTON (Castle Hill)

Early Castle
Bardsey-cum-Rigton
SE 366433

Situation: The site is raised upon a low natural hillock of red sandstone, lying south-west of, and overlooking, Bardsey Beck and village.

Preservation: The two rectangular enclosures are extremely well preserved as earthworks, although the line of the surrounding 'bailey' is somewhat obscured by building and road development.

Description: Castle Hill is a motte and bailey of unusual format, scarped from the natural hill-top. The motte takes the form of two adjoining sub-rectangular earthwork platforms on an east-west alignment, linked by a narrow causeway, *c.* 8m wide with flanking ditches to the north and south. Parch marks noted on the eastern platform seem to relate to a small stone keep. Combined, the two enclosures measure *c.* 100m east-west x *c.* 30m north-south, with the division between the two slightly west of centre. These platforms are raised *c.* 1-2m above the level of a large oval bailey measuring *c.* 180m east-west x *c.* 80m north-south, which entirely surrounds the feature. The perimeter of the bailey is defined by artificial scarping of the hill-top on all sides, and on the east side a gap *c.* 20m wide separates the scarp from an external ditch *c.* 10m wide, *c.* 1m deep and with a slight counterscarp on its eastern side, running north-south for a distance of *c.* 45m, although this feature cannot be identified elsewhere. This gap contains evidence of earthwork platforms overlain by ridge and furrow, demonstrating the encroachment of cultivation over structures associated with the castle.

Excavation: Small-scale excavations (largely unpublished) by Y. Mawson on the eastern platform around 1902 revealed traces of walling, and recovered a quantity of human remains and charred wood. Drainage work on the east side of the base of the hill around the same period revealed a bed of loose earth and stones at *c.* 2-3m depth, seemingly indicating the former bed of a wet moat surrounding the bailey. The same source notes that a number of 'old coins' and several 'ball-shaped stone shot' were found on the site. A further excavation by A. Hamilton Thompson and Col. Kitson-Clarke on the eastern platform in 1930 revealed the foundations of a small square stone structure, possibly a small keep, associated with metalwork and 12th-/13th-century pottery, although again the findings remain largely unrecorded.

Documentation: None

Sources:

Clark 1879-80, 102
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13292
Illingworth 1938, 124
King 1983, 513
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 34 SE 1
Pevsner 1959, 90
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 25-26
Speight 1902, 451-52
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 3

BARWICK-IN-ELMET (Hall Tower Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Barwick-in-Elmet
SE 194275

Situation: The motte and bailey occupies two natural hill-tops: the motte and inner bailey are raised on Hall Tower Hill to the south, and the outer bailey encloses Wendel Hill to the north. The site lies between the Rivers Wharfe and Aire, on a natural route through the Pennines.

Preservation: The motte and the western section of the inner bailey are well preserved, powerful earthworks; elsewhere building and levelling have destroyed sections of the inner and outer bailey defences, the interior of the outer bailey itself being largely built over.

Description: The site comprises a motte inserted into the southern end of a large univallate iron age hillfort, utilising the southern section as an inner bailey and the northern section as a larger outer bailey, the entire site enclosing c. 6.1 hectares. The tall, circular motte has a base diameter of c. 60m, is raised c. 15m in height, and is entirely surrounded by a ditch c. 15m wide. It stands entirely within an oval bailey measuring c. 160m east-west x c. 90m north-south, which was formerly enclosed by a rampart and external ditch, although the bank survives only to the west and south-west, whilst to the north-east the line of this bailey is partially fossilised in the alignment of the road known as The Boyle. A second, larger and approximately oval outer bailey adjoins to the north, with a maximum north-south dimension of c. 230m and maximum east-west dimension of c. 180m. To the north and west, where the ground drops away steeply, the vestiges of an enclosing bank and ditch can be identified, although the rampart on the east side, where the ground is level, is of far greater strength, the bank being raised c. 3-4m above the base of the ditch.

Excavation: Two coins, of 196-173 BC and AD 41-54 have been recovered from the site. Small-scale excavations prior to 1834 recovered a significant quantity of human bone, although the excavations are not fully recorded. A medieval or post-medieval kiln was unearthed at the site in 1967, although the excavation is again poorly documented. An exposed section of the inner bailey rampart to the rear of 27-35 The Boyle (SE 39833756) recorded in 1980 demonstrated the rampart to comprise strata of red/brown clay, stones and dark brown soil overlying natural sandstone bedrock. A trial excavation by WYAS in 1991 at SE 39993757 demonstrated the existence of a ditch where one was not visible as an earthwork. This feature was V-shaped in profile, c. 5m wide, c. 2.5m deep, and cut into yellow sandstone bedrock. The rampart at this point, also of yellow sandstone rubble, appeared to have been cut back in order to fill the ditch, this fill containing a small number of fragments of medieval pottery.

Documentation: The castle is mentioned in a charter of Stephen of 1142-54, when the ownership of Henry de Lacy is confirmed. The site is referred to merely as 'Castle Dyke' in surveys of 1341 and 1424, presumably being disused by this date.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13299
Illingworth 1938, 124-25
King 1983, 513, 536
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 33 NE 7
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 26-27
Speight 1902, 451-52
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 4

BINGLEY (Bailey Hills)

Possible Early Castle
Bradford (NPA)
SE 102398 (Approx.)

Situation: Bailey Hills is the place-name associated with the rising ground on the north-east bank of the River Aire, north-west of Bingley.

Preservation: The former castle is presently occupied by school playing fields and Bingley cemetery, and no traces of former occupation can be positively identified; the NGR is thus approximate.

Description: Although there is no surviving evidence of medieval occupation at Bailey Hills, the administrative centre of the extensive Paynel estates may have lain within the line of the presumed prehistoric defences indicated by 19th-century reports of stone walls and banks of earth and stone on this topographically well-suited site, and the find of an iron age quern at SE 10303970. The place-name 'Bailey Hills' is of obvious significance, and the surname *de Castelayne* is recorded in Bingley as early as the 14th century; the evidence thus combines to suggest the small-scale medieval re-occupation of a prehistoric hillfort.

Excavation: See above.

Documentation: In 1273-74 an *inquisition post mortem* specifically states that there was no capital messuage in Bingley by this date, suggesting that the site had already been abandoned.

Sources:

Barnes 1982, 112
Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 737
King 1983, 529, 540
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 13 NW 10

BOWLING (Bolling Hall)

Tower House
Bradford (NPA)
SE 173314

Description: Bolling Hall contains a medieval tower of probable 14th-century date, featuring an undercroft, hall and solar. The tower presently forms the west end of the facade of a late-17th-century hall containing a second tower, also of 17th-century date at the east end. It is possible that the range of buildings running north of the hall may represent a hall block contemporary with the tower, although further analysis is hindered by the extent of post-medieval additions. Whilst structurally intact, the building retains little original medieval work other than the square garderobe turret in the south-west corner, and presently serves as a museum.

Sources:

Pevsner 1959, 132-33
Ryder 1982a, 115

CROFTON

Possible Early Castle
Crofton
SE 377181 (Approx.)

Situation: The NGR is approximate, based on place-name evidence.

Preservation: No extant remains (see below).

Description: Marginal place-name evidence suggests the possible existence of a now vanished early castle site at Crofton. The name 'Castelgate' is recorded in the 12th century Nostell Chartulary, although there is no evidence of any such site on the ground.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Smith 1961, 114
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 4631

DEWSBURY (Thornhill Hall)

Tower House/Fortified Manor
Dewsbury
SE 256189

Situation: The site lies in the north-east corner of Thornhill Rectory Park.

Preservation: The site survives as an earthwork with fragmentary standing masonry.

Description: Two isolated fragments of walling mark the position of this 15th-century manor, standing on a trapezoidal island surrounded by a water-filled ditch. Excavated evidence of a perimeter wall and gatehouse suggests that the site can be viewed as a defended manor rather than a moated site.

Excavation: Excavations within the island interior by Tolston Hall Museum in 1964-72 have revealed an antecedent phase of construction consisting of short lengths of coursed rubble walls erected earlier than the moat and dating to *c.* 1300. The site was moated *c.* 1450, and two later phases of construction noted; the first a rectangular hall, and the second an H-plan house containing a central hall. Associated with these later phases was a rectangular tower projecting into the moat, a gatehouse to the south of the island, and a perimeter wall of squared sandstone blocks, *c.* 1.4m thick.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13289
King 1983, 532
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 21 NE 4
Pevsner 1959, 503
Webster and Cherry 1975, 252-53

EAST FOLIFOOT† (Moat House)

Possible Motte
Walton
SE 457462

Situation: The site lies within the denuded earthworks of East Folifoot DMV.

Preservation: The motte is an ill-defined earthwork under permanent pasture.

Description: The site comprises a low moated mound only, with a maximum diameter *c.* 40m, surrounded by a ditch *c.* 12m across and the vestiges of an external counterscarp bank; the principal point of access was from the north-east, as indicated by an earthen causeway. The overall profile of the feature is consistent with a motte subsequently adapted as a moated manorial residence. Although no definite evidence of a bailey can be identified, traces of outworks comprising banks *c.* 0.8m in height lie to the north-east and south-east of the feature, indicating a probable outer enclosure or village bank, yet form no coherent plan.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Le Patourel 1973, 124
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 44 NE 9

HAREWOOD I

Tower House/Stone Castle
Harewood
SE 321456

Situation: The site lies on a spur overlooking the Wharfe valley from the slopes north of, and below the village of Harewood. The earlier castle site of Rougemont (HAREWOOD I), lies *c.* 2.5km to the west.

Preservation: The tower-house, commonly identified as the best surviving example in Yorkshire, survives to eaves-level; former surrounding structures are preserved as earthworks.

Description: The site comprises a small rectangular tower-house with an attached kitchen wing to the west, and a number of ancillary buildings. The tower-house is a rectangular structure consisting of three levels and a basement, and features four angle-towers containing bed chambers and garderobes. The Great Hall is on the first floor, containing a remarkable 14th-century canopied buffet recess; the first floor contained the solar with a small chapel opening from it. Principal access was at ground floor level on the north-east and defended by a portcullis; a secondary entrance lay to the south-west. The building is flanked by the terraces of associated landscape gardens to the north-east and south-west, and a fishpond to the north.

Excavation: Four small trenches were excavated by J. and B. Telford in 1989 on the area of terracing immediately north of the castle, revealing a series of garden features including a pond and rubble bank,

and foundations of a timber-framed and stone-floored building associated with pottery indicative of occupation of the castle precinct prior to the mid14th century.

Documentation: Licence to Crenellate was granted to Sir William de Aldeborough in 1366.

Sources:

Abramson 1988, 185
Bogg 1904, 374-75
Gaimster *et al.* 1990, 222-23
Illingworth 1938, 139-40
King 1983, 517-18, 537
MSRG 1989, 44-45
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 34 NW 10
Pevsner 1959, 244-45
Ryder 1982a, 99
Speight 1902, 473
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 1429

HAREWOOD II (Rougemont Castle)

Ringwork and Bailey
Dunkeswick
SE 295463

Situation: The site lies on a steep cliff of reddish clay (hence 'Rougemont'), forming the northern bank of the Wharfe, where it bends sharply at its confluence with Weeton Beck. The stone successor to Rougemont (HAREWOOD II) lies *c.* 2.5km to the east.

Preservation: The earthworks are extremely well preserved and extensive, if heavily wooded.

Description: The site comprises a D-shaped ringwork measuring *c.* 90m east-west x 40m north-south, surrounded by a deep ditch linked to the river via three channels. A bank surviving to a height of *c.* 1m and breadth of *c.* 3m describes the line of the ringwork, and traces of masonry indicate that it was formerly surmounted by stone defences, whilst an external ditch up to *c.* 10m wide surrounds the feature. A massive D-shaped bailey adjoins to the north-west, formed on its southern side by the line of Weeton Beck, and on its other three sides by a bank *c.* 1m high and *c.* 3m wide, with a now infilled external ditch; the original entrance is indicated by a gap in the bank and ditch on the west side. This outer bailey contains earthworks of ridge and furrow cultivation, presumably post-dating the abandonment of the site, although earthworks within the interior of the ringwork are too confused and overgrown to allow full interpretation. An outwork striking west of the entrance to the bailey forms the northern boundary of an additional enclosure, the other boundaries being formed by the natural line of Weeton Beck. The denuded remains of a series of associated fishponds lie in the marshy area north of this outer enclosure, and a further series of indistinct earthworks west of the outer bailey seem artificial in nature.

Excavation: None

Documentation: The site is mentioned as 'Rugemond in Harewood' in 1263.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13296
Illingworth 1938, 139
King 1983, 518

OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 24 NE 1
Parker 1913, 152-53
Speight 1902, 474, 484
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 6

HUDDERSFIELD (Ark Hill)

Motte
Huddersfield (NPA)
SE 14231801

Situation: The site lies in a heavily developed zone of central Huddersfield, in an area bounded by Beacon Street, Miln Road and King Cliff Road.

Preservation: The mound was partially destroyed during construction work (see below).

Description: Ark Hill is an artificial mound of unknown dimensions, associated with a rock-cut ditch. Lying within the grounds of the mansion known as Hill House and formerly supporting a summer house, the mound has been interpreted as an ornamental landscaped garden feature, although excavation recommends that it is a motte. A length of bank to the south-west of the mound could relate to a former bailey, although the site remains generally obscure.

Excavation: In 1987 a watching brief was carried out by J. Gilks of the Tolston Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, in advance of the mound's partial destruction in the face of the extension of an adjacent yard. The cutting away of *c.* one third of the mound and the consequent exposure of a section revealing its makeup convinced S. Moorhouse, also present, that the site was indeed a motte.

Documentation: None

Sources:
King 1983, 532
Sneyd 1993, 4-6
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 4394 (The records of the watching brief are lost and only a summary report survives)

KIPPAX (Manor Garth Hill)

Ringwork and Bailey
Leeds (NPA)
SE 416303

Situation: Church and castle both stand on a prominent south-facing spur overlooking Kippax village.

Preservation: The ringwork earthworks survive in good condition, although the bailey is entirely eroded and its format largely conjectural.

Description: The key element of the site is a sub-circular ringwork with a slightly raised interior, having an overall diameter of *c.* 25m, and composed of an enclosing bank surviving to a maximum height of *c.* 5m, and an enclosing ditch, although the latter is heavily silted and survives to a depth of less than 1m. A semi-circular hornwork is appended to the west side of the ringwork, forming a terrace which presumably

supported a tower. Traces of masonry, which may well be medieval, can be recognised both on top of the hornwork and within the enclosing bank of the ringwork. Internally, an earthwork platform abutting the rampart on the north side of the ringwork seems to represent the foundations of a post-medieval building mentioned in 17th-century sources. Although the exact profile of the bailey cannot be determined, it seems to have lain in the area of the churchyard to the east, as its northern and eastern limits appear fossilised in the alignment of Robinson Lane.

Excavation: A possible Roman glass bottle was found on the earthwork in 1865, although no associated excavation on the ringwork is recorded.

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13291
Illingworth 1938, 128
King 1983, 519
King and Alcock 1969, 123
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 43 SW 6
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 31-32
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 1975

MIRFIELD (Castle Hall Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Kirklees
SE 211204

Situation: The site lies north of the parish church, within the present village of Mirfield.

Preservation: The motte is well preserved, although the bailey is completely eroded and any internal features presumably disturbed by usage as a cemetery.

Description: The conical motte is *c.* 10m high, with a diameter of *c.* 20m, and is surrounded by a periodically wet ditch, *c.* 8m wide and *c.* 5m deep. A gap in the ditch on the east side indicates the position of an earthen causeway once linking the motte to a putative bailey. Although it has been suggested that there is no evidence of a bailey, this seems to have lain to the south-east, where the church stands on a slightly raised platform.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13295
Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 455-56
Illingworth 1938, 129
King 1983, 522
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 22 SW 1
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 21-22
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 5

NEWALL (Newall Old Hall)

Tower House
Newall with Clifton
SE 200464

Description: Newall Old Hall is believed to have originated as a tower-house, although it was much altered before total demolition. Photographic evidence demonstrates the former existence of a four-storey tower sandwiched between two apparently later wings. The site of the Old Hall is preserved as a series of vague but extant earthworks surrounded by a complex of terracing representing the remains of an associated landscaped garden.

Sources:

Speight 1900, 96-97
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 1401

PONTEFRACT

Motte and Bailey/Stone Castle
Pontefract
SE 455223

Situation: The castle was raised on the point of a prominent natural outcrop commanding both the line of the North Road and the route west over the Aire and the Pennines. It is located on the east side of the town of Pontefract.

Preservation: Most of the surviving buildings are situated within the inner bailey; the only surviving remains of the outer bailey comprise stonework preserved in the lower courses of the modern wall along Castle Garth.

Description: Pontefract Castle comprises a number of phases:

Phase I: The surviving earthworks are of a motte of unknown dimensions situated at the west of a kidney-shaped bailey measuring c. 150m north-south x c. 100m east-west. Of this earliest castle, only two extant structures survive. The 11th-century Norman chapel of St. Clement's is the earliest standing structure within the castle complex. A spiral staircase and Norman arch leading into the later gunpowder store are also early-Norman features formerly leading into the complex of cellars, although a slightly later addition, as the position of the staircase suggests that the motte ditch was partially filled-in by the time of its construction.

Phase II: Although there is no specific documentary evidence, the initial refortification of the site in yellow Magnesian limestone can be attributed on architectural and archaeological grounds to the 12th-/13th-century. This saw the construction of a curtain wall around the perimeter of the bailey, containing at least five towers including the standing Gascoigne, Treasurer's and probably Piper Towers, and the building of a keep. This feature comprised four drum towers linked in a trefoil shape, projecting southwards on the motte summit.

Phase III: The main later additions were conceived in grey sandstone and essentially comprise the Swillington tower (built 1399-1405) external to the curtain wall on the west side, and Constable tower (1405-12) to the north-east of the curtain wall. The late 14th century also saw the heightening of the keep and the addition of corbelled angle turrets. Although not as closely documented, King's and Queen's

tower appear to be of similar date, constructed in the north curtain and linked by the late-14th or early-15th-century Great Hall, containing a suite of Royal apartments.

Excavation: A long-term programme of excavation from 1982-86 has rationalised the chronology and format of structures within the bailey area, and can be divided into a number of different areas. Excavations in the base of the Constable Tower revealed a rectangular basement preserving a pre-castle ground surface associated with a timber structure and residual Roman pottery. Excavations within St. Clement's Chapel rationalised the plan of the Norman chapel, revealing it to be of two phases and to overlie a substantial pre-castle cemetery, whilst further work investigated the Elizabethan chapel constructed between King's and Constable Towers. The later medieval service buildings against the western circuit of the curtain wall have been extensively sampled, revealing the area to have been open prior to the 15th-century construction of the bakehouse/brewhouse and kitchen range.

Documentation: The castle is first mentioned in Domesday (i, 373b). Pontefract was in Royal possession in 1193, 1322 and from 1399; repairs being recorded during all three periods, and probably in the region of £2000 during the reigns of Henry IV and V. The castle was thrice surveyed by Tudor monarchs in 1538, 1564 and 1581, and besieged on three occasions during the Civil War (1644-45, 1645, 1648-49), being captured on the latter two occasions.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13298

Colvin *et al.* 1963, 781-83

Illingworth 1938, 76-83

King 1983, 523, 538

Pevsner 1959, 394

Renn 1968, 281

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 35

W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 2089

Youngs and Clark 1982, 216-217

Youngs *et al.* 1983, 214; 1985, 208-09; 1987, 172-73

RASTRICK I (Castle Hill)

Motte/Ringwork

Rastrick

SE 139218

Situation: The motte lies in the centre of the village of Rastrick; another (possible) early castle site lies within the parish (RASTRICK II).

Preservation: The site was entirely destroyed by quarrying prior to 1924.

Description: A description in 1669 records a 'mount' in Rastrick, having a hollowed top and a surrounding ditch, *c.* 170m in circumference around the base and *c.* 105m in circumference around the summit. This suggests the former existence of a motte - or conceivably a ringwork - at Castle Hill.

Excavation: A number of dark earthenware 'cinerary urns', considered Roman, were discovered at Castle Hill in 1820 and re-buried *in situ*; a copper coin of Gallienus was also found by the roadside. No further information is available.

Documentation: Otherwise ephemeral topographical evidence of a castle site at Rastrick is strengthened by 14th-century references to land abutting the 'Castlehill'.

Sources:

King 1983, 532

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 45

Watson 1869, 80-81

W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 4392

RASTRICK II (Round Hill)

Possible Motte

Rastrick

SE 137207

Situation: Round Hill is a natural knoll, rising sharply to the south of the village of Rastrick; another early castle site has been identified within the parish (RASTRICK I).

Preservation: There are no extant remains on the site.

Description: A circular field on top of Round Hill, *c.* 35m in diameter is considered, due to its artificial appearance, to have possibly been the site of a motte, although it has also been identified as a natural feature. The evidence for an early castle site is certainly marginal, and could equally represent a prehistoric fortification, a beacon or barrow.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Horsfall Turner 1893, 20

W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 4922

ROTHWELL

Tower House/Fortified Manor

Rothwell

SE 342283

Situation: The site of Rothwell Castle lies on the west side of Rothwell village.

Preservation: Only a fragment of masonry survives. Although a volume of rubble is visible in ploughed land around the site, no ground plan or earthworks are legible.

Description: The only standing evidence of a structure at the site is a free-standing irregular column of grouted masonry *c.* 4.5m high and *c.* 2.5m wide, interpreted as the remains of a newel stairway or corner of an inner wall. This surviving structure stands in the centre of a series of indistinct earthworks representing an extensive manorial complex with associated gardens, and an early description mentions a bridge of stone formerly crossing the 'deep cut way' between church and manor. In 1877 the 'hollowed embankments of a reservoir or fishpond' associated with the site were noted, conjecturally indicating the presence of manorial fishponds. The evidence most likely represents a fortified manor rather than a castle site.

Excavation: In 1874, during the course of digging a drain connected with the church, workmen revealed the foundations of walls at a depth of *c.* 1.5m, some up to *c.* 100m from the standing ruin, thus suggesting a sizeable complex. The single surviving bay of a timber-framed house belonging to the latter phases of the site was dismantled by WYAU in 1977.

Documentation: A stone-built manor-house is first recorded at Rothwell in 1341, and served as the administrative centre for the northern portion of the Honour of Pontefract. It was intermittently a Royal residence, and was visited by Edward II, Edward III and Henry IV in the late-14th and early-15th centuries. It is documented as ruinous in 1487, although the site was consequently leased to Roger Hopton by Henry VII on the condition that a hall and parlour with a chamber and kitchen be built; the surviving remains seemingly relate to this rebuilding.

Sources:

Batty 1877, 43, 118
Faull and Moorhouse 1981, 488
King 1983, 531
Pevsner 1959, 423
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 32 NW 4
Webster and Cherry 1978, 184
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 1977

SANDAL

Motte and Bailey/ Stone Castle
Sandal Magna
SE 338181

Situation: The motte and bailey lies on high ground overlooking the valley of the River Calder. The early castle site of THORNES lies *c.* 1.5km to the north-west, on the opposite side of the river.

Preservation: The poor condition of the masonry elements of the site can be attributed largely to systematic slighting during the Civil War, otherwise the earthworks are distinct and well-preserved. The excavated foundations have been consolidated and the site is open to the public.

Description: The site comprises a circular motte with a single, crescentic bailey to the south-east; all substantially re-fortified in stone in the 13th century; the chronology and internal arrangement having been clarified through an extensive programme of excavation (see below). The large, circular motte was raised *c.* 10m above the level of the old ground surface, and has a base diameter of *c.* 40m. The bailey is semi-circular, measuring *c.* 60m north-east - south-west and *c.* 40m north-west - south-east. Motte and bailey are isolated from one another and enclosed by a ditch *c.* 15m wide surviving to a maximum depth of *c.* 5m. A substantial counterscarp bank also surrounds both motte and bailey, its line broken only on the north-east side of the circuit, where a modern earthen ramp occupies the position of the gatehouse and drawbridge. Additional features include a series of confused earthworks lying external to the south-east end of the bailey, identifiable as military works relating to the 17th-century siege, and later disturbed by quarrying.

Excavation: The interior of the castle was substantially excavated and cleared in the period 1964-73 and 1983-86, allowing occupation to be broken down into three main phases:

Phase I: Timber phase, probably *c.* 1106-1240. The motte was shown to have been constructed from layers of shaley rock and soil and was encased in a layer of clay. All evidence of a structure on the motte-top was obliterated by levelling in advance of the construction of the stone keep, and likewise evidence of

a timber fortification surmounting the bailey rampart is obscured by the later curtain wall, whilst the timber bridge is likely to have lain on the site of the later stone structure. A number of timber buildings have been revealed, including a square timber-framed kitchen and an aisled hall.

Phase II: Stone Phase, c. 1240-1400. The motte-top was surmounted with a shell-keep featuring two circular towers on the south-east side guarding the drawbridge. The barbican was constructed on an island of rock within the motte ditch. Features in the bailey comprised service buildings, and walling relating to the Great Hall and associated lodging chambers, all set on pillared undercrofts.

Documentation: The site is first mentioned in 1240. It was partially slighted following the harrying of Thomas of Lancaster in 1317, but was active in 1328, when Earl Warenne was again in possession. Repairs in the period 1483-84 took place under Royal ownership, including the renovation of a tower and construction of a bakehouse and brewhouse. The castle apparently fell during the battle of Wakefield in 1460, and again in 1645 during the Civil War.

Sources:

English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13295

Colvin *et al.* 1963, 828-29

Illingworth 1938, 90-93

King 1983, 524, 538

Mayes and Butler 1983

Pevsner 1959, 429

Renn 1968, 306

VCH Yorks. II 1912, 35; 37

Webster and Cherry 1972, 184-85; 1973, 165; 1974, 197

W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 1548

Wilson and Hurst 1965, 192; 1966, 192; 1967, 288; 1970, 177

Wilson and Moorhouse 1971, 149

SHITLINGTON

Possible Early Castle

Shitlington

SE 284176 (Approx.)

Situation: The NGR denotes an area of gently sloping ground on the north side of the Calder Valley south of Horbury, in a zone disturbed by a railway cutting and the Horbury Junction Iron Works.

Preservation: There is no above-ground evidence for a former castle.

Description: Marginal evidence exists for an early castle site at Sitlington; the place names 'Castle Yate Close' and 'Castle Gate' are recorded in 1719, and the name 'Castle Hill' and 'Castle Hill Farm' are still to be found in the area.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:

Smith 1961, 209

W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 4632

SILSDEN (Ghyll Grange)

Tower House
Silsden
SE 066459

Description: The 'Peell of Gillgrange' is marked on a 17th-century map as a small building north-west of the 13th-century monastic grange known as Ghyll Grange. This could indicate the former existence of a tower-house, and the situation at the tip of a prominent spur overlooking the Aire valley is suitable, although no remains are identifiable on the ground.

Sources:

W. Yorks. SMR, Site No. 2728

SOWERBY (Castle Hill)

Motte
Sowerby
SE 040233

Situation: The site of 'Castle Hill' lies on rising ground on the north side of the village of Sowerby.

Preservation: The site is well preserved as an earthwork under pasture.

Description: Castle Hill is a low circular mound with a sloping summit, having a height of *c.* 2m and *c.* 0.7m at the northern and southern ends respectively. The mound has a base diameter of *c.* 20m and is surrounded by a dry ditch, *c.* 6m wide and *c.* 0.5m deep on all but the west side, where an earthen entrance causeway may have been sited. Other than a small motte, it has been alleged that the mound represents a hunting lodge. Tradition dictates that stones from the site were used in the construction of local buildings, and it is reported that foundations were visible in the 19th century. There is no evidence that the site was ever associated with a bailey.

Excavation: A small-scale excavation on the mound was carried out by the owner, J. Rawson, in 1911, revealing no signs of masonry foundations, although no further details are available.

Documentation: Although a castle site at Sowerby is not directly mentioned, a 'Castle Croft' is documented in 1309, and a number of 'castel' derived personal names in Sowerby are attested in 14th-century documents.

Sources:

Kendall 1926, 97-99
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 02 SW 7
Pevsner 1959, 486
Smith 1961, 146
Watson 1869
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 4393

THORNES (Lowe Hill)

Motte and Bailey
Wakefield (NPA)
SE 327197

Situation: Lowe Hill is a prominent circular hill top overlooking the River Calder, at the centre of Clarence Park on the south side of Wakefield. SANDAL lies 1.5km to the south-east, on the opposite side of the river.

Preservation: The site lies in a public park, and the baileys in particular are extensively denuded by landscape gardening and footpath erosion. The apparently weak nature of the earthworks has been taken as evidence that the site was never completed, although denudation has contributed significantly to the appearance of the site.

Description: The earthworks at Lowe Hill comprise a conical sandstone motte, *c.* 9m high, with a base diameter of *c.* 25m. It is surrounded by a ditch which is mostly infilled, although surviving up to *c.* 5m in width, and a slight external counterscarp. A scarp running from the north-west side of the motte continues to define a square inner bailey, which measures *c.* 40m across, and is further defined on its perimeter by low banks up to *c.* 3m wide and *c.* 1m high rising from the scarp. A second, rectangular outer bailey adjoins to the north-east, and is also defined by a scarp and associated bank, although on a smaller scale. A further scarp to the east is interpreted as the basis of a third bailey, although this could be the result of 19th-century levelling in advance of the construction of a bandstand.

Excavation: A small scale excavation was carried out for Wakefield Historical Society by B. Hope Taylor in 1953. The opening of two trenches and numerous test-pits across the motte ditch revealed it to be rock-cut in part, with a maximum depth of *c.* 2.7m, and containing a small number of 12th-century pottery sherds with a small volume of charcoal. Three trenches were opened in the inner bailey, revealing no substantive medieval structures, but disclosing a hearth associated with further 12th-century pottery, and metalwork finds comprising an iron prickspur and the fitting from a horse harness. The fact that this latter feature underlay the eastern bailey bank suggests that it was associated with a constructional phase. Further trenches in the supposed outer bailey revealed little more than post-medieval rubbish, fuelling speculation that it is a landscaped feature of later date. Overall, the paucity of finds and the shallow profile of the motte ditch led the excavator to speculate that the castle was unfinished.

Documentation: The site is first mentioned *c.* 1174-78, when a Constable of the castle is documented in association with the those of CONISBROUGH, and TICKHILL, S. Yorks. The castles of SANDAL and 'Wakefield' are referred to in a Royal edict of 1323-34, although it is likely that both were disused by this time.

Sources:

Clark 1879-80, 110
English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 13294
Hope Taylor 1953, 1-14
Illingworth 1938, 133
King 1983, 527, 539
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 31 NW 3
Renn 1968, 377
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 42
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 2084

THORPE ARCH (Castle Hill)

Possible Motte
Thorpe Arch
SE 431460

Situation: The possible site of a castle lies on a rocky bluff, c. 100m north-east of the River Wharfe.

Preservation: The eminence was occupied by a waterworks tower by 1902, and the earthwork - if it existed - destroyed.

Description: The site was formerly described as a 'rocky mound-like eminence' and identified as the 'Old Castle', traditionally thought to be the old manor house of Thorpe Arch (the site is 320m south-east of Thorpe Arch Hall). Although this description could reflect the former existence of a motte, the mound is also interpreted as of natural origin.

Excavation: None

Documentation: None

Sources:
King 1983, 532
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 44 NW 6
Speight 1902, 42

WETHERBY

Possible Early Castle/Stone Castle
Wetherby
SE 402481

Situation: A possible castle site lies on a rocky spur of natural strength on the east bank of the River Wharfe.

Preservation: Evidence of the supposed castle site is ephemeral, although it is possible that coursed stonework incorporated into a rock garden is derived from it.

Description: Early descriptions suggest that foundations of a 'large and evidently ancient' building on a site known as Castle Garth were visible in the mid 19th century, but removed before 1882, when it is stated that foundations and vaults had been found below the surface. Local tradition states that the old bridge was constructed from the ruins of Wetherby castle.

Excavation: The foundations of a building were excavated on Castle Garth by Hargreaves in 1922 and interpreted by L'Anson in private correspondence to Hargreaves as the base of an early-/mid-13th-century rectangular, unbuttressed keep set across the neck at the junction between a 'barbican ward' to the west and a 'great ward' to the east, although the excavation is improperly recorded.

Documentation: None

Sources:
Bogg 1904, 263
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 44 NW 3

Pevsner 1959, 542
Speight 1902, 430
Taylor 1882, 447
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 4397

WHITWOOD (Castle Hill/Fairies Hill)

Motte
Whitwood
SE 398249

Situation: Fairies Hill is an isolated mound standing *c.* 60m south of a bend in the Calder.

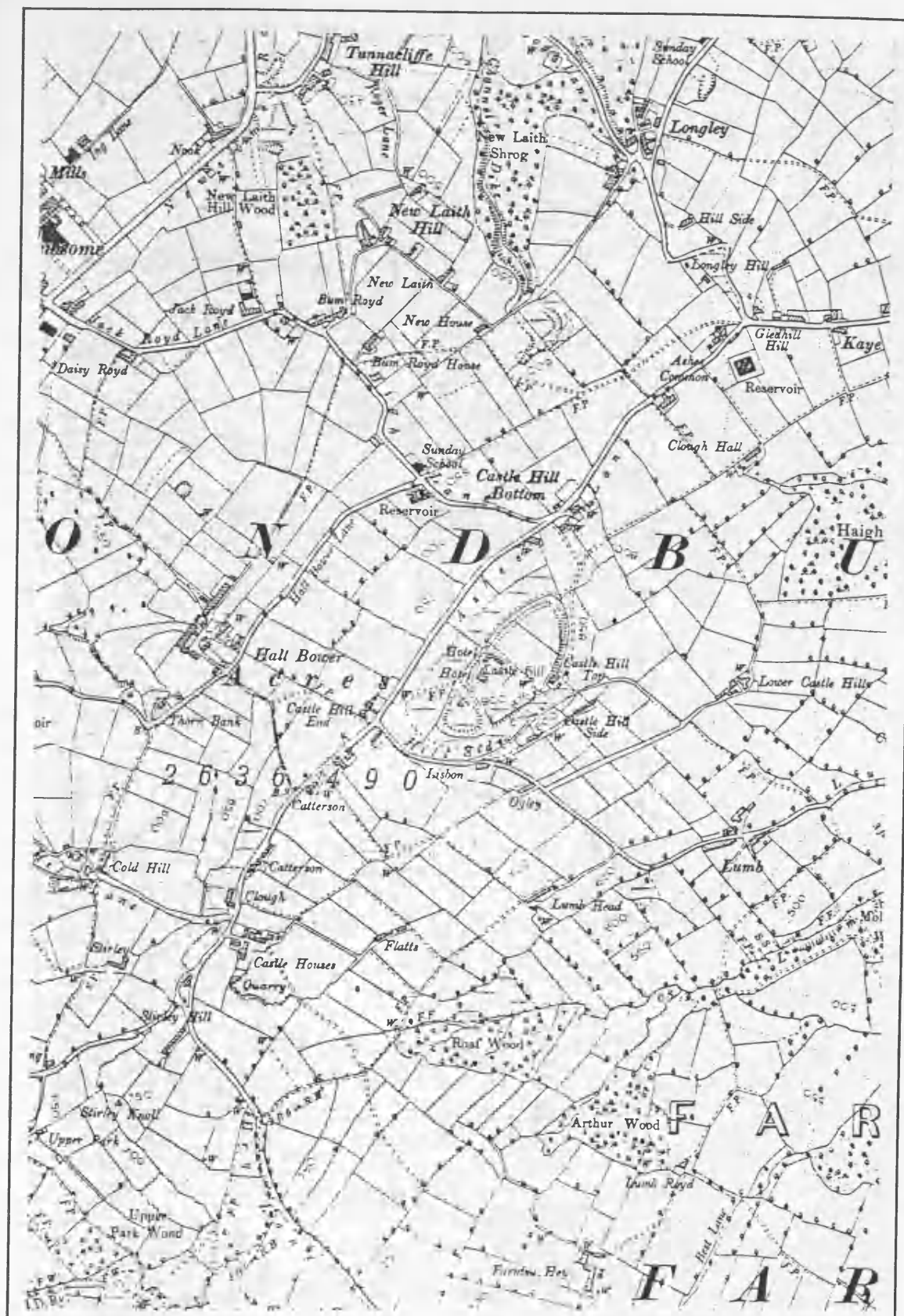
Preservation: The mound is partially destroyed by industrial workings associated with a mineral railway which skirts to the south of the mound, and any associated bailey could consequently have been destroyed by the works.

Description: Fairies Hill is a circular mound, *c.* 7m high, and with a base diameter of *c.* 18m. There are faint traces of a surrounding ditch, and a stream to the south known as Willowbridge Beck could have conceivably been utilised or modified as a bailey ditch. The mound is possibly a motte, although it has alternatively been interpreted as a natural feature or spoil heap - hence its de-scheduling in 1993.

Excavation: A single sherd of 12th-century pottery was recovered from the site in 1977.

Documentation: None

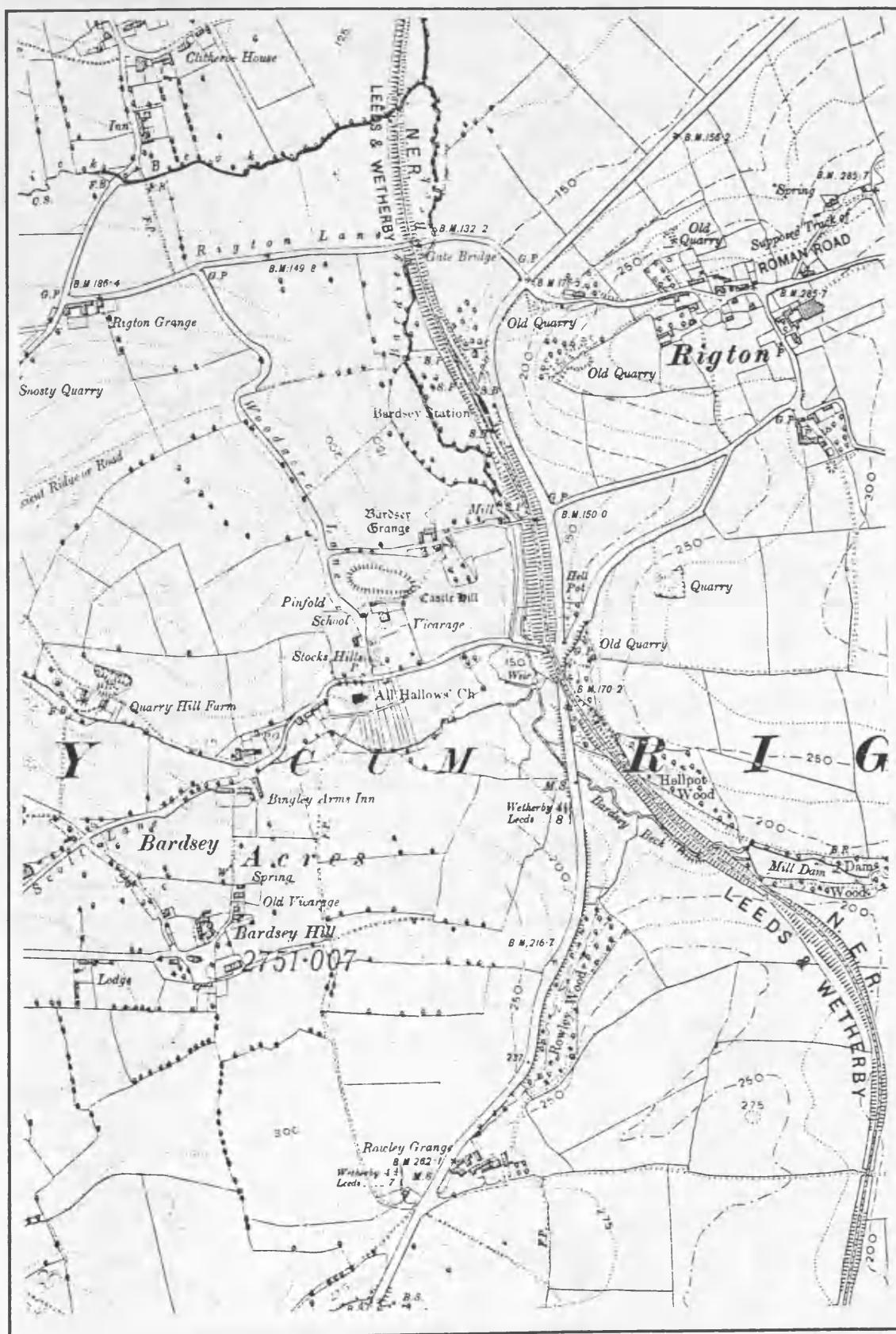
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English Heritage Ancient Monument Schedule (New Series), No. 90769
Illingworth 1938, 133
King 1983, 528
Moorhouse 1978, 16
OS Antiquity Model, No. SE 32 SE 15
VCH Yorks. II 1912, 42
W. Yorks. SMR Site File, No. 2097



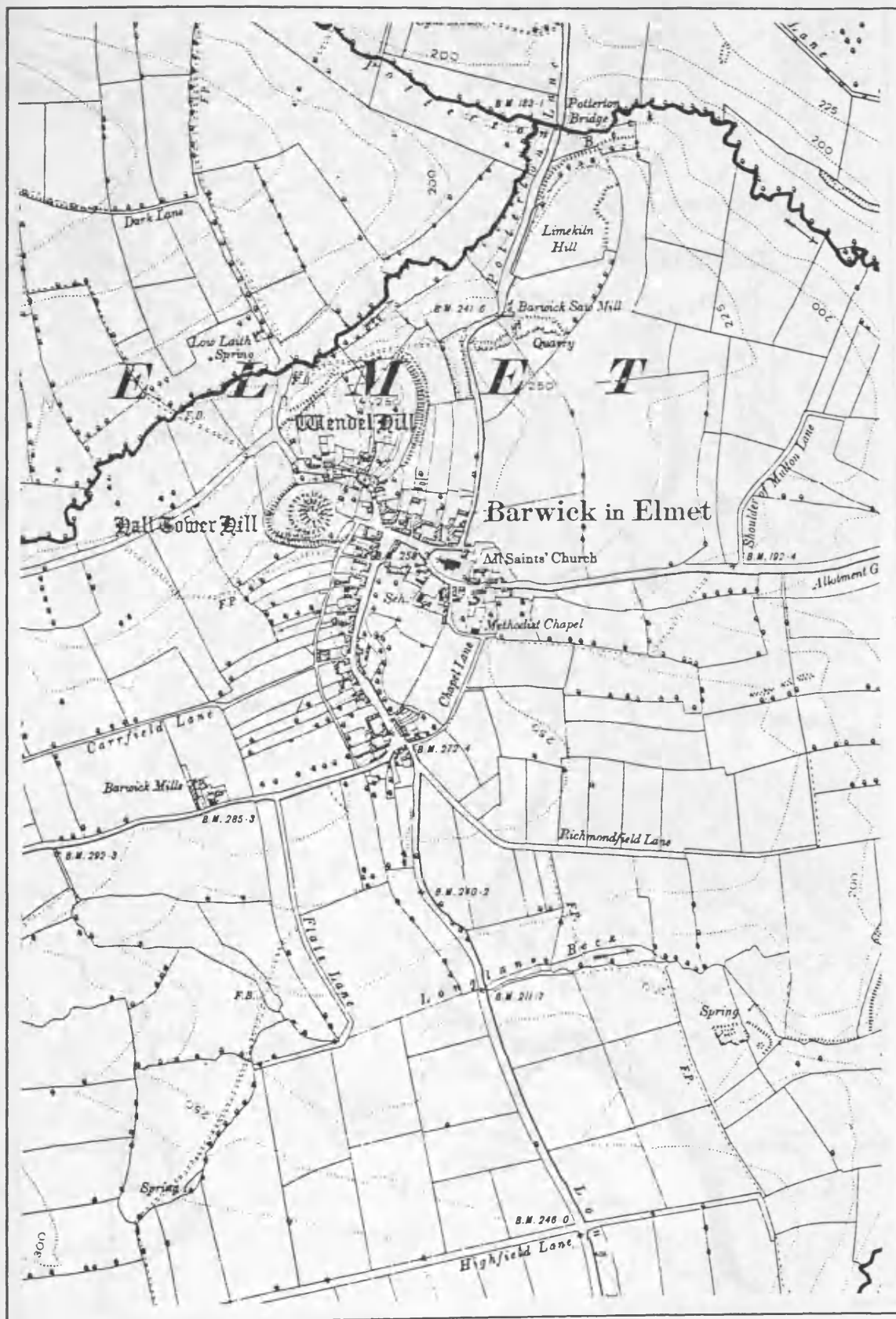
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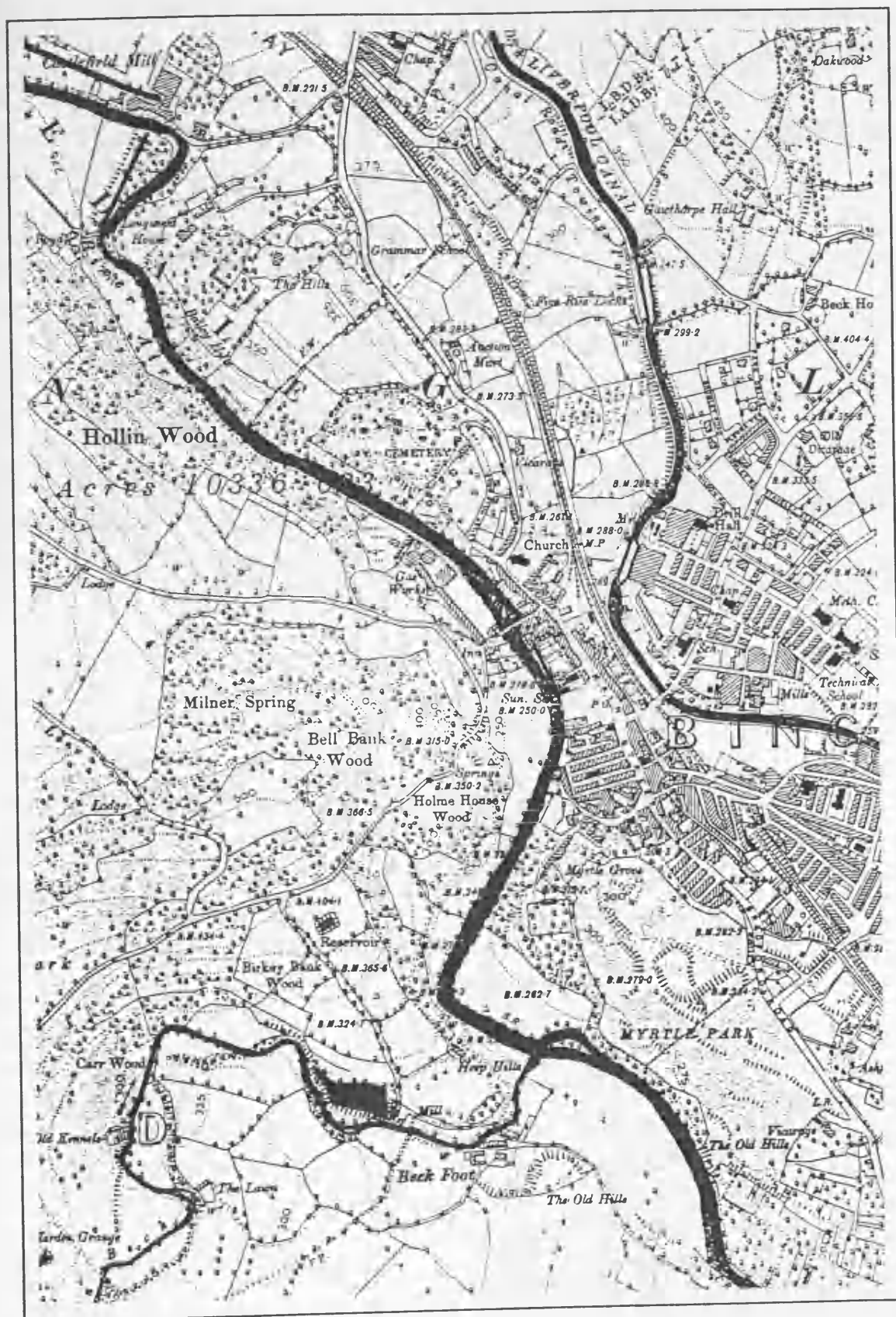
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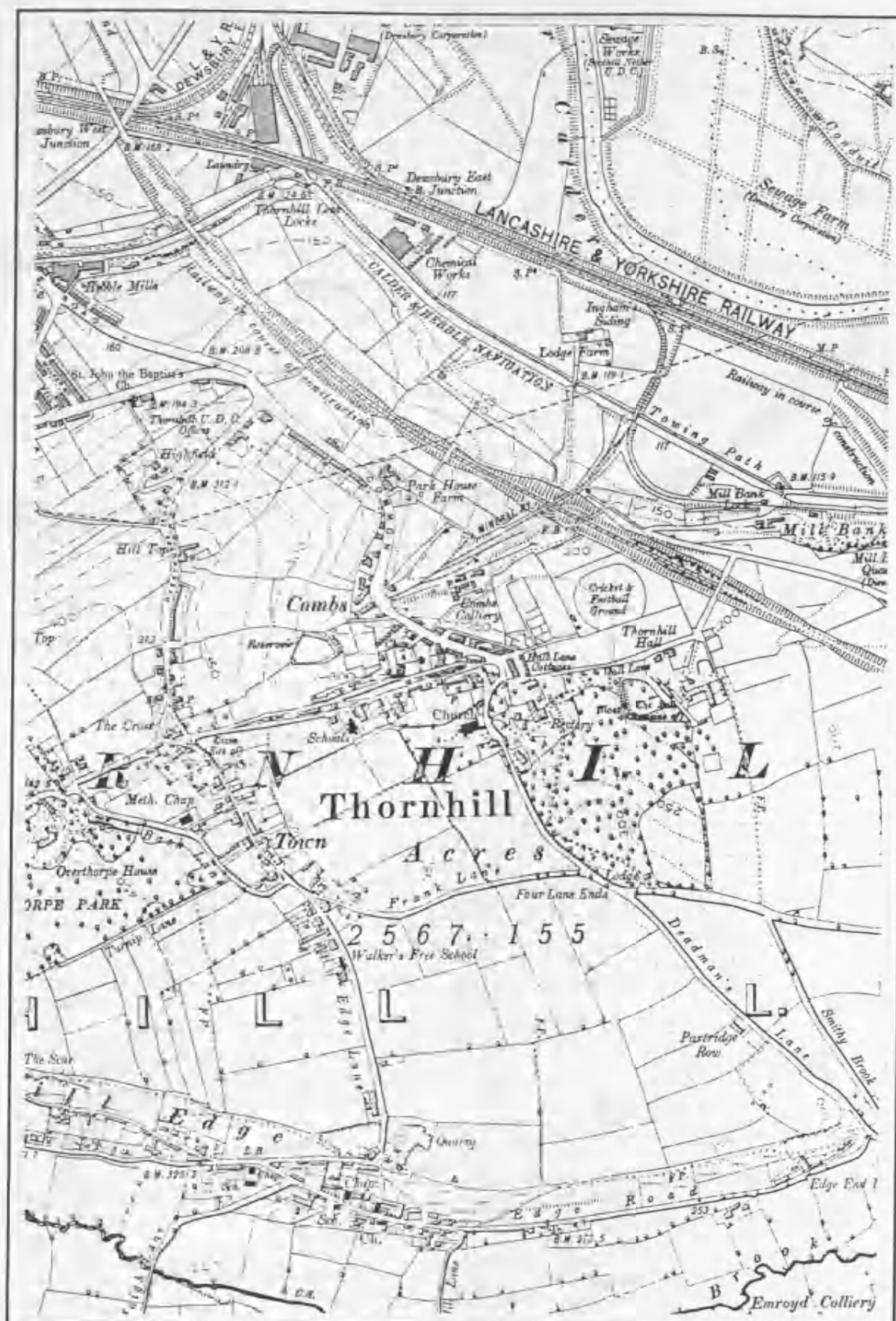
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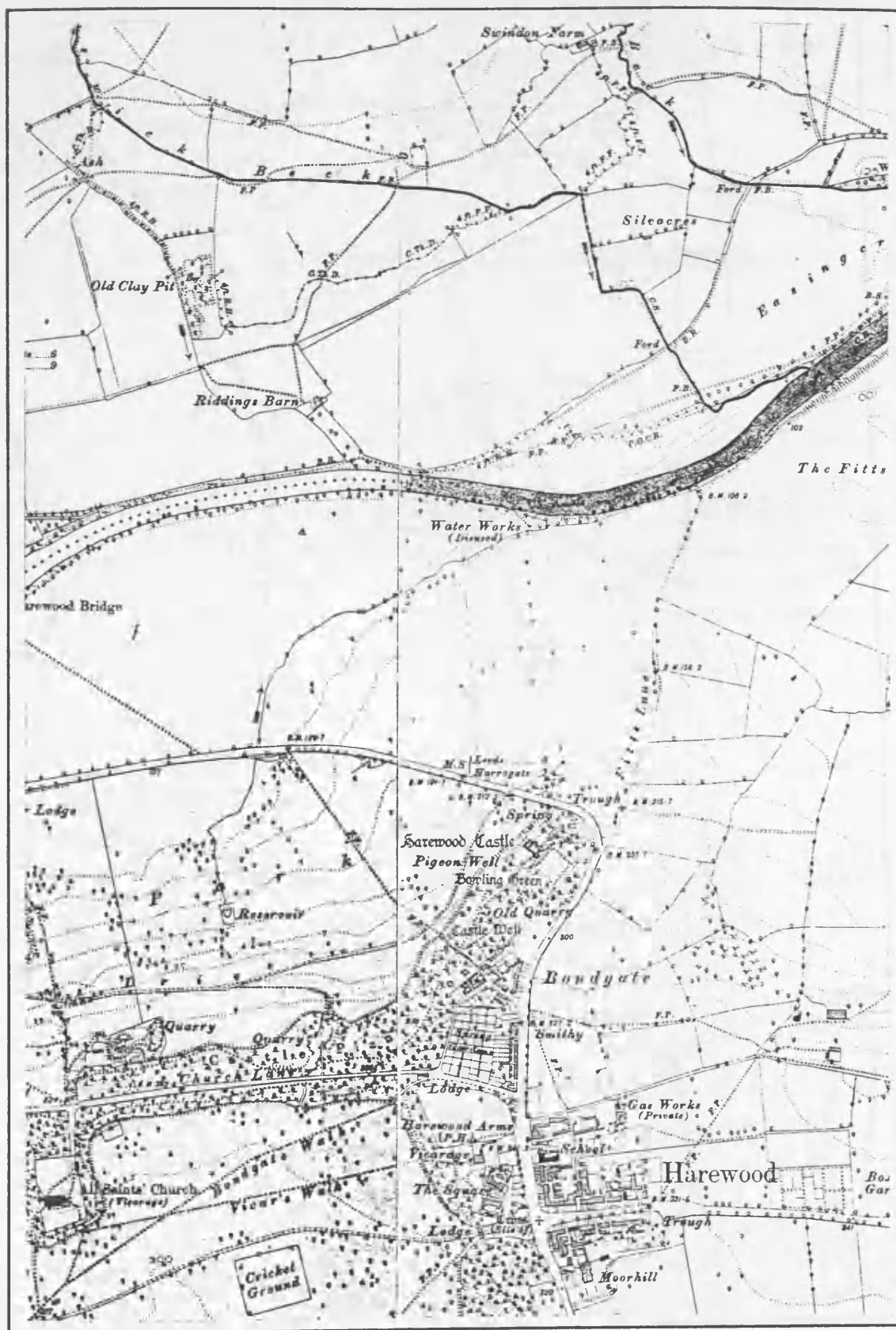
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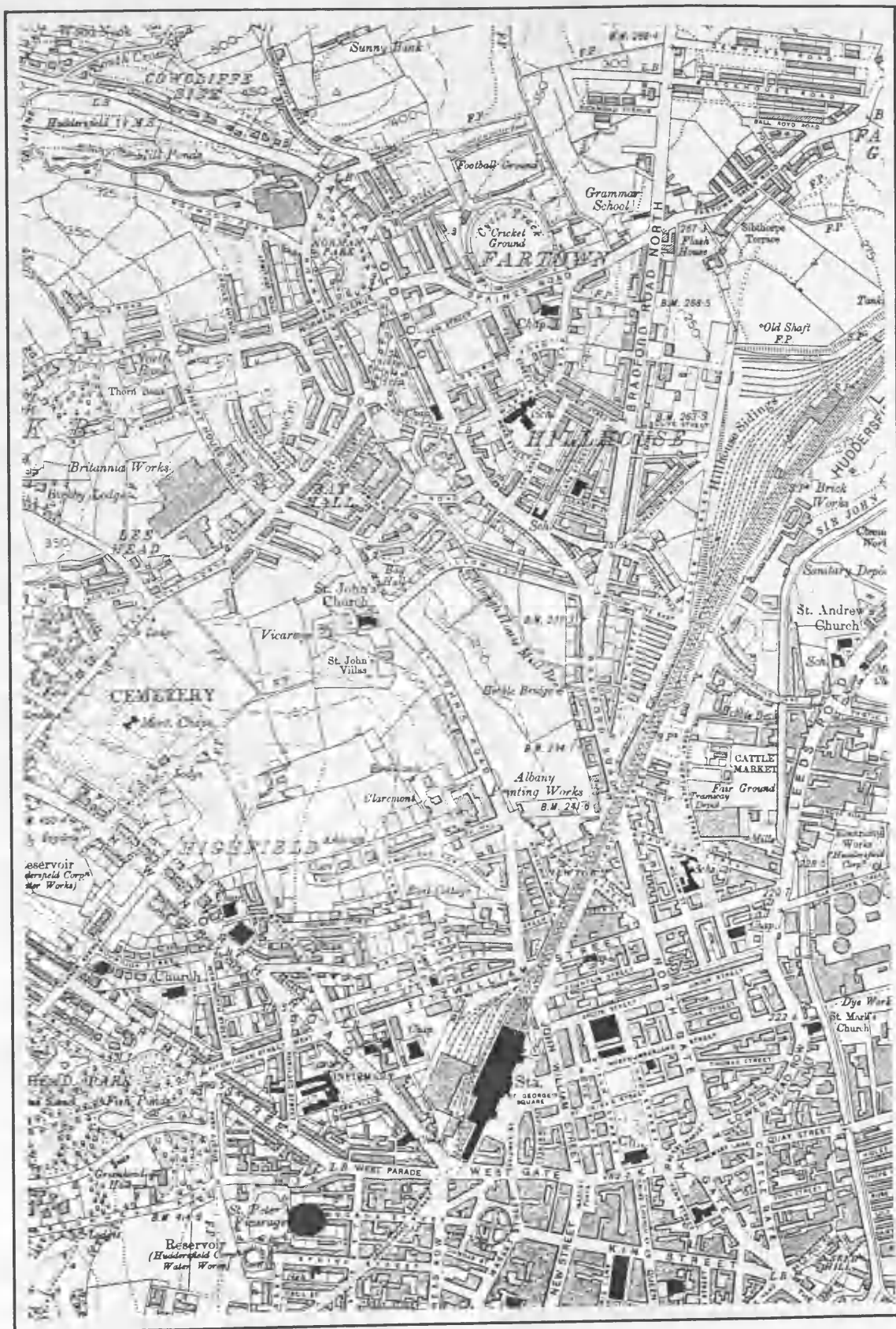
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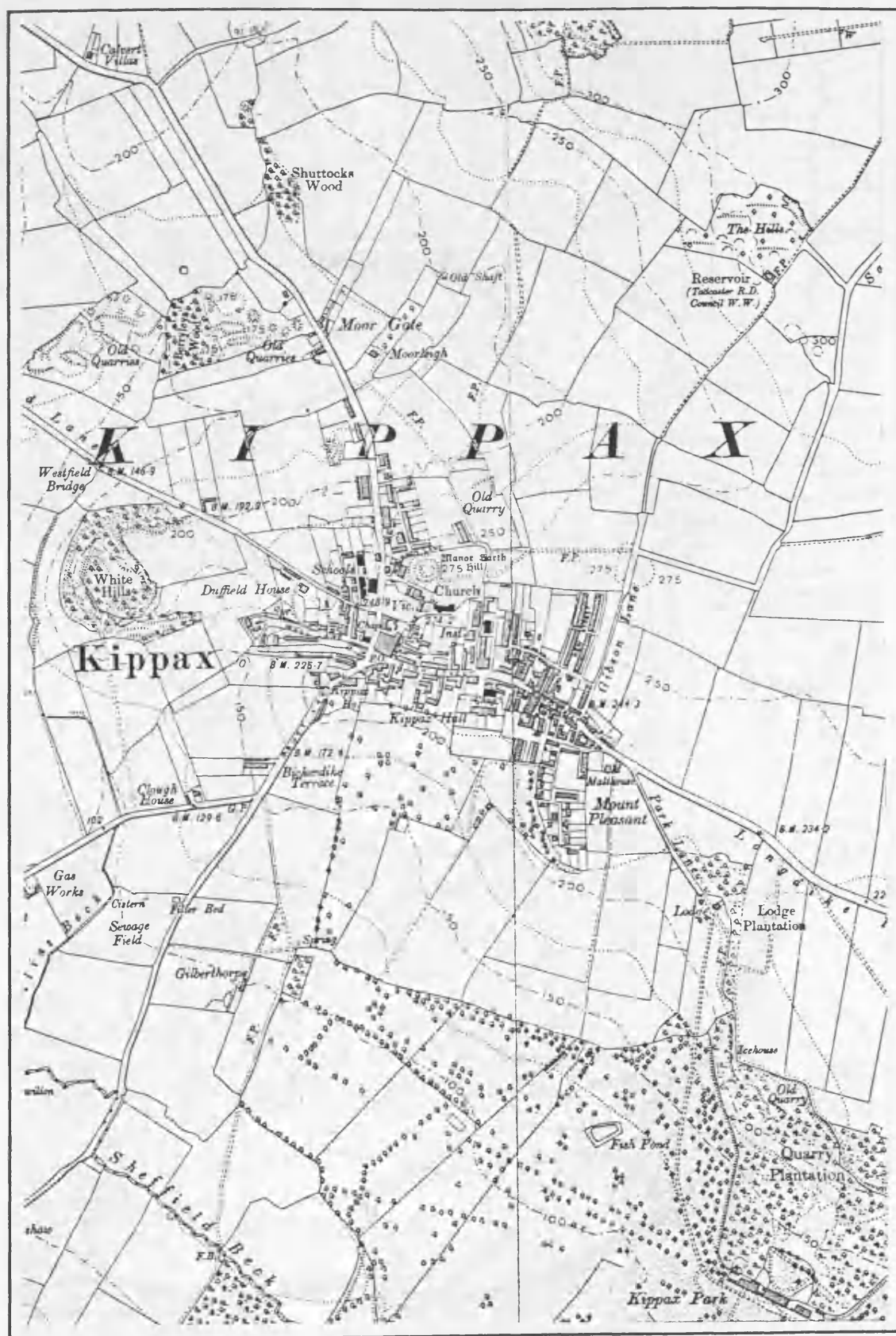
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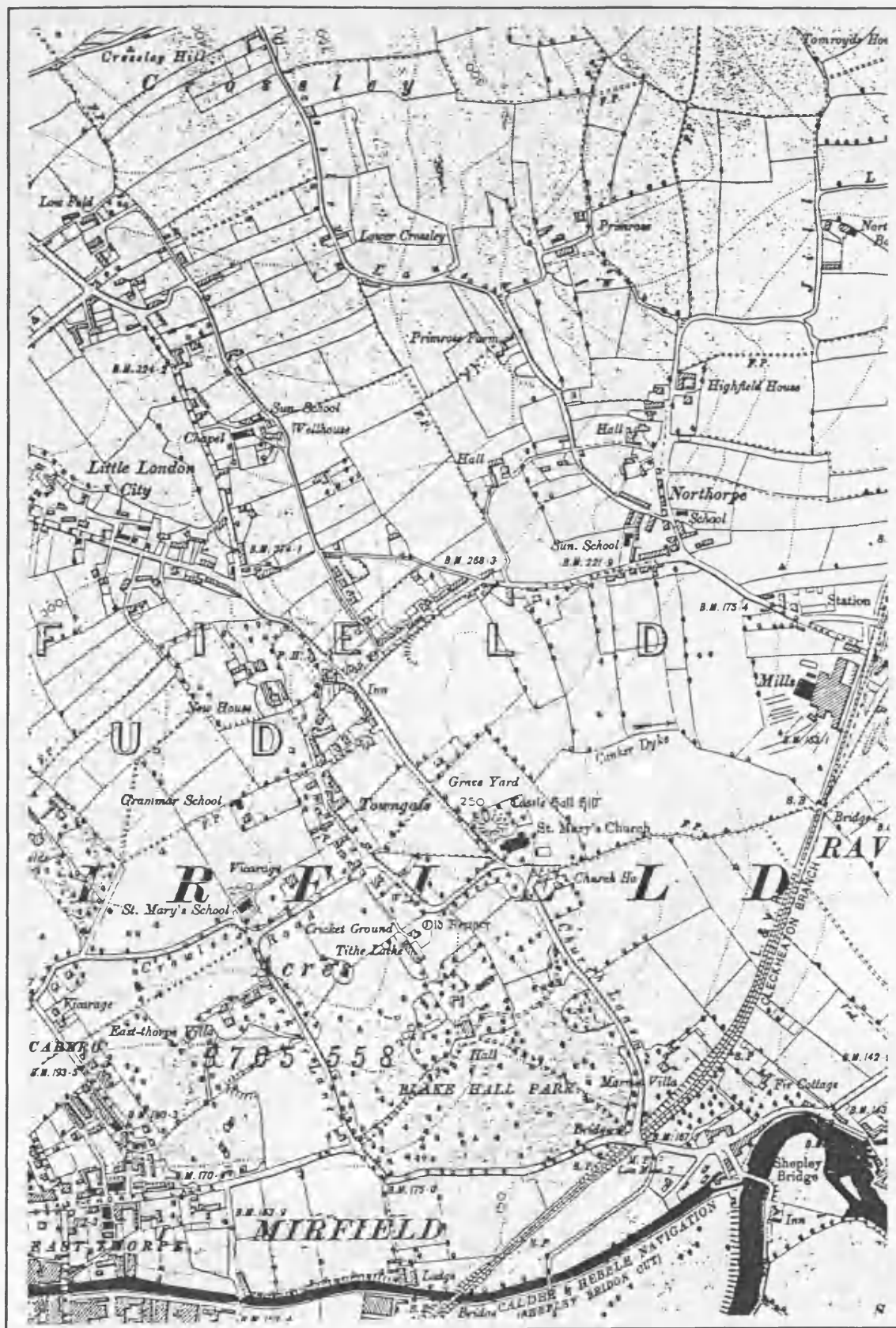
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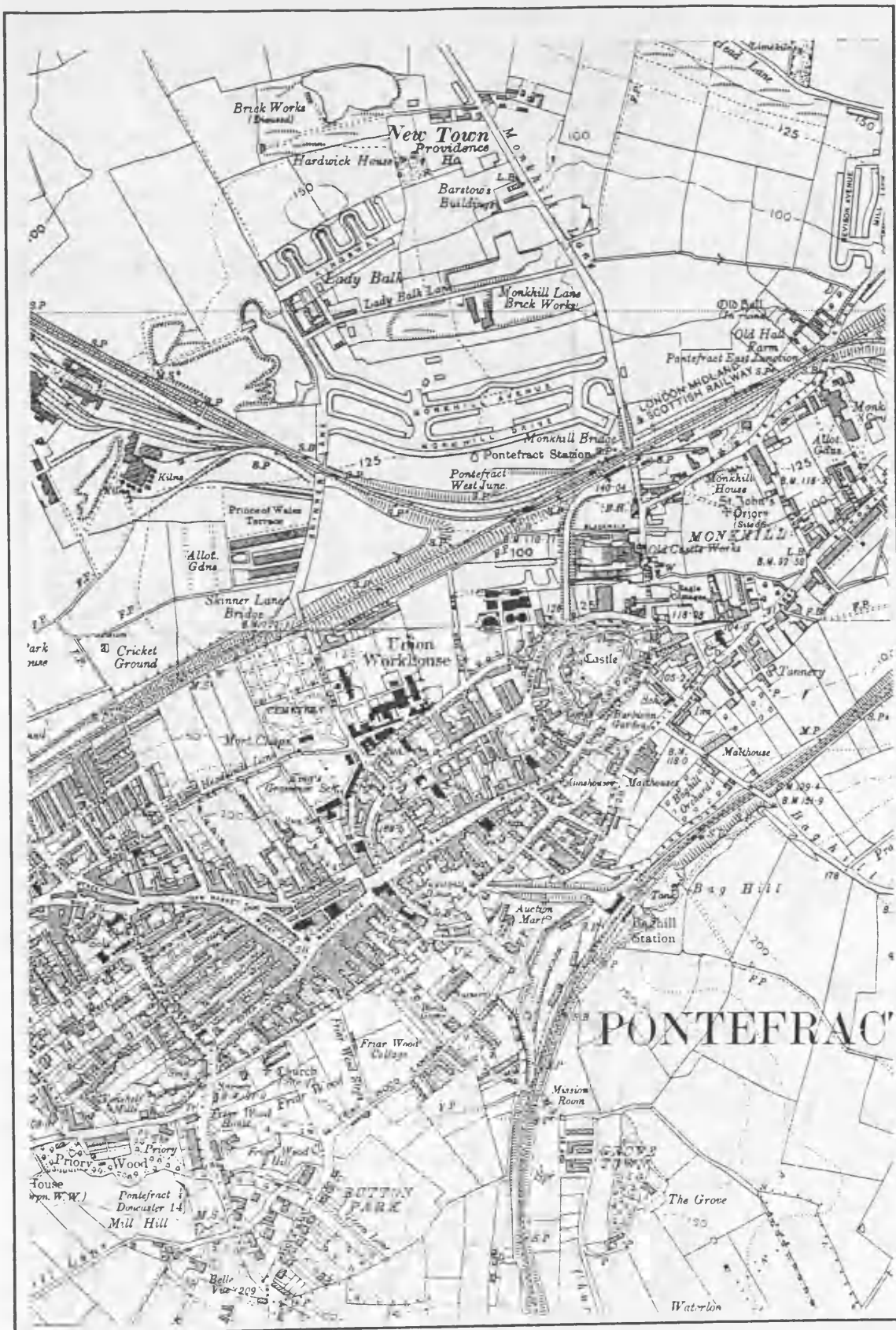
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Mirfield
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(1894)



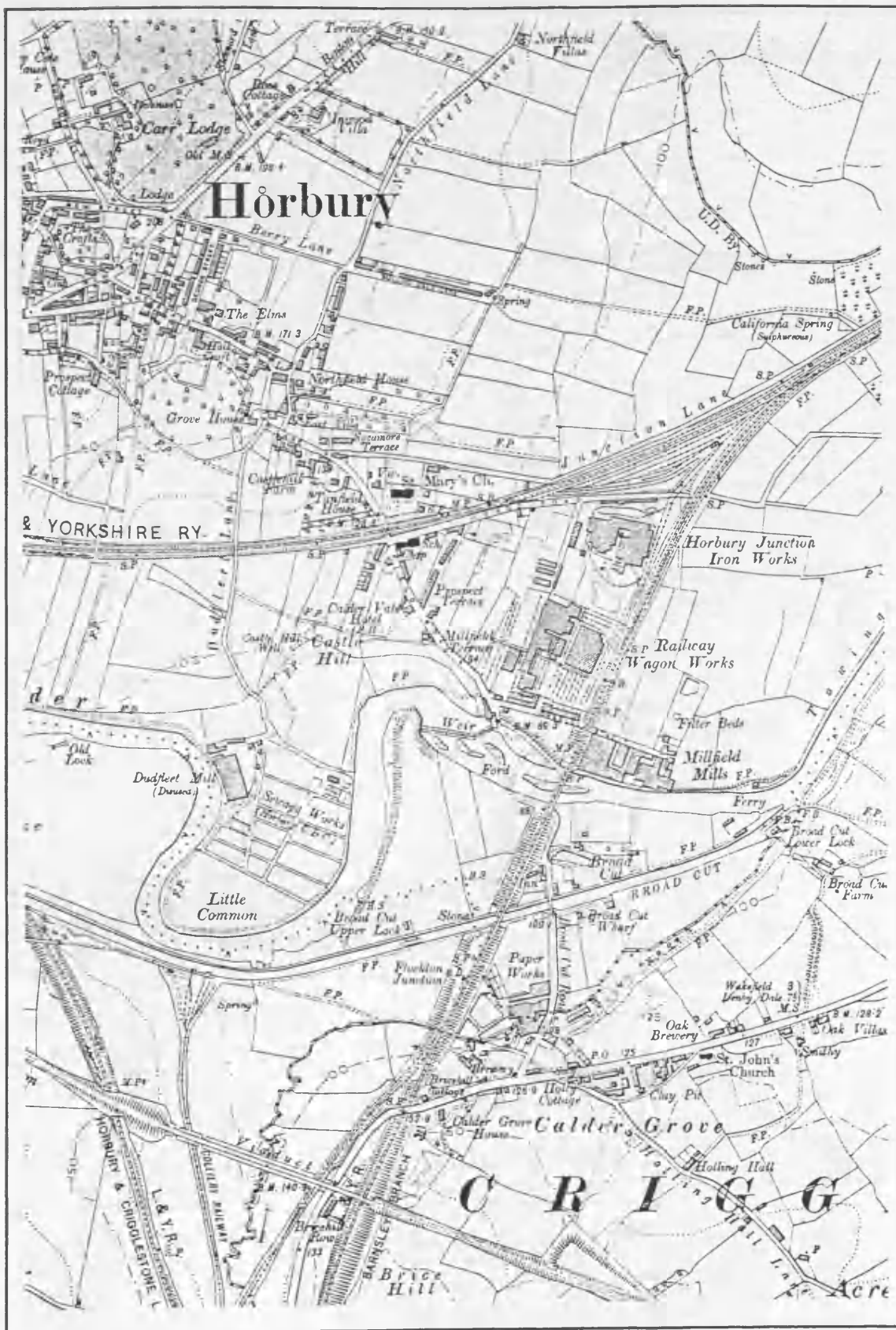
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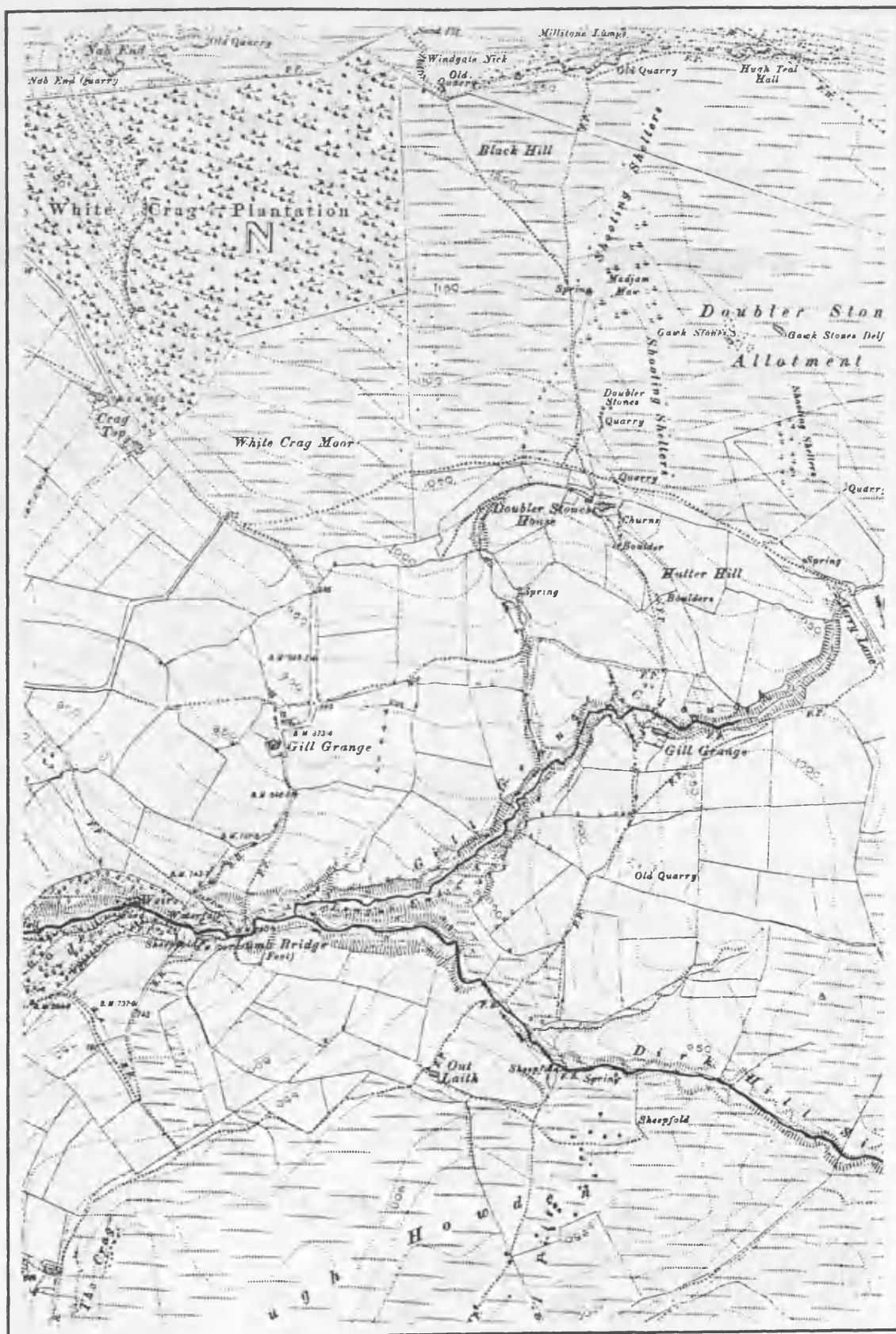
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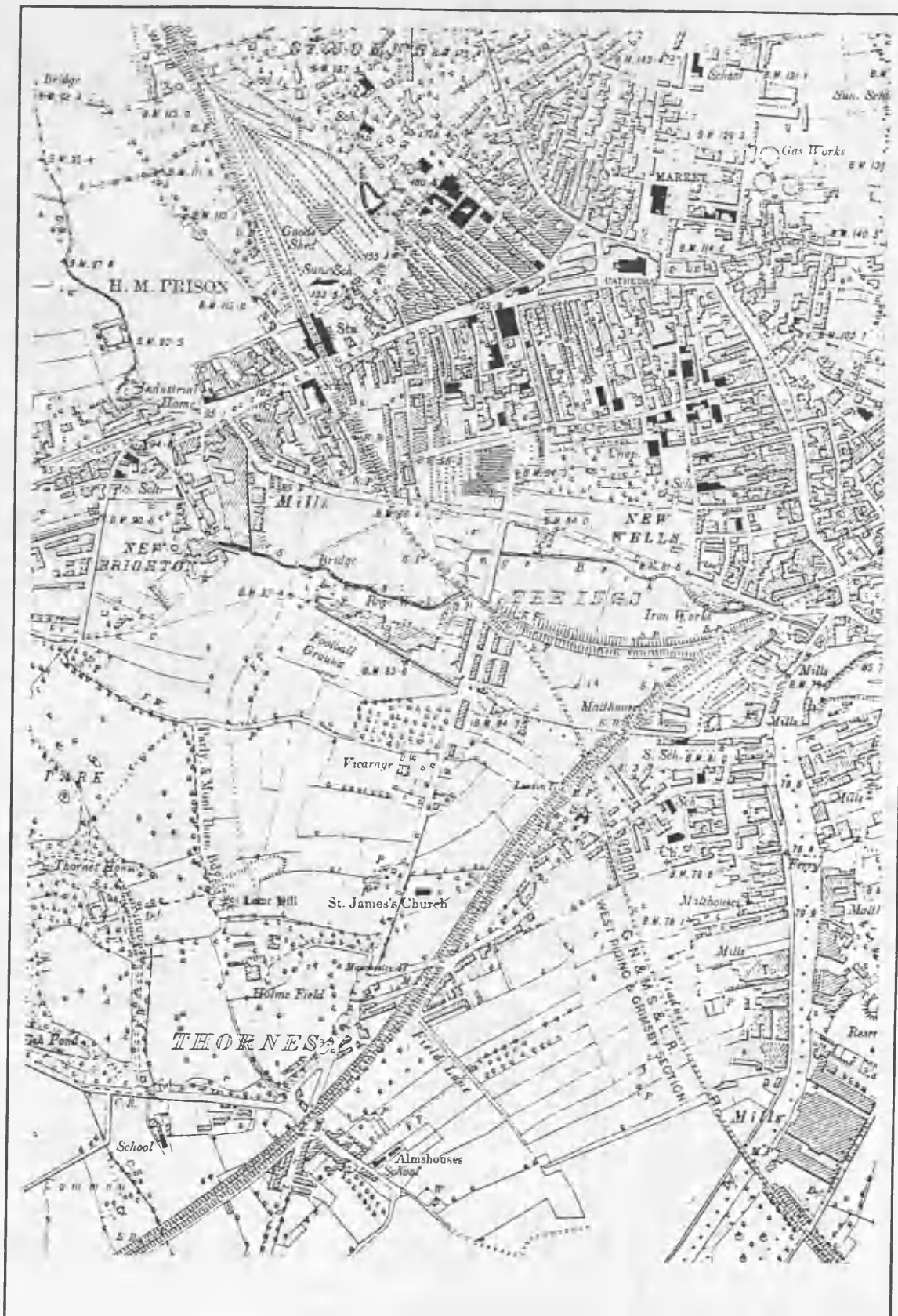
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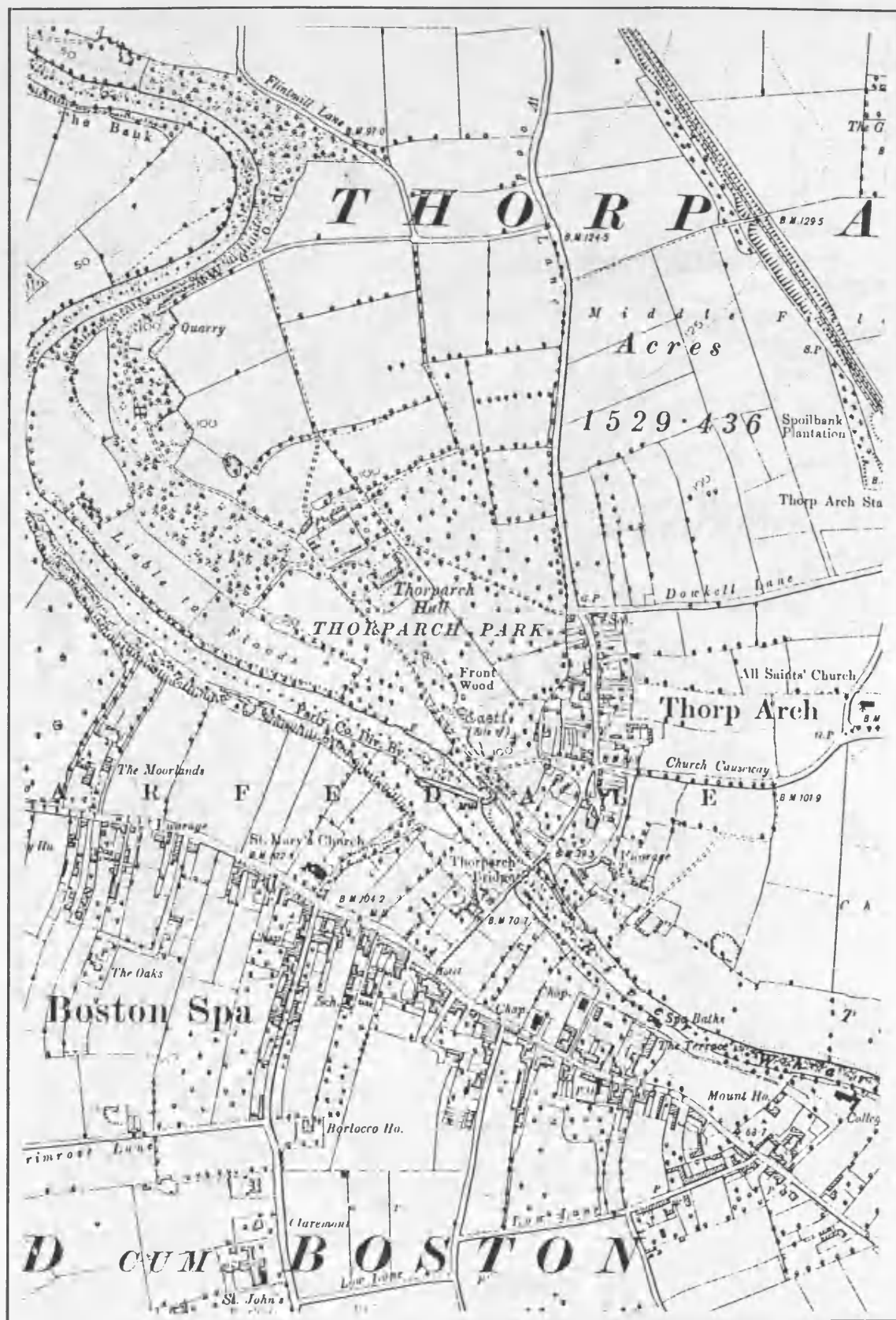
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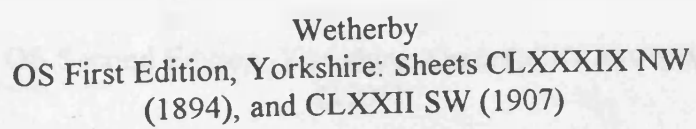
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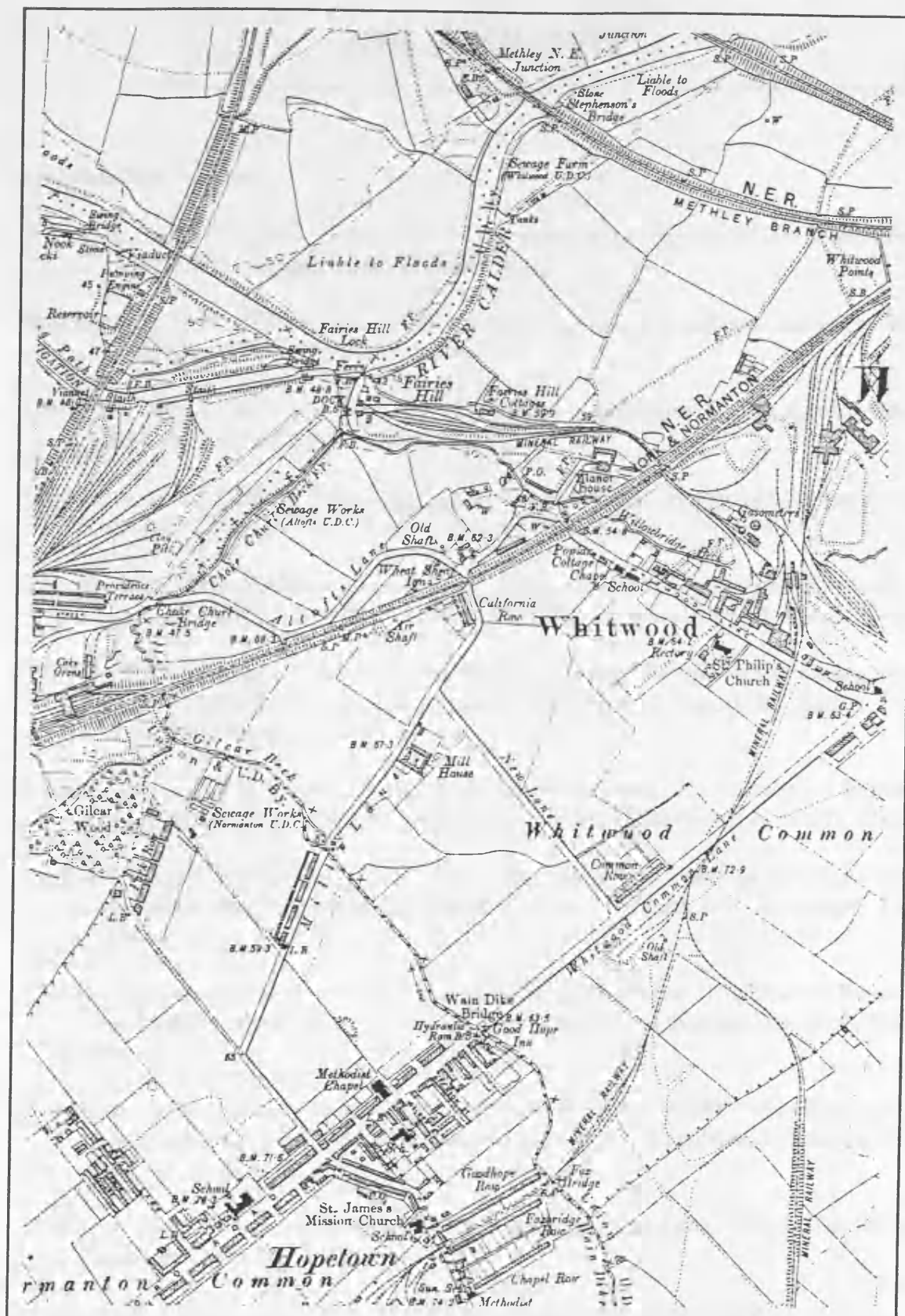


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Thorpe Arch
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Whitwood
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(1905)

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