

Family, Faith and Fortification:
Yorkshire 1066-1250



by

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CONTENTS

Abstract	I
Acknowledgements	III
Abbreviations & Short Titles	IV
List of Plates	VII
List of Illustrations	IX
INTRODUCTION	1
1. Evidence	2
2. Yorkshire in the 1070's	7
3. The Harrying of the North	8
4. The Definition of 'Waste'	11
5. Village-Planning	12
6. Post-Domesday Yorkshire	17
7. The Pattern of Landholding	18
8. Yorkshire and the North	20
9. Castles	22
CHAPTER ONE: Castles and Capita	25
1. The Origin of Honours	26
A. The Honour of Pontefract	27
B. The Honour of Richmond	28
C. The Honour of Tickhill	29
D. The Lordship of Holderness	30
E. The Honour of Mowbray	31
2. The Organisation of Honours in the Late 11th and 12th Centuries	33
A. The Honour of Pontefract	38
B. The Honour of Richmond	41
C. The Honour of Tickhill	45
D. The Lordship of Holderness	52
E. The Honour of Mowbray	53
CHAPTER TWO: Choice of Capita:Success and Failure	55
1. Re-deployment of Ancient Fortifications and Shrines	55
A. Iron-Age	55
B. Roman Remains	61
C. Re-use of Ancient Religious Sites	64
2. Helmsley: Religious Rivals	67
3. The Honour of Warenne: New and Old	71
CHAPTER THREE: Castles and Choice	77
1. Ringworks in Yorkshire	77
A. Continuity	77
B. Norman Ringwork, Norman Motte	81
C. Ringwork Capita	81
2. Motte and Bailey	83

3. 'Advanced' Motte and Baileys	86
A. Pontefract	86
B. Clitheroe	90
C. Tickhill	91
4. The Manor of Wakefield: Contrasts	92
5. Site Longevity	97
6. Temporary Custody of Castles	100
7. Non-Fortified Accommodation	102
A. Burton Agnes	103
B. Burstwick	104
C. Epworth	106
D. Spofforth	107
E. Leconfield	108
F. Wharram Percy	109

CHAPTER FOUR: Castles, Churches and Clients: The Architectural Links

Links	112
1. Craftsmen	113
2. Derivatives	116
A. The Longtown/Greencastle Cycle	118
B. The Weobley/Lyonshall/Dundrum Cycle	126
C. The Mortemer/Conisborough Cycle	128
3. Artistic Expression in Castles and Churches	132
4. Patrons and Buildings	136
5. Isabella de Forz	141

CHAPTER FIVE: Castle and Church

CHAPTER FIVE: Castle and Church	144
1. The Household Ecclesiastics	144
2. The Castle Chapel	147
3. Evidence for Castle Chapels in Yorkshire-based Honours	151
A. The Honour of Warenne	151
B. The Lacy Honours in Yorkshire and the West Midlands	152
C. The Honour of Helmsley	152
D. The Honour of Richmond	153
E. The Honour of Middleham	154
F. The Lordship of Holderness	154
G. The Honour of Brus	155
H. Position and Function	155
4. The Parish Church	158
A. Secondary Churches	158
B. Usurpation of Parochial Churches by Castellans	159
C. Primary Churches	161
5. Fortified Churches	162
6. The Ecclesiastical Heritage	168

CHAPTER SIX: Castle and Monastery

CHAPTER SIX: Castle and Monastery	170
1. Economy	170
2. Nepotism	172

3. Hospitality	173
4. Service	177
5. Proximity	178
A. The Augustinians	180
6. The Monastery as Mausoleum	184
7. Political Ties	188
8. Charters as Sources of Monastic Patronage, Social Alliance and Estate Organisation	191
A. The Percy Fief in Craven	191
B. Grants to Guisborough Priory	196
9. Conclusion	201
CONCLUSION	205
1. Blood/Marriage/Wardship	205
2. Warfare	210
3. Church Patronage	218
A. Nunneries	221
4. Tenancy Agreements	222
5. Administrative Service	223
6. Social Gatherings	224
7. Architectural Choice	227
8. Duality	229
9. The Role of Yorkshire	231
A. The Irish Example	233
10. Future Directions	234
APPENDICES	
1. Genealogies	237
2. 12th Century Castles and Manor Houses in Yorkshire & on lands attached to Yorkshire-based Honours	242
3. The Oddities of Richmond	257
4. Obscure Origins	268
5. Siege-Castles	273
6. Proximity of Castles and Parish Churches	275
7. Distance between Castles or Head Manors & Monasteries excluding Cistercian & Augustinian houses	280
8. Monastic Foundations Associated with Yorkshire Barons	282
9. Monastic Patronage	286
10. Monastic Foundations Associated with the honour of Richmond	296
11. The Honour of Richmond: Regional Relationships	299
12. Travel	305
13. Weobley Castle Survey	308
14. William's Hill Survey	316
15. Violence and the creation of socio-political order in Yorkshire in the 1070's.	319
BIBLIOGRAPHY	339
PLATES	359 onwards

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of the tenure and charitable donations of a number of interconnected noble families in post-Conquest Yorkshire. It begins with an introduction to the region; a social and political area of midland and northern England as opposed to a 'county' limited by set boundaries. The types of evidence are explained, charters, chartularies and surviving buildings, before moving on to the historical background.

The first chapter examines the feudal divisions of Yorkshire, the evolution of honours and the extent to which Saxon divisions affected later boundaries. The chief places or 'capita' are discussed and presented as a fusion of urban, religious and seigneurial elements. Attention is paid to features of earlier landscapes, such as iron-age hillforts, that were re-used in this period.

A major part of the thesis is the role of the castle both as one element of local government and as an expression of artistic patronage, social connections and status. The functions of both fortified and non-fortified seigneurial residences are explored. The links between castle and church encompass three chapters concentrating upon a shared artistic and architectural heritage, the role of the chapel within the castle household, the relationship of castle and church at village level and the importance of noble patronage to the development and power of monasticism.

The study concludes with an outline of the various mechanisms that bound the nobility of Yorkshire together and suggests that they controlled their estates through a system of mutual co-operation and strategic patronage. The castle was a major part of this system, but, it is argued, it could not function in isolation and therefore the modern definition of a 'castle' as a fortified residence is misleading. A re-interpretation of the term 'castle' is offered as a final thought.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work grew out of a passion for the history of Yorkshire, combined with a deep interest in castles, particularly the obscure 'earthworks' that survive as lumps in fields. I did not initially intend to take much notice of churches and monasteries but, the more I delved into the subject, the more it became apparent that castle and church were indivisible; they replicate each other's functions and work side by side in all aspects of early medieval society. The scope of my study thereby widened rather than narrowed as I progressed. This progression has been helped by many people, in particular Michael Perry who accompanied me on numerous site visits, frequently back to the same 'earthwork' visited a year previously. My tutor, Dr. Philip Dixon, was an invaluable sounding board. He pointed me in directions I had not thought of and tempered my enthusiasm for 'ideas' with a firm 'evidence based' approach.

My boss, Clifford Ansell, was an unwavering support. He lent me the use of an Apple Macintosh until I obtained my own, he taught me how to use it, provided me with discs, paper and the services of a laser printer. My family were a great encouragement. Pam Speight plotted the bar and pie charts while Colin Speight produced the excellent photocopies and saved me a great deal of money. Steven Taylor, Sharon Pocock, Roger and Rose Brown all helped in various ways with the survey of Weobley and subsequent discussions of the results.

Finally, my thanks also to Pamela Marshall, Dr. Michael Jones, Dr. Bill Cavanagh, Dr. Guy Halsall, Professor David Palliser and Lindsay de la Doux Paton.

ABBREVIATIONS & SHORT TITLES

ANS

Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference,
Boydell Press 1979-1991

Arch.Ael

Archaeologia Aeliana

Arch.J

Archaeological Journal

ASC

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. & trans., G.N. Garmonsway,
J.M. Dent & Sons, London 1972

BAR

British Archaeological Reports, British Series

CUP

Cambridge University Press

DB

Domesday Book, General Editor John Morris, Phillimore, Chichester

Vol. 12 Hertfordshire (1976)

Vol. 17 Herefordshire (1983)

Vol. 18 Cambridgeshire (1981)

Vol. 23 Warwickshire (1976)

Vols. 29 and 30 Yorkshire (1986)

Vol. 33 Norfolk (1984)

EYC

William Farrer, ed., *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Edinburgh:

Vol. I (1914)

Vol. II (1915)

Vol. III (1916)

EYC

C.T. Clay, ed., *Early Yorkshire Charters*, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Extra Series*:

Vol. IV The Honour of Richmond Part 1 (1935)

Vol. V The Honour of Richmond Part II (1936)

Vol.VI The Paynel Fee (1939)

Vol.VII The Honour of Skipton (1947)

Vol.VIII The Honour of Warenne (1949)

Vol.IX The Stuteville Fee (1952)

Vol.X The Trussebut Fee with some charters of the Ros Fee (1955)

Vol.XI The Percy Fee (1963)

Vol.XII The Tison Fee (1965)

EHR

English Historical Review

English, Holderness

Barbara English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260:A Study in Feudal Society*, OUP 1979

Faull and Moorhouse

M.L.Faull and S.A.Moorhouse, eds., *West Yorkshire:An Archaeological Survey to AD.1500*, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, Wakefield 1981:

Vol.1 Sources, Environment and the County to AD 1066

Vol.2 The Administrative and Tenorial Framework

Vol.3 The Rural Medieval Landscape

Gesta Stephani

Gesta Stephani, ed. and trans., K.R.Potter, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976

HKW

H.M.Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works Volume II: The Middle Ages*, London 1963

JBAA

Journal of the British Archaeological Association

Med.Arch

Medieval Archaeology

Mon.Ang.

Sir.William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 2nd edition, ed. J.Caley, H.Ellis, B.Badinel, London 1825, 6 volumes

Morris

Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, Dent 1989

Mowbray Charters

D.A.Greenaway, ed., *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191*, OUP, London 1972

Orderic

Marjorie Chibnall, ed. and trans., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* , Vol.2 (1969), Vol.4 (1973), Vol.5 (1975), Vol.6 (1978), Clarendon Press, Oxford

OUP

Oxford University Press

Regesta

Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154 , Clarendon Press Oxford:

Vol.I Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi 1066-1100, ed. H.W.C.Davis 1913

Vol.II Regesta Henrici Primi 1100-1135, ed. C.Johnson and H.A.Cronne 1956

Vol.III Regesta Regis Stephani Ac Mathildis Imperatricis ac Gaugridi et Henrici Ducum Normannorum 1135-1154, ed. H.A.Cronne and R.H.C.Davis, 1968

RS

The Rolls Series , London 1858-1872

TRHS

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

VCH

Victoria County History

Wightman 1966

W.E.Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194* , Clarendon Press, Oxford 1966

YAJ

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

YASRS

Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series

Abbreviations used in figures of Chapter Six, Appendix 9

Byld	Byland	Newb'g	Newburgh
Cover	Coverham	N.Orm	North Ormsby
F'tains	Fountains	Pont	Pontefract
Guis	Guisborough	O.Warden	Old Warden
Jervx	Jervaulx	W'den	Warden
Keld	Keldholme	Whal	Whalley
K'stall	Kirkstall		

LIST OF PLATES

(Positioned after the BIBLIOGRAPHY)

All photographs by the author with the exception of no.55, Castle Frome, from K.A.Lindsay and P.A.Guiver, Castle Frome, Hereford 1977.

1. Blyth Priory, Nottinghamshire
2. Blyth Priory: Late 11th century painted decoration on pillar and capital
3. Blyth: Double Celtic head on volute capital
4. Blyth: Single Celtic head on volute capital
5. Laughton-en-le-Morthen: Trees on motte summit shown from churchyard
6. Laughton-en-le-Morthen: Doorway of Saxon north porticus
7. Roche Abbey: Northern transept
8. Skipsea Castle: The motte
9. Skipsea Castle: The bailey
10. Castle Bytham, Lincolnshire: The barbican
11. Castle Bytham: The ringwork banks
12. Brinklow Castle, Warwickshire: View from the motte looking across the bailey towards the church
13. Longtown Castle, Herefordshire: The keep
14. Longtown Castle: The gatehouse
15. Skenfrith Castle, Gwent: The keep
16. Conisborough Castle: General View
17. Catterick: The church from the motte summit
18. Richmond Castle: Scolland's Hall
19. Richmond Castle: The original entrance to the castle
20. Richmond Castle: The gate-tower as rebuilt in the later 12th-century
21. Richmond: An 18th century view
22. Bowes Castle: The keep
23. Almondbury Castle: The hillfort from a distance
24. Almondbury Castle: The ditch defining the motte
25. Thetford Castle: The double banks of the hill-fort
26. Mirfield: The castle in front of the church
27. William's Hill, Middleham: The outer bank from the ringwork summit
28. William's Hill: The wet moat
29. Gisburne: A partial ringwork. View from a distance
30. Gisburne: Cliff side of the ringwork from the interior
31. Helmsley Castle: Ringwork banks
32. Scarborough Castle: The inner bailey wall and keep
33. Weobley Castle, Herefordshire: View across the bailey towards the church from the ringwork
34. Weobley Castle: The ringwork from the west
35. Weobley Castle: The ringwork from the eastern bailey bank

36. Weobley Castle: The ringwork bank from the east
37. Weobley Castle: The wet moat between the eastern ringwork and bailey banks
38. Weobley Castle: Present entrance into the ringwork
39. Hutton Conyers: A siege ringwork
40. Pontefract Castle: The keep
41. Clitheroe Castle, Lancashire: The keep
42. Tickhill Castle: The gatehouse
43. Tickhill Castle: The motte
44. Wakefield Castle: The motte
45. Sandal Castle: Looking across the barbican to the semi-circular bailey from the motte summit
46. Lewes Castle: Shell keep on the southern motte
47. Burton Agnes Manor House: The undercroft
48. Spofforth Castle: The 12th-century undercroft
49. Pontefract Castle: The chapel of St.Clement
50. Ludlow Castle: The chancel of St.Mary Magdalene
51. Helmsley Castle: The chapel
52. Pickering Castle: The 13th century chapel
53. St.Leonard's Tower, West Malling
54. Thorne castle and St.Nicholas' Church
55. Castle Frome church: A view of the late 12th century font
56. Kirkham Priory: The 13th century gatehouse with its display of heraldry

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig.1	Yorkshire's natural sub-regions	3
Fig.2	The basic feudal division of 12th-century Yorkshire	3
Fig.3	Village-Plan Preferences amongst the Yorkshire Baronage	15
Fig.4	Landholding in Yorkshire c.1100 - "Circles of Influence" Richmond, Pontefract, Tickhill and Skipsea	35
Fig.5	Landholding in Yorkshire c.1120 - The Honours of Warenne, Brus, Mowbray, Stuteville and Fossard	36
Fig.6	Medieval Tickhill	47
Fig.7	All Saints Church, Laughton-en-le-Morthen	49
Fig.8	Medieval Thirsk	54
Fig.9	Early Medieval Doncaster	63
Fig.10	The Environs of Helmsley and Rievaulx in the Twelfth Century	69
Fig.11	Ludlow Town:Plan Units	75
Fig.12	Pontefract Castle	87
Fig.13	Sheriff Hutton	100
Fig.14	The Longtown/Greencastle Cycle	119
Fig.15	The Longtown/Greencastle Cycle	123
Fig.16	Weobley/Lyonshall	127
Fig.17	Comparative Dimensions of the Keeps at Conisborough and Mortemer	129
Fig.18	Plans of Mortemer and Conisborough	130
Fig.19	Romanesque Heads	135
Fig.20	Proximity of Cistercian Monasteries & Founder's Castles	179
Fig.21	Proximity of Cistercian Monasteries & Associated Castles	181
Fig.22	Proximity of Augustinian Houses & Founder's Castles	182
Fig.23	Distances between Augustinian Houses & Associated Castles based on Figure 22	183
Fig.24	Monastic Affiliations	190
Fig.25	Grants made to Sallay Abbey 1148-1248	192
Fig.26	Guisborough Priory Patronage	197
Fig.27	Patronage of Whitby Abbey c.1070-1250	198
Fig.28	Percy Benefactions to Religious Houses c.1070-1250, showing House Founders	199
Fig.29	Percy Patronage of Religious Orders c.1070-1250	200
Fig.30	Stuteville Crown Servants	225
Fig.31	The Charters of Conan IV	264
Fig.32	Trim Castle	270
Fig.33	Proximity of Castles & Parish Churches	279
Fig.34	Stuteville Patronage of Yorkshire Houses c.1140-1220	287
Fig.35	Patronage of Stuteville Tenants c.1140-1220	288

Fig.36	Patronage of the Honour of Skipton c.1100-1200	290
Fig.37	Tenant Patronage of the Honour of Skipton (excluding Bulmer)c.1100-1200	291
Fig.38	Patronage of the Bulmer Under-Tenancy of Skipton c.1100-1160	292
Fig.39	Mowbray Benefactions to Mowbray Foundations 1108-1190	294
Fig.40	Mowbray Benefactions to Neighbours'Foundations 1108-1190	295
Fig.41	A Schedule for Thomas de Weston	306
Fig.42	Castles and Monasteries of the Lacy Family in Herefordshire	309
Fig.43	Weobley Castle: An Original Survey	315
Fig.44	William's Hill, Middleham	318
Fig.45	A List of prominent Anglo-Saxons and Normans killed as a result of Northumbrian unrest 1065-1080	321

INTRODUCTION

Late-Saxon Yorkshire formed the southern section of the kingdom of Northumbria. At the same time parts of it had strong links with Mercia; Earl Edwin held Laughton-en-le-Morthen and Kippax, while the manor of Conisborough was the property of a Mercian thegn, Wulfric Spot, in the late 10th century. The Yorkshire Domesday covers much more than the three post-1974 counties of North, South and West Yorkshire. It surveys the three pre-1974 ridings, north, west and, most importantly, east, which contains the now independent county of Humberside. It deals with Lancashire north of the Ribble, parts of Westmorland and Cumberland. It is vital to realise that we are looking at a region which, despite having distinct identity and traditions in the early medieval period, is 'fluid' at the edges. The modern boundaries of the three counties of Yorkshire are much narrower than the medieval county while the medieval county itself had an 'overlap zone' to the south, west and north, an area with strong ties to Yorkshire. Northern Nottinghamshire was within the Yorkshire zone although an independent county, largely due to the honour of Tickhill which straddled the county-boundary. At the battle of the Standard in 1138 the 'Yorkshire nobility' included William Peveril of Nottingham and Robert de Ferrars of Tutbury in Staffordshire.

Our 'Yorkshire' extends from Craven in Lancashire east to the southern bank of the Humber at Barrow, thence northwards to Cleveland (Teeside) and west to Bowes on Stainmore. The natural divisions of the region, including the rivers, run north to south, west to east.

Geographically the region can be subdivided into five areas in the order of their average altitude:

1. Pennines	highest peak	2,591 feet.	above sea level
2. North Yorkshire Moors	" "	1,489 "	" " "
3. East Riding Wolds	" "	808 "	" " "

4. Vale of York or Ouse average land height 100 feet above sea level
 5. Plain of Holderness lowest land 50 feet above sea level

There are three main types of geological formation; limestone in the upper Pennines (north of Skipton) suitable for rough pasture, millstone grit (coarse sandstone) used in building, and the coal measures along the foothills of the Pennines providing industry. The North Yorkshire moors are on younger oolite limestone making a poor soil suitable for little except heather. This made them a prime sheep-farming area. The East Riding Wolds are chalk. The Plain of Holderness is mainly boulder clay producing a rich fertile cornland. The Vale of York, containing the valleys of the Swale, Ure, Nidd, Wharfe, Aire, Calder and Don, is a great area of rich, fertile alluvium and, consequently, an excellent agricultural region.

Yorkshire is a large enough area to encompass a wide variety of landscapes and geological formations. These inevitably affected settlement, agriculture and prosperity; honorial castles and abbeys for instance are seldom built within the Pennine zone (Skipton, Bolton and Sallay are rare exceptions). Most lie instead in the Pennine foothills. The most complete analysis of the relationship between these factors is that undertaken by H.C.Darby *et al.* using Domesday statistics (1). Although some thirty years old this study has not yet been superseded. For the purposes of the current work it is enough to understand that geography and geology were two more factors affecting the development of honours and capita. The Pennine ridge in particular must account for some of the differences that evolve between lowland and highland baronies.

1. Evidence

Charters are a major source of evidence for the evolution of Yorkshire capita. Hundreds survive from the 12th century detailing gifts to and from churches and monasteries, tenants-in-chief and tenants alike.

1. H.C.Darby and I.S.Maxwell, ed., *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, CUP 1962

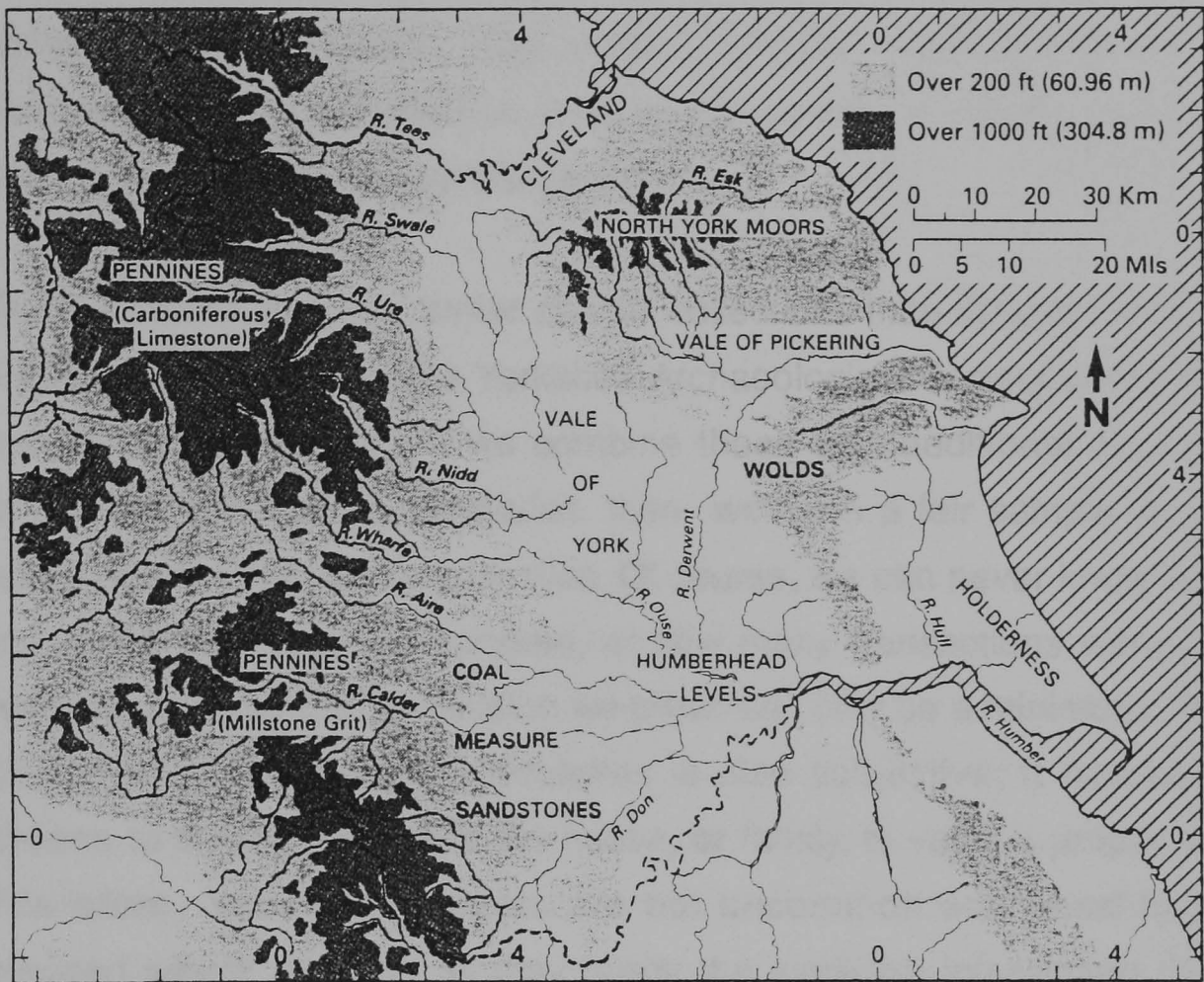


Figure 1: Yorkshire's natural sub-regions
 From D. Hey, *Yorkshire From AD 1000*, Longman 1986 p.8

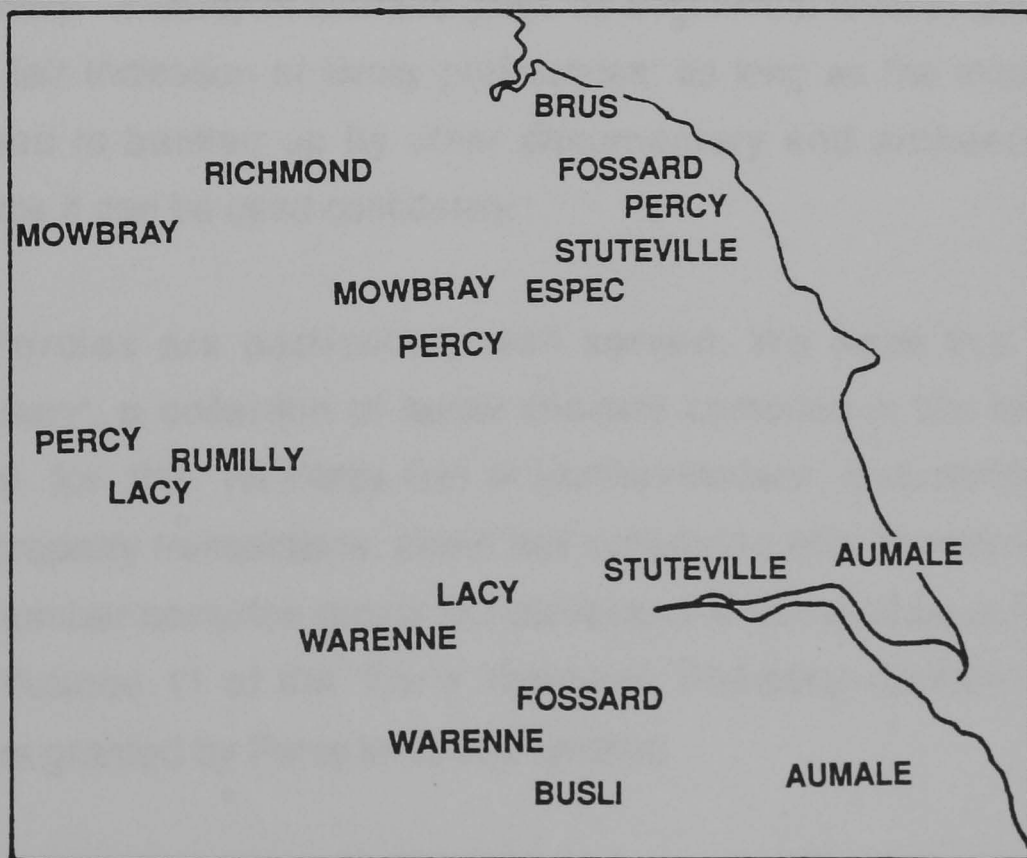


Figure 2: The basic feudal division of 12th century Yorkshire

They exist in mainly late-medieval monastic and lay cartularies, and in some modern collections. They reveal a wealth of detail about church patronage, estate organisation, internal politics and, not least, about the key structures of Yorkshire; the castles.

Some families have left better charter collections than others, many of which were collated for the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in the first half of this century (2). If we combine these with additional charters appearing in monastic cartularies, then we have a fair sample of the activities of twelfth-century families. Of course, we can never know how many charters have not survived, or how many transactions were not recorded, and so the information we glean can only be a minimum. The choice of material within cartularies is also subjective; it has been chosen to secure the title of the house, or family, to various properties. Therefore, 'spurious' charters are not uncommon and need to be avoided where possible as they falsify the available information. It is also inevitable that key grants will receive numerous confirmations; these can distort the true picture of 'gift-giving', but they do demonstrate the continued interest of, for instance, a founding family in a monastery. A study of charters gives us a minimum level of patronage and a fair indication of family preferences; as long as the information obtained is backed up by other documentary and archaeological evidence it can be used confidently.

The Percies are particularly well served. We have the 'Percy Chartulary', a collection of family charters compiled in the late 14th century for the 1st Percy Earl of Northumberland. It comprises over 1100 property transactions, about half concerned with Yorkshire (3). A large number comprise grants to Fountains and Sallay abbeys. Next we have Volume 11 of the 'Early Yorkshire Charters' containing 200 charters granted by Percy lords and tenants.

2. EYC 1-3, ed. William Farrer, Edinburgh 1914-1916; 4-12, ed. Sir Charles Clay, YASRS, Extra Series Vol. 1-10, 1935-1965

3. The Percy Chartulary, ed. M.T. Martin, Surtees Society 117, 1909

There are 2 surviving cartularies of major abbeys founded by the Percies in the 12th century; Sallay and Whitby. The Sallay collection was compiled in the first half of the 14th century and contains 676 deeds, mostly concerned with Yorkshire and Lancashire (4). The Whitby Cartulary contains over 700 deeds, again mainly concerned with Yorkshire (5).

Such evidence can produce a picture both of Percy patronage and of the patronage dispensed to Percy foundations by other Yorkshire barons. The result is inevitably biased towards major houses; i.e. Sallay and Whitby. Evidence of patronage for lesser houses, particularly nunneries, is normally meagre and unrepresentative, but it is the bigger houses that are found to have the closest relationship with nearby castles, and it is their evidence that is most important for this study. By such means evidence of social and political alliances among the nobility emerge. These alliances affect the importance of individuals and honours and, thereby, affect the standing of honorial capita.

Royal confirmations are a useful means of checking that all key benefactors have been traced as they tend to list in a single charter all the lords patronising each house over a certain period (6). At York in the 1130's for instance, King Stephen issued a confirmation of all gifts given to Bridlington Priory by Walter de Gant, Stephen de Meinil, Robert de Brus, Stephen of Aumale, Eustace FitzJohn, Everard de Ros and Emma de Percy (7). A confirmation issued at Dunstable in 1154 recorded the gifts of William of Aumale, William Fossard, William Percy, William de Roumare and his wife Agnes of Aumale to Melsa Abbey (8). Sallay Abbey received a confirmation at York in August 1154 listing its benefactions from the Percy and Lacy families (9).

4. The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St.Mary of Sallay in Craven, ed. J.McNulty, YASRS 87, 1933; 90, 1934

5. Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby, ed. Rev.R.C.Atkinson, The Surtees Society 69, 1879; 72, 1881

6. Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154: 4 volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1913-1968

7. Ibid, III, no.119

8. Ibid, III, no.583

9. Ibid, III, no.797

The Regesta collection is not solely concerned with monastic confirmations, but contains a wealth of information reiterating purely secular transactions that have often not survived elsewhere. Of similar use is the collection of charters issued by and concerning the Archbishops of York, compiled by Janet Burton (10).

Monastic cartularies are often accompanied by monastic chronicles which, inevitably, devote much time to the fortunes of their founding family. There exists a Melsa history of the Counts of Aumale, a Byland history of Mowbray, a Whalley history of the Lacies and an Alnwick history of Percy (11). It is, therefore, largely due to monastic patronage that so much information can be obtained about 12th century Yorkshire, its nobility, churches and castles; the factors that go together to create capita.

Added to the monastic sources we have inquisitions post mortem, estate surveys or 'compti', Domesday Book, the occasional building contract, and contemporary literature; sources that help to dilute the inevitable bias to be catered for when dealing with primarily monastic literature. In the modern literature there are studies concerned with landscape, monasticism, and nobility as separate subjects, but few that attempt to knit them together. W.E.Wightman's study of the Lacy family is superb but the Yorkshire section has been superseded by the Faull and Moorhouse three-volume survey of West Yorkshire (12). These are works concerned with individual elements, township and manorial boundaries. They specify which places are the most important within the landscape, but they fail to point out the factors that create importance; patronage, alliance, architecture. They are concerned with low-status detail as opposed to high-level links.

10. Janet E. Burton, ed., *English Episcopal Acta V: York 1070-1154*, OUP 1988

11. E.A. Bond, ed., *Chronica Monasterii De Melsa*, Vol. 1, RS 1866; William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 2nd edition, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Badinel, London 1825, 6 volumes, V, 533-4, V, 349-350; *Archæologia Aeliana* III 1844, pp. 33-44

12. W.E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194*, Clarendon Press 1966 (hereafter Wightman, 1966); M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse, eds., *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*, 3 volumes, Wakefield 1981 (hereafter Faull and Moorhouse).

Western Yorkshire is better served than the rest of the region. Barbara English's work on Holderness is useful but neglects the religious element of honorial administration (13). North Yorkshire has only D.Greenway's volume of Mowbray Charters, although it is by far the best study of a Yorkshire honour to date (14). As well as presenting the evidence with clear notes, it has an excellent introduction covering the origin of the honour, its geography, holders, capita and monastic houses. There is an attempt to make comparisons with neighbouring honours although it is limited by the nature of the work.

The non-documentary evidence, the archaeology of sites, the remaining architecture, the physical landscape, is equally important. In places like Richmond, Pontefract, Tickhill, Conisborough and a host of smaller sites, we can still see for ourselves the co-operation of church, castle, nobility and honorial management. We can see the choices that have been made in the past concerning caput site and format. The physical and psychological links thereby created can be summed up as 'family', 'faith' and 'fortification'.

2. Yorkshire in the 1070's

These links were created out of the 'Normanisation' of Yorkshire, a re-fashioning of the social system in the aftermath of the 'Harrying of the North' (1070-1). Conquest changed Yorkshire and created a new ruling system out of the confluence of castle and church. Before examining this new system we must, therefore, establish just how significant the harrying was.

In 1066 Yorkshire was a wealthy region. Its finest areas were the rich, agricultural lands of the East Riding and the densely populated area of Holderness (15). But, there was a regional divide between the more

13. Barbara English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260: A Study in Feudal Society*, OUP 1979 (hereafter English, *Holderness*).

14. D.A.Greenway, ed., *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191*, OUP 1972 (hereafter *Mowbray Charters*).

15. For the fullest recent discussion of Domesday Yorkshire see D.M.Palliser, *An Introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday*, Alecto Historical Editions 1992

prosperous lowland river valleys, for instance in the Vale of York, and the largely empty Pennine and moor uplands. Here, the land had not reached its full potential and was undercultivated. Domesday Book has no information for large areas of the North Yorkshire moors and tax assessments for the higher Pennines were low. The redistribution of land in the 1070's involved all grades; it was up to the incoming nobility to succeed or fail.

In 1970 W.H.Hoskins added a preface to the West Yorkshire volume of the Making of the English Landscape series. He wrote:

"Conquests only meant in most places a change of landlord for better or worse, but the farming life went on unbroken, for even conquerors would have starved without its continuous activity" (16).

Hoskins underestimated the involvement of the landlord in agriculture. It was the landlord who controlled cultivation, and a change of landlord inevitably brought changes to the system of farming and everyday life at the lowest levels. The quality of land received was a key factor in determining the extent of subinfeudation, renting or demesne farming.

At face value the Domesday and chronicle evidence for Yorkshire in the 1070's is appalling. Over half of the vills of the North Riding and over a third of those of the East and West Ridings, are described as wholly or partly waste. Most chroniclers suggest that this was deliberate destruction, wrought by the Norman armies in the 'Harrying' of 1070-1.

3. The Harrying of the North

From 1067 onwards William was faced by a series of northern rebellions, that of 1069 being particularly dangerous as it involved a coalition between the Saxon nobility and the Danes. Twice William went north, to fortify York, but still the threat persisted. On his third approach, he devastated the land on either side of his route northwards from the

16. W.G.Hoskins, Introduction to Arthur Raistrick, The West Riding of Yorkshire, Hodder and Stoughton 1970 p.12

Aire (near modern Pontefract). At this time he also chose to grant out the land straddling the approach roads to York to the Lacy and Percy families amongst others. York had been badly burnt, forcing the Norman garrison to abandon the city to the Danes, and William spent Christmas there restoring his two castles and replenishing the military presence. When he left, he needed to leave behind him the beginnings of permanent settlement.

In the New Year, 1070, the harrying continued. The army was divided into smaller units and directed into suspect regions. In the words of Orderic Vitalis:

“He [William] himself continued to comb forests and remote mountainous places, stopping at nothing to hunt out the enemy hidden there. His camps were spread out over an area of a hundred miles. He cut down many in his vengeance; destroyed the lair of others; harried the land, and burned homes to ashes” (17).

Orderic suggests that William’s intention was, initially, specific reprisals against known enemies but, that the inaccessibility of hideouts in “remote mountainous places”, forced upon him a scorched earth policy whereby he “punished the innocent with the guilty”:

“In his anger he commanded that all crops and herds, chattels and food of every kind should be brought together and burned to ashes with consuming fire, so that the whole region north of Humber might be stripped of all means of sustenance” (18).

Famine was the inevitable result, but the north was no stranger to crop failure. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle reports famines in 1070, 1082 and 1086 while Symeon of Durham suggests that the north was already suffering from famine prior to the Norman army’s rampage (19). More serious was the destruction of houses and property, and the execution of many innocent men. The resulting depopulation of some vills

17. Orderic 2, p.231

18. Ibid p.233. For a discussion of the type of violence instigated during the Harrying see Appendix 15.

19. ASC pp.204, 207, 214, 217, 218; Symeon of Durham, A History of the Kings of England, trans. J.Stephenson, 1858, reprinted by Llanerch Enterprises 1987 p.137

reduced the area of land under cultivation.

William of Malmesbury takes the interesting view that much of the devastation along the east coast was not so much to punish the local people as to deny supplies to the army of Cnut :

“The reason of such a command was that the plundering pirate should find no booty on the coast to carry off with him, if he designed to depart again directly; or should be compelled to provide against want, if he thought proper to stay” (20).

Cnut was not deterred. The Danish fleet did not depart until the Saxon forces had suffered a defeat and William had paid their price. In 1075 Cnut returned, raided the coast with 200 ships, reached York and attacked the Minster. He threatened a third invasion in 1085. For whatever reasons damage was inflicted upon the eastern coast and Holderness, Domesday clearly shows that in 1086 the region was undercultivated according to its 1066 potential. However, the 1066 potential may itself have been lessened due to the ravages of the army of Harold Hardrada. He landed in Cleveland, burnt Scarborough and fought a battle in Holderness (21).

The East Riding had been threatened therefore in 1066, 1070-1, 1075 and 1085. Domesday tells us that the royal manor of Falsgrave, now part of Scarborough, had declined in value from £56 to 30 shillings (22). A settled pattern of land use only began three or four miles inland. Waste was more frequent in the northern and central wolds, from Great Driffeld to Beverley and along the Humber estuary between Howden and Hessele. Great Driffeld, once worth £40, was entirely waste (23). However, much of its outlying land was agriculturally poor - waterless, with a thin soil and subject to harsh weather conditions. The land was scantily settled before 1066; here poor conditions had been

20. William of Malmesbury, *A History of the Norman Kings 1066-1125*, trans. J. Stephenson, reprinted by Llanerch Enterprises 1989 p.25

21. Snorri Sturluson, *King Harald's Saga*, Penguin Classics 1966 pp.141-2

22. DB 30, 1Y3

23. *Ibid* 1Y8

aggravated rather than created.

Apart from the narrow coastal strip, Holderness escaped lightly. It was remote from York, lacked good roads and, by its island nature, was a dangerous place for an army to linger while significant rebel forces were at bay. Yet, we must be aware of *degrees of waste*. While few Holderness vills were totally waste there were many partially waste or with severely reduced incomes since T.R.E. Reduced incomes were an inevitable by-product of social upheaval caused by conquest.

North of York, William's operations continued up to the Tees where he also faced the armies of Malcolm Canmore ravaging Teesdale and Cleveland and enslaving many. These lands therefore came into their new owners hands wounded by Scot and Norman alike. By the Easter of 1070 the harrying was over - it had lasted some eight or nine months. Just how extensive was it ?

First, we must be aware of pre-Conquest damage; the Norman army was not the only threat to the English countryside. In 1065 the Northampton area was ravaged by the forces of Earls Edwin and Morcar:

"They slew men and burned houses and grain, and took all the cattle which they might come at, that was many thousand; and many hundred men they took and led north; so that the shire and the other shires around were for many years the worse" (24).

England had been beset by strife for much of the 11th century as it veered between the Scandinavian and Norman spheres of influence. There was continuous trouble along the Welsh Marches. Much Domesday waste may therefore predate the Conquest.

4. The Definition of "Waste"

The first problem is to define just what Domesday meant by 'waste'. It is easy to assign it all to the marauding armies, whether Danish or

Norman, yet in only one instance, that of Harbury in Warwickshire, does Domesday specifically attribute waste to the royal army: "Vasta est per exercitum regis" (25). The Domesday clerks regarded 'waste' as land which had gone out of cultivation for a whole variety of reasons.

1. Some land in the upland regions of Yorkshire may not have been extensively settled by either 1066 or 1086. Waste here could mean 'empty' as opposed to 'damaged' land.

2. Waste land could have a value, perhaps as pasture, meadow or forest. The surveyors were on the whole chiefly concerned with arable land; if this element was lacking then they might use the term 'waste' even though they recorded a rent payment.

3. Land could be only partly waste; a variety of incomes were recorded alongside the presence of waste. In effect the land was not in full cultivation.

4. Waste was used as an administrative term to account neatly for changes in ownership of land. Three 1066 manors might comprise only two in 1086; to account for the change the clerk wrote off the third manor as waste. It was still in existence, it might even have had a higher value than in 1066, but it was no longer independent. It had been amalgamated and as such its value now accrued to another manor. "Outlying estates had their details grossed up in the totals for the central manor and then themselves appeared separately as waste" (26). "In this way all the 1066 manors were accounted for and their tax assessments allowed to stand unaltered, while the actual farming situation was neatly concentrated in one entry" (27).

This process can be expected in cases where a manor or vill had a significantly higher value in 1086 than in 1066, and yet was surrounded

25. DB 23, 6.13

26. W.E. Wightman, *The Significance of 'Waste' in the Yorkshire Domesday*, Northern History 10, 1975 pp.55-71 p.61

27. *Ibid* p.59

by waste land. By 1086 the Busli manor of Laughton-en-le-Morthen had grown from possessing 29 to 40 ploughs; this must have been at the expense of the three waste Mortain manors to the west (28).

5. The term 'waste' was used when the ownership of land was in doubt. In the Domesday text Penistone appeared twice; once under the King, once under Ilbert de Lacy. But by the time the summary was composed the estate was clearly in the hands of Ilbert de Lacy; to clarify the earlier information the king's estate was written off as waste (29).

6. Waste could mean that a lord had not yet attracted rent-paying tenants to the land, particularly on the poorer lands of the Wolds and Pennines. "Some support is given to this hypothesis by the sharp drops between 1066 and 1086 values even where the arable potential of an estate was fully realised and the number of ploughs matched the land available for arable cultivation" (30). Such drops are most apparent in the areas of greatest military disturbance.

In a high proportion of cases waste land was not valueless; grazing rights generated rent payments and forest land was an important royal resource. Therefore 'wastage' could be a result of a change in land function. The land might have no people on it to till the soil and was therefore waste. A proportion of such land had been abandoned prior to the Norman conquest as a result of previous conflicts.

Waste could be occasioned by labour movement. When honours were allocated some lords chose new sites for their capita (eg. Richmond). To farm their surrounding demesnes they required a supply of peasants. If the area was not highly populated then village communities may have been transplanted, thus leaving other lands depopulated and thereby 'waste' (31).

28. DB 30, 10W1

29. Wightman, 1966 p.27

30. Wightman, Significance of 'Waste', p.62

31. T.A.M. Bishop, The Norman Settlement of Yorkshire, Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke, ed., R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, R.W. Southern, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1948, pp.1-14. Bishop over-estimated the role of re-settlement but it remains one option when accounting for waste.

When Alan of Brittany was given Richmondshire c. 1070 an essential task was to restore the productivity of the land. If there were insufficient peasants then they had to be either imported from other territory within the honour, or attracted from outside his jurisdiction by free-status, assarting rights and good-sized tenant farms. A further option was to encourage settlers from Brittany itself - there is evidence of a sizeable Breton population around Richmond (32). That much of the honour had been subinfeudated by the early 12th century suggests that Alan had to offer substantial plots to his mesne-tenants in order to provide them with a worthwhile living.

5. Village-Planning

The creation of regular village plans may be one result of Norman reorganisation after the Harrying. These are common in lowland Yorkshire north of the River Aire; the area that bore the brunt of the harrying. The territories of William de Warenne and Roger de Busli, south of this line, escaped relatively lightly and correspondingly have fewer examples of planned regular villages. However, the area north of the Aire was also more densely populated than that to the south, suggesting that many regular villages were not new settlements but rather reorganisations of resources.

Not all devastated territory received regular village plans in the recovery period. June Sheppard believes that this could be due to different 'honorial policies' (33). She takes the 14 largest of the 29 Domesday tenants-in-chief of the county and sub-divides them into groups according to their plan preference (Figure 3). Group D1 is the most notable; its low percentage of regular plans perhaps explained by its light escape from the harrying. Groups A and B saw the greatest devastation and have above average proportions of regular plans. However, it is Groups C, D2 and E that spoil the convenient pattern; below average regular plans yet considerable destruction. Does this

32. Patrick Galliou and Michael Jones, *The Bretons*, Blackwell 1991 pp.182-3

33. June Sheppard, *Medieval Village Planning in Northern England: some evidence from Yorkshire*, *Journal of Historical Geography* 2 No.1

reflect honorial plan preferences ?

The chief reason for the choice of an irregular/part-regular plan over a regular one will be multi-ownership of manors and sub-infeudation. Where more than one landowner is involved it will be far more difficult to establish regularity. Where the land has been leased at an early date then the resources available to the mesne tenant may not be sufficient for plan control. Sheppard comments; "Regular plans are under-represented in subinfeudated villis, suggesting that it was under honorial administration that they were most likely to be established" (34).

Figure. 3:				
<u>Village-Plan Preferences amongst the Yorkshire Baronage, 1086</u>				
Plan Type %				
<u>Group</u>	<u>Tenant-in-chief</u>	<u>Regular</u>	<u>Partly Regular</u>	<u>Irregular</u>
Total for all 800 villages in sample in 29 honours		24	54	22
A	Osbern de Arches	47	47	5
B	The King	33	48	19
	See of York	29	50	21
	See of Durham	25	57	18
	Count of Mortain	29	48	22
	Hugh FitzBaldric	27	60	13
C	Count Alan the Red	19	53	27
	Gospatric	17	58	25
	Gilbert Tison	20	50	30
D(1)	Ilbert de Lacy	4	68	27
	Drogo de Bevrere	9	71	19
	Roger de Busli	3	74	22
D(2)	Berenger de Todeni	15	69	15
E	William de Percy	9	44	47

Regularity is more common on rent-paying land as opposed to honorial demesne; perhaps some tenants-in-chief deliberately 'laid-out' new or restored villages in order to attract new settlers. We would also expect demesne land to be the first to be re-settled after the post-conquest upheavals; there might not be the interval required to create a regular plan. Partly-regular plans would come into existence by the addition of an irregular extension to an originally regular plan, or vice versa.

Of the 800 villages considered, Sheppard believes the largest number to date from the late-11th, early 12th century. A few may be Saxon and a third group post 1150.

A combination of evidence for 'waste' and village planning suggests that although Yorkshire suffered badly in the post-conquest decade, the devastation was patchy and recovery quick. Norman government may have brought greater prosperity to the region than it had enjoyed for a long time, considering the unrest in the north during the reign of the Confessor. The Norman 'harrying' was effective; it quelled local resistance to the new regime, but it did not ruin the region's economy. The honours of Richmond, Skipton in Craven, and Pontefract were offensive, designed to push the frontiers of Norman England ever northwards; this would not have been possible if the land was barren.

'Waste' is also a term commonly used in the 12th century for monastic land endowments. Ninety percent of all monastic foundations moved location at least once during their lives (35). This is not because they were all endowed with literally 'waste' land that could not support them. In most cases better or simply different lands were offered to the house at a later stage and they decided to move.

Land boundaries were still evolving in this period; conditions and neighbours changed. All lords were granted some manors richer than

35. For a detailed analysis of monastic site-relocation see David M. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 2 volumes, BAR 80, 1980

others. Initially they had to concentrate investment and manpower on the best until resources could be spread more thinly. The period of 'wastage' could be very short and due to other factors than warfare (climate, boundary changes, shared ownership). Economic factors or simple rationalisation of demesne farming forced some lords to move village populations from one area to another. Men assembled their estates from disparate sources and their lands were frequently divided by ecclesiastical and native holdings not yet available for redistribution.

6. Post-Domesday Yorkshire

To encourage Norman colonisation in a frontier region merited special treatment. In Yorkshire and the Welsh Marches William handed out the land in far larger chunks than was his practice in the south. The condition of parts of Yorkshire after the harrying may have meant that larger grants were required to support the incomers but, once the land and people had recovered, the Crown was faced with several extremely powerful northern baronies. Initially they were entrusted to men of proven ability and loyalty, including the Conqueror's brothers Odo of Bayeaux and Robert of Mortain, William de Warenne who had served him well at the battle of Mortemer in 1054, and Alan of Brittany, the brother of Count Brian who had led the Bretons at Hastings. In 1088 Odo and Robert rebelled, supporting Curthose instead of Rufus (36). Their confiscated estates were redistributed; former mesne tenants such as Ilbert de Lacy, Nigel Fossard and Robert Stuteville became tenants-in-chief while other lands reverted to the royal demesne. Under Henry I new men who had served him in the Cotentin were settled in Yorkshire, including Walter Espec and Robert Brus (37).

By the early 12th century Yorkshire had a fairly complex feudal structure although as a rule, due to the larger size of its fiefs, the region had fewer tenants-in-chief than other counties. Most tenants-in-chief

36. For a detailed discussion of the 1088 rebellion see Frank Barlow, *William Rufus*, Methuen 1983 pp.74-93

37. William E. Kapelle discusses Henry I's 'new men' in *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation 1100-1135*, Croom Helm, London 1979

were themselves tenants of their neighbours in regard to odd manors and most tenants held land from two or more tenants-in-chief. Lines of social distinction were apt to be blurred. Count Alan of Richmond might boast the noblest lineage but his policy of sub-infeudation left him with no more demesne land than the amount held by his greatest tenant, Conan son of Ellis (38). To be a principal tenant of the vast honour of Richmond was to find oneself on a par with the lesser tenants-in-chief. The former could expect to own land in Brittany as well as Yorkshire. This was very much a land of opportunity; the first four lords of Richmond, and William de Warenne, were all younger sons earning their fortunes through loyal support of the Norman kings. Men of fairly low standing could aspire to greatness. Peter de Ros, second lord of Helmsley and Wark, began his career as steward to the Counts of Aumale whilst Anshetil de Bulmer, whose son married Emma Fossard and built Sheriff Hutton Castle, was steward to Nigel Fossard.

7. The Pattern of Landholding

The largest and most northerly Yorkshire fief was the honour of Richmond; only the lands of the king and his brothers, Odo of Bayeaux and Robert Count of Mortain, covered more ground. Holderness, held by the counts of Aumale, was the largest and wealthiest estate of the east riding, boasting the highest proportion of meadowland in Yorkshire. During the 12th century the counts of Aumale also gained the honour of Skipton in Craven through marriage.

Many of the lesser tenancies-in-chief came into being as a result of the forfeiture of the Count of Mortain in 1088. The Surdeval family quickly became heirless and were succeeded by the Brus family. The Brus estates were concentrated in the Cleveland region, centering on castles at Castle Levington on the Leven, Skelton near Saltburn and Castleton on the Esk.

Nigel Fossard had held 95 manors from Robert of Mortain. His was

one of the most dispersed of the Yorkshire honours. So much so in fact that the family had to raise at least 5 castles to hold it, at Mulgrave in the North Riding, Langthwaite in the west and Birdsall, Lockington and Aughton in the east.

A third family to benefit from Mortain's expulsion were the Percys, holding lands in Cleveland near Seamer and Whitby. However, they were also tenants-in-chief in their own right in central Yorkshire, holding sway around the lower reaches of the Wharfe, Nidd, Ure and Swale. They had castles or manor houses at Topcliffe, Tadcaster and Spofforth. They were also neighbours of the de Rumilly family of Skipton in Craven, and owned a castle at Gisburne.

North of the principal Percy holdings were the lands of the honour of Mowbray, centering on Thirsk. This was an important local family, tenants-in-chief in their own right but also sub-tenants of the honour of Richmond with lands at Masham, just south of Wensleydale. Together with the Espec/Ros family of Helmsley (also sub-tenants of Holderness), the Mowbrays were of crucial importance in the spread of Augustinian and Cistercian monasticism in Yorkshire. Closely connected to them were the Stutevilles. Robert de Stuteville fought for Curthose at Tinchebrai in 1106 and forfeited his estates to the rising Mowbray family. His son regained a foothold in the county with lands around Hull but, with the accession of Henry II, the family moved back into royal favour and gradually wrest portions of their original holdings from the Mowbrays.

In the south of the region there were three great estates; the honour of Tickhill, the manor of Wakefield and the honour of Pontefract, held respectively by the families of de Busli, Warenne and Lacy. The honour of Tickhill lay mainly in north Nottinghamshire but its strategic importance was in defending the entrance to the midland plain. Tickhill passed into Crown hands early in the 12th century and, although it occasionally returned to de Busli heirs, it was treated much as royal

property, to be granted out as appropriate to the political needs of the day. The Warennes and the Lacies, by contrast, proved to be 2 of the most constant features in Yorkshire society until the mid-14th century. The Warennes were significant landowners in Sussex, Surrey and Norfolk, as well as Yorkshire, from the eleventh century. Their northern lands occupied a broad north-south strip of territory running from Wakefield to Conisborough near Doncaster. They were near neighbours of the lords of Tickhill. The Lacies became Constables of Chester and earls of Lincoln but, in the 12th century, they were essentially a Yorkshire-based family. Their lands stretched across from the upper valley of the Calder almost to the Ouse and embraced the whole of middle and lower Airedale. They had cousins holding large estates in the south-west midlands, chiefly Herefordshire.

8. Yorkshire and the North

Unlike the barons of the furthest north, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, the Yorkshire barons still possessed Norman lands. The northern barons were firmly rooted to their region, seldom marrying, moving or founding monasteries outside it. Yorkshire was less insular; the ranks of its baronage were swelled by a mixture of 'new' men, younger sons and heirs to lesser baronies. These were independently minded men but, at the same time, a politically-aware group with wide-ranging interests. The greater lords, the Warennes and earls of Richmond, had considerable landed wealth outside Yorkshire, in southern England and on the continent. They intermarried with their neighbours but they also forged links further afield; marriage tended to follow patterns of land distribution. The more diverse your landholdings, the more diverse your marriage partners.

Yorkshire families looked north for expansion, one reason being that expansion south aroused the suspicion and perhaps hostility of the Crown. To the north it was a different matter; here the frontier was a zone of competition with land still available for seizure. Cumbria and Northumberland only began to feel Norman inroads in the reign of

Rufus and so, as on the Welsh marches, independently minded adventurers were free to take their chances. But, with the accession of King David of Scotland in 1124, the situation changed. David had been educated at the court of Henry I and was Norman in outlook. He encouraged the northern barons to accept land formally within his kingdom and received their homage for it.

King David's involvement in Yorkshire affairs is evident from charters and church patronage. His foundation charter to Selkirk was witnessed by Robert de Brus, an 1123 inquest into the estates of the bishopric of Glasgow was witnessed by Alan de Percy, and the 1124 grant of Annandale to Brus was witnessed by Eustace FitzJohn of Malton (39). Walter Espec and David were particularly close; Espec helped the King suppress a revolt in Moray in the early 1130's and they shared a keen interest in the career of Ailred of Rievaulx, once David's steward (40). However, no relationship was closer than that between David and Robert de Brus.

Brus was the first, and for a decade the only, northern magnate to be given an extensive fief in Scotland. His was also the only Yorkshire honour to be added to Domesday Book, sometime between 1120 and 1129. Perhaps even at this early date Henry I could foresee a future conflict of loyalties and so, when an occasion for renewing homage or fealty arose, he used it to commit to record the provenance of the Brus tenancy-in-chief (41). It may have helped; in 1138, at the Battle of the Standard, Brus chose for Stephen and renounced his homage to David (42). He was joined by Walter Espec and William Percy while Percy's

39. Early Scottish Charters Prior to AD 1153, ed., Sir Archibald Campbell Lawrie 1905, nos. 35, 54; R.L.G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland*, Edinburgh University Press 1954 pp.151-153

40. Judith Green, *Aristocratic Loyalties on the Northern Frontier of England, circa.1100-1174*, in *England in the Twelfth-Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed., Daniel Williams, The Boydell Press 1990 pp.83-100, particularly p.95

41. Gillian Fellows Jensen, *The Domesday Book Account of the Bruce Fief*, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 2, 1969-70 pp.8-17

42. Richard of Hexham, *The Acts of King Stephen and the battle of the Standard 1135-1139*, trans. Joseph Stephenson, in *Contemporary Chronicles of the Middle Ages*, Llanerch Enterprises 1988 pp.67

younger son Alan and Brus' younger son Robert opted for David (43). As England had provided the opportunity in 1066 for younger sons, so did Scotland in the early 12th century. Espec and Brus, both recently-created tenants-in-chief, chose for the nephew of their first benefactor, Henry. Brus had foreseen the coming conflict and, before the battle of the Standard, had divided his lands into two sections at the Tees, thereby creating the English and Scottish branches of the family (44). His action was necessitated by the political situation and was not disrupted when Henry II pushed his border northwards to the Tweed in 1157, making the Annandale Brus' landowners in both countries once more.

The proximity of Scotland has a significant bearing upon 12th century Yorkshire. King David I was an extremely important monastic patron both sides of the border while several of the Yorkshire houses sent colonies north. Rievaulx established daughter houses at Melrose and Dundrennan. Although Yorkshire was a distinct region it had strong ties with Northumberland and lowland Scotland that affected monastic, political and architectural development. Influences spread south as well as north.

As Scotland influenced Yorkshire so did the southern estates attached to Yorkshire honours. The Warennes, the Mowbrays, the lords of Richmond, the Percies and the Lacies, all had significant holdings outside the region. These can be used to demonstrate whether or not political and social ties continued beyond the Yorkshire boundary.

9. Castles

Yorkshire honours were centres of influence, from which fashions and information emanated. The caput of each honour had a hinterland of power, an area over which it dispensed the lord's authority. However,

43. EYC 2 p. 11; Judith Green, *Aristocratic Loyalties on the Northern Frontier of England c.1100-1174*, in Daniel Williams, ed., *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, Boydell Press 1990 pp.83-100

44. *Early Scottish Charters Prior to AD 1153*, ed. Sir. Archibald Campbell Lawrie, 1905 p.307; Robin Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles 1100-1400*, OUP 1990 p. 47

these areas overlapped. The lord of Richmond and the Count of Aumale each had a political standing that gave them influence throughout the whole region. William of Newburgh called Aumale the third 'king', occupying the buffer zone between David and Stephen in the 1130's (45). There was a clear social and political pecking-order, evident through chronicle and charter evidence, and through architecture. The greatest families had the greatest castles and were the patrons of the greatest monasteries. Men like Ilbert de Lacy and Walter Espec attracted numerous satellites, lesser barons who patronised their foundations in order to forge alliances.

Stylistic and plan similarities in 12th century castles reveal the passing of ideas from caput to caput or from one generation of the same family to the next. These are vital in explaining both the development of castle architecture and monasticism. In Yorkshire we are presented with a social group that copied as much as it created.

The castles of Yorkshire were built for a wide variety of reasons beside the military: to provide homes, hotels, country retreats, administrative centres, law courts, gaols, storage depots, and to symbolise status. Their owners were involved in their architectural evolution, domestic furnishings and day to day maintenance. Despite their varying functions, castles could share some unifying feature, some stamp that told the world who they belonged to - literally in the Percy sense of displaying their lions crest prominently at all sites, more subtly in the Lacy sense of employing craftsmen for successive building projects.

The military side of the castle was in many cases the least important. Hawisa, Countess of Aumale, travelled south to Pleshey Castle in Essex to celebrate her marriage to William de Mandeville; here is the castle as the setting for a great social and religious festival (46). More barons died in their castles than on the battlefield. These were centres

45. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed., R. Howlett Vol.1, RS 1884 pp.69-70

46. Ralph de Diceto, *Opera Historica* 2, RS 1876 p.3

of ceremony and family ritual, full of colour and symbolism. Elaborate forebuildings and entrance ways as at Castle Rising, Knaresborough and Sandal were not merely defensive; they were the embodiment of the lord's authority. The more important the occupant the more rooms and lobbies the visitor had to pass through before he came to the lord's chamber. Reading the accounts of building work carried out at castles during the 12th and 13th centuries, we hear far more often of chambers being constructed or refurbished than we do of the erection of blatantly military works.

Due to the nature of early medieval building, the apparent lack in England at least of scale models and plans, and the reliance upon borrowing ideas from existing structures, the master-mason/architect and site-owner/patron needed frequent consultations, not the least being about expenditure. A castle was a symbolic and prestigious edifice; each lord desired his 'caput' to be a reflection of his personal status - he certainly did not want his masons to build a carbon copy of a neighbour's seat. Hence no two motte and baileys, let alone two stone castles, were ever the same. On paper the formula is deceptively simple but the permutations are endless.

By using charter evidence and known patronage to establish links between families we help to explain other connections. Patterns emerge; geographical neighbours patronise each other's monastic houses, but sometimes only when these houses are in a confined area. Two families may share power in one portion of Yorkshire and each have additional estates in other un-connected areas; in the case of lower-status families, their links do not extend beyond the boundaries of their neighbouring territory. Yet with the greater tenants-in-chief, their links with certain of their contemporaries are national, transcending regional boundaries. These 'links' are many and varied but can be summed up as 'family', 'faith' and 'fortification'.

CASTLES AND CAPITA

CHAPTER ONE

Feudal Yorkshire was divided into 'honours'; units of land management that held together widely dispersed estates under a distinct ownership. Honours were known either by the name of the owner-family or, by the most prominent place within the honour; eg. 'the honour of Mowbray' or 'the honour of Pontefract'. Their identity developed only gradually. The Honour of Tickhill in the 12th century was known alternatively as 'the honour of Blyth'; both places were equally important, despite the fact that only Tickhill had a castle **(1)**. The term 'honour' was not yet definitive. A writ of Henry I (c.1102-5), and one of Henry II (1154-62), both refer to the 'castellum of Blyth' **(2)**. 'Castellum' does not necessarily prove the existence of a castle as, in the 11th century, it was an alternative word for 'honour'. When William II confirmed Ilbert de Lacy I in the possession of his estates, the phrase used was "consuetudinem de castellaria castelli sui" - 'castelli' indicated the castle whereas 'castellum' referred to the whole estate **(3)**.

The honour was managed from a 'caput' or from 'capita', the chief places within its area. Some capita were defensive, others were not (eg. Bradford and Rothwell within the Honour of Pontefract). The defended capita often re-used convenient late Anglo-Saxon, Roman or Iron-Age fortifications **(4)**.

The castle was not always within a caput. The large and wealthy manor of Wakefield possessed two castles by the mid-12th century, yet its capital status was derived from a church; many early market places formed extensions of churchyards as opposed to adjuncts of castles.

1. As late as 1166 Nigel de Lovetot declared 5 fees held of the honour of Roger de Busli of the fee of Blyth. See Red Book of the Exchequer pp.372-3

2. R.T. Timson, ed., The Cartulary of Blyth Priory, Thoroton Society Record Series 27, 1973 p.cxxviii

3. EYC 3, no. 1415

4. See Chapter 2

The castle was only one feature of caput and honour; equally important were its churches, monasteries and towns. Honorial capita had to fulfill a number of functions:

1. Seigneurial Headquarters
2. Administrative centre
3. Judicial centre
4. Economic centre
5. Communications centre
6. Military strongpoint
7. Religious centre

The importance of a settlement or structure can be gaged by how many of these functions it fulfilled.

1. The Origin of Honours

Even before 1066 the largest late Saxon estates were breaking up as a result of forfeiture, partible inheritance, failure of heirs and deliberate dispersal. The royal estate at Conisborough for instance had fragmented to produce a number of smaller estates held by thegns (5). The tenorial scene was changing rapidly and so the post-1070 redistribution of land accelerated a process that was already underway. Some of the new Yorkshire fiefs were compact, others dispersed. Some contained mainly whole manors, others partible shares in manors. There is no coherent pattern. What is clear is that no one Norman had merely one Saxon antecessor. There was little continuity in the sense of straightforward transferral of land from one man to another.

The rare distribution of royal demesne was aimed at the creation of compact fees for a specific purpose. Circa 1106 King William granted William de Warenne the large manor of Wakefield just south of his estate at Conisborough, itself a former King's vill. Warenne, whose chief properties lay in the far south, was intruded here as a counter-balance. It is often stated that the largest Yorkshire honours were created to be offensive, to push Norman control northwards - however,

they were equally designed to counter each other, to ensure the dominance of all or none.

A. The Honour of Pontefract

The Lacy honour of Pontefract was created from the lands of numerous Saxons, ranging in rank from Earl Edwin down to the lowest freeman. Lands were allocated to the fief in order to consolidate its hold on a specific area rather than to neatly parcel out the lands of nominated Saxons. The function of Pontefract was to control the Aire Valley, the most-used Pennine crossings and the routes north to Catterick and Durham. As W.E.Wightman states; "all the main ways of travelling from London to the north-east thus lay within his [Ilbert de Lacy's] boundaries or close to them, except that by river to York, and even this came within two miles of his manors of Brayton and Ryther, both near Selby" (6). Pontefract was a geographic creation designed to control key routes and access to important late-Saxon centres. Each Lacy antecessor possessed land both useful to this scheme and irrelevant to it. The latter lands therefore passed to someone else. The incoming system of land-holding was, on the whole, more geographically based than the traditional Saxon scheme, for the simple reason that it was being created over a relatively short period of time, one or two decades, as opposed to a century. Its function was also defined - to secure the north and to extend Norman influence northwards.

Proof of this geographical base is provided by the position of mesne tenancies held by tenants-in-chief. Church land not available for distribution was none the less freshly tenanted. Ilbert de Lacy held the manor of Warmfield from the Archbishop of York while Nigel d'Aubigny held three small estates of the latter's Liberty of Ripon (7). In Herefordshire, Ilbert's nephew Roger held Holme Lacy near Hereford and Onibury near Ludlow of the Bishop of Hereford (8). In all cases

6. Wightman 1966, p.19

7. DB 29, 2W1; Mowbray Charters p.xxiii

8. Wightman 1966, pp.127-9; H.M.Colvin, Holme Lacy:An Episcopal Manor and its Tenants in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, in Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham, ed. V.Ruffer and A.J.Taylor, OUP 1950

these mesne tenancies prevented the intrusion of alien land into otherwise compact blocks.

In 1086 a large number of Saxons still survived as tenants of Ilbert de Lacy, an indication that the honour was very much in its formative stages. Their dispossession had, however, occurred at the latest by c.1137-9 when Ilbert de Lacy II confirmed the endowments of his father and grandfather to the chapel of St.Clements at Pontefract (9). This charter lists the lands of Saxon tenants, now Lacy demesne or held by Norman tenants, from which the tithes were due to St.Clements. Of over forty Saxons mentioned as land holders TRE none remained in possession when the charter was issued (10).

B. The Honour of Richmond

A few large Saxon estates did survive the post-Conquest carve-up. The Honour of *Richmondshire* was, in effect, late-Saxon Gillingshire, a defined area containing nearly fifty landholders. In 1086 it was assessed not as part of a wapentake, like the lands of other tenants-in-chief, but distinctly as 'terra Alani Comitis'. Domesday Book shows Gilling to have retained its eight berewicks and nineteen sokelands, yet the focus of the estate switched (11). Earl Edwin's bases within Gillingshire had been at Gilling (where a famous monastery was founded in the 7th century) and at Catterick, which was a *vicus* in Bede's day (12). Under the earls of Richmond Catterick maintained sub-capita status, possessing its own motte and bailey, but Gilling seems to have reverted to rural nonentity despite being retained in demesne. The focus switched to Richmond. If Richmond is mentioned at all in Domesday it is under the entries for Hindrelach or Neutone (13). This was a new settlement, not attached to any Saxon centre as at Pontefract, although there is a slight possibility that the position of St.Mary, the 12th-century parish church on the edge of the Norman

9. EYC 3 no.1492 pp.185-6

10. EYC 3 no.1492 pp.187

11. DB 30, 6N1

12. Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price, Penguin 1968 p. 164, 130, 139; John Marsden, *Northanhymbre Saga*, BCA 1992, p.42, 233.

13. DB 30, 6N19, 6N23; EYC 4 Part 2 pp.62-3

town, might indicate a remnant of a Saxon settlement. Domesday Book attributes a church with a priest to Hindrelach (14). But, if it does, this was of minor importance, subsidiary to Catterick and Gilling. In the earlier period the site at Richmond may perhaps have boasted a hillfort. John Marsden, in his book 'Northanhymbre Saga', attributes Richmond with being the 'stronghold of the south' of Urien, 'lord of Erch' in the 6th century (15). It is true that the early kings of Britain were identified with hill-top citadels such as Dumbarton and Bamburgh. These were known as 'urbs'. The 'urb' of the kingdom of Catraeth could have been Catterick, poorly defended but with documentary evidence for its political importance, or alternatively Richmond with its perfect site but lack of corroborative evidence (16).

The Honour of Richmond owed much to its Saxon estate predecessor; its administrative divisions were retained and its chief places remained in demesne. The overall caput of the honour however was a new castle-borough, a deliberate creation and new focal point.

C. The Honour of Tickhill

Roger de Busli's estate was amalgamated from the lands of numerous Saxon thegns, much along the same lines as the honour of Pontefract. The new honour, comprising blocks of manors in north Nottinghamshire, south Yorkshire and north-eastern Derbyshire, had a strategic function to fulfill, to guard the entrance/exit to the Midland Plain and, perhaps, to counter over-ambitious lords further north. We know there was a close bond between the Busli's and the Crown because Queen Matilda gave the manor of Sandford in Devon to Roger's wife Muriel (17).

In Yorkshire Roger gained some of the key manors of the Saxon nobility; Laughton-en-le-Morthen and Hallam where both Earl Edwin

14. DB 30, 6N19

15. John Marsden, *Northanhymbre Saga*, BCA 1992 p.42

16. See Nick Higham, *The Northern Counties to AD 1000*, Longman 1986 pp.263-267, for a discussion of early capita.

17. VCH Devonshire, 1, p.521

and Earl Waltheof had an 'aula' (18). Many of the honour's manors were removed from the royal manor of Conisborough which itself survived in reduced form to become part of the Warenne honour (19). The manor of Hallam, once a key part of the multiple estate of Hallamshire, became detached and passed into the honour of Tickhill whereas 'Hallamshire' came to be identified with the Yorkshire lands of William de Lovetot (20).

Within the honour of Tickhill we have again a dichotomy between the re-use of late Saxon 'capita' on the one hand and the creation of new Norman 'capita' on the other. The town of Tickhill grew up next to, and for some time remained distinct from, the Saxon village of Dadsley. This represents convenient position as opposed to symbolic continuity. Whereas Tanshelf was a significant settlement before the development of Pontefract, Dadsley was of no consequence. The head of the Wapentake was Strafforth, ultimately replaced by Tickhill.

D. The Lordship of Holderness

Before c.1070 Holderness comprised a mass of small estates in the hands of the church and numerous secular lords ranging in rank from the lowest freeman to Earls Harold, Tostig and Morcar. The area was administered via three hundreds; North, South and Middle. These boundaries survived into the early 13th century when the Middle Hundred was sub-divided into eastern and western portions (21).

There is little evidence that the area was regarded as an entity (eg. Gillingshire, Riponshire) prior to the Domesday Survey. 'Hold' refers to a Danish nobleman with an extensive territorial base and so it is possible that 'Hold'erness came into being after the Danish invasions, but by the time of the Conquest there was no one predominant power in the area (22). Indeed, a feature of the region was the large

18. David Hey, *Yorkshire From AD1000*, Longman 1986 p.34

19. DB 30 10W1-41; David Hey, *op.cit* pp.14-18

20. EYC 3 pp.2-6

21. English, *Holderness* pp.82-84

22. David Hey, *op. cit.* pp.20-21. Hey discusses the distinct nature of field systems in

number of divided vills. With the exception of church property these vills were united in the fee of Drogo de Bevrere. The core of his fee was derived from Ulf son of Tope who had held lands on both the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire sides of the Humber, but the rest came from over forty other Saxons (23). As with the honour of Pontefract, when these Saxons held lands outside Holderness they usually passed elsewhere.

Drogo also succeeded to wealthy estates in Lincolnshire, chiefly Carlton-Le-Moorland, Castle Bytham, and Barrow-on-Haven. Barrow is a key estate linking as it does, via ferry, the Lincolnshire and Holderness portions of the honour (24). This may be a throw-back to Saxon times as, in 1066, Morcar held both Barrow on the south bank of the Humber and Paull on the north bank, as did Drogo in 1086.

Unlike the honours of Pontefract, Richmond and Tickhill, there are scant indications of pre-Conquest capita within the honour of Holderness, although it may be significant that three places of importance in the early Norman honour were held by important Saxons; Burstwick by Tostig, the manor of Cleeton (the forerunner of Skipsea) by Harold, Aldborough by Ulf (25). The field systems of Holderness and the overall pattern of tightly clustered small villages might represent the Saxon landscape but the seigneurial system implanted by Drogo is largely an innovation.

E. The Honour of Mowbray

The honour of Mowbray provides a good example of just how many tenurial changes occurred in the first five decades after the conquest. 1066 provided just one of a number of tenurial reconstructions. The detailed information available for the honour's creation demonstrates some of the other changes that occurred.

Holderness asking whether they were created as part of a centralised policy imposed from above.

23. DB 30, 14E:11, 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 36

24. See Conclusion p.228

25. DB 30, 14E1, 14E8, 14E11

The Mowbray honour received its first grants c. 1107 and continued to develop for nearly a decade afterwards. This was not a post-1070 creation but, an honour carved out of the political upheavals of the ensuing period, for it was based upon the lands of both dispossessed Saxons and forfeit Normans (26).

The major part of the honour came from the lands of Robert I de Stuteville, imprisoned by the King for taking the part of Curthose at Tinchebrai. Two of the estates had originally formed part of the Domesday fee of Geoffrey de La Guerche (d. c.1093). By c.1107 they had passed from one Saxon through three Norman families. The first was a compact estate in Leicestershire based around Melton (Mowbray) and the second an estate in Warwickshire based upon Brinklow, which was held as a mesne tenancy of the earl of Leicester. Both these estates had passed intact from the important Saxon lord Leofwine. The third and wealthiest Mowbray manor was the Isle of Axholme, with a castle at Kinnard. This was created from the lands of at least eight Saxon thegns, initially for Robert de Stuteville, probably after the Danes had used Axholme as a retreat in 1069.

The northern estates were newer in origin. Ivo Taillebois' lordship of Burton-in-Lonsdale passed to Stuteville c.1094 and hence to Nigel d'Aubigny. The manor of Kirkby Malzeard had been held by Gospatric in 1086 although he had already lost other lands to the sheriff Erneis de Burun and to Alan of Richmond. Stuteville received the Domesday lands of Gospatric but d'Aubigny received the complete pre-1066 estate, including the forest of Nidderdale and the manor of Masham (held as a mesne tenancy of Richmond).

The caput of the whole honour was Thirsk. This was the product of a number of estates that had gradually amalgamated since the conquest. It included the lands of Burun's successor as sheriff, Hugh FitzBaldric, parcels of the Mortain fee and pieces of Royal demesne. On Stuteville's

26. For a full account of the creation of this honour see Mowbray Charters pp.XIX-XXIV

forfeiture in 1106 Henry I kept Thirsk in his own hands for a while, presumably because of its position on the Scottish route to York. Nigel d'Aubigny received it by 1114 at the latest but it had evolved still further - some lands were retained by the Crown and another portion was added from the Malet fee. Thirsk was a strategically important settlement at the foot of the Hambleton Hills. It was here that the Yorkshire army mustered before marching to meet the Scots at Northallerton in 1138. A castle had been built by 1130 with a market nestling beneath its walls, possibly by Robert de Stuteville before his banishment in 1106, but most likely by the Mowbrays.

These were the six main manors of the Mowbray honour; although dispersed from each other, they formed individually-coherent units, each with its own caput. Five of them possessed a castle by the 1130's. The sixth, Melton, must have possessed an early manor house.

The Mowbray honour is different from the first four honours examined in this section; it is a later creation, it is not a geographic entity. It is also significant that this honour become known by its family name rather than by any one place within it; this was an honour of equal parts rather than one with a key centre. It owed as much to Norman as it did to Saxon predecessors.

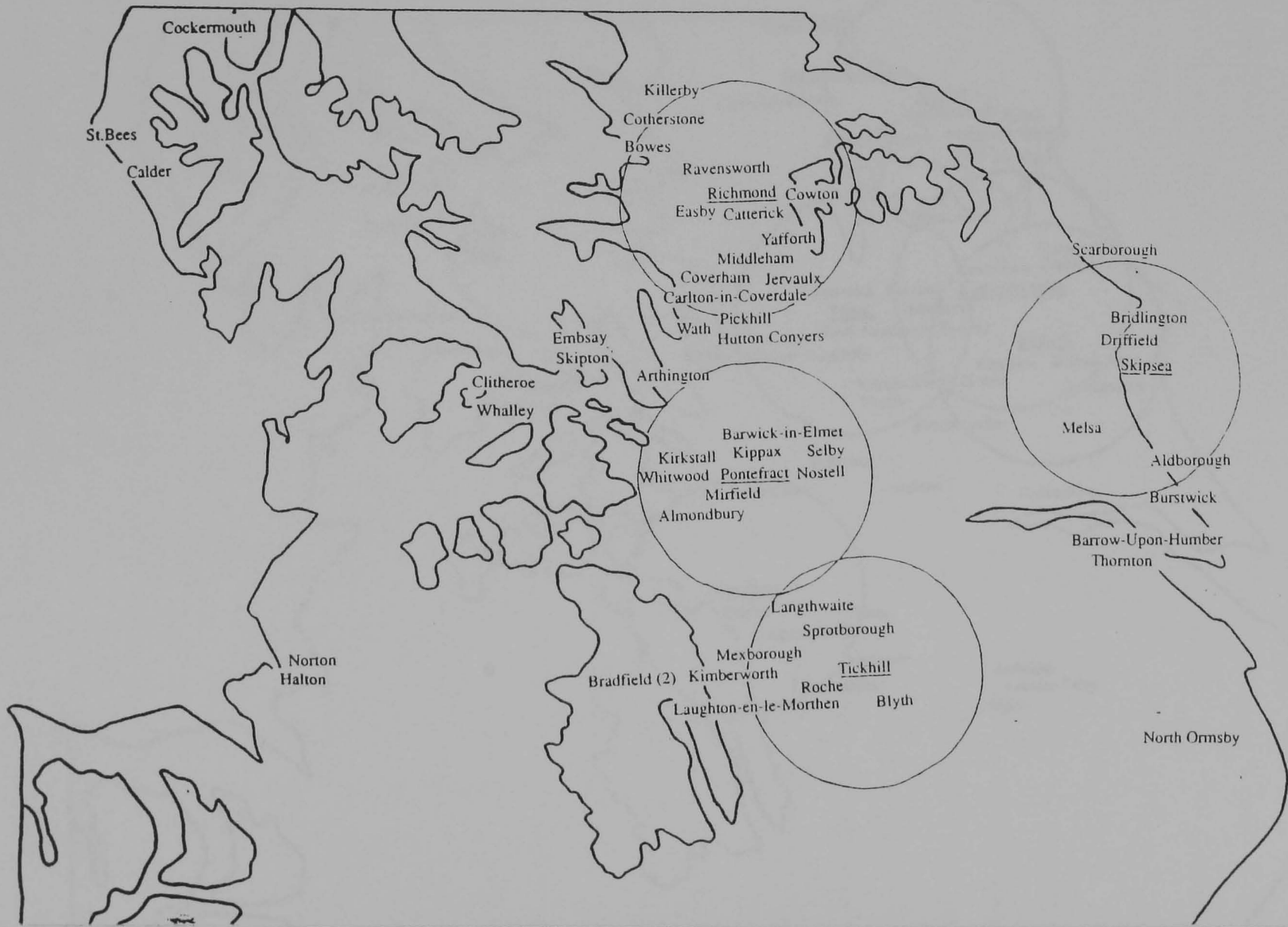
2. The Organisation of Honours in the Late 11th and 12th Centuries

All the honours involved in this study can be broken down and the centres of each section pinpointed. The major honours reveal a stark contrast between a few strategically placed stone castles and numerous small earth and timber types, shorter-lived and often replaced as the fortunes of particular settlements rose and fell. The latter castles were the cornerstones of local administration. In the words of Rodney Hilton, "the aristocratic hierarchy was no pyramid. It could better be likened to a collection of skyscrapers towering over the plain where dwelt the great mass of petty lords of hamlet and village"

(27). The Warennes, Aumales, Mowbrays and so forth all governed their own little kingdoms of officials, servants and peasants, moving around their estates in a mirror-image of the royal court. Like the king they organised their landholdings, setting aside demesne farms in convenient locations and building manor-houses and castles within each key section.

Any discussion of the organisation of honours is impossible without continual reference to the capita and in turn the castles. A study of the charters of these honours reveals that although not all capita possessed castles, nearly all castles functioned as capita. The exceptions are mainly siege castles but even siege castles are generally built to protect something valuable and so in that sense become capita the moment they are completed. Castles were not built in isolation. In most capita they share pivotal position with churches, monasteries and urban features. It is this combination of elements that creates the most successful feudal capita.

The application of a simple distance rule to the fiefs of Yorkshire reveals their compact nature; virtually all of the main places within them are within fifteen miles of the recognised 'caput'. This emphasises that the 'caput' did not exist in isolation but instead was supported by a satellite network of ancillary castles, churches and towns. **Figure 4** reveals the capita of Richmond, Pontefract, Tickhill and Skipsea backed up by a hinterland of secondary places. Yet the picture is not as clear cut as this. If the same rule is applied to the honours illustrated in **Figure 5** the picture becomes more complex; the honours of Yorkshire were at once compact and fragmented - fragmented by the overlap apparent between neighbouring estates. With the exception of the outlying honours of Richmond, Holderness and Skipton, honours lived cheek by jowl with each other. Power and influence was created not by the chance possession of land but by the exercise of patronage and the pursuit of alliances.



**Figure 4: Landholding in Yorkshire c.1100 - "Circles of Influence":
 Richmond, Pontefract, Tickhill and Skipsea**

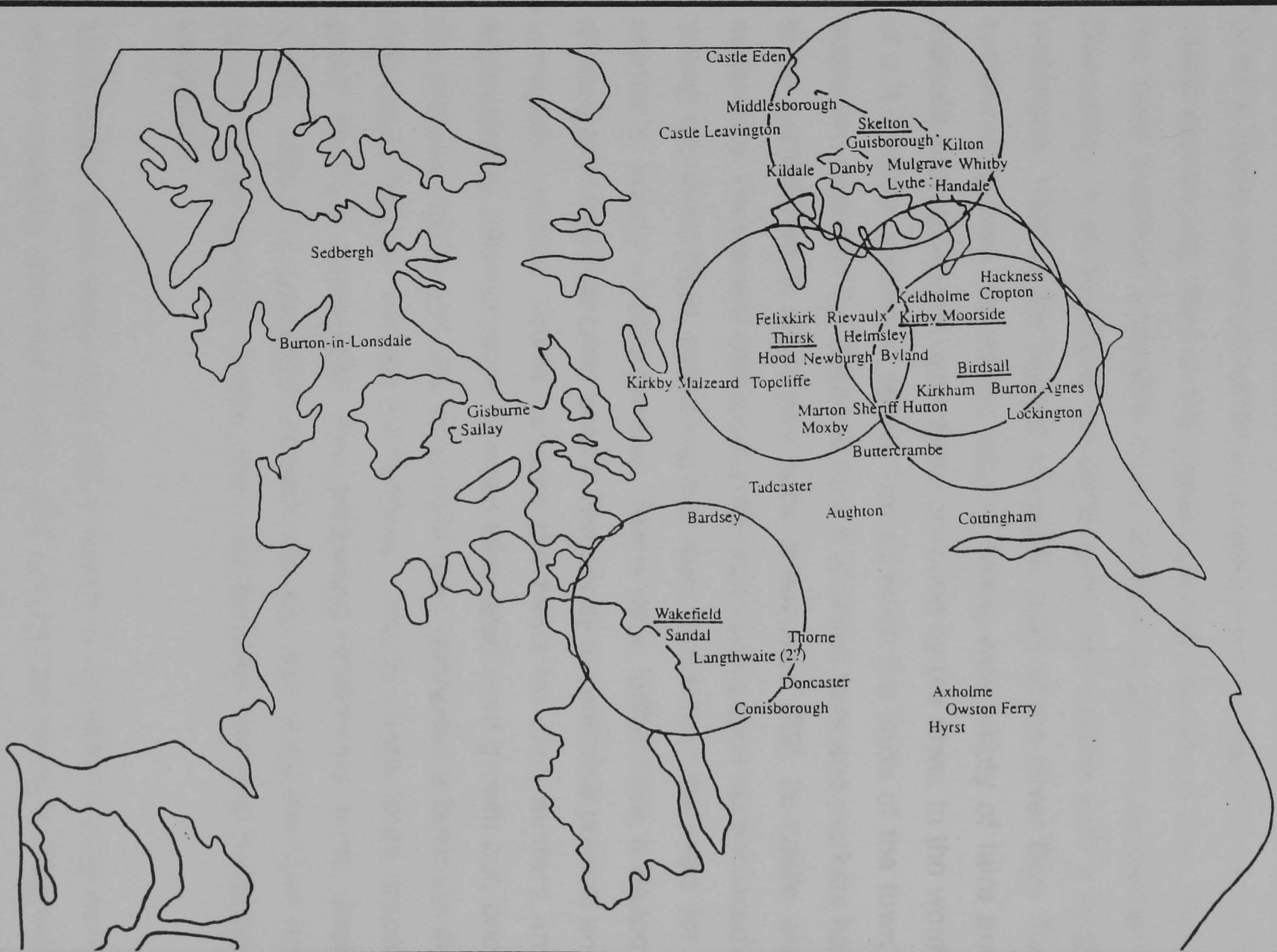


Figure 5: Landholding in Yorkshire c.1120 - The Honours of Warrene, Brus, Mowbray, Stuteville and Fossard

The most influential type of caput was urbanised and fortified. In the late 11th and the first half of the 12th century it was the rule rather than the exception for a town foundation to accompany the building of a castle, or for a castle to be built within an existing town. In the latter case the castle was usually sited on the highest ground adjoining a river. It took the best position available in an already important settlement. Doncaster is an example; an early economic centre with a large hinterland sited at the highest navigable point of the River Don. The surrounding area, for seven square miles, was empty of fairs and markets and depended upon those provided by the town. In the words of J.R. Magilton this must reflect "not so much the limits of the town's economic zone but the distance from it at which fairs and markets had to be established to stand any hope of success" (28). Its castle was secondary. Permanent and successful urban occupation necessitated a strong economic base, something that went further than the need for a market to supply a castle garrison. Towns were, furthermore, a weapon of conquest; they had been used in Normandy to centralise political and economic control. Towns became the basis for civil, military and ecclesiastical administration. Castles stimulated town growth but, once the process had begun, the successful town generated a business life that could flourish without the fortress. Initially castle lords reaped great financial advantages from prospering settlements; rents, death duties, tolls from passing merchants etc, etc. But, once the town had purchased its borough charter, the bond between lord and burgesses weakened.

Most capita were eventually within towns; a successful seigneurial centre inevitably attracted settlers and encouraged markets. However, some urban centres failed in the early middle ages whilst other capita remained essentially rural. These were the peripheral bases such as Castle Acre and Barwick-in-Elmet whose function was primarily agricultural.

28. P.C. Buckland, J.R. Magilton and C. Hayfield; *The Archaeology of Doncaster 2: The Medieval and Later Town Part 1*, BAR 202(1) 1989, p.38

The development of honours within Yorkshire differed from case to case. The key points to note are the extent to which the Saxon landscape was adopted or changed, the role of the church and the cooperation evident between castle, town and rural centres.

A. The Honour of Pontefract

The Saxon landscape had a limited effect upon the honour of Pontefract. This was a new estate with new boundaries and new capita, supreme power had shifted from Roman Castleford to Saxon Ledstone and Tanshelf and thence to Norman Pontefract. By the 12th century there were three or four administrative divisions.

The west part was administered initially from a castle at Mirfield. Once this had been subinfeudated the local machinery was transferred to Almondbury, a hill-fort refortified by Henry de Lacy in the mid-12th century (29). Almondbury in turn lost its importance as an administrative centre in the late 12th or early 13th centuries when its Colne Valley dependencies were subinfeudated. These were the lands that had been resumed into the demesne after 1086 to form the territory over which Almondbury would officiate (30). From then on the administration was based at Bradford. This had been an important manor since Domesday which shows it surrounded by a compact block of demesne land, always a potential sign of capital status (31). By the 13th century there was a reeve stationed here (32). By the mid-14th century Bradford in its turn had given way to a new manorial complex at Rothwell which seems to have controlled both the northern and western portions of the honour (33).

The first administrative centre of the north part was a ringwork at Kippax, formerly the manor of Earl Edwin. This manor was completely reorganised; its hinterland now belonged solely to libert whereas before

29. EYC 3 no.1446 p.146

30. Faull and Moorhouse 2, p.302

31. DB 30, 9W130

32. Wightman, 1966 p.101

33. Faull and Moorhouse 2, pp.250-1

1066 several landholders had existed in the vicinity (34). Kippax was succeeded by Barwick, one of its component manors in 1086. The Lacies gradually extended their demesne holdings in the area until Barwick was an independent township and a more significant settlement than Kippax (35). However, the transferral of authority was slow and piecemeal with Kippax retaining the honorial court. By 1341 the focus had switched again to Rothwell; Barwick was little more than a farm rendering 6d. from grazing in 'Castyldyke', presumably the moat (36). Leeds was another important manor in this sector. Domesday Book shows the seven manors of 1066 amalgamated into one demesne manor by 1086 (37).

Castles like Almondbury, Barwick-in-Elmet, Kippax and Mirfield, led mundane lives as estate centres, gathering in harvests to be redistributed at the lord's will, local rents for collection by honorial officials, providing accommodation for reeves and bailiffs, petty justice and occasionally lodgings for the lord's household. They were localised in function and thus scant funds were spent on their development. These were simple earth and timber structures, utilising where possible pre-existing banks and ditches. They oversaw the bread-and-butter daily life of the honour. They do, however, offer a stark contrast with the unfortified centres of the honour. The southern caput cannot be firmly identified but the most likely candidate is Barnsley. Domesday makes this an outlier of Pontefract but, by the mid-12th century, it possessed its own priory of Monk Bretton, founded by Adam FitzSwane as a daughter house of St. John (38).

If Barnsley was the caput of the southern quarter, from the early 12th century, then it was the only unfortified caput at this time; a situation that confirms the non-essential nature of much fortification even at this

34. DB 30, 9W1; See Wightman, 1966 pp.43-49

35. Faull and Moorhouse 2, pp.315-6

36. Faull and Moorhouse 3, p.735

37. DB 30, 9W6. Note that the *borough* of Leeds was created by the Gant family. See John Le Patourel, *The Medieval Borough of Leeds*, Publications of the Thoresby Society 46, 1957-61 pp.12-21

38. DB 9W80; EYC 3 no.1665 p.320

early date. Two centuries later Pontefract remained the only, if the chief, castle-caput of the honour.

Pontefract was a Norman redevelopment of a Saxon town that had been a 'villa regis' since the 10th century. Domesday Tanshelf is a thriving centre in the process of absorbing surrounding manors and subsuming their identity (39). Ilbert de Lacy harnessed this success, sited his castle here, and created a Norman borough.

Pontefract, therefore, is an example of the construction of a castle forcing a pre-existing urban nucleus to relocate itself. Before Launceston castle in Cornwall was built the canons of St. Stephens by Launceston had a market. In 1086 the market was moved by Robert of Mortain who "put it in his castle" (40). Domesday records sixty 'small burgesses', three mills and a fishery at Tanshelf (41). These must be of the older settlement as opposed to Pontefract. It is possible that Tanshelf survived alongside Pontefract as a distinct settlement into the 13th century. The inquisition of Edmund de Lacy, dated 1258, refers to 'eleven score acres of land at Tanesolf in the lord's demesne'. Many other examples are cited by M.L. Faull and Stephen Moorhouse. Tanshelf may have reverted to rurality but it survived. (42). The shift in urban focus seems to have occurred by 1090 when the Cluniac priory of St. John was founded. 'Pontefract' is derived from the old French for 'broken bridge', 'pont freit', perhaps referring to a disused crossing of the North Beck (43).

By the 1130's Pontefract had become the caput of the entire Lacy estate in Yorkshire. It was a planted settlement radiating off from Mickelgate, a market street, that descended downhill from All Saints

39. DB 30, 9W64. In 947 the Northumbrian nobles pledged allegiance to King Eadred at Tanshelf. See ASC p. 112; Symeon of Durham, *A History of the Kings of England*, Llanerch Enterprises Facsimile Edition 1987 p.90

40. VCH Cornwall Vol.2, Part 8 p.101

41. DB 30, 9W64

42. *Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I*, Vol.1, ed. William Brown, The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association Record Series 12, 1891 p.51; Faull and Moorhouse 2 p.529

43. Faull and Moorhouse 1, p.199

Church past the east side of the castle. Although Tanshelf may have possessed several urban features it was undoubtedly de Lacy guidance that turned Pontefract into a major northern town. In 1154-8 the borough and its market place were mentioned in a land grant and, in 1194, Roger de Lacy granted his burgesses of Pontefract the same liberties and free customs as were enjoyed by the King's burgesses of Grimsby (44). Pontefract, like Ludlow, Richmond and Doncaster, possessed a French borough; the new French settlers were granted familiar borough customs, such as those of Breteuil, whereas the Anglo-Saxon regulations were maintained for the native community. The merging of the two happened gradually.

So successful was Pontefract that in 1255-8 a second borough was chartered : Westcheap. This lay south of the original borough, outside the urban defences (45).

In the 1120's the Lacies gained the manor of Blackburnshire in Lancashire . The caput was sited at Clitheroe, a late town development consisting of one long market street running north-west of the castle. There were 66 burgages listed in an I.P.M. of 1258 and the earliest borough charter surviving dates from 1272-91. This granted to the men of Clitheroe the same liberties as those enjoyed by Chester. It was the work of Henry II de Lacy and included the clause that he was thereby confirming the rights which Clitheroe 'had under his predecessor Henry de Lacy'. Henry de Lacy I died in 1177 and so Clitheroe's burghal status may go back to the mid-12th century (46).

B. The Honour of Richmond

Twelfth-century Richmondshire was controlled principally from the castle-town of Richmond and the subsidiary centres at Bowes, Gilling

44. EYC 3, no.1499, p.191; no.1523, pp.209-210; M.W.Beresford and H.P.R.Findberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist*, David and Charles 1973 p.191

45. Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, Alan Sutton 1988 Edition pp.525-6

46. Adolphus Ballard and James Tait, *British Borough Charters 1216-1307*, CUP 1923, nos. 29, 51, 67, 120, 224, 271, 320, 335

and Catterick. Richmond, Catterick and Gilling occupied an area at the heart of the honour comprising some ten square miles; Richmond provided the new castle-borough, the status symbol for the incoming earl. Catterick and Gilling the former Saxon capita, the first on the plain, the second on the edge of the moors, provided the sense of continuity with the former Saxon 'shire'. They were retained in demesne but could no longer boast seigneurial residences. Catterick did possess a motte and bailey at the latest by the reign of Stephen but it may have been an adulterine castle, subsequently destroyed upon the accession of Henry II (47). The local name for the site 'Palet Hill' suggests a paled or fortified hill but this is most likely a reference to the prominence of the place in Saxon times (48).

Bowes was of more recent importance; it lay north of the capital enclave around Richmond, protecting the outermost area of the honour. Its position makes this very much a fortress first. The earthwork phase of its castle may well be late 11th-century, early 12th century (its similarities with Portchester suggest an early history). The late 12th-century hall-tower shares its basic nature with the gate-tower at Richmond - it has only one fireplace and no kitchen. The latter would have been provided by a wooden building elsewhere. It also seems that the tower was originally roofed at first floor level and that the second storey was added later as has been recently postulated by T.E.McNeill at Trim (49). The lack of amenities at Bowes and Richmond makes them almost more akin to the later Pele towers of the north and the native Welsh towers at Dolbadarn and Dolwyddelan, although on a larger scale (50).

The raising of the roof at Bowes may account for the royal expenditure on the tower in the 1170's: 1171, £100; 1172 £224, 1173 £100, 1179 £117 (51). Henry II would have had to complete it to Conan's less than

47. See Appendix 2

48. W.M.l'Anson, *The Castles of the North Riding*, YAJ 22, 1912 pp.340-1

49. R.S.Simms, *Bowes castle*, Arch J. 111, 1954, p.218; T.E.McNeill, *Trim Castle, Co.Meath; the first three generations*, Arch J. 147, 1990 pp.308-36

50. For a discussion of the Richmond gate-tower see Appendix 3

51. All figures taken from HKW 2, p.574

ambitious plan. If the expenditure seems too great for this it should be remembered that the 1170's saw Henry increasing his defences all over the country - he was well aware that civil war was brewing. In 1174/5 Ranulf Glanville, the then keeper of the castle, accounted for the repair of the gates and tower hoardings specifically 'against the coming of the King of Scots' (52). It is also notable that the crown owned very few castles in the north: if Bowes had been the creation of the crown then it was the first royal castle to be built north of Yorkshire and Lancashire since Newcastle in 1080. Considering its design and position it is far more likely that Henry completed the work of Conan.

The honorial caput, Richmond, was a planned town erected on a green-field site. A neat ring of burgage plots were drawn out around the perimeter of a semi-circular market place lying just outside the castle gate. Between 1136 and 1145 earl Alan III granted the burgesses their fee farm and issued a charter reaffirming all the liberties they had been granted by his father and uncle (c.1089-1136) (53).

Richmond gained its liberties early because its lords were largely non-resident. For the town to flourish it required either considerable investment from the counts or its freedom, in which case the investment would come from the burgesses. This was also an insurance policy against civic unrest. The Anarchy taught every lord that the loyalty of their burgesses was extremely important and, for a non-resident lord, the best way to ensure this was by generous privileges.

The interior of the inner bailey at Richmond is today empty but, until excavation proves otherwise, it is quite possible that the inner bailey contained a large palatial complex of timber buildings. Richmond may always have been a 'palace' rather than a fortress; there are few examples in Brittany of early stone castles on the Norman model. Those shown on the Bayeaux Tapestry, Dol and Rennes, rather

52. Pipe Roll 20 Henry II p.49

53. EYC 4, Part 1 pp.22-3

reinforce the argument that the motte and bailey was an invention of conquest, in this case William's Breton campaign of 1064. Richmond may have more parallels with 11th-century Caen. The ducal palace of Caen was flanked on either side by the abbeys of St. Stephen and Holy Trinity. Count Alan and his great-nephew Conan may have partially copied this arrangement at Richmond where the castle sits in a deliberate relationship with the church of Holy Trinity (54).

Militarily, Richmond was never a good site for a castle. It saw little action during its life and seems rather to have been used as an assembly point. Away from the main lines of communication Richmond commanded very little beyond the entrance to Swaledale and is hemmed in on 3 sides by the high moors. The Roman road network in the area was directed rather towards Gilling and Catterick. Richmond castle was a safe haven for its lord rather than a significant military contribution to the conquest of England. As such its stone defences merited little alteration unless its lord was going to be in frequent residence. Architecturally it is most similar to Ludlow. Both have early curtain walls with a convex trace and their gate-towers have similar wall arcades (55).

Excluding timber structures, the highest level of accommodation in the early castle was provided by Scolland's Hall. This is an extremely important building, one of the earliest two-storeyed aristocratic halls in Europe (56). In contrast to the later gate-tower this is a building designed for comfort and opulent display, light and airy with numerous windows and fine carving. In the 12th century a new access was provided from the hall to the buttery, kitchen and pantry; this then was the heart of the castle.

Who lived in Scolland's hall? It would be logical for the lord of

54. For further details on the honour of Richmond, its castle, and its Breton connections see Appendices 3, 11 and 12.

55. D.F. Renn, 'Chastel de Dynan': the first phases of Ludlow, Castles in Wales and the Marches: Essays in Honour of D.J. Cathcart King, ed., J.R. Kenyon and R. Avent, University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1987 pp.55-73.

56. For a description of Scolland's Hall see Sir Charles Peers, Richmond Castle, HBMCE 1985

Richmond to dwell here, in the finest accommodation available in his castle and at the least vulnerable point of the defences, protected by sheer cliffs down to the Swale on the one side and by the Cockpit on the other. But the lord of Richmond was seldom in residence. Scolland himself was count Alan Niger II's steward and a long-time servant of the family; he witnessed a charter of Alan's father Stephen before 1100 and was still living in 1146 (57). The fact that the hall has gone down in posterity as Scolland's suggests that he was the one constant factor in its early life; his natural steward's connections with a baronial hall were made permanent by the appointment of the hall as the post where he and his descendants would perform their castle-guard (58). Yet Scolland had his own motte and bailey at Killerby, as did the Musard constable at Pickhill. Perhaps it was the case that Scolland and/or the constable remained within the castle only when the lord was absent. As soon as the lord arrived they vacated the hall for him and, depending upon how much room was available, either found lesser lodgings within Richmond or moved out to their own castles. Pickhill is 15 miles south-east and Killerby 3 miles south-west of Richmond.

A basement entrance connected Scolland's hall to the Cockpit, a roughly triangular court sloping eastwards. The line of the ditch and the existence of a contemporary gateway leading into it suggest that this area was a part of the original castle and that it was supplied with a timber palisade before being enclosed with masonry walls late in the 12th century. The Cockpit served as the barbican to this side of the castle, protecting the private entrance straight into the great hall. On the town-facing side of the castle was another barbican or outer bailey, now occupied by the market place. This was separated from the main bailey by a simple undefended doorway cut through the stone wall.

C. The Honour of Tickhill

This honour changed hands frequently throughout the 12th and 13th

57. Sir. Charles Clay, *Early Yorkshire Families*, YASRS 85, 1973 p.27

58. R.Gale, ed., *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, London 1722, p.28

centuries. The Domesday holder , Roger de Busli, owned 163 manors in Nottinghamshire, 54 in south Yorkshire and a third concentration in north-eastern Derbyshire. He died c.1098-1100 and although he left a son, nephews and nieces, the honour reverted to the Crown. The reason was political. By this time Yorkshire was carved into a number of large and powerful estates; Tickhill sat at the southern entrance to the region and the Crown needed a foothold here (59). The honour was used to reward faithful service but could be reclaimed at a moments notice. Occasionally it was held by the counts of Eu, descendants of Beatrix de Busli, while the family of Ernald de Busli retained sub-tenancies of the honour at Kimberworth, Maltby and Bawtry.

The caput of the honour was not a single place. Instead, it comprised a triangle of territory just south of Tickhill with Tickhill forming the apex. Within a square distance of only 12 miles all the essential resources of the honour were provided by three key sites. Tickhill itself was an early castle-borough, one of only 4 places in Domesday Yorkshire possessing burgesses (60). In 1086 it was still recorded as part of the Saxon village of Dadsley, yet a new town was growing up half a mile to the south next to the castle. However, for much of the 12th century the community was served by the Saxon church of All Hallows in Dadsley . When the townsmen did build a new church, St.Mary's, there was no street frontage space available and it was placed in a cul-de-sac behind the shops and houses. The earliest feature datable is the early 13th century display of dogtoothing on the side arches in the lower portion of the west tower (61).

The priory-village of Blyth is four miles south east of Tickhill and lies on a major north-south route (the A1). Of the priory founded by Roger de Busli c.1080, only the nave survives . There are six of the original

59. A charter of Henry I issued in 1102 implies that Tickhill castle reverted to the Crown for political/military reasons; 'he [Henry I] wills and commands that the monks of Blyth have and hold the tithes of Laughton-en-le-Morthen as on the day when the King took *for his own use* the castle of Blyth' ; Regesta 2, no. 598

60. DB 30, 10W3

61. N. Pevsner , Yorkshire:The West Riding, Penguin 1959 pp.510-512

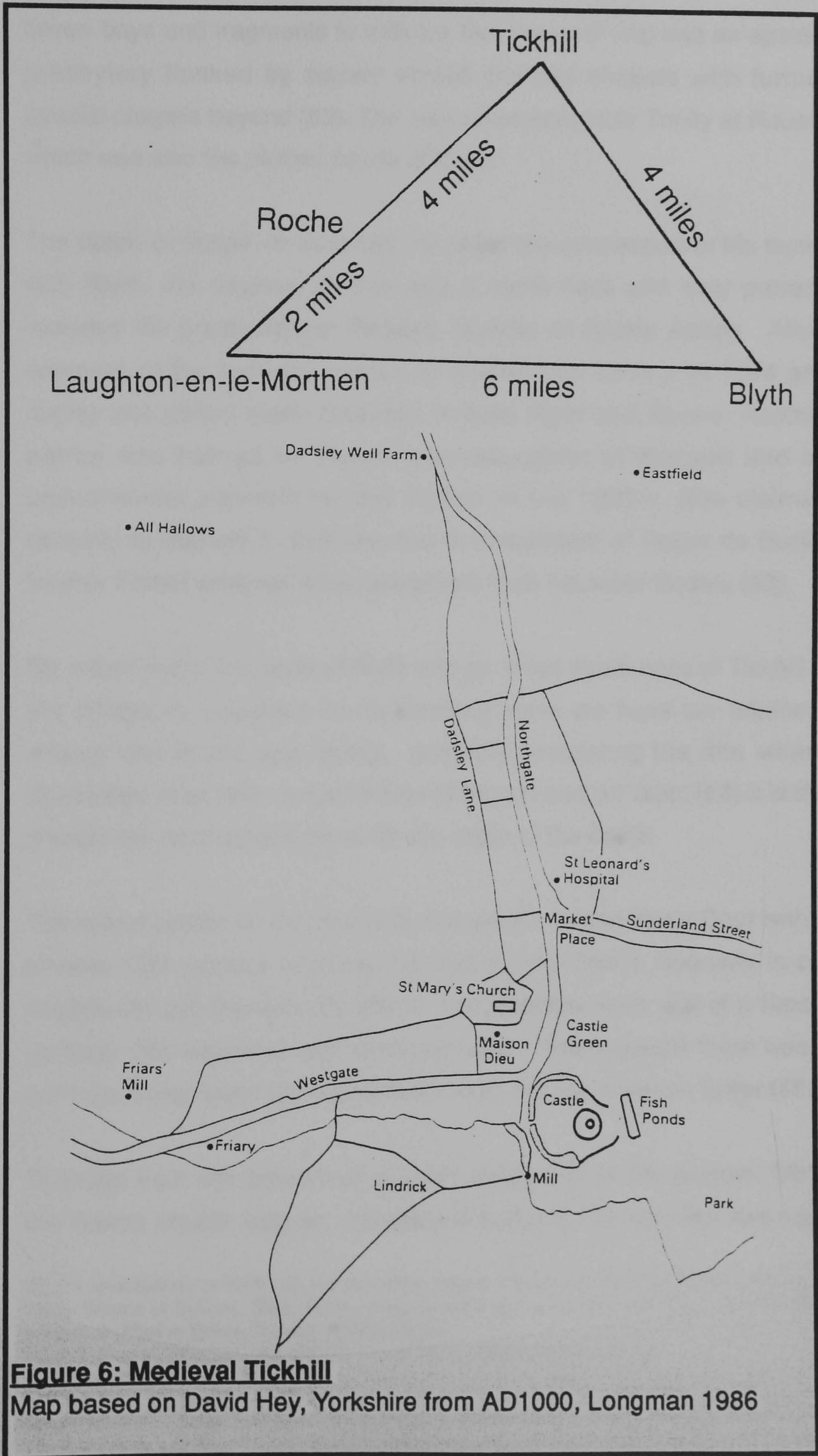


Figure 6: Medieval Tickhill

Map based on David Hey, *Yorkshire from AD1000*, Longman 1986

seven bays and fragments to indicate that the east end had an apsidal presbytery flanked by square ended chancel chapels with further apsidal chapels beyond (62). The plan resembles Holy Trinity at Rouen, which was also the mother house of Blyth.

The death of Roger de Busli did not sever the connection of his family with Blyth. His nephew Jordan was a monk here and later patrons included his great-nephew Richard, founder of Roche Abbey. Alice, countess of Eu, held the honour of Tickhill from 1214 until 1244 and during that period made bequests to both Blyth and Roche. Another patron was Idonea de Vipont, granddaughter of Richard and an unsuccessful claimant for the honour in the 1220's. She claimed seniority of descent in that she was a descendant of Roger de Busli's brother Ernald whereas Alice descended from his sister Beatrix (63).

Six miles nearly due west of Blyth and six miles south west of Tickhill is the village of Laughton-en-le-Morthen. Here we have an adjacent church and motte and bailey, possibly occupying the site where Domesday book tells us Earl Edwin of Mercia had an 'aula' (64). It is the church that provides the clues for the origin of the castle.

The oldest portion of the church is the pre-Conquest North Door with a smaller 12th century doorway cut into it. The Saxon doorway is cut straight through the wall and sits in the probable north wall of a Saxon porticus. The west wall also survives in situ. This suggests there was a corresponding south porticus and between the two a Saxon tower (65).

To judge from the amount of re-used sandstone in the present fabric the Saxon church was an impressive building. The Norman and later

62. For descriptions of Blyth see H. Fairweather, *Some Additions to the Plan of the Benedictine Priory Church of St. Mary, Blyth, Notts.*, *Ant.J.* 6, 1926 pp.36-42; Nigel and Mary Kerr, *A Guide to Norman Sites in Britain*, Paladin 1984 pp.103-4

63. R.T. Timson, *The Cartulary of Blyth Priory*, Vol.1, HMSO 1973 pp.xiv-xix

64. DB 30 10W1

65. For a full description of the church at Laughton see Peter F. Ryder, *Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire*, South Yorkshire County Council Archaeology Monograph No.2, 1982 pp.72-79; H.M. Taylor and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture Volume 1*, CUP 1980 pp.373-6

ALL SAINTS CHURCH, LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN

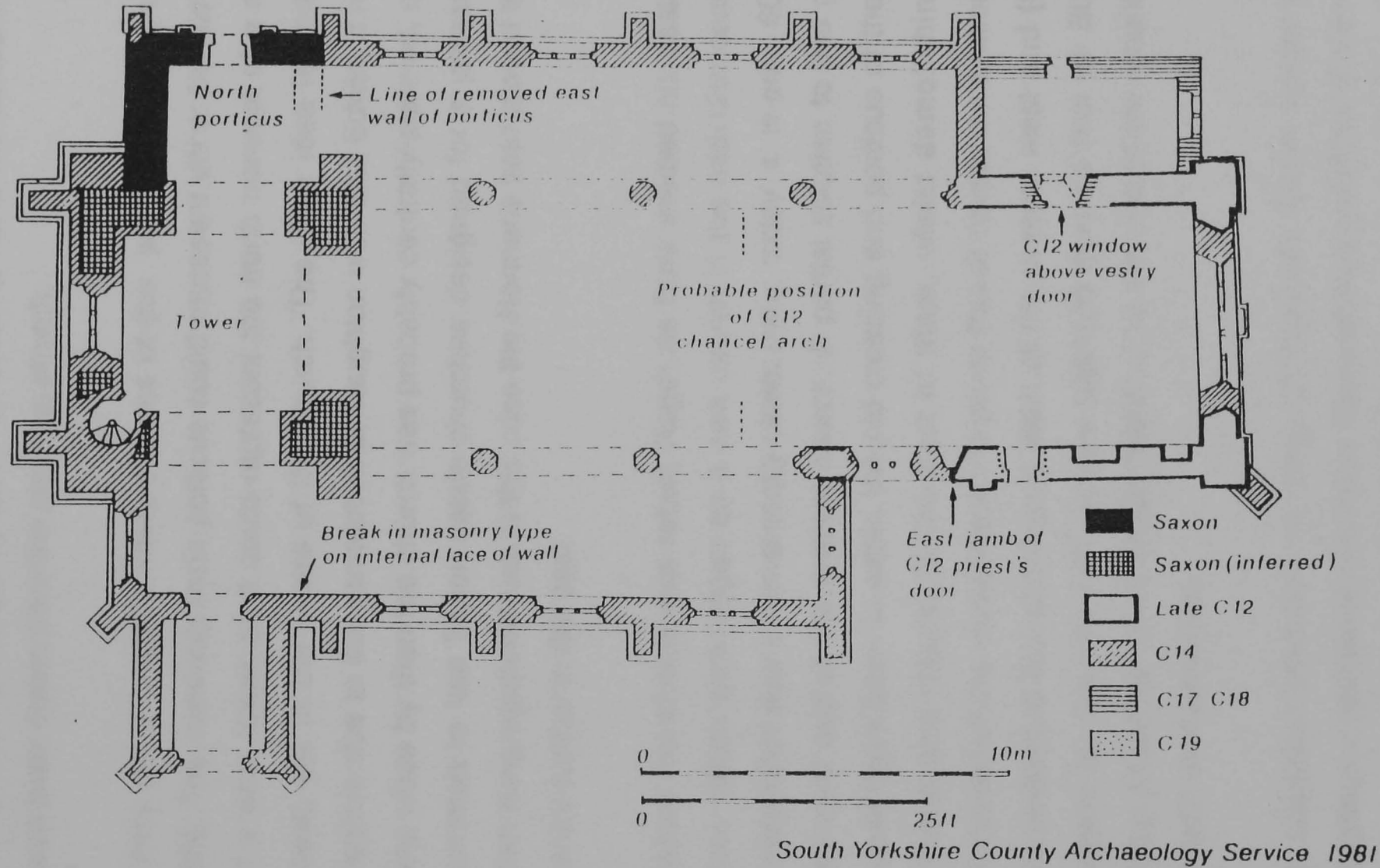


Figure 7: All Saints Church, Laughton-en-le-Morthen
 Plan from Peter F. Ryder, *Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire*, South Yorkshire County Council Archaeology Monograph No.2 1982

work is of white Magnesian Limestone from the quarries at Roche Abbey. With good quality stone so close at hand the sandstone must have been drawn from the previous church.

There are 2 possible interpretations of the plan of the Saxon church (66). The surviving north porticus could represent either the side porch of a west tower, or, it could represent the north transept of a crossing tower, set in the centre of the church. The latter idea is particularly feasible due to the connection of Laughton with Earl Edwin; if his 'aula' was close by then the church was probably centrally-planned, a format common to late Saxon estate-churches designed for a private rather than congregational use. In this case the Normans later moved the ritual centre further to the east.

Before the church was rebuilt Roger de Busli erected his castle next-door. When work began on a new church in the mid-12th century the castle ditch was inconveniently close; even today it is only 60ft. from the west end of the present church. A partial solution to this problem would have been to retain the old crossing and porticus of the Saxon church and rebuild to the east of them, whilst demolishing what remained of the earlier nave. To prove this of course excavation would be needed in the churchyard west of the present west end (67). The reason for the late 11th century proximity may be that de Busli was using All Saints as his chapel whereas by the time of the rebuilding the church was parochial.

At Laughton therefore we have an important Saxon centre with the seigneurial residence of a major figure and a prestigious church/chapel. After the conquest Roger de Busli takes over, and builds himself a castle extremely close to the church. Laughton contrasts sharply with Tickhill; at Laughton continuity of lordship is the key, Roger de Busli

66. Peter F. Ryder, *Op.Cit.* pp.72-79

67. The only excavation so far carried out at Laughton consists of a 2m square evaluation trench in a garden across the lane from the motte, probably within the bailey. This was undertaken by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit in the 1980's with negative results. Details are available from the Unit's SMR.

steps literally into the shoes of Earl Edwin. At Tickhill, by contrast, he chooses to break new ground. Laughton takes over the management of an existing estate, Tickhill creates a new town.

Just 2 miles north of Laughton and 4 miles south of Tickhill is Cistercian Roche Abbey, founded in 1147 by Richard Fitz Turgis of nearby Hooton Levitt and Richard de Busli of Maltby, great nephew of Roger de Busli. Although Roche was not founded by a lord of the honour it is significant that the site chosen fits neatly into the triangle, conveniently placed on the route from Tickhill to Laughton. As the site was not solely the property of Richard de Busli he negotiated with his neighbour Fitz Turgis for a portion of his land and a share of the rights and privileges of the founder (68).

There were many ties connecting Roche, Blyth, Tickhill and Laughton. The Blyth monks held the tithes of Laughton whilst Roche owned property at Blyth and its abbots witnessed grants by members of the de Busli family to Blyth (69). Tickhill remained the principal town in the area (by 1377 it had 680 taxpayers) and a key point on the national military grid although Blyth posed an economic rival. Blyth was one of only five places licensed in 1194 by Richard I for the performance of public tournaments (70).

The caput of the honour of Tickhill encompassed far more than the town; if Roger de Busli had intended Tickhill to be the sole focus he would have built Blyth Priory beneath his castle, rather than six miles away. Roche Abbey was a later interpolation but its position is significant. Despite the failing grasp of the de Busli family upon the honour they maintained a position as local dignitaries via church patronage and, particularly, by the act of Richard de Busli in choosing to impose his Cistercian foundation into the very heartland of his

68. For a description of Roche see Peter Fergusson, *Roche Abbey*, English Heritage 1990
 69. R.T. Timson, ed., *The Cartulary of Blyth Priory*, RCHM, HMSO 1973, Vol.1, forming Vol.27 of the Thoroton Society Record Series 1968, eg. no.329
 70. *Ibid* pp. cxi-cxiii

ancestral lands.

D. The Lordship of Holderness

William Le Gros was responsible for three boroughs in Holderness, Burstwick, Hedon and Skipsea, but only Skipsea was protected by a castle. At Burstwick the manor house was a later addition, placed here because the settlement had thrived without seigneurial assistance to become the natural centre of the honour.

The count's first caput at Skipsea was founded on the land of Cleeton, a large manor formerly belonging to Harold Godwine (71). Skipsea village lay within the Cleeton fields while the borough settlement was quite distinct, lying within the territory of Saxon Dringhoe, a hamlet attached to Cleeton. Between 1160 and 1175 the count bequeathed land in the borough of Skipsea to the monks of Bridlington, in recompense for his oppression of them during the 'Anarchy' (72). Yet the borough did not prosper and the only remnant today is a group of houses gathered at the south entrance to the castle.

Although Skipsea had no close urban rivals to contend with its own position was unfavourable, placed at the remote northern tip of Holderness. Burstwick succeeded in its stead because it was centrally placed and thus became a magnet for the whole area. The short life of the castle would also have been a disadvantage. Skipsea was built with the Scandinavians in mind. When they ceased their annual incursions it became a white elephant; a massive earthwork swathed in the waters of Skipsea mere. Its eels were a good source of revenue but the burghal settlement needed more. The meres of Holderness were not drained until the 13th century and then it was an initiative of the monks of Melsa Abbey rather than of their patrons, the Counts of Aumale (73).

71. Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, Alan Sutton 1988 pp.514-5

72. EYC 3, p.72

73. June A. Sheppard, *The Medieval Meres of Holderness*, *Transactions and Papers of the Institute of British Geographers* 23, 1957 pp.75-86

Scarborough was urbanised by the mid-11th century but suffered destruction at the hands of Harold Hardrada in 1066. His saga tells us:

"King Harald then made for Scarborough and fought with the townsmen. He climbed up on to the rock that stands there, and had a huge pyre built on top of it and set alight; when the pyre was ablaze they used long pitchforks to hurl the burning faggots down into the town. One after another the houses caught fire, until the town was completely destroyed" (74).

William le Gros' erection of a castle on 'the rock that stands there', in the 1130's, may have revitalised economic activity in the settlement. Henry II granted Scarborough a borough charter in 1155, the year in which William Le Gros surrendered his castle to the Crown, and this indicates that the new town was already thriving and thereby a creation of the Count of Aumale (75). The family continued to maintain a tenuous claim to lordship of the borough and castle. During the reign of King John William de Forz II was briefly appointed constable (76).

E. The Honour of Mowbray

The Mowbray caput of Thirsk is divided in two by the Cod Beck. On the west bank sits the church and castle representing the initial foundation. On the east bank there is no parish church but only a chapel of ease at the head of a large market-place. This secondary settlement was in existence by 1145 when Roger de Mowbray gave both chapel and church to Newburgh priory (77). An examination of the charter shows a distinction throughout between the "vill" and the "borough", suggesting that the second phase was a deliberate economic expansion. The time gap between the east and west bank settlements is only slight, nothing more than twenty years, and must represent a change in priority from the defensive to the economic; a site beneath a castle is rejected in favour of an undefended site on a main road on the opposite river bank. Thirsk was the honorial caput but not the Mowbrays' richest manor - this was the rural Isle of

74. Snorri Sturluson, King Harald's Saga, Penguin Classics 1966 pp.143-4

75. A. Ballard, British Borough Charters 1042-1216, 1913 nos. 25, 47

76. T. Duffus Hardy, Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, The Record Commission 1835 p.152

77. Mon. Ang. 6, p.318; Mowbray Charters p.149, no.211

Axholme with its rich agricultural resources. The wealth of Thirsk depended largely upon a town economy.

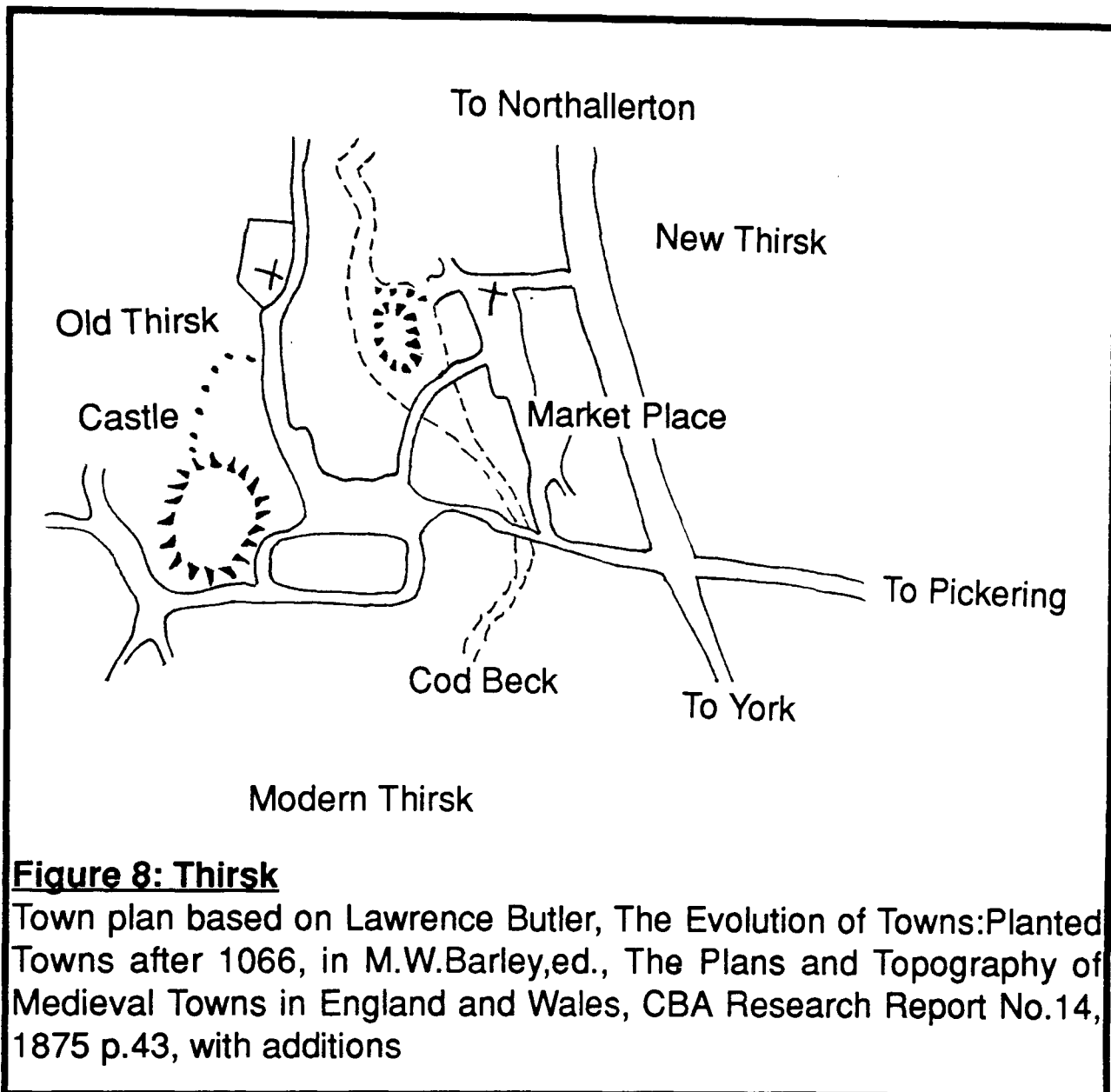


Figure 8: Thirsk

Town plan based on Lawrence Butler, *The Evolution of Towns: Planted Towns after 1066*, in M.W. Barley, ed., *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales*, CBA Research Report No.14, 1875 p.43, with additions

The Isle of Axholme is one of the few clear examples we have of a successful rural caput that remained rural. The system of food rents lasted longer here than elsewhere within the honour precisely because the renders were good and the Mowbray family accordingly spent a great deal of time in residence (78). Again this was not a single manor but a collection of properties defined by the geography of the area; the outlying ones were subinfeudated, the inner core retained firmly in demesne. Its castle was at Owston. After the Mowbray castles had been destroyed, in 1175, the family chose the demesne manor of Epworth on Axholme for the site of their new manor house (79).

78. Mowbray Charters pp.xlvi-xlvii

79. See Chapter Two

CHOICE OF CAPITA: SUCCESS AND FAILURE

CHAPTER TWO

It should be clear from the previous chapter that successful capita represented a fusion of landscape elements, chiefly castle, church and borough. Sometimes the fusion failed leaving behind abandoned castles, failed boroughs and isolated churches. One key reason for success or failure was the choice of site. Lords chose between green-field sites and late Saxon seigneurial centres, between urbanised and rural centres, between defensible and open sites, between populous areas and isolated prehistoric forts, between secular and sacred sites.

1. Re-deployment of ancient fortifications and shrines

With the limited manpower available in the first generation after the Conquest it was expensive and difficult to control a large Yorkshire honour. Costs were cut if older fortifications were re-used. Iron-Age and Roman forts occupied many of the key strategic sites in Yorkshire; it was inevitable that the Normans would bring some of them back to life. A further incentive was the symbolism inherent in the invader taking over these ancient seats of power or in bringing a secular use to a religious site. Roman remains had been similarly re-used by the incoming Anglo-Saxons.

A. Iron-Age

The lords of Pontefract refortified two Iron-Age Hillforts. Their manor of Barwick-in-Elmet stood on a small limestone plateau about 250ft above sea level with the ground falling away steeply on every side except the south-west (1). The castle was in the north-west corner, occupying a third of the Iron-Age defences. To the north was Wendel's Hill, an enclosure of ten acres that surrounded the early medieval settlement. The castle covered five acres consisting of a motte, 40ft.

1. F.S.Colman, A History of the Parish of Barwick-in-Elmet in the County of York, Publications of the Thoresby Society 17, 1908

high, completely enclosed within its semi-circular bailey. This is the most concentric motte-and-bailey in Yorkshire (2).

Barwick was an initially successful caput. It developed independently from its Domesday designation as part of the manor of Kippax and Ledston (3). But despite the 'borough' supposedly growing within the Iron-Age enclosure, it remained rural, and by the 14th century had lost all traces of its 'capital' status (4).

Barwick was refortified at the same time as Almondbury (5). The latter was much higher, rising abruptly to 900 feet, and presenting a natural landmark for miles around. It overlooks one of the chief passes through the Pennine hills, via the Roman road from Manchester to York. To adapt a sprawling site into a compact castle the inner rampart of the prehistoric fort was built up with shale to provide the outer defence, the bank and ditch of the earliest camp on the site were redefined to separate the outer from the inner bailey, and a new deep ditch was dug to isolate the motte (6).

Almondbury's motte supported a shell keep built from the copious supplies of Grenoside sandstone and Elland flagstone on the summit. It was ruinous by 1307 when a man's body was found in the 'dungeon' half-devoured by worms, birds and dogs (7).

Almondbury was a more isolated site than Barwick, a good walk from its village and church. Possibly the site was chosen due to the civil war and the Lacy need for a fortified administrative centre in the western

2. Concentric motte and baileys are rare. They present an earthwork version of the 13th century curtain castle. Defence is concentrated upon an outer line. Once this is breached the motte becomes an island under siege.

3. DB 30, 9W1

4. Faull and Moorhouse 3, p.735

5. For Stephen's charter confirming the castles of Almondbury and Barwick to Henry de Lacy see EYC 3, no.1446 p.146 or Regesta 3, no.430.

6. The conversion of the hillfort is described in T.G.Manby, Almondbury Castle and Hill-fort, Arch.J.125, 1968 pp.352-4. See also W.T.Varley, A Summary of the Excavations at Castle Hill, Almondbury 1939-1972, in, D.W.Harding, ed, Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland, Academic Press, London 1976, figs. 1-3, plate 1.

7. J.K.Walker, Almondbury in Feudal Times, Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal 2, 1873 pp.8-9

part of the honour . Almondbury was the strongest site available. In peace time perhaps a more accessible spot would have been chosen. The Lacy family was in a vulnerable position during the Anarchy. Henry's father, Robert, had earned the 'anger and malevolence' of Henry I and had been stripped of his estates (8). On the accession of Stephen, in 1135, his brother Ilbert had connived at the murder of William Maltravers, the former king's favourite who then held the honour, and had obtained a non-conditional pardon from Stephen in return for his support (9). In 1154 the Lacies had to seek the pardon of Henry II.

The borough at Almondbury has left little trace . In 1294 Henry de Lacy II granted it a weekly market on Mondays and a yearly fair on the vigil, feast and morrow of Ascension. The borough did not co-exist with the castle but was an attempt to utilise the site once the castle was redundant. The 1322 grave's accounts for Almondbury record that Henry Irnehard paid 1d. rent for "1 burgage which he holds in the castle" and John Thewles likewise paid 1d. rent for a burgage there. In 1338 "a burgage lying at the castle of the same [Almondbury]" was held by Maud , granddaughter of Ralph del Castell. A 1341 extent covers 18 and 5/6 burgage plots at Almondbury but, unfortunately, does not specify their location (10). There would not have been room for them all within the castle and some or all must have been in the village.

Aerial photography has confirmed the claim of the 1634 map of Almondbury that "The scite of the Towne" lay in the outer bailey. The failure of the borough was due to the remoteness of the castle's plateau site . It was no place for urban life. The case is reminiscent of Old Sarum. The 13th century court poet, Henry d'Avranches, related how the hilltop was sodden with rain and dew; nothing would grow but wormwood; there was chalk in abundance but it dazzled the eyes and provoked thirst that the town wells could not satisfy. The very height of

8. EYC 3, no. 1449

9. Regesta 3, no.428; EYC 3, no.1440, pp.143-4

10. Faull and Moorhouse 3, p.737

the hill, once an advantage, was now a nuisance:

"The steep ascent to the city was tiring, whether going up or down. It was slippery and dangerous. In going up the chest hurts through shortness of breath. In coming down the foot may slip. Hence it can be seen how harmful the place was, where either the breath was short or the step faltered. The valley is a safer place, for he who has nothing below him need fear no harm" (11).

How times had changed. In 1066 height equalled security. The Almondbury plateau was rich in building materials, Grenoside sandstone and Elland flagstones, but it was nonetheless an unattractive place to live.

In October 1282 Edward I granted the lordship of Denbigh in Clwyd to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Denbigh had been a Welsh princely stronghold for centuries. It was from here, in March 1282, that Dafydd ap Gruffudd led the attack on Hawarden Castle that sparked off the second English campaign. The subsequent new castle and town were planned as a unified structure. There is archaeological evidence that the town wall was built first and the castle created by walling off a corner of it (12). The first borough charter, granted between 1283 and 1290, gave the burgesses exemption from toll, stallage, paiage, pavage, murage, pontage and passage in Wales and in the counties of Chester, Stafford, Shropshire, Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford. Over forty burgesses are mentioned, each liable for castle-guard at the new fortress. Despite their many liberties the rents and services due are still high (eg. all corn must be ground at the lord's mills and the relief on inheritance is a year's rent) and failure to comply will result in forfeiture of the burgage tenement to de Lacy (13).

However, the remoteness of a hilltop site was again a feature. The

11. W.J.Torrence, A Contemporary Poem on the Removal of Salisbury Cathedral From Old in Sarum, Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 57, 1959 pp.242-266

12. L.A.S.Butler, Denbigh Castle, Town Walls and Friary, HMSO 1976

13. J.Williams, Records of Denbigh, pp.119-124; P.Vinogradoff and F.Morgan, eds., Survey of the Honour of Denbigh 1334, The British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, OUP, London 1914 XI, CXVIII; Cal.Pat.Rolls, Aug 28 1290. Confirmed 15/3/1324, 27/10/1332, 21/2/1380.

survey of the Honour of Denbigh in 1334 describes a borough of Denbigh inside the walls and a merchants' town outside the walls (14). The walled town, the brainchild of de Lacy, occupied nine acres whilst the extra-mural town, the creation of the local merchants, occupied 57 acres ! Basically, the site was too steep and inaccessible and also cramped by the very walls which de Lacy had built to protect it. The castle and town had to share the chapel of St.Hilary outside the castle gate. It is therefore not surprising that the principal settlement occurred outside the walls and on lower, flatter land. The burgesses from within the walls held the fee-farm of both burghal areas for an annual rent of £24 and the service of providing a chaplain for the chapel of St.Hilary, to pray for the lord and his ancestors (15).

Almondbury and Denbigh are late examples of castle-borough capita that could not flourish due to their unsuitable locations; what suited a 12th and even 13th century castle did not always suit a town. At Denbigh the merchant community had to take the initiative and move outside the walls in order to prosper. Despite its situation in a war zone, the very proximity of castle and borough may also have been a retarding factor. In the words of Henry d'Avranches;

" The city stood in the castle and the castle in the city, so which was the greater and which the less ? I do not mean greater and less respectively, but simply great and small. Further there is this extraordinary fact! This stood in that, and that in this. Therefore, they were not really two separate things. They were not two really, but as they were neither two nor one, they were one divided into two! (16)".

The editors of the 1334 survey comment that the purpose of de Lacy's charter of c.1290 was 'rather to define the rights and duties of individuals than to regulate their corporate action' (17). While the merchants were striving for greater independence and token money rents it does seem archaic for the lords to still be demanding castle-

14. Vinogradoff and Morgan, *ibid* pp.52-3: "Et est ibi Burgos de Dyndiegh infra muros simul cum villa Mercatoria extra muros".

15. *Ibid* pp.52-3

16. W.J.Torrence, *A Contemporary Poem*, *op.cit.* p.242

17. Vinogradoff and Morgan, *op.cit.* Survey CXIX

guard services and the provision of a chaplain to pray for their ancestors !

Older fortifications posed delicate problems; ignore them and perhaps an enemy would reap the benefit, re-use them and you are limited in your choice of castle format. At Thetford in East Anglia the Warennes were fortunate in that the massive Iron-Age hillfort was compact; by placing an equally massive motte within it they created a substantial fortress stronger than those of the Lacies at Almondbury and Barwick (18). Thetford (Anglo-Saxon 'Theodford', 'chief' or 'people's' ford), was a strategically important borough on the Icknield Way with the Peddars Way only two miles to the east. It was at the heart of a network of Roman roads linking it to New Buckenham, Colchester and Yarmouth. The Iron-Age fort and medieval castle combined measured some 80ft. high with a perimeter of about 1,375ft (19). A structure of this height (and this discounts any tower on the motte summit) could command the Icknield Way where it crossed the Rivers Thet and Little Ouse.

The motte at Thetford is one of the largest in Britain; its magnitude was essential if it was to be able to command the ancient banks. Excavations in 1985-6 found little evidence for a stone tower on the summit, merely small fragments of burnt oolite (20). This was a castle that could adequately symbolise power and seigneurial authority without the need for the latest designs in military technology. Thetford Castle was a crude display of strength in a town where the Warennes shared power with the Bigods. The Bigod castle, nearly 3/4 of a mile away on the opposite bank of the Little Ouse, was itself a large, strong

18. The latest published work on Thetford is John A. Davies and Tony Gregory, *Excavations at Thetford Castle, 1962 and 1985-6*, *East Anglian Archaeology* 1991, 54, pp.1-30. The authors assume the castle was Bigod property. However, Thetford was divided into Norfolk and Suffolk sections in the 12th century, the northern section being held by Bigod, the southern by the Crown. King Stephen granted the southern sector to William de Warenne III who used his portion to endow the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre (Regesta III, no.876). The castle sits in the southern fief and is closer to the Warenne priory than it is to the Bigod-founded Cluniac priory. The few facts we have about the ownership of the castle are confusing but it seems most likely that it was a Warenne castle until c. 1153 when it may have been one of the properties taken from William of Blois, King Stephen's second son, by Henry II. For further details see Appendix Two.

19. R.R. Clarke and B. Green, *Thetford*, *Med. Arch.* 8 1964, p.257

20. Davies and Gregory, *op.cit.* pp.8-9

ringwork, possibly dating from the 9th century and therefore a second re-used structure (21) . Unlike other cases where two castles were so close together, there is no recorded conflict between the two.

Motte and baileys were not the only type of castle created out of Iron-Age hillforts. In some cases the older structure was simply too large; an average size motte and bailey would have been lost in it. Thetford and Barwick worked because the sites were compact and not too high above sea level yet neither of them were great successes. At Almondbury there is no clear evidence of how big the motte was, but only a small portion of the available area was refortified . Most of it was left empty. Similarly at Castle Hill, Scarborough, which had been fortified in the late Bronze and early Iron Age as well as by the Romans, William Le Gros could not utilize the whole plateau within his castle. Here no conscious effort was made to re-use earlier defences. It was a simple matter of building a castle on a superb headland where there happened to have been considerable earlier occupation:

“William, surnamed Le Gros, Count of Aumale and Holderness, observing this place to be admirably situated for the erection of a castle, increased the *great natural strength* of it by a very costly work, having enclosed all the plain upon the rock by a wall, and built a tower at the entrance” (22).

William’s wall enclosed the inner bailey, which sits on a plateau higher than the rest of the hilltop. Only the standing fabric of the Roman signal station was re-used (for a chapel) (23).

B. Roman Remains

Angus Winchester, in a study of the landscape of the medieval north-west, noted that Norman capita were often based on earlier settlement centres, chiefly Roman (24). He traced a relationship between Roman

21. G.M.Knocker, C.Wells and D.F.Renn, Excavations at Red Castle, Thetford, Norfolk Archaeology 34, 1967 pp.119-186

22. Chronica Monasterii De Melsa, ed., E.A.Bond, RS 1, 1866 p.XIII

23. Graham Port, Scarborough Castle, English Heritage 1989

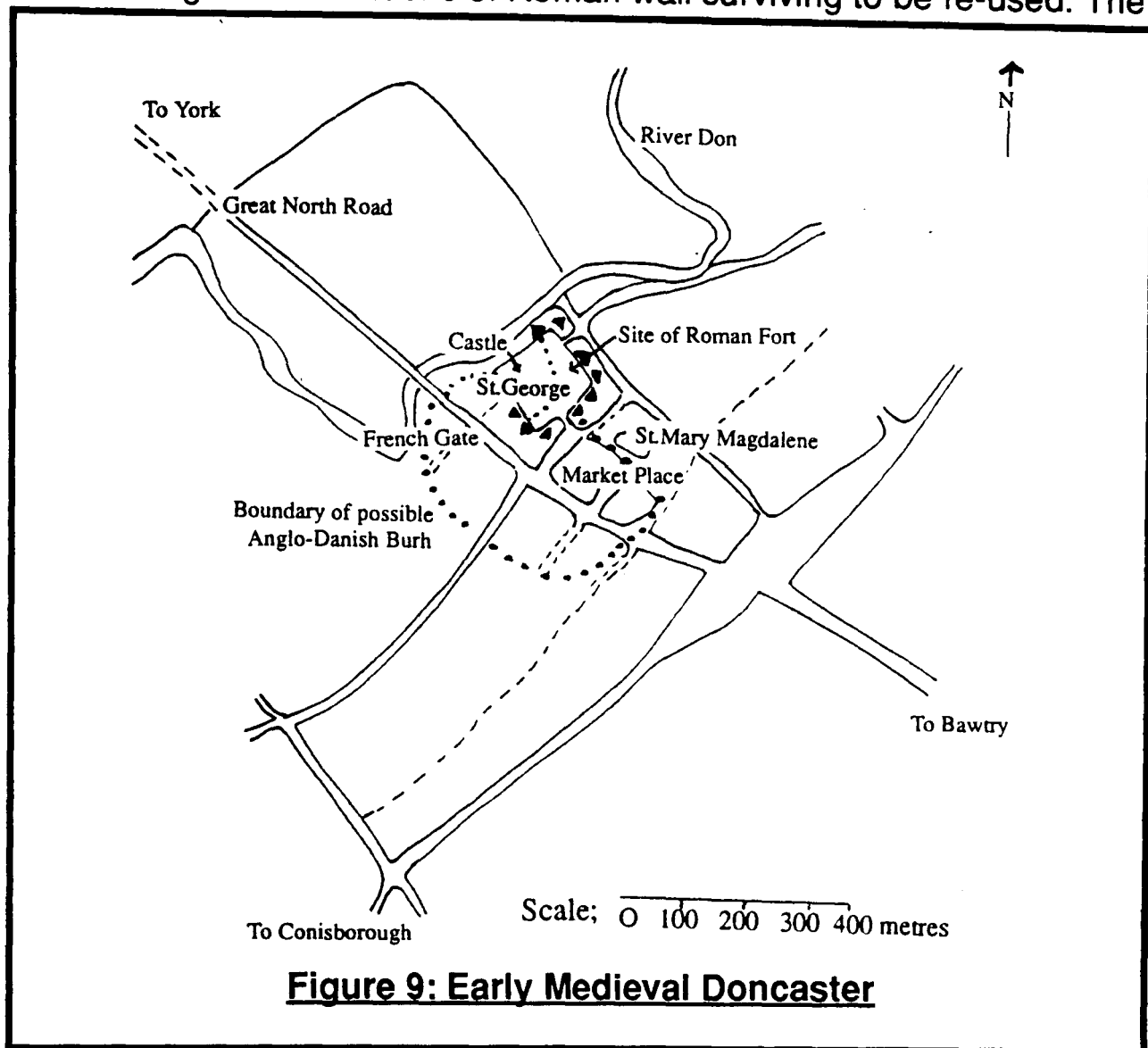
24. Angus J.L.Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, John Donald, Edinburgh 1987

forts, early churches and Norman castles. The castle at Cockermouth, built by Waldeve son of Gospatric c.1072-1106 and refortified in stone by the counts of Aumale in the 13th century, was two miles from an early church at Brigham and one mile from the Roman fort at Papcastle. At Kendal the two early castles were both within a mile of the church of Kirkby Kendal, a religious site since the Scandinavian settlement. 'Kirkby' as in Kendal, Mooreside and Malzeard, means in Scandinavian 'the settlement with a church'. The Roman fort at Watercrock lay a mile to the south of Kirkby Kendal church. In both instances we have Norman capita set up within the vicinity of earlier estate centres (25). This is another manifestation of the 'circles of influence' postulated in the vicinity of key Yorkshire capita such as Tickhill and Richmond. The difference is that, in Cumbria, these early sites were incorporated into new centres of lordship, but not physically re-used whereas, in Yorkshire, the monuments of the political past became, in many instances, the new seats of lordship.

At Bowes the castle was built within the north-west corner of a rectangular enclosure, once the site of the Roman fort of Lavatrae. In the north-east corner stands the Parish church, creating in the general ensemble a notable resemblance to Portchester. The tower was protected by new ditches on the south and west while, to the north, the Roman ditch was redug. Bowes castle/Lavatrae fort stood on the Stainmore Pass, guarding the road from Carlisle to York.

The Roman road network continued in use well into the middle ages causing the inevitable re-use of several strategically-placed Roman forts. The soke of the important manor of Doncaster was granted to Nigel Fossard c.1088 and retained by his family until c.1130, when Robert Fossard demised the town to the King for twenty years. It was regained by Robert Turnham in 1196. Doncaster was located at the highest navigable point of the Don, controlling the Don crossing of the Great North Road. The Norman borough grew up alongside the castle,

next to the site of the Roman fort. Unlike Portchester and Bowes there were no significant sections of Roman wall surviving to be re-used. The



castle itself passed out of use by c.1220 but its earthworks, and the site of the Roman fort, continued to affect property boundaries. The bailey ditch south of the church dictated the limits of the medieval cemetery (26). The castle might be in a state of disrepair but there was no question of its removal to make way for urban growth.

Due to its strategic position, Doncaster quickly became a town that required civic defence rather than a seigneurial stronghold. On March 30th, 1215, King John sent his mandates to the bailiffs of Philip de Maulay (son-in-law of Robert Turnham) at Doncaster, "to cause the town to be enclosed by a hericio and pale, wherever the ditch around it might require such additional defence and to make a light stockade upon the bridge, if required for the defence of the town". This was to be

26. P.C. Buckland, J.R. Magilton and C. Hayfield, *The Archaeology of Doncaster 2: The Medieval and Later Town Part 1*, BAR 202(1) 1989 pp.39-40

done with all haste (27). As at Skipsea in the early 12th century, where castle-guard owed to the castle was perceived as a duty owed to the king rather than to the counts of Aumale, Doncaster was of royal concern (28). In this case it was the very suitability of the site that caused Doncaster to fail as a seigneurial caput. It broke away from Fossard control at a very early date, resulting in the abandonment of its castle for the rural site at Langthwaite; a site where the Fossards would not find themselves in competition with the crown.

Basically, Roman and Iron-Age sites were utilised because of their location and the strength of their remaining defences. They were a cheap and effective starting point for capita creation, although once the new regime had settled into place they often became 'white elephants'. Anglo-Saxon sites, on the other hand, embodied a more symbolic significance. In re-occupying the important places of the immediate political past the Normans were deliberately establishing a continuity of government.

C. Re-Use of Ancient Religious Sites

Occasionally castles make use of pagan or early Christian shrines. This most often takes the form of a burial mound, a convenient basis on which to build a motte. The Mowbray castle of Brinklow in Warwickshire is one example. The evidence at Brinklow is the place-name element 'hlaw' (mound) and the fact that the castle marks a change of direction in the Fosse way, thus suggesting the mound is pre-Roman. It was re-used by the Saxons as the meeting place of their Hundred and was later adapted by the Mowbrays for their motte (29).

Ilbert de Lacy built his castle at Pontefract on top of a Saxon cemetery. Excavations in 1986 revealed graves stretching back to the early 7th century, laid out in a series of terraces extending from the castle hill downwards, to a point roughly parallel with All Saints Church.

27. T. Duffus Hardy, *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, The Record Commission, London 1833, I, p.151

28. English, *Holderness* p.173

29. Morris pp.255-6

Over 200 skeletons were uncovered, the latest focused around a Saxon stone church (30). There was no evidence of settlement before the cemetery went out of use in the Norman period.

Immediately outside St.Clements Chapel was a Saxon burial pit. Its excavation revealed that the chapel's foundations were in existence prior to the construction of the castle. They show signs of scouring, perhaps to provide material for the motte (31). Ian Roberts, in a lecture given at Leeds University in November 1991, suggested that the traces of a ditch located within the inner bailey, at a short distance from the motte, represented an earlier fortification which the Lacy castle had utilised. The ditch must have been infilled before the construction of the 'hall' , of which the cellars survive.The castle clearly disturbed the Saxon cemetery for the original bailey bank was full of Saxon bone.

The site of Pontefract castle was, therefore, a place of some significance in the pre-Conquest landscape. There is firm evidence of the use of Saxon burial deposits in the Norman bailey banks, disruption of a cemetery site, and perhaps even the destruction of a church within it to provide motte-building material .There is also the possibility that a pre-Conquest earthwork was incorporated into the castle.

In Ireland Hugh de Lacy II outraged local feeling by building Durrow castle within the ruins of an ancient Columban monastery.The site was chosen because it had remnants of existing defences. An Irish poem attributed to St.Columba tells how the monks made "dykes in Durrow, so that there might not be a breach therein", and how they built palisades "in a comely row on every side around the monastery" (32). Inside this enclosure Hugh de Lacy built a motte and, whilst he was inspecting its construction, he was approached by a native labourer who swept his axe from beneath his cloak and beheaded him. The

Chartularies of St.Mary's Abbey , Dublin, provide the interesting

30. Ian Roberts, Pontefract Castle, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service 1990 pp.3-4

31. Ian Roberts, West Yorkshire Archaeological Unit 1991, Leeds lecture

32. Rev.Sterling de Courcy Williams, Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 1899 p.232

variation on the story that Hugh was bending down to demonstrate the use of the pickaxe to one of his workforce when the assassin struck, sending his body and head into the motte ditch (33).

Hugh was assassinated for political reasons but clearly his treatment of the Columban monastery at Durrow did little to enhance his popularity. Not only was he a foreigner, but he had desecrated a holy site. He almost made a habit of building his castles on former monastic sites. Trim was the seat of a medium-sized monastery while Clonard was the site of an ancient house refounded by Hugh not far from his motte and bailey. In 1200 'Clonard was burned to injure the English who were in it' (34). This could refer equally well to monastery or castle. Hugh tried to appease local feeling at Trim by revering the relics of St. Finian of Clonard, at whose tomb in Clonard miracles were conveniently being performed as de Lacy settled his men throughout Meath (35). At Trim Castle itself the earliest structural remains on the site are believed to be of a small oratory which pre-dated the ditch around the keep and was destroyed by it (36).

For an abandoned castle to be used by monks was different. William de Warenne I gave Southover castle to Lewes Priory while William d'Albini gave the site of Old Buckenham castle to the Augustinians in 1151 (37). In each case the site was being improved and turned to Godly purposes. But for secular lords to fortify a religious site was to sully its purity and blacken its history. At both Pontefract and Trim the fortification of ancient shrines must have increased the native hostility towards these new capita.

33. W.H.Hennessy, ed., *The Annals of Loch Ce*, London 1871 p.173; J.T.Gilbert, ed., *Annals of Ireland 1162-1370*, in *Chartularies of St.Mary's Abbey, Dublin, II*, Dublin 1884 p.305

34. G.H.Orpen, *Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland*, *EHR* 22, 1907 pp.235-6

35. James Lydon ed., *The English in Medieval Ireland*, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1984 p.25

36. P.D.Sweetman, *Archaeological Excavations at Trim Castle, Co.Meath, 1971-74*, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy C* 78, 1978 pp.127-198. See Appendix 4.

37. For Southover castle see Sarah Speight, *Warenne Castles: Their Place in the Social and Architectural Development of Medieval Fortifications*, 1989 pp.4-5; For Buckenham see Rene Beckley, *Ancient Walls of East Anglia*, Terence Dalton Ltd, 1979 pp.58. The foundation charter of Buckenham Priory states that D'Albini gave eighty acres of land "cum sede castelli et castellum diruendum".

2. Helmsley: Religious Rivals

Honorial capita were very much what their lords made of them; boroughs prospered if they were given liberties and space to grow. Castles flourished if they were integrated into, and served, the local community. But a lord could overdo his patronage, both civic and religious, and find himself with a seat overshadowed by town or church. This is an important point. Honorial capita were, first and foremost, centres from which lordship was dispensed. Although capita embraced much more than the castle, castles were their most prominent structures, as at Richmond where the castle dominated market-place and church. If that dominance was threatened, as at Doncaster by the borough, then the seigneurial caput ultimately failed.

Helmsley Castle, in the North Riding, was built by Walter Espec early in the reign of Henry I. Its massive, double-embanked earthworks may date from the time of Espec, whilst the earliest surviving stonework was built by his great-nephew, Robert de Ros II. Helmsley is unusual because it appears to be the only castle within the honour. Most Yorkshire honours had a caput and four or five sub-capita, usually with castles. The Lacies had castles at Pontefract, Clitheroe, Barwick-in-Elmet, Kippax, Almondbury, Whitwood, and for a brief moment at Selby. Yet contemporary sources show Walter Espec to have been a powerful figure in regional politics. Such a position required a greater base than Helmsley alone.

As the only secular place of importance within the honour, Helmsley had to provide a seigneurial residence, justice, administration, markets, defence. Yet the first significant evidence for urban status is a borough charter of c.1200 when Robert 'Fursan' de Ros granted his burgesses the liberties, laws and customs "such as the city of York has" (38). They were given the right to hold their own court and a cattle market at Helmsley. They had pasture rights in the meadows and were able to gather wood, both for fuel and for building, from the lord's woodland. In

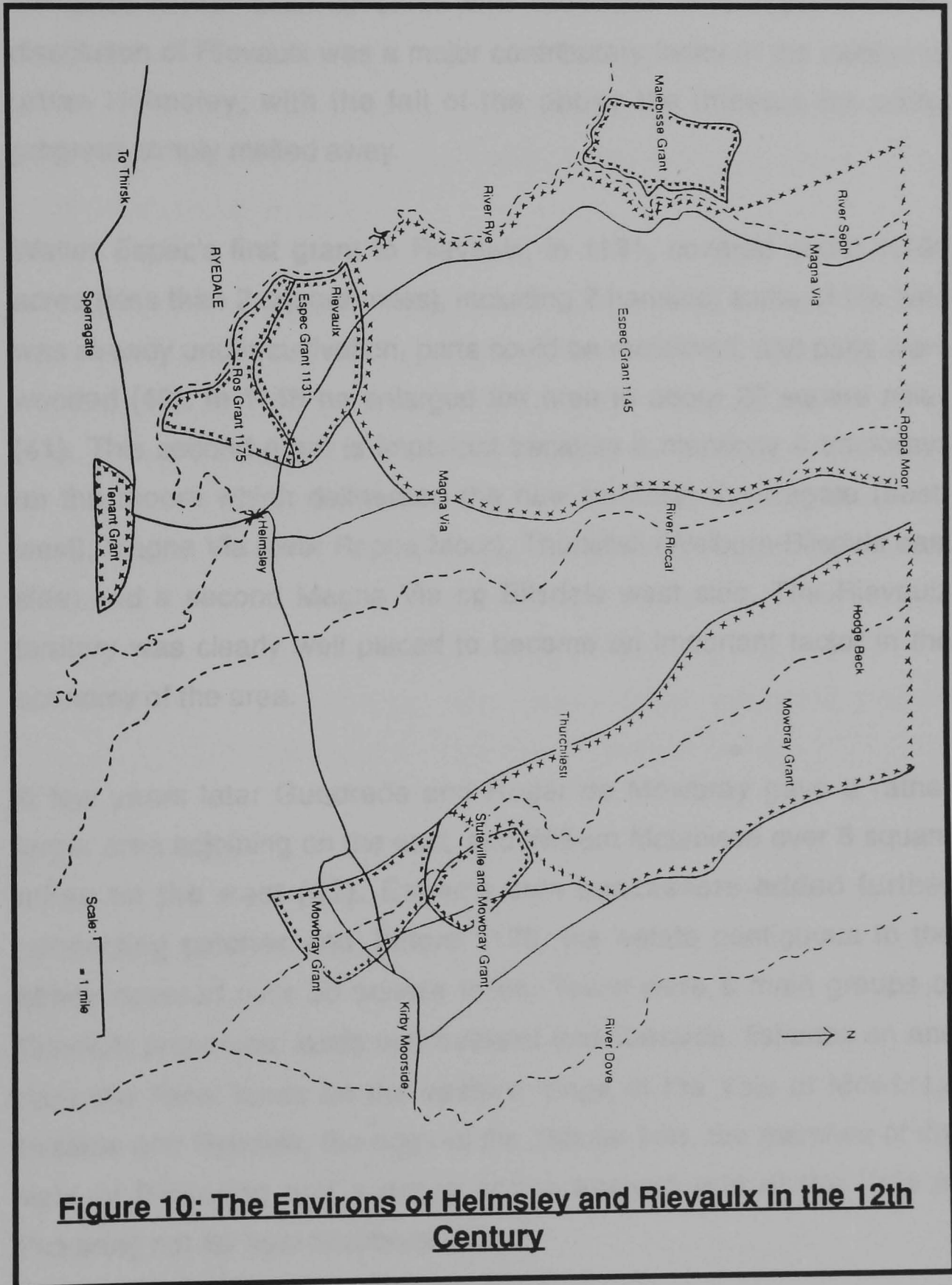
return the burgesses paid an annual rent of £11 in silver. But, in an inquisition of 1285, the number of burgesses was only thirteen. The 14th century Lay Subsidy returns show a preponderance of rural rather than urban trades; smiths, millers, threshers, wool-combers, plough-hirers, reapers, cowherds and mowers (39). Helmsley was never 'incorporated'; i.e. it never formed a unit of municipal government. In fact the borough does not appear to have survived the 17th century.

Helmsley ultimately failed as an urban centre despite its viable economic position and situation at a cross-roads and river crossing. Like Kirkby Moorside and Pickering, it lay under the southern lee of the North Yorkshire Moors, on the well-travelled east-west limestone shelf. To avoid the marshland at the western end of lower Ryedale and the Vale of Pickering, travellers would naturally head for the ford and later bridge over the Rye at Helmsley.

Helmsley was an early religious centre. A church (All Saints) and priest were mentioned in Domesday Book. Walter Espec later granted the advowson to Kirkham Priory. The pre-Conquest church was replaced c.1140-50 and, at the end of the 12th century, a north aisle was added to the nave. Slightly later the western tower was built. The tomb of the executed Lancastrian Thomas, 10th Lord de Ros, lies in the north-west corner of the baptistry. He was buried originally in the south choir at Rievaulx but was translated to Helmsley after the Dissolution.

It is the religious foundations of Walter Espec that help to explain why, despite its many natural advantages and capital status, Helmsley never attained the lasting importance of a Richmond, a Scarborough, or a Pickering. By 1130 Helmsley was a minor focus of trackways subsidiary to the major artery of Hambleton Street. Then, in 1131, Walter Espec brought the first Cistercians to Yorkshire, settling them 2 miles from his castle at Rievaulx. With the coming of the Cistercians, the whole centre of gravity of the area's communications shifted over to Ryedale, and

thereafter Helmsley grew in importance as a local market centre. However, it was overshadowed by the abbey which rapidly became the centre of a new network of routes linking it with its local granges, sheep-strays, fisheries and out-lying properties, and in due course with the



ports from which its wool was shipped abroad. It was the monks who cut new canals near the Rye and who built a second bridge over the Rye just downstream from the abbey.

Rievaulx became so wealthy, and attracted so many land grants, that Helmsley was surrounded by its properties. A truly successful caput embraces its religious foundations and creates a situation where the latter relies upon the former for political support. Helmsley had to compete rather than co-exist with Rievaulx. It is likely that the dissolution of Rievaulx was a major contributory factor in the decline of urban Helmsley; with the fall of the abbey the impetus for urban progress simply melted away.

Walter Espec's first grant to Rievaulx, in 1131, covered about 1,100 acres (less than 2 square miles), including 2 hamlets; some of the land was already under cultivation, parts could be reclaimed, and parts were wooded (40). In 1145 he enlarged the area to about 20 square miles (41). This second grant is important because it mentions 4 trackways on the moors which delineated the new territory; Sperragate (east-west), Magna Via (over Roppa Moor), Thurkilisti (Welburn-Bilsdale east side), and a second Magna Via on Bilsdale west side. The Rievaulx territory was clearly well placed to become an important factor in the economy of the area.

A few years later Gundreda and Roger de Mowbray gave a rather larger area adjoining on the east, and William Malebisse over 8 square miles on the west (42). Espec's own successors added further connecting patches and, before 1170, the estate contiguous to the abbey covered over 50 square miles. There were 6 main groups of Rievaulx properties; lands in Cleveland and Teesside, fisheries on and near the Tees, lands on the eastern fringe of the Vale of Mowbray, Bilsdale and Ryedale, the riggs of the Tabular hills, the marshes of the Vale of Pickering and a group at the eastern end of the Vale of Pickering not far from Scarborough.

Rievaulx was not Walter Espec's first monastic foundation in

40. Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievallie, ed. Rev.R.C.Atkinson, The Surtees Society 83, 1887 pp. 16-21

41. Ibid pp.16-21

42. Mowbray Charters Nos. 236/7/8 pp.162-4

Yorkshire. In the 1120's he had settled a house of Augustinian canons at Kirkham, 14 miles south-east of Helmsley and, in the later 13th century, this became the favoured burial place of the de Ros family. By this time Rievaulx was so powerful that it no longer needed to offer lip service to the lords of Helmsley; it was now the dominant force in the capital area. Kirkham was a smaller house and geographically removed from the key region. It continued to defer to its patrons, building a new gate-house smothered with their heraldic devices (43). Rievaulx, by contrast, was independent.

The Honour of Helmsley, despite the personal standing of Walter Espec, passed into the second rank of Yorkshire estates because it depended over-much on one key centre. It was a nucleated honour in contrast to Tickhill and Pontefract where local government was dispersed throughout a series of sub-capita. It was overshadowed by Rievaulx which, as the first Cistercian house in the region, attracted a wide circle of patrons. The consolidation of Rievaulx territory in Bilsdale and Ryedale squeezed Helmsley out of its dominant role and into a subservient one whereas, with most other monastery-town relationships, the balance was more even or even reversed.

3. The Honour of Warenne - New and Old

The Warennes were major landholders throughout England with significant holdings in Surrey, Norfolk and Sussex, as well as Yorkshire. They generally chose to place their capita within late-Saxon centres and possessed castle-boroughs at Thetford, Lewes, Wakefield and Reigate. The borough of Thetford was an ancient institution. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records how, in 952, the king 'had many put to death in the borough of Thetford, to avenge the death of abbot Eadhelm whom they had slain' (44). In 1004 the army of Swein 'reached Thetford within three weeks of sacking Norwich, and spent a night in the borough, pillaging and burning it to the ground' (45). Yet, by 1066, there

43. Anon, Kirkham Priory, HMSO 1980 p.4

44. ASC p.112

45. Ibid p.135

were 943 burgesses here (46). Thetford's position, at the meeting point of several important routes through East Anglia, sustained its borough and prompted the Warennes to make it one of their capita. Thetford does however seem to have declined in the 12th century, to have fallen behind Bury or Lynn; there is scant 12th century pottery and no post 1100 coins to be found in its main urban area (47). The focal point of the town may have shifted towards the Warrene castle; i.e. the town became insular, too concerned with the internal rather than external markets.

At Stamford in Lincolnshire, a town held by the Warennes from 1205, Christine Mahany has noted a difference in quality between the pottery of the castle and that of the town (48). The castle kilns produced mainly coarse wares, particularly storage vessels, whereas the town kilns yielded a finer, more-varied selection. This contrasts with the situation in 12th-century Thetford, reflecting firstly the independence of the town economy from that of the castle and, secondly, the subsidiary status of Stamford Castle, particularly in the later years of the Warrene tenure.

The origins of urban Reigate are obscure. There were two centres of settlement, one by the castle and one by the parish church. The Domesday manor of Cherchefelle was focused on the church (49). In the latter half of the 12th century Hamelin de Warrene gave some of his demesne lands to the Priory of St. Mary Overy in exchange for a burgage plot (50). This was probably near the castle and must represent a portion of the borough. The 13th century saw an expansion in its legal rights. In 1235 it was represented as a borough and vill by its own jury at the eyre. By 1276 it had a regular market and fair (51).

46. DB 33, 1 69

47. David A. Hinton, *Archaeology, Economy and Society: England From the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century*, Seaby 1990 p.139

48. Christine Mahany, *Stamford Castle, Archaeology in Lincolnshire 1984-1985*, 1985 pp.27-9

49. DB 3, 1.7 (1975)

50. Mon. Ang. VI p.172; Wilfrid Hooper, *Reigate: Its Story Through the Ages*, Dorking 1979, Chapter 2

51. Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, Lutterworth Press, London 1967 p.491
Charles 1973 p.192

The Anglo-Saxon origins of Wakefield are clearer. Excavations in the 1980's discovered a skeleton beneath a wall of Norman date inside the cathedral, formerly the parish church of All Saints. The body was wearing a ring of late Anglo-Saxon style with a zoomorphic design, thus suggesting that it was associated with the Domesday church of Wakefield (52). Despite the fact that the Warennes built two castles here (Sandal stood on the south bank of the Calder River and Lowe Hill on the north), the Norman borough of Wakefield remained focused around its pre-Conquest church. In 1180 Hamelin and his wife, Countess Isabel, granted to the free burgesses of Wakefield one toft and an acre of land each, in free burgage, for 6d. yearly (53). Despite the wealth of the manor of Wakefield and its prominence within the hierarchy of Warenne estates, the impression is gained that the town itself remained aloof from its lords throughout the medieval period. Unlike at Pontefract and Richmond, castle and caput at Wakefield were not an integrated whole. This was a church-centred borough. Indeed, Wakefield was a divided jurisdiction, possessing a manor court, a borough court and thirdly the court of the rectory manor (those lands attached to the cathedral).

None of the Warenne capita can be said to have been created by a castle. Reigate and Wakefield had early churches as their focal points. Lewes castle appears to have been relocated to suit the position of the town that was thriving nearby (54). Thetford was an important town long before the castle was built. These were successful capita in that all of them survive as towns today, in contrast to Helmsley. However, they do not represent the integration we have come to expect in honorial capita. There is a clear separation between the seigneurial and the civic; most clearly at Wakefield where the lord's castle sits in a village south of the town.

52. Faull and Moorhouse 1, p. 188

53. M.W. Beresford and H.P.R. Findberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist*, David and Charles 1973 p.192

54. Sarah Speight, *Warenne Castles: Their Place in the Social and Architectural Development of Medieval Fortifications*, Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Nottingham 1989 pp. 4-5

Overall, the evidence of boroughs occupied and stimulated by Yorkshire barons in the 12th and 13th centuries indicates the urban basis of many honorial capita. There are a few cases where the castle was placed within an Anglo-Saxon town, but, in a reversal of the castle-parish church relationship, the majority of castles were the forerunners, the stimuli, of towns. The most successful capita combined a solid urban base with a major baronial castle. In several cases the town plan was created specifically to form a coherent whole with the castle. Ludlow is one of the best known examples. Its castle was built on the edge of the demesne manor of Stanton Lacy. The town grid was laid out tightly around it so that, when the castle expanded in the 12th century, part of the pattern was disrupted (55).

The least successful capita possessed minor castles aimed at rural, rather than urban, control. Their functions were limited and their development static. One exception is the Isle of Axholme. After their involvement in the abortive revolt of 1174, and the subsequent destruction of their castles, the Mowbrays seem to have abandoned Thirsk in favour of remote Axholme. The manor house at Epworth became their favoured residence and Axholme their honorial caput for several generations. In this case an unfortified residence superseded several fortified centres (56).

The towns that grew up independent of a castle were themselves often deliberately stimulated by the lord of the honour who wanted to attract money and trade to his region. The city of York was not an honorial caput but it was a regional caput, home of the great Benedictine abbey of St. Mary. Every Yorkshire baron made grants to St. Mary and the many other churches of York because this was the great commercial and religious centre of their region. Therefore, town houses as well as castles and manor-houses saw the nobility in residence. Besides the

55. M.R.G. Conzen, *The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History*, in *The Study of Urban History*, ed., H.J. Dyos, London 1968 pp.113-130; Davies and Gregory, in their report on Thetford (*op.cit.* pp.17, 30), argue that the medieval town was shaped so as to form a concentric southern expansion of the castle.

56. See Chapter Three

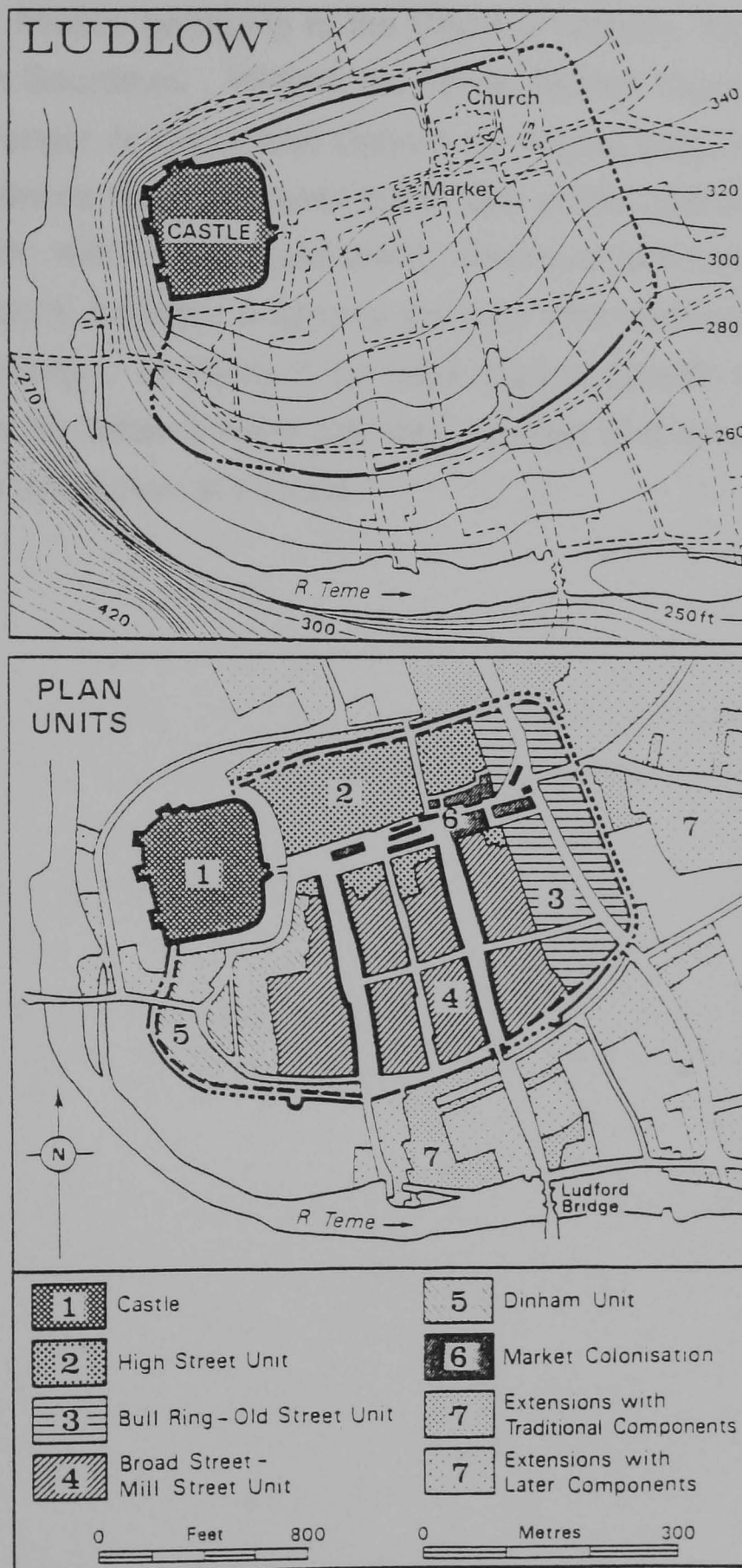


Figure 11: The Plan Units of Medieval Ludlow
After M.R.G. Conzen (see Note 53)

home of the Archbishop of York, the city possessed, as early as Domesday, houses belonging to the Count of Mortain, Nigel Fossard, Richard de Sourdeval , William de Percy, Robert Malet, Erneis de Burun, Berenger of Tosny and Osbern de Arches (57).Unfortunately these residences leave no traces today, due to the unceasing pace of development within successful towns. One later remnant is Lincoln's Inn in Holborn, London, originally the late 13th century home and central exchequer of Henry II de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Here all the profits from his estates were gathered, counted and allocated - at a town house rather than at a castle.

CASTLES AND CHOICE

CHAPTER THREE

The castle undeniably formed a vital part of any seigneurial caput. It represented status, the possession of rank suitable for castle ownership, and power, the exercise of lordship over the surrounding area. However, the form the castle took could vary enormously, with ramifications for the role of the castle within the caput. Sometimes it was replaced altogether by the manor-house. The choice of undefended over defended home says much about honour and lord alike.

First we will examine the types of castle chosen for honorial capita. One of the most important and underrated is the ringwork.

1. Ringworks in Yorkshire

A. Continuity

“It is the embanked defensive enclosure, however restricted its area, which represents normal practice, the small elevated platform of the motte which is the anomaly or freak” (1).

The castles of Yorkshire provide several instances where this statement ‘rings’ true. The ringwork was far more akin to the fortifications extant in pre-conquest Yorkshire than were the imported mottes. It had limitless origins; from the Roman fort, smaller Iron-Age hillforts, to Anglo-Saxon burgh, Anglo-Saxon thegn’s residence, Viking homesteads, and Rhenish/Low Country defended dwellings. The medieval ringwork was an embanked enclosure, usually circular or oval, its interior ground level seldom rising above that of the surrounding land. ‘Partial ringworks’ were D-shaped, a natural scarp being utilised for at least one side. The basic precept was the desire to

1. D.J.Cathcart King and Leslie Alcock, Ringworks of England and Wales, Chateau Gaillard 3, 1966 p.90. It should be pointed out that ‘ringwork’ is a term, like ‘keep’, full of implications not always relevant to the site. The term is used here advisedly, because a better term is not yet in common usage.

delineate personal territory with bank, ditch, timber palisade or dry-stone and mortared wall. The Normans perfected the defences by adding mural towers and elaborate gate-passages. These facets were present in the Roman and Iron-Age forts but there they protected much larger communities. The Normans scaled the format down but did not allow its defensive capability to lapse. At Sulgrave, Goltho and Stamford there is evidence of Anglo-Saxon seigneurial sites strengthened by banks and ditches but not actually defended by them. The difference is one of degree. A bank has to reach a certain height (in King and Alcock's analysis over 6 feet) before it can be said to be a serious attempt at defence. When the Normans re-occupied Goltho and Sulgrave the defences were upgraded.

The format was not as popular as the motte and bailey, perhaps because the latter was perceived as a purely 'Norman' institution, but virtually every major Yorkshire-based honour boasted at least one ringwork among its tally of castles. Some lords built a ringwork to serve as their caput; eg. Count Alan at Richmond and Walter Espec at Helmsley.

It is difficult to establish why lords chose one early castle format over another. In France ringworks are more often isolated than mottes, further away from village and church. However, in England there is no evidence for this. Where clusters of ringworks do occur there are no geological or topographical features to explain them. The chief decider seems to be mere personal preference. For instance, the family home of the Especs was Old Warden in Bedfordshire. Here Walter's father built a ringwork half-way up a steep slope. The site was not a comfortable one and the counterscarp bank and ditch added to the north of the castle were intended to improve the poor defences by commanding the brow of the hill (2). When Walter Espec chose his site at Helmsley he learnt by his father's mistake and selected a large flat area on which to built a huge rectangular earthwork with substantial

2. David Baker, *Mottes, Moats and Ringworks in Bedfordshire: Beauchamp Wadmore revisited, Chateau Gaillard* 9-10, 1982 p.44

banks. However, he was not adverse to trying other castle formats. When Henry I granted him the barony of Wark in Northumberland Espec built a motte on a high ridge to guard a ford over the River Tweed.

Ringworks could ease the transition from Anglo-Saxon to Norman rule as they provided a more than passable imitation of a defended thegn's residence. At Kippax, the Lacies set up an estate centre either on the site of, or very close, to a late Saxon residence. The ringwork that survives today is so small and weak in comparison to other Lacy castles that it is tempting to think they re-occupied the Saxon site. It is conveniently situated next to a large Saxo-Norman church and may have had a more substantial bailey which has long since been hidden beneath the graveyard. Aerial photography has discerned later building platforms within the ring (3).

Mirfield was a subinfeudated Lacy manor held in 1066 and 1086 by three Saxons. Between 1086 and 1159 it became one consolidated holding of the family of Alric. During this period the ringwork behind the church, perhaps another late Saxon dwelling, was converted into a steep-sided motte (4). This illustrates the flexibility of the ringwork formula; it could be altered and removed far more easily than a motte. If the ring-banks were progressively heightened and widened then there came a point when the interior space had been contracted to such a degree that it made more sense to fill it in level with the head of the scarp and thus turn the structure into a motte. At first sight it seems that, while at Kippax the Lacies occupied a possibly late-Saxon ringwork, at Mirfield we have their Saxon tenants deliberately choosing the Anglo-Norman motte and bailey formula for their refurbished dwelling. However, Peter Sawyer has demonstrated how Domesday can deceive the reader (5). In many entries tenancies are not fully layered; i.e. we might be told the name of the tenant-in-chief but not that

3. Ian Roberts, Pontefract Castle, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service 1990, p.8

4. Faull and Moorhouse 2, pp.455-6

5. Peter Sawyer, 1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?, in Peter Sawyer, ed., Domesday Book: A Reassessment, Edward Arnold 1985 pp.71-85

of his sub-tenants, or vice versa. With Mirfield it is possible that we have been given only two of the three strands to the tenancy. The Anglo-Saxons may well be the sub-tenants of a Norman knight, himself a mesne tenant of de Lacy .

The Mowbray manor of Burton-in-Lonsdale in northern Lancashire is in Tostig territory. Before his eviction from the north in 1065 he held a string of estates on the north bank of the Lune Valley, between Lancaster and Kirkby Lonsdale (6). Many of these estates subsequently possessed early Norman castles and it is tempting to believe that some succeeded late Anglo-Saxon fortifications. The idea is further encouraged by the archaeological evidence that several of these castles were motte and baileys converted from ringworks. Burton is such an example.

Excavations in 1905 found the earliest structural phase to be represented by a large and possibly circular cobbled pavement, much lower at the centre than it was at its edges. Coin evidence dated this to pre-1160. At Castle Hill, Penwortham , the initial structure was a shallow ringwork only three foot above the bailey. It was paved and upon this floor there had stood a large timber structure. Over 12 feet of debris, a second pavement, and earth, overlaid this level and refashioned the ringwork into a motte. Warrington, Arkholme (4 miles west of Burton) and Aldingham have also revealed evidence of cobbled paving and 'saucer-like' depressions within their mottes. At Burton the excavators considered that the motte conversion did not occur until the early 14th century and was prompted by Scottish incursions (7). Historically this seems far too late; the Mowbrays were deeply implicated in the civil war of 1174 and may have chosen to strengthen Burton then.

The most important point to be derived from Burton is that we have

6. J.D. Bu'Lock, Churches, Crosses and Mottes in the Lune Valley, Arch.J. 127, 1970 pp.291-2

7. Stephen Moorhouse, Excavations at Burton-in-Lonsdale: A Reconsideration, YAJ 43, 1971 pp.85-98

here a primary ringwork of 12th century date in a manor of some importance pre-1066. Its name alone suggests a Saxon burgh. Is it another case of deliberate continuity; the choice of an existing seigneurial residence for the basis of a new Norman caput ?

B. Norman Ringwork, Norman Motte

The conversion of Mirfield from a ringwork to a motte indicates the problems sometimes encountered when trying to define an earthwork. Erosion and siltation in subsequent generations have significantly altered the profiles of today's survivors. Many mounds have slumped interiors giving the impression of a ringwork. This, however, may be the result of the rotting away of a timber tower with sloping sides, as at South Mimms. It is now widely accepted that many mottes are no more than the surrounding supports for towers built upon the natural ground level. Once the tower has gone there is a cavity to be filled and the final result is an earthwork with sides slumping into its interior at the summit. The best indicators of type seem to be the position, the size, and the height of the ground within the ringwork or motte as opposed to the ground level outside.

At Middleham we have the unusual example of a motte converted to a ringwork (8). William's Hill is a large and powerful ringwork with an oddity. At one point its ring-bank is 14 metres wide. This is so much wider than the rest of the ring that it suggests we have, at this point, a small motte which has been incorporated into a larger earthwork (9). If so, then Middleham is a good example of the increasing sophistication of castle-building techniques, with its progression from small motte and bailey to powerful ringwork to a stone castle with one of the largest hall-keeps in England. Proof of the theory would also dampen the idea that the ringwork is the more primitive of the two early forms of earthwork.

C. Ringwork Capita

8. See Appendix 14, also Appendix 4 where the classification of Trim is discussed.

9. D.J.Cathcart King, *The Castle in England and Wales: An Interpretative History*, Croom Helm 1988 p.58

Ringworks were not always circular as the name suggests. Apart from Helmsley there are rectangular versions at Sheriff Hutton, built by Bertram de Bulmer the steward and son-in-law of Nigel Fossard, and at Hutton Conyers, built by Earl Alan III of Richmond during the 1140's. The latter is usually cited as a siege castle, built to harrass the citizens of Ripon, but the substantial remains visible today suggest it had a longer life (10). The fact is, that while most motte and baileys had similar functions and suffered the same problems (a large proportion of their space being taken up by an uncomfortable motte with limited uses), the 'ringwork' encompassed a wider variety of living standards. At the bottom end were the siege-castles, most often of ringwork type because they could be commissioned more quickly and cheaply than mottes. However, at the top end of the scale were the palatial versions, hefty enclosures with plenty of space for as much residential accommodation as necessary. Into the latter category fall Helmsley, Richmond, the Warenne castles of Acre (Norfolk) and Reigate (Surrey), the Lacy castle of Ludlow and the Aumale fortress at Bytham. It is quite likely that the large empty courtyard at Richmond was once full of timber buildings. Comfort often come before security. The first phase at Castle Acre, the 'country house', was rushed to completion in time for the laying-in of Gundrada de Warenne. Significantly, the choice was made for the child to be born here rather than at the Warenne motte and bailey in Lewes (Sussex). When, in 1317, John de Warenne abducted the countess of Lancaster from Canford in Dorset, she was detained at Reigate rather than Lewes, perhaps because the accommodation at Reigate more befitted her status (11).

The choice of shape for a ringwork must have depended largely upon the local topography, yet it does appear that the longer-lasting sites were less irregular than those built with short-term aims in view. Helmsley is a regular structure, carefully planned to enhance the prestige of Walter Espec. The site was not chosen out of strategic

10. The Continuation of John of Hexham in Symeon of Durham, RS 2, London 1885 p.308

11. F.R.Fairbank, The Last Earl of Warenne and Surrey and the Distribution of his Possessions, YAJ 19, 1907 pp.148-9

considerations, but simply because it was at the centre of the honour.

Large flat plateau sites like Scarborough, Richmond and Barnard Castle (Co.Durham), are ideally suited for ringworks. A motte on such sites would have to be very large to be of use.

Few ringworks have been excavated and dated. Goltho and Sulgrave have demonstrated that late Saxon defended enclosures are not far removed from the Norman ringwork while, in the Irish sea zone, the raths are an added complication. Occasionally documentary evidence is provided, as in the case of Scarborough, but in other cases we have to use analogies with other sites and suggested baronial preferences.

Just like motte and baileys, the ringwork was subject to countless permutations and developments. Occasionally it did not follow an obvious course. The Brus ringwork at Castle Levington was built on a strong site overlooking a bend in a deep river-valley. On the cliff-side there was no need for a bank but, nonetheless, the ring is complete, presenting a 13 metre high front to the cliff-face. The completion of the circle may tell us something about the impression the owner was trying to create. Castles were built to impress. The reputation of Walter Espec must owe as much to the splendour of Helmsley as it did to his patronage of the Cistercians. In religious foundations and castle-building, where he led other men would follow.

2. Motte and Bailey

“It delights me when the skirmishers scatter people and herds in their path; and I love to see them followed by a great body of men-at-arms; and my heart is filled with gladness when I see strong castles besieged, and the stockades broken and overrun, and the defenders on the mound enclosed by ditches all round and protected by strong palisades” (12).

In the 1180's, when the Limousin troubadour Bertrand de Born

composed this song, the earthwork and particularly the motte and bailey, was still the predominant form of castle in England. Ringworks were fairly frequent, there was a handful of early stone courtyard castles as at Richmond and Ludlow, and the rectangular donjon and bailey castle was reaching its zenith with Henry II's great work at Dover, yet the motte and bailey was still being maintained and developed. Several late 11th century motte and baileys remained works purely of earth and timber well into the 13th century (eg. Launceston, Cornwall). Others, such as Lewes and Arundel (both with two mottes), retained their original plan but quickly replaced timber palisades with stone curtains and timber towers with stone ones.

Throughout the many disputes of the 12th century it was the motte and bailey that was called upon to defend and isolate large tracts of Britain. In 1173 Henry II refortified the elderly mottes of Whitchurch, Ellesmere and Oswestry in northern Shropshire, in order to divide the supporters of his son, the 'Young King', into two branches in Cheshire and the south-west midlands. Of the five Mowbray castles destroyed by Henry II in retaliation for Roger de Mowbray's rebellion in 1173-4, four of them were motte and baileys (Owston, Kirkby Malzeard, Thirsk, Brinklow) and only one a ringwork (Burton-in-Lonsdale). For both sides, the motte and bailey could be strengthened cheaply and easily and, perhaps more importantly, its outer defences could be swiftly slighted if the garrison had to abandon base in the face of an approaching army. But it was not a push-over to capture an earth and timber castle. There were many techniques to make a castle formidable. One of the most cunning was to score and paint the clay motte-covering to make it appear from a distance that it was stone-reinforced. Deep double-ditch systems, as at Thetford and Berkhamstead (Hertfordshire), prevented any but the most determined foe from gaining entry, particularly if they were water-filled (the water also acting as a fire-break). Many early castles, like Almondbury, sat upon steep hills commanding wide views and inhibiting the use of siege machines.

The origins of the bailey are found alongside those of the ringwork. It is the motte whose history is less clear-cut. As few mottes are recognised in pre-Conquest Normandy perhaps it was a phenomenon of 1066; an 'emergency fortification' adopted by the Normans in order to consolidate their victories. However, the mottes of Ewyas Harold and Hereford in the western marches are known to have been built by Normans resident in England during the reign of the half-Saxon, half-Norman king, Edward the Confessor. This indicates that the Normans at least knew the motte formula. Was it therefore only used in specific circumstances? In France and Germany early mottes were not castles in their own right but were added to existing fortifications to upgrade their defences. At Doue la Fontaine, in Anjou, a motte was built up around the base of an 11th century stone hall to increase its rigidity and deter attack by siege machines. This was particularly effective if the basement was filled with rammed earth. The example was followed at Farnham in Surrey and South Mimms in Hertfordshire. Castle Acre must also fit into this group although it is classified as a ringwork.

The permutations of motte design seem to boil down to the fact that the end result varied according to how much time was allowed the builder. It took William the Conqueror at least 15 years to pacify most of England south of York and although he did find time to build some stone castles, noticeably London and Colchester, the majority were thrown up in haste and in earth and timber as watch-posts and semi-secure dwellings. To the first generation of Norman settlers height equalled safety and superiority. They were in a hurry; in most instances the threat of attack forced them to abandon thoughts of building a tower first and piling the mound around it later. The quicker, though less-stable, method was to throw the motte up, then place the tower upon it. The first English mottes were therefore stop-gap measures, built to fill a power vacuum.

The Motte and Baileys of 12th century Yorkshire can be divided into two categories:

1. Advanced; those sites which saw significant development in stone and a continued use beyond the early medieval period.
2. Primitive; those sites which did not see significant development in stone and which passed out of use by the early 13th century.

2. 'Advanced' Motte and Baileys

A. Pontefract

Pontefract castle stands in sharp contrast to its fellow Lacy estate centres. Whereas Almondbury, Barwick and Mirfield, were local bases enjoying only a limited investment in their defences, Pontefract was a fortress of national significance that underwent redevelopment accordingly.

Close to the Roman roads that crossed the Pennines through the Aire Gap and led from Doncaster to Durham, Ilbert de Lacy I built a sandstone motte and bailey on a naturally strong high site soon after 1070. Its stone defences were probably begun c.1135 when Ilbert's grandson, Ilbert II, regained Pontefract after a twenty year forfeiture **(13)**.

Pontefract consists of an oval inner bailey with a curtain wall and 6 D-plan towers of the late 12th or early 13th century, none of which were particularly effective as flanking towers. In front of Piper's Tower are the foundations of a semi-circular structure of uncertain date which flanked the curtain at this point and covered the postern entrance **(14)**.

In the centre of the bailey are a series of underground chambers and passages with architectural details of late Norman and early English character. These were probably the cellars or basement of the original hall, afterwards replaced by the Lancastrian hall against the north curtain. At the south end of the inner bailey sits the revetted rock motte

13. Robert de Lacy I and his son Ilbert II were banished c.1114 from their English, but not their Norman estates. The reason is not clear. The honour of Pontefract was granted first to the Laval family and then to William Maltravers, a royal official. The family were restored by King Stephen.

14. The best account of Pontefract Castle is Ian Roberts, Pontefract Castle, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service 1990

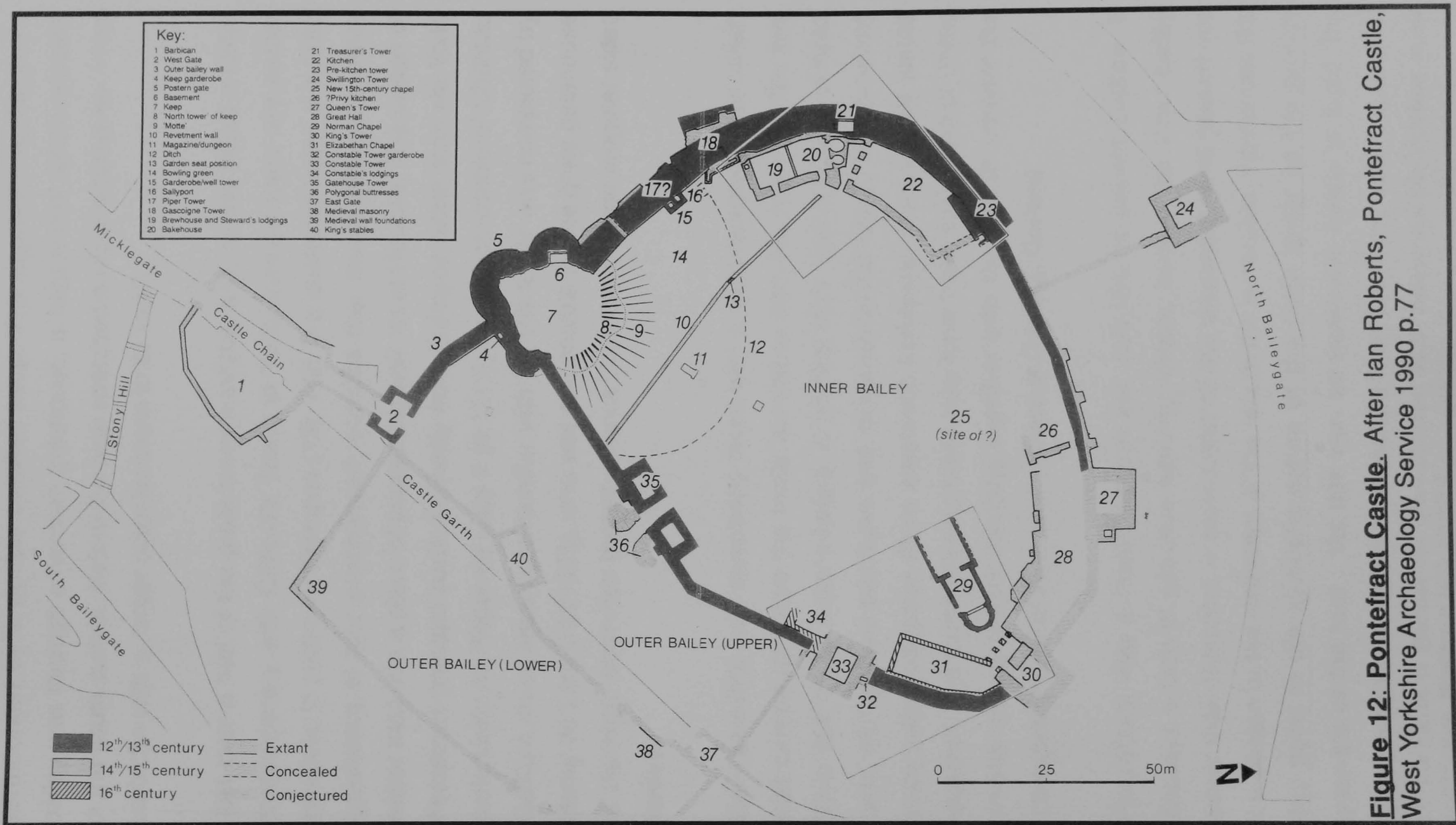


Figure 12: Pontefract Castle. After Ian Roberts, Pontefract Castle, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service 1990 p.77

surmounted by a double-trefoiled keep. The approach to the inner bailey was through a Norman gatehouse, a fragment of which remains in the south curtain. Before the gate stretched a large rectangular inner barbican with a larger outer barbican to its south.

Just over a half of the great tower survives. It is usually dated c.1240, contemporary with Clifford's Tower at York. However there are earlier parallels, in particular Etampes (15). This is a quatrefoil tower of c.1160 consisting of four pronounced roundels that merge into each other rather than into a piece of connecting wall, as at Houdan. The design of Pontefract perhaps derived directly from Etampes rather than via York, particularly as Roger de Lacy II (d.1211), the last constable of Chateau Gaillard, must have been familiar with it. The tower was completed by Henry de Lacy II (d.1311), who was responsible for the great gatehouse at Denbigh. Both men had experience therefore of large irregular sided towers.

Ilbert I's motte was completely faced with a solid revetment wall which was carried up above the motte summit to form the tower. So the first 50 or 60ft of the tower's height is nothing more than a bastion of solid rock, with various passages and rooms tunnelled into it. The surviving three sides comprise three enormous half-round drum towers joined together. The fourth missing tower may have been composed of three smaller round towers merging together with the rest to present the 'corrugated' type of keep wall present at Chateau Gaillard.

Pontefract was a major fortress yet, just like its cousin Ludlow, it displays a lack of effective flanking towers, here in the inner bailey rather than the outer. It seems that all the resources were poured into the donjon to the detriment of the rest of the ensemble. Imbalances like this point to the symbolic nature of the main tower as the private quarters of the lord. Yet this was an expensive castle to build; the stone used was magnesian limestone from the Priory site, a quarter of

15. For details of Etampes see Charles-Laurent Salch, *Dictionnaire des Chateaux et des Fortifications*, Strasbourg 1979 pp.457-8

a mile away. The coalstone upon which the castle stands was rejected.

We should not forget that the true term to use for such towers, 'donjon', means 'lordship'. Examinations of the entrance routes into donjons at Knaresborough, Castle Rising, Sandal, and the Tower of London, suggest that one of its most important functions was to overawe visitors, to present them to the lord in a suitably subdued state after negotiating several flights of stairs, lobbys and preliminary chambers. The 14th century keep at Knaresborough has a lengthy route to the audience chamber:

1. Vaulted gate-passage
2. Vaulted stair-passage with portcullis at head.
3. Ante-chamber with fine window and built-in seats.
4. Twin-leaved doorway
5. Large chamber with benches with dais opposite door. Dais framed by ashlar recess and lit by south-facing traceried window.

The audience chamber is, however, only roofed in timber. In the opinion of Philip Dixon this is to focus the supplicant's attention:

"It may have been the intention that the visitor should be impressed by the grandeur of the building while approaching the chamber, and while waiting for admission in the ante-room, but once admitted should not be allowed to be distracted by the quality of the chamber from the necessary awe at the presence of the castle's lord, the brightest object in the room, with his courtiers sitting in a discrete twilight on benches around the walls" (16).

The Pontefract keep served a similar symbolic function and hence was developed to a more sophisticated level than its perimeter defences. Thomas of Lancaster, the arch opponent of Piers Gaveston, spent the last years of his life here and is reputed to have loved Pontefract "plus qe nul autre qil aveit en la terre" (17). With his lineage and character he would have wished to better anything found at Gaveston's Knaresborough.

16. Philip Dixon, *The Donjon of Knaresborough: The Castle as Theatre*, Chateau Gaillard XIV 1988 pp.121-139

17. J.R.Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322*, OUP 1970 p.26

B. Clitheroe

Clitheroe was the only demesne castle on the Lacy Lancashire estates and had to combine symbolic, administrative, and defensive functions. It sits on a limestone crag on the eastern bank of the River Ribble with the Roman Road from Manchester to York via Skipton passing half a mile to the east. The motte and bailey was probably begun by Roger de Lacy I (banished from England 1114). The stone defences followed after 1135 when Ilbert II returned from exile to find his Lancashire estates had been ravaged by the Scots (18).

Clitheroe possesses a tiny Norman donjon, a mere 35ft.9 in. square. It provided a cramped suite of private rooms for the lord. The main entrance, via a wooden staircase or drawbridge, led into a first floor room with no fireplace, two tiny windows (probably originally three) and a garderobe. Besides the main room this floor had a barrel vaulted mural chamber, 7ft by 5ft. From the first floor a spiral staircase led to the second floor and on to the parapet whilst a second doorway led onto the curtain wall. The second floor was presumably the bedroom. The ground floor store-room was lit by two loopholes and was reached only by ladder.

The tower is built of limestone rubble with ashlar quoins and dressings. It is square in plan with flat pilaster buttresses at each corner but no plinth or set-back at each successive floor level. Its closest analogy is with Brougham in Cumbria, built by Hugh de Morville before his forfeiture in 1173 for his part in the murder of Beckett (19). In 1158 Hugh had custody of Knaresborough Castle and so would have been a close neighbour of the Lacies of Pontefract. Clitheroe is surrounded by a circular curtain wall that skirts the edge of the rock.

The wall breaks off to the south where it joins the upper bailey to the

18. A Scottish and Galwegian army invaded England in the mid 1130's and in June 1138 they fought a battle against a Lacy led force at Clitheroe. In the accounts of the battle no castle is mentioned but that the action happened at Clitheroe suggests it was a military focal point. The castle may have prevented the town from being destroyed. However, the severe ravaging of his Lancashire estates may have prompted Ilbert II to rebuild Clitheroe in stone.

19. John Charlton, Brougham Castle, HBMCE 1985; K.J.Stringer, The Early Lords of Lauderdale, Dryburgh Abbey and St.Andrew's Priory at Northampton, in, K.J.Stringer, ed., Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland, John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh 1985

lower bailey. The latter descends the hill and is at least eight times the size of the former.

Although in itself a small and basic castle Clitheroe was evidently of some importance in its region. For a start, it boasted a stone keep long before Pontefract. But it did not see the continuous development enjoyed by Pontefract. It is as if the Lacies built a great-tower here just because Clitheroe was their only Lancashire castle. Once built, it was sufficient to last them into the 14th century with little more than basic maintenance. Apart from the 1130's there is little evidence to suggest the Lacies often came here.

C. Tickhill

Tickhill was fortified in stone from an early date. The gatehouse, late 11th or early 12th century, is a two-storeyed rectangular structure with diapered triangular panel decoration and Celtic-style figures (20). The contemporary curtain wall is referred to in 1130 when the knights of the honour recognised an obligation to maintain "the wall of the castle of Blyth" (21).

In the latter half of the 12th century a cylindrical tower was built upon the motte. However, before its completion, the design plan was changed, the round tower dismantled and inside it, of slightly smaller area, a ten-sided tower was built. The dating of these operations is unclear. There are numerous references in the Pipe Rolls to building at Tickhill but the payments for 1178-1180 of over £120 for "the work of the tower" are insufficient to account for a complete tower of this size and complexity (22). The key must be the change in design. Tickhill's affinities are with Orford (1165-1173), Chilham (1171-74), Richard's Castle (c.1175-) and Odiham (1207-1212). If the round tower was underway in the 1170's, perhaps the outbreak of rebellion in 1173 caused a halt. When work renewed, under Henry or Richard, the

20. See Chapter 4 pp.132-7

21. HKW 2, p.844

22. Ibid p.844

design was up-dated.

At nearby Conisborough in the 1180's Henry's half-brother Hamelin similarly changed his design plans part-way through the construction of his donjon. It was originally to have been round without, multangular within - probably to accommodate an expensive groined vault. Many of the fittings, fireplaces, doors etc, had already been produced by the time he changed his mind and opted for a circular interior (23).

The key to Tickhill may lie in the baronial pecking order and the need for the Crown to stay one step ahead in military architecture. Orford, the first royal castle in East Anglia, was intended to check the power of the Bigods of Framlingham. It pioneered a trend towards circular/polygonal tower keeps with functional buttresses. To retain its mastery therefore the Crown had to go a step further; the multi-faceted tower at Tickhill being the result. Although the castles in this group were all powerful and significant fortresses, their designs owe much more to the psychological; the desire to impress/overawe than they do to the military aspect. This accounts for the comparative weakness of their perimeter defences (eg. Pontefract). Not until the late 13th century and the Savoyard-inspired castles of North Wales do we see a new breed of 'fully-rounded' fortresses. Another factor in many cases was the limitations imposed by an extant motte and bailey.

The donjons of Tickhill, Conisborough, Pontefract and Richard's Castle were all built within older castles; perhaps due to the feared instability of their mottes those at Conisborough and Tickhill were, in their final form, to be equally stressed (fully symmetrical). Orford, Odiham and Chilham were built on the ground, hence perhaps their more unbalanced shapes.

4. The Manor of Wakefield: Contrasts

In 1106 Henry I granted William de Warenne II the manor of Wakefield

23. Sarah Speight, *Warenne Castles: Their Place in the Social and Architectural Development of Medieval Fortifications*, 1989 p.15

in West Yorkshire. This covered an extensive area stretching several miles to the west of Halifax and to the south of Wakefield. It comprised fifty-three complete vills or townships and portions of eight others. It is therefore not to be unexpected that the Warennes should hold two demesne castles in the manor. What is surprising is that the two castles were less than three miles apart.

Of Wakefield and Sandal it is unknown which was the first to be built. The excavators of Sandal in the 1970's claimed that Lowe Hill at Wakefield was built by the Crown before 1106 (24). However, Brian Hope-Taylor, who dug at Lowe Hill in 1953, and the 1989 exhibition at Wakefield Museum, state categorically that the castle was built in the 12th century by a Warenne lord; it may be a later foundation than Sandal (25).

Yet the remains of Wakefield Castle, in Clarence Park, show that Sandal was always the stronger site. Lowe Hill rises 30ft. from its ditch bottom (in contrast to 75ft. at Sandal) and has a base diameter of 130ft. There are two baileys to the east. The scant dating evidence found in 1953 suggested the castle was built before 1150, but there were insufficient finds to prove the castle had been permanently occupied. The motte ditch had never been recut (in stark contrast to Hen Domen where the ditches were recut four or five times throughout the castle's history). Work in the upper bailey found a 12th-century hearth underlying the eastern bank and a surrounding scatter of pottery matching that found in the moat. To the excavators "the impression gained from these cuttings was that the few finds represented rubbish left by the builders of the castle, not by any subsequent occupier" (26).

Wakefield was perhaps an adulterine civil war castle, built by the third earl (1138-1148) or by his son-in-law, William of Blois, second son of

24. P. Mayes and L.A.S. Butler, Sandal Castle Excavations 1964-1973, Wakefield Historical Publications 1983

25. B. Hope-Taylor, Report on the Excavations at Lowe Hill, Wakefield, Yorkshire, Wakefield Historical Society 1953

26. Ibid p.7

King Stephen. Blois could have obtained a license from his father and built a better castle unless it was constructed in the short gap between the death of Stephen in 1154 and the enforced resignation of all Blois' castles to Henry II in 1157. The irregular surface of the motte, and the lack of permanent occupation debris, indicate the castle was never finished and so work could have abruptly stopped in 1148 or 1157. Its intended importance is testified by the appointment of a constable who, in 1147-8, witnessed a document together with the constable of Conisborough (27). In later surveys Sandal castle is always clearly called Sandal (i.e it is never called Wakefield Castle). Lowe Hill was positioned a short distance from Wakefield town and was separated from it by marshland. Was it built to supervise the burgesses ?

Wakefield Museum states that Lowe Hill was abandoned once nearby Sandal was begun. If we accept the plausible argument that Lowe Hill was a product of the civil war, then it is more likely to have been built to defend the north bank of the Calder (with Sandal already commanding the south) and the urban centre of the manor. With unrest sweeping England Sandal was too far away to protect the earl's interests within the borough. Sandal was the permanent manorial caput but Lowe Hill, which arose in an exceptional situation, was necessarily maintained over several generations because, as with the case of the Brack Mount at Lewes, it was safer in Warenne hands than in others. The fact that the Warenne earls changed sides frequently during the civil war made them particularly vulnerable and it is thus also this period that saw dramatic alterations to the defences at Castle Acre. So, we have here not a case of one motte and bailey replacing another, but of an early 12th century castle co-existing with a civil war castle that comes into being for a particular and different purpose.

The excavators of Sandal felt that, because Wakefield was not rebuilt in stone whereas Sandal was, it was likely to have been the early administrative centre of the royal manor (i.e. pre 1106). However,

Sandal itself saw no stonework until the 13th century. Castles could function effectively in earth and timber alone as is witnessed by the continued occupation of Hen Domen after the construction of nearby stone Montgomery in the early 13th century (28). There is a local legend that Wakefield castle was finally destroyed by Thomas of Lancaster in 1317 to revenge himself on John de Warenne for the abduction of his wife (29). Furthermore, in 1324, Edward II placed both Sandal and Wakefield castles under the care of Richard de Moseley. This testifies to its longevity. In the 1540's Leland visited Lowe Hill and saw only 'dykes and bulwarks....whereby it appearith that there hath been a castle' (30).

Twelfth century Sandal was a substantial castle with a motte 15 metres high and 40 metres in diameter at the base. It had a semi-circular bailey to the south-south-east. Mayes and Butler estimate that the large motte entailed a year's work by up to a hundred men. It was built up layer by layer with soil and then shaley rock for stability. The outer surface was clay covered to prevent attackers from gaining a foothold. An inner moat separated the motte from the bailey while a substantial bank and outer moat surrounded the whole fortification. During this initial phase the castle possessed a timber keep, aisled hall, kitchen and a palisade between bailey and motte (31).

Rebuilding in stone did not commence at Sandal until the early 13th century. It was still of earth and timber when the shell keep and stone gatehouse were strengthening Lewes, when the country house at Acre was being converted into a fortress and when the cylindrical towers were being built at Mortemer, Conisborough and Thorne. Despite the scale of its stone structures, Sandal remained essentially a motte and bailey of the old school. The new ancillary buildings curved round in a

28. P. Barker and R. Higham, Hen Domen, Montgomery, A Timber Castle on the English-Welsh Border 1, The Royal Archaeological Institute 1982

29. J.L. Illingworth, Yorkshire's Ruined Castles, originally published 1938, reprinted by S.R. Publishers Ltd 1970 p.133

30. B. Hope-Taylor, Report on the Excavations at Lowe Hill, Wakefield, Yorkshire, Wakefield Historical Society 1953 p.5; M.W. Thompson, The Decline of the Castle, CUP. 1987 p.177

31. P. Mayes and L.A.S. Butler, Sandal Castle Excavations 1964-1973, Wakefield Historical Publications 1983 p.76

semicircle within the former timber-filled bailey and the lord continued to dwell within a tower on the motte summit, although this was now provided with an impressive barbican entrance. The outer defences were hardly improved from the early 12th century version; the bailey curtains had no towers and a weak gatehouse whose only strategic features were the narrowing of the bridge and the dog-leg turn of the passage.

In contrast to the early 14th-century gatehouse at Lewes and the complex approach at Conisborough the outer defence at Sandal is humble. Yet once past the outer gate there were two drawbridges (on either side of the barbican tower), four gates and a steep flight of steps to manoeuvre before the keep was reached. The most important feature of stone Sandal was the ritual progression from bailey to donjon (32).

At Lewes, by c. 1100, flint shell keeps had been built on both mottes, though the one to the south was far more substantial. A large rectangular gatehouse was built, with two round archways and a chamber over the passageway. The bailey connecting the two mottes was strengthened by a flint curtain. Yet Lewes was not a particularly strong castle as there is little evidence for mural towers along the curtain.

The Warennes owned a large number of castles and so their redevelopments in stone were dictated by economic considerations. Thetford has no evidence of stone buildings; in this area most resources went to Castle Acre and it is likely that Thetford passed out of use after the rebellion of 1173, when the town chose the losing side and incurred the king's wrath.

The Warennes made varied use of their mottes in the 12th century. Thetford and Sandal, despite their size, or perhaps because of it,

32. S.J. Speight, *Warrenne Castles: Their Place in the Social and Architectural Development of Medieval Fortifications*, Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Nottingham 1989, pp.16-18

remained in the primitive category. Lewes received shell keeps. Three sites gained unusual cylindrical towers (33). They did not build any rectangular keeps unlike the Lacies who produced one of the smallest examples at Clitheroe.

5. Site Longevity

In all honours early castles were replaced by new models before the middle of the 13th century. This was often due to the changing nature of settlement in an area, as at Almondbury and Barwick-in-Elmet. In these cases the Lacy lords made decisions to develop alternative estate centres and, accordingly, expanded their demesne holdings around the chosen sites. In other instances lords were remedying site choices that had been made hastily in the first years after the conquest when castle building was an urgent priority. In more settled times they could relocate to better sites. Fashions also changed and if a lord wished for an up-to-date fortress often his only option was to start afresh on a new site; the removal of redundant earthworks was too arduous .

The original Warenne castle at Lewes stood on the land now occupied by the Cluniac priory. When William de Warenne I was granted the Rape of Lewes after the initial invasion of 1066, he had to make a snap decision as to the location of his castle; its construction was an urgent requirement and it is hardly surprising that he found a better site a couple of years later. This happened at Hastings also, a few miles to the east along the coast. Apart from the present stone castle, there are approximate locations for two other early earthwork castles in the immediate vicinity. Once settled at Lewes, Warenne was able to choose a better strategic site and also a better economic one, within the small town of Lewes itself which had been shifting its focus over the last few years. The new castle sat on a hill overlooking the Ouse estuary as it passed through a gap in the Sussex Downs. The old site at Southover was then bequeathed to the monks (34).

33. See Chapter 4

34. S.J. Speight, *Warenne Castles: Their Place in the Social and Architectural Development of Medieval Fortifications* 1989, Chapter 1, note 1

Yet the new Lewes castle was itself subject to change. When William moved from Southover (before 1077) stone was still a rarity in castles and so he built a motte of squared chalk blocks upon which to place a timber tower. Yet within four or five years (c.1080) stone was beginning to be used regularly for the greater castles, including those on the south coast at Pevensey, Arundel and Exeter. Warenne could not afford to lag behind. It was his sworn duty to defend his section of the coast effectively. Unfortunately the north-east motte (Brack Mount) was not sufficiently stable to carry anything but the flimsiest of stone towers and so the alternative was to build a second motte to the south of the first specifically to take stone. Of course a tower could have been built from the ground but this would have presented the problem of hostile forces basing themselves on the Brack Mount and utilising its height to shoot into the new castle complex. Therefore a strong shell keep was built on the southern motte but the Brack Mount was retained as an integral part of the defences. This was far easier than removing it altogether.

Lewes expressed the main problems of mottes. If they were to be primary features, rather than built around the base of a tower, then they needed time to settle before anything substantial could be built upon them. The lesson was a long time in the learning. In 1211 a new tower at Athlone in Ireland collapsed killing nine men because the motte beneath was unstable (35).

When the Herefordshire Lacies abandoned their motte and bailey at Ewyas Lacy (Longtown) in the later 12th-century, their new castle, just three quarters of a mile away, possessed a new type of round tower with foundations that went deep into its motte. The motte was a mere support mechanism. Their first castle could not have supported a stone tower and hence the relocation; this was a move dictated by architectural progress.

35. R.A. Stalley, *Architecture and Sculpture in Ireland 1150-1350*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin 1971 p.16

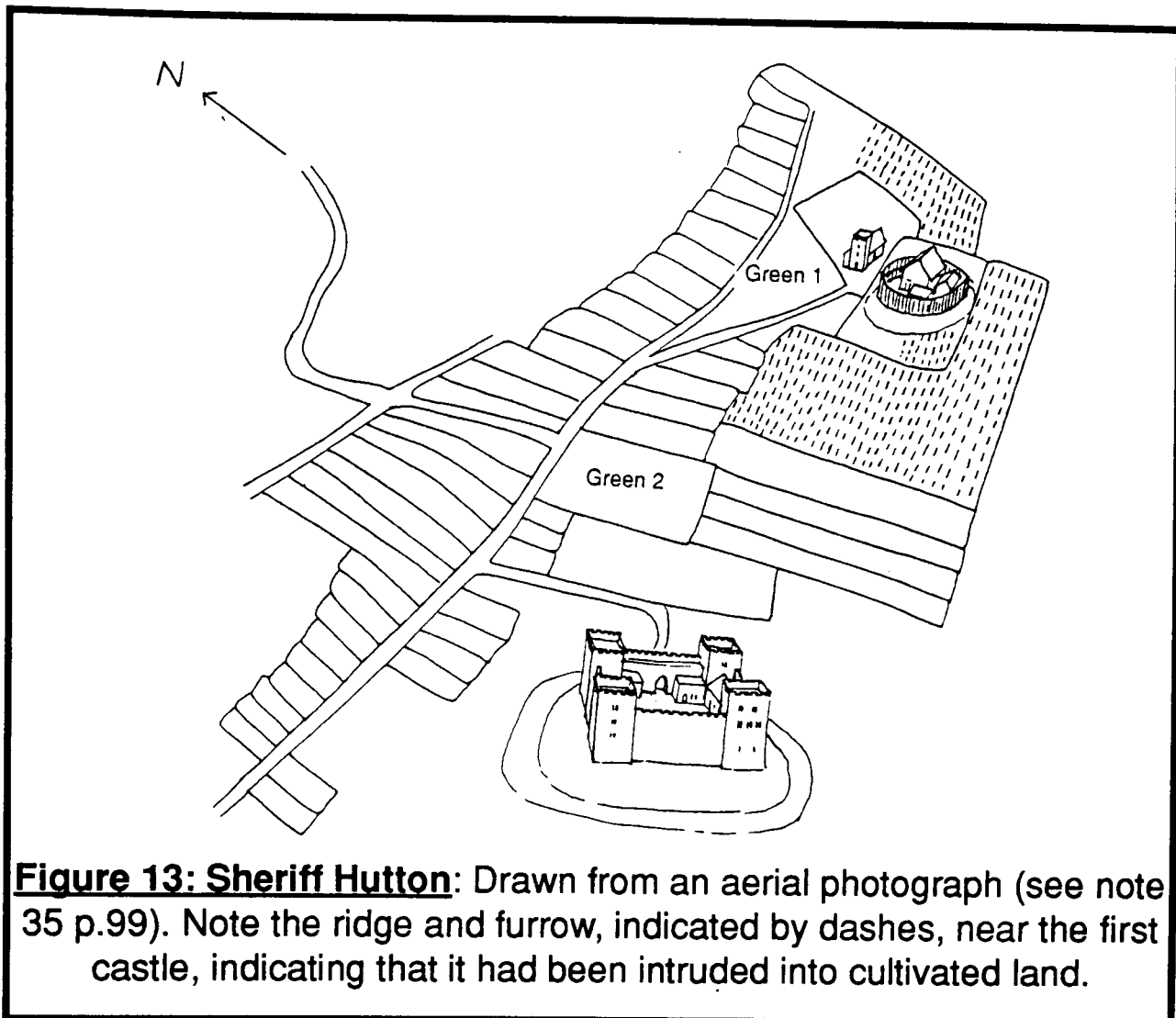
The scenario is repeated at Middleham. The ringwork at William's Hill was powerfully compact and could not easily be reduced in order to clear space for a rectangular hall-tower. Ribald's grandson therefore began anew on the flat ground just below the castle. In order to create a magnificent stone castle he sacrificed the advantages of position enjoyed by its predecessor.

When the Nevilles employed John Lewyn to build Sheriff Hutton Castle in the 1380's, they chose a new site less than half a mile to the west of the 12th century nucleus around the church and ringwork castle. Standing inside the first castle we have the church in front of us and, to the west, the quadrangular stone castle can be seen through the trees. The earthwork must have been deserted for a considerable time but it had not been destroyed or forgotten; it was clearly visible from the towers of its successor. Sheriff Hutton thus has two village greens; one for each focal point.

The Nevilles came into possession of Sheriff Hutton in the late 12th century, upon the death of Bertram de Bulmer and by the marriage of his daughter to Geoffrey de Neville. During the Anarchy the first castle had been besieged and taken by Alan of Richmond. It was probably re-occupied after the war for c. 1200 a Walter de Neville was parson of the nearby church. The fact of a relative being installed in the living suggests that this was still a thriving settlement, an important Neville possession, in which case the castle was still in use. Bertram's brother or son Stephen had been rector of the parish during his lifetime.

Sheriff Hutton presents a picture of a continuous connection between the landowning family and the church. Two members are found as parish priest and, when a second castle is built, the relationship of its forerunner with the church is not disturbed. The castle site changes, a second village green develops, but the Norman settlement is respected and left intact (36).

36. M.W. Beresford and J.K. St. Joseph, *Medieval England: An Aerial Survey*, 2nd edition, CUP 1979 pp.154-5



Castle relocations are due to the desire to keep up with architectural fashion. Mulgrave for instance, in the Fossard Cleveland fee, replaced an earthwork at Lythe c.1200. It was vitally important to follow developments in military technology. This was no backwoods, remote from court and culture. If even families with a purely local base could update themselves then this indicates that the standard of living amongst the nobility in 12th century Yorkshire was high.

6. Temporary Custody of Castles

At any given time a lord's stock of castles could be increased by two or three held in temporary custody, either with or without the king's permission. Local feuds could result in one man's castle being held by a neighbour for years at a time. During the Anarchy temporary custodians had either to demolish such castles or to maintain them in good defensive order. William Le Gros did both.

William was a declared supporter of Stephen, although primarily self-motivated. He seized the royal castle at Pickering in the 1130's, ostensibly to hold it for the king, and did not relinquish it until 1155, when Henry II exchanged it for the royal castle at Drifffield in Humberside. The next royal work recorded at the castle consists of small sums spent on repairs between 1179 and 1183 (37). This suggests that, during his twenty year 'tenure', William Le Gros ensured the castle was maintained. The compensation he was given suggests he had invested his own money in the site. It is therefore not impossible that William Le Gros was responsible for the construction of the 'Old Hall'. This is the oldest structure within the castle for which evidence survives. It was a free-standing building with half-timbered walls and two opposed entries in the short ends. It had a stone fireplace and chimney with an attached kitchen to the north-east.

A point in favour of William is the discovery of another mid-12th century hall, this time completely of timber, at Huttons Ambo near Malton. Excavations in the 1950's found that this had the same opposed entries in its two short sides (38). Pickering is a mere seven miles north of Malton and indicates that this dual hall entry was well-known in the area. Neither hall was aisled. Huttons Ambo was held in sergeanty by Colswain in the mid-12th century. The different choice of fabric at each site must be a reflection of each occupant's status.

Temporary custody of castles distorted the balance of power in 12th century Yorkshire. Nigel d'Aubigny was the official custodian of York castle, a role that further increased his local influence (39). That both his son and grandson unsuccessfully claimed this responsibility as a hereditary right is a sad reflection on the political decline of the Mowbray family (40). Whether or not the custody of a site was held legally the lord thereby extended his sphere of influence, most usually

37. HKW 2, p.779

38. M.W.Thompson, Huttons Ambo, Arch.J. 114, 1957 pp.69-91

39. See Hugh the Chantor, The History of the Church of York 1066-1127, ed. C.Johnson, Thomas Nelson and Sons 1961 pp.37, 41, 106

40. Mowbray Charters No. 255 pp.172-3

to an area where he had not previously been a significant force. A seized castle was a seized caput with far-reaching ramifications.

7. Non-Fortified Accommodation

The castle was not the only option a baron had when it came to building a residence or estate centre. As early as the 1070's men were choosing to occupy non-fortified dwellings, such as Castle Acre and perhaps Kippax. The reason will be found in the function of the building. The non-fortified manor-house was not a late-medieval invention but rather a dwelling option that had always been available. The chief novelty in the 12th century was that the chief component of the manor-house became the second-floor hall whereas its predecessors, and the houses of the lower gentry, were mainly single storey. Security was therefore increased, but the structure could still be built in timber as well as stone. Why then build a manor house instead of a castle ?

1. Some early manor-houses were built by the cadet branches of major families (eg. Wharram Percy, Burton Agnes). This suggests that they did not possess the status necessary for the construction of a castle.
2. Some manor houses are in outlying estates normally run by a bailiff - Melton Mowbray is one example. If the area was 'low-risk' one, if the lord did not expect to visit it often, then he could build a residence suitable for a paid official as opposed to a member of the nobility.
3. The only difference between Spofforth, perceived as a manor house, and other Percy castles, is the degree to which they are fortified. Yet Spofforth played host to the honorial court and, by being built in stone, was intrinsically stronger than other Percy 'castles' (41). 'Degree of fortification' is a dangerous distinction to apply because some areas will be regarded as safer than others and thus affect the precautions taken in building work. What we regard as a manor house today might have

40. See Chapter 6 pp. 194-5 . Note that in an IPM of Richard and William de Percy in 1259 the villeins of Spofforth owed the service of carrying crops to 'the lord's *house*'. Yorkshire Inquisitions Vol.1 pp.66-7

been perceived as a castle in the 12th century.

4. Thirteenth century manor houses often replace 12th-century castles and so indicate why the castle was abandoned. The reasons seem chiefly to be comfort, space and fashion.

A. Burton Agnes

The manor house at Burton Agnes was probably built by Roger de Stuteville c. 1170-80 and named in honour of his daughter. This is a 'strong' house rather than a fortified dwelling (i.e. intrinsically strong due to its construction in stone as opposed to deliberately strengthened). In format it resembles Scolland's Hall at Richmond, a first-floor hall raised over a basement. Burton Agnes however does not sit within the protection of a castle. It has a vaulted ceiling, with large windows above for the hall and narrow internally splayed loops below for the cellar. Like Scolland's Hall, Burton Agnes has a spiral stair rising from ground to first floor, while the main hall entrance was via an external stair to the first floor. Excavations at the hall in 1988 detected signs of a forebuilding or external staircase leading to a first-floor doorway on the north-west side (42). The hall had a hearth fireplace, while the undercroft is divided into two aisles of four quadripartite bays by a row of cylindrical columns. The three columns have square abaci, water-leaf capitals and annulets. In the 12th century the side walls were lower and the pitch of the roof steeper.

At Hooton Levitt, a few miles west of Tickhill, are the remnants of another first-floor hall, here carried on a timber rather than a stone ceiling. Three original windows survive, each with a round-headed loop and deep internal splay. The house is thought to have been the home of Richard Fitz Turgis, the co-founder with Richard de Busli, of nearby Roche Abbey in 1147.

In both these cases the hall-house was the home of a lesser baron.

42. P.R.Wilson, Excavations at Burton Agnes Old Manor House, YAJ 60, 1988 pp.5-12

Roger de Stuteville was a younger son of Robert de Stuteville II and therefore a brother of Robert III. His was a cadet branch of the family and, although he had a worthy career as sheriff of Northumberland (1170-85) and castellan of Wark castle (1173), he was a royal servant rather than a member of the first rank of Yorkshire nobility. Richard Fitz Turgis was a lesser landowner overshadowed by the neighbouring honour of Tickhill. Perhaps neither man could afford to build a castle or, more significantly, perhaps their status was not high enough to demand one. Yet this may do injustice to the first-floor hall.

If we make a comparison with Richmond before the construction of its gate-tower then all three sites relied for their principal accommodation upon a stone first-floor hall. True, Richmond's was set within a stone-walled enclosure. Count Alan was lord of a major northern barony - his castle was the centre of government for an extensive area. Stuteville and Fitz Turgis, by contrast, built their manor-houses for themselves and their families to dwell in. Their associated enclosures were defined by timber pallisades and their ancillary buildings were of wood and thatch.

The remains of the halls at Burton Agnes and Hooton Levitt are of the type commonly found in castles of the 12th century (Richmond, Chepstow, Christchurch). The only difference is that they are not found within strongly defended enclosures on strategic sites, so are not found as parts of castles. This may either be because traces of the earth and timber castle have vanished or because, being of a lower social rank, the owners did not set out to build castles. Their principal concern was not with the protection and management of large territories.

B. Burstwick

In Holderness the Aumales had a manor house at Burstwick, first mentioned c.1210 and never called a castle (43). This took over from Skipsea as the caput of the honour, probably because of its better

position, connected to the Humber by waterways. The manor house is normally attributed to Baldwin de Bethune, the second husband of Countess Hawisa, but it is possible that he was upgrading a complex built by her father for there was a park here in the time of William Le Gros (44).

Nothing is left of Burstwick today and so we have to rely upon the information accruing from 1274 onwards, when the manor escheated to the crown. In the 1270's Edward I built two chambers and two chapels here and in 1290 a further chamber, fireplaces, wardrobes, ditches and fishponds. Work continued intermittently but, a point made by H.M.Colvin, is that although Burstwick was one of the most important royal manors in northern England during this first half of the 14th century, the majority of expenditure was upon minor repairs rather than new building (45). It seems therefore that the crown was building upon the work carried out by the Aumales rather than sweeping it away and starting anew. If this was the case then the appearance of the manor house in the mid 14th century will have some relevance to what it may have looked like in the mid-13th:

"The residential apartments were evidently disposed round a courtyard, entered through an inner gate, with a chamber, fitted with a fireplace, above it. There was also an outer gatehouse with a fireplace in it, and next to this was a 'long house' used as a cowshed. Most of the buildings were timber-framed, and many, including both halls and the two knights' chambers, were thatched.....there was a great kitchen and a small kitchen, one of which was next to the inner gate, and wool produced on the estate was stored in 'the stone cellar next to the hall'" (46).

If the majority of the buildings were timber-framed in this period then, either the Aumales did not build in stone here, or else the few stone buildings in use by the Crown were built by them. Note that one of the halls was obviously stone; the phrase 'stone cellar next to the hall' must surely mean the stone cellar 'below' the hall.

44. Ibid p.36

45. HKW 2, pp.904-5

46. Ibid p.905

Fourteenth-century Burstwick was an open-plan manor house, its buildings laid out round a courtyard. Of its halls, perhaps one formed the core of the Aumale complex.

C. Epworth

Little more is known about the manor house belonging to the Mowbrays at Epworth in the Isle of Axholme. In 1975-76 the site, the Vinegarth, was excavated in advance of housing development (47). Like many a Mowbray castle the site was adjacent to that of the Parish Church. It was built as a replacement for Owston castle, destroyed after the rebellion of 1174. The ownership of the manor-house is proved beyond doubt by the discovery in situ of a late-medieval tile floor bearing the Mowbray arms (48).

The stone manorial complex on the site was shown to date from the 14th until the 16th century but the timber precursor took occupation on the site back to the early medieval period. The earliest pottery found was late 11th and 12th century. In general the pottery finds were remarkable for being so diverse, suggesting the peripatetic nature of the Mowbray household. Examples were found from London, Nottingham, York, Lincoln and Doncaster. Unfortunately, the evidence for the timber phase was scant; evidence of an early range of buildings was detected with a green marl-clay floor, above which had been built the stone phase (49).

Historically, the most likely time for the construction of the timber manor-house would have been after the 1174 suppression. Three Mowbray castles are known to have been dismantled and two others are likely to have followed suit. Being out of favour with the King the family would not have been allowed to rebuild their castles and would have had to opt for an unfortified dwelling. Epworth, the largest

47. Colin Hayfield, *Excavations on the Site of the Mowbray Manor House at the Vinegarth, Epworth, Lincolnshire 1975-1976*, *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 19, 1984 pp.5-28

48. *Ibid* p.9, 27

49. *Ibid* p.9

settlement on the Isle of Axholme, was ideally placed for this.

D. Spofforth

Spofforth is a manor house belonging to the Percy family, extending in date from the 12th until the 15th century. The house is unusual in that, depending upon which side you approach, the 15th century great hall appears either at ground floor or first floor level, as the ground drops away dramatically in front of it. The 12th century undercroft is built into the rock beneath the hall. Its roof was rebuilt to carry the predecessor of the present hall in the fourteenth century. East of the house there are traces of a bailey containing earlier buildings. In the 12th century therefore there may have been a fortified manor here; a first-floor stone hall surrounded by defended enclosure.

An extent of the manor of Spofforth, from the Inquisition Post Mortem of Richard and William de Percy in 1250, states that amongst the tasks of the villars and cottars they were to 'carry to the lord's house' (50). Clearly Spofforth is not perceived as a castle in contemporary opinion. It is a strong house but lacks the grandeur and size of mid-13th century castles. Its function may also affect classification - a castle is a 'seat of power' as opposed to a working farm/estate centre. The latter by 1250 is not expected to be fortified.

Perhaps because of their longevity and increasingly dominant role in regional and national politics, the Percies outlived several of their early castles and turned instead to the manorial complex as their preferred mode of accommodation. As well as Spofforth they replaced their first caput at Topcliffe with a manor house, the earthworks of which are still traceable today just to the north-west of the earlier castle.

There are numerous cases where 12th century castles have been replaced by manor houses. At Aughton the Fossard castle stands not

50. William Brown, ed., Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I Vol.1, Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association Record Series 12, 1891 p.66-7

only next to the church but also next to the moated site of its successor, a manor house belonging to the Aske family. Both Brus Danby and Bulmer Sheriff Hutton were replaced by hefty stone manor-castles; not castles in the 12th century sense but certainly powerful structures. Stuteville Cottingham was transformed into a manor house in the 14th century, while at Cropton John Wake erected a half-timbered house within the bailey c.1290-5. An earlier manorial development saw the abandonment of Langthwaite castle within the honour of Tickhill. These were not formerly key estates that had declined in importance, but rather important estates that merited an 'overhaul'. Many manor-houses were built right next door to their predecessors indicating that it was the *structure*, not the site, that was out-moded.

E. Leconfield

In 1086 there were two manors of Leconfield, one held by William Percy and the other by Nigel Fossard. From at least the mid-13th century the latter had been sub-let to the Percies by knight service. Before this however, the Percies had built a manor house near the church of St.Catherine. The church was subordinate to Cherry Burton which only conferred burial rites on Leconfield in 1199. This suggests that the church began its life as a private chapel attached to the manor house, burial rights and fonts being the two main privileges denied to private chapels. This therefore supports an early origin for the manor house. St.Catherine has a blocked windowhead in the west wall of its south aisle which may possibly date to the 11th century. The church was remodelled in the 13th century and fragments of reset late medieval-glass contain a device of the Percies. The manor house seems to have moved from its position near the church in the 14th century to a moated site outside the village, probably due to a lack of space for expansion. This is supported by its prominence in the 16th century when the king visited and it was described as the earl of Northumberland's largest and most stately house in Yorkshire (51).

F. Wharram Percy

The holders of Wharram Percy were the Percies of Bolton Percy who descended from Picot, a Domesday tenant of William de Percy I. They acquired a tenancy-in-chief at Wharram in the 12th century. On the failure of the line in 1367 Wharram Percy reverted to the main line of Percy .

In 1955 a sunken undercroft was discovered that belonged to a major late 12th-century manor house. It was built of rough chalk blocks with sandstone dressings. The undercroft provided the cellar while the main room was at ground floor level. It was clearly un-defended; most defended manor houses comprised ground floor storage and first floor residence. Simple economy might have been the reason; here the chalk was quarried out of the very site on which the house was built as opposed to being brought in from further afield. There was a projecting base for a fireplace as in the Old Hall at Pickering.

This structure represented the solar block of the manor house; built in stone as opposed to the timber used for the attached great hall . Only the foundations for the east wall of the latter survived. The solar is late 12th century, with fine waterleaf capitals and waterholding bases for the supports of the firehood. Later excavation revealed further details about its complex. A deep pit was found nearby and interpreted as a cold store for food. The nearest cesspits were 100ft from the manor house and so, in the absence of a garderobe, the lord had a short walk to the conveniences (52).

Pottery rubbish within the infill of the cellar revealed that the house went out of use in the mid-13th century. A second manor house was then in use to the north of the village but it is not clear whether it replaced the 12th century block or whether it had itself been in existence during the 12th century.

52. Maurice Beresford and John Hurst, *Wharram Percy Deserted Medieval Village*, English Heritage/Batsford 1990 pp.44-7, 77; plate 9, fig. 97

Wharram Percy is interesting because it presents a picture of a completely unfortified manorial complex belonging to a junior branch of a baronial family. This was no occasional residence but a working farm and home, occupied by a family concerned with harvests rather than politics.

As has been seen the manor house could both replace the castle and exist independently. If the site was not moated and early in date it probably represents the home of a family of sub-baronial status, as in the case of Wharram Percy. If it is 13th century and moated, then it is often the successor of an earthwork castle. Leconfield, however, provides the example of one manor-house replacing another. In fact the Percies spoil any chronology applied to the history of castle and manor-house. They prove that unfortified accommodation was an option from the earliest days of the Conquest, despite rank and sometimes despite geography. We may see here a delicate balance in local politics. With estates widely dispersed the Percies, in the earlier middle ages, found themselves 'sharing' regions with families of greater contemporary influence; the lords of Skipton in Craven, the counts of Aumale in Holderness. Perhaps they sometimes chose to build manor-houses rather than castles so as not to present a threat to a neighbouring magnate. Perhaps the famous agreement between the earls of Leicester and Chester during the Anarchy, defining the territory in which they would not build castles, was not so unusual after all; the pecking-order had to be maintained at all times and so the lesser party had to give way. Alternatively, it is quite possible that they built manor-houses where they intended to live and castles where they installed officials (or, equally vice versa). They had yet another manor house at Seamer near Scarborough.

While it is true that from the later 12th century, with the increasing sophistication of fortification, there was little point in a family embarking upon a new castle unless they could afford a Middleham or a

Conisborough, this cannot be said to apply to a family like the Percies who seem to have built castles or manor-houses indiscriminately. They may have abandoned the earthwork castle format sooner than their colleagues, leaving sites like Gisburne to be occupied by bailiffs. Although the dating evidence is absent, it appears in general that their manor-houses are later than their castles; but we are talking in terms of decades rather than centuries. The moated manorial site, normally attributed to the late middle ages, may have begun to appear by 1150.

CASTLES, CHURCHES AND CLIENTS: THE ARCHITECTURAL LINKS

CHAPTER FOUR

The use of architectural parallels between groups of castles and churches is a method that can perhaps be overstated. It is inevitable that certain buildings, for instance Durham Cathedral, will influence a whole generation. This is due to innovations in style and fashion over a wide geographical area rather than to the pioneering work of one man. There is a very thin dividing line between the general effects of architectural development and the dispersal of influence from one particular site. The surviving evidence is crude; there are a whole host of round towers in late 12th/early 13th century England, Wales, France and Ireland with very little physical evidence to suggest that one particular tower derived from one rather than another of its contemporaries; they are as much 'dissimilar as similar' (1). What we have therefore is a general pattern of influence and counter-influence ranging across the Anglo-French realms.

Yet, such arguments can be taken further. The nobility of Norman England was a small group, everyone knew everyone else, but it can be demonstrated that particular social cliques existed; for example, the Lacy/Marshall/De Burgh circle or the De Beaumont group during the civil war (2). In suggesting that certain architectural ties can be discernible in their buildings, although in no way proven, we are using the evidence for social connections, careers, patronage and the pattern of landholding, following a road that seems to suggest that the

1. T.E.McNeill, *The Great Towers of Early Irish Castles*, Anglo-Norman Studies XII, ed. M.Chibnall, Boydell 1990 p.116. The comment is made of Nenagh and Pembroke.

2. R.H.C.Davis, *King Stephen*, 3rd edition, Longman 1990 pp.27-8; D.Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century*, CUP 1986; See above p.118

close colleagues and relatives of one baron may have influenced the buildings he built perhaps as much as they did the monasteries he patronised.

But of course, none of these theoretical links are worth anything without some evidence of connections between sites at the basic construction level.

1. Craftsmen

To maintain their castles and patronise their churches wealthy lords retained craftsmen on their permanent staff. Occasionally we hear of carpenters and masons being loaned to monastic houses (3). For instance, when the west range of Skenfrith castle was excavated twelve different mason's marks were detected. Several of these were identical to contemporary marks found at Llantony Priory (4). We will look later at the design links between Skenfrith and Lacy castles in Herefordshire and Ireland (5). The mason's marks are an independent indication of the close ties between the Lacy and De Burgh families. But only rarely are individual craftsmen mentioned in the sources. Domesday Book tells us that Count Robert of Mortain subinfeudated a hide at Berkhamstead to his 'fossarius'; presumably this was the supervisor of the castle-works (6).

In connection with Bowes Castle we know of Torfin son of Robert, Wallef de Bereford and Warin de Scargill who, in the 1170's, played some part in the rebuilding/completion of the castle (7). They may have been little more than inspectors, but Scargill in particular was a free tenant of the honour, endowed with land at Scargill and at Gilmonby near Bowes. In Gilmonby Scargill held land of St.Mary's Abbey York, for the service of finding lodgings for the monks should they venture that

3. F.J.E.Raby and P.K.Baillie Reynolds, *Castle Acre Priory*, 2nd edition, HMSO 1952 p.4

4. John R.Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, Leicester University Press 1990 p.168

5. See pp. 118-128

6. DB 12, 15.1; Brian Golding, *Robert of Mortain*, ANS 1990 p.134

7. Pipe Roll 18Henry II p.55

way (8). This suggests that he 'dealt' with property in some way. His son was also a tenant of the honour of Richmond - this was no itinerant employee (9). In 1187 Osbert son of Fulk de Gilling was one of two surveyors working at Bowes (10). Just like Warin de Scargill, Osbert was a tenant both of the honour of Richmond and of St.Mary's Abbey, York (11). His sister Alice gave two bovates of land in Bowes to St.Peter's Hospital, York (12).

There is evidence that Henry de Lacy of Pontefract retained the master mason Oliver de Stainefield in his service in the early 14th century. Stainefield was attached to the staff of Beverley Minster (he may have designed the nave built from 1308 onwards) (13). He was given leave by the Chapter, at the request of Henry de Lacy, and in June 1305 his leave was extended, provided he pay one mark a year to the fabric fund of Beverley until his return (14). Stainefield may have worked at Denbigh, copying the style of Walter of Hereford (designer of Caernarvon) whom he may have met whilst Walter was working in Hull in the 1290's. Firmer evidence connects him with Pontefract where in 1306 the constable bears his name. In 1311 an Oliver de Stainefield is recorded as a Lacy tenant in Whalley, only two miles from Clitheroe (15). The occurrence of the same name in connection with these sites cannot be a coincidence. It would be convenient for Lacy to create Stainesfield constable of Pontefract at a time when the role of the constable had become less concerned with deputising duties and more confined to the running of a single fortification or estate. This secured him the services of a master mason at a time when Edward I's building campaigns in Wales and Scotland were commandeering large numbers

8. EYC 4, Part 1 no.107, p.139

9. Pipe Roll 21 Henry II p.6

10. Pipe Roll 33 Henry II p.82

11. Red Book of the Exchequer p.588; EYC4, Part 1 p.117

12. EYC 4, Part 1 p.131

13. John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550*, 2nd edition, Alan Sutton 1984 p.282

14. *Ibid* p.282

15. John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: Supplement to the revised edition of 1984*, Pinhoms, Hulverstone Manor, I.O.W 1987 pp.9-10

of craftsmen. A home at Whalley was an added incentive for Stainefield to stay in the earl's service, as well as placing him conveniently close to an important castle and a Cistercian abbey of Lacy patronage (16).

The honour of Skipton had an undertenancy held by the Mason family. In 1287 Henry the Mason held two carucates of Skipton Castle. He was possibly a descendant of Robert the Mason who witnessed a charter of William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly c.1120, one of Cecily c.1131-40 and one of Alice de Rumilly c.1155-87 (though by this time we may have a second Robert) (17) . It seems likely that this was a family of craftsmen retained in the service of the Rumilly lords.

Due to the greater pace of building within the church it made sense for the greater cathedrals and monasteries to retain craftsmen. The records of Guisborough Priory record dynasties of local masons and carpenters permanently employed. They owned property in Guisborough and gave money to the fabric fund which ensured their employment (18). The Chronicles of Melsa Abbey record the close, if not friendly, relationship between William of Aumale and a Cistercian monk from Fountains Abbey called Adam. Adam supervised the construction of two Aumale foundations; the Cistercian abbey of Vaudey in Lincolnshire and that of Melsa in Holderness (19). He had also worked at Kirkstead and Woburn and was an experienced man in his field. What this field was it is hard to tell. His task may have been solely to ensure that buildings were erected in accordance with Cistercian practice. Alternatively, he may have been a master mason.

In his youth William had taken a crusading vow which he had never fulfilled and , according to the chronicler of Melsa, he told Adam of his

16. P.A.Lyons, Two "Compti" of the Lancashire and Cheshire Manors of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, AD1296, 1305, The Chetham Society 112, 1884 p.XXVII

17. EYC 3; The Mason fee pp.283-4. See no.2 p.54 (Roberto cementario), no.5 p.56 (Robertus cementarius), no.17 p.65 (Roberto Macun), no.22 p.70 (Roberto cementario) and no.27 p.74 (Roberto cementario et luone filio ejus) - the latter suggesting a hereditary craft.

18. R.Gilyard-Beer, Guisborough Priory, HMSO 1984 pp.6-7

19. Peter Fergusson, The First Architecture of the Cistercians in England and the work of Abbot Adam of Meaux, JBAA 136, 1983 pp.74-86

growing unease . Adam's remedy was to secure a dispensation from the Cistercian Pope Eugenius III (1145-53) stating that the count's obligation was removed provided he found a new abbey. In gratitude William asked Adam to chose the site. The monk, instead of choosing the usual waste land allotted to his order by most noblemen, settled on a site 'well planted with woods and orchards, surrounded with rivers and waters, and favoured with rich soil' (20). The count prevaricated; he had already started to enclose this area for a park. Adam however would not succumb to bribes and so the foundation was achieved. The first timber buildings were constructed by William, presumably under the guidance of the Cistercian monk. Adam was not a lay-brother, in fact he became the first Abbot of Melsa.

Noblemen built monasteries for the same reasons that they built castles - as symbols of their wealth and position. It is therefore interesting to note that many skilled monks did not confine their talents solely to the church. In 1280 'Brother Henry' was the chief architect at Corfe Castle. He was probably a lay brother at the nearby Cistercian abbey of Bindon. In 1304 Brother Thomas Le Plummer (!) of Combermere Abbey was employed to remove lead from the keep of Chester Castle and to recast it. In 1335 Brother William of St. Robert's was hired to carve stone for a royal lodge. When a man founded an abbey he was making contact with a community of skilled monks who could serve him in a secular field, as well as pray for his soul. Perhaps Adam of Fountains advised William le Gros on his castles as well as his abbeys (21)?

2. Derivatives

It is seldom that comprehensive evidence for continuity of craftsmen presents itself. One well-known late-medieval example is the 'Berkeley arch', a foliated arch that appears throughout Berkeley Castle

20. *Chronica Monasterii De Melsa* 1, ed. E.A.Bond, RS London 1866, p.76; B.D.Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Twelfth Century*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago 1968 pp.51-3

21. L.F.Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1952 p.4

in Gloucestershire, in the abbey church of St. Augustine, Bristol (now the cathedral) and in St. Mary Redcliffe's church, Bristol - both churches enjoying rebuilding programmes financed by the Berkeley family in the 14th century. The distinctive similarities indicate that the same designer or workshop was involved with all three sites (22).

There do survive a few contracts indicating the features of one building that were to be copied in another. In 1243 Henry III ordered the Justiciar and Treasurer of Ireland to build a hall in Dublin Castle 'with windows and casements in the style of the hall of Canterbury which they have seen often enough' (or 'when they have had a good look at it'). Unfortunately, Henry III may be a special case as he seems to have displayed a greater than normal interest in architecture. A later contract for work at Durham in 1398 specifies that the masonry should be at least as good as that of the Constable Tower in Brauncepeeth Castle, 'which tower, indeed, shall be the model for this work' (23).

The castle was one of the strongest links between baronial families; the mechanism by which they controlled their estates and extended their 'spheres of influence'. The format chosen for castles depended upon function, fashion, and familiarity with the type of castle neighbours were building. Men learned of the latest architectural innovations by travel, both overseas and to southern England, and in the short term by visiting friends in northern England. They learned from the work of their predecessors and they developed ideas noted while on campaign. In the words of Jeremy Knight: "Innovation in castle-building in a particular area often came about when a magnate whose military career had been passed in one area of the western world found himself transferred by the wheel of fortune, with the resources and motive to

22. The 14th century 'great hall' at Berkeley has foliated 'Berkeley' rear arches to its windows. The north end of the hall has outer and inner polygonal 'Berkeley' arches in its vaulted porch while the 3 service doors also each have a 'Berkeley' arch. See P.A. Faulkner, *Berkeley Castle*, Arch.J. 122, 1965 pp.197-200. See also R.K. Morris, *The Architecture of the Earls of Warwick in England in the 14th century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium* ed. W.M. Ormrod, The Boydell Press 1986 pp.161-174

23. L.F. Salzman, *op.cit.* p.23

build, to another area" (24). Such men included the William Marshall's, elder and younger, Hubert de Burgh and the Lacies, Hugh II and his sons Walter II and Hugh III, all landholders in the Welsh marches and Ireland.

A. The Longtown/Greencastle Cycle

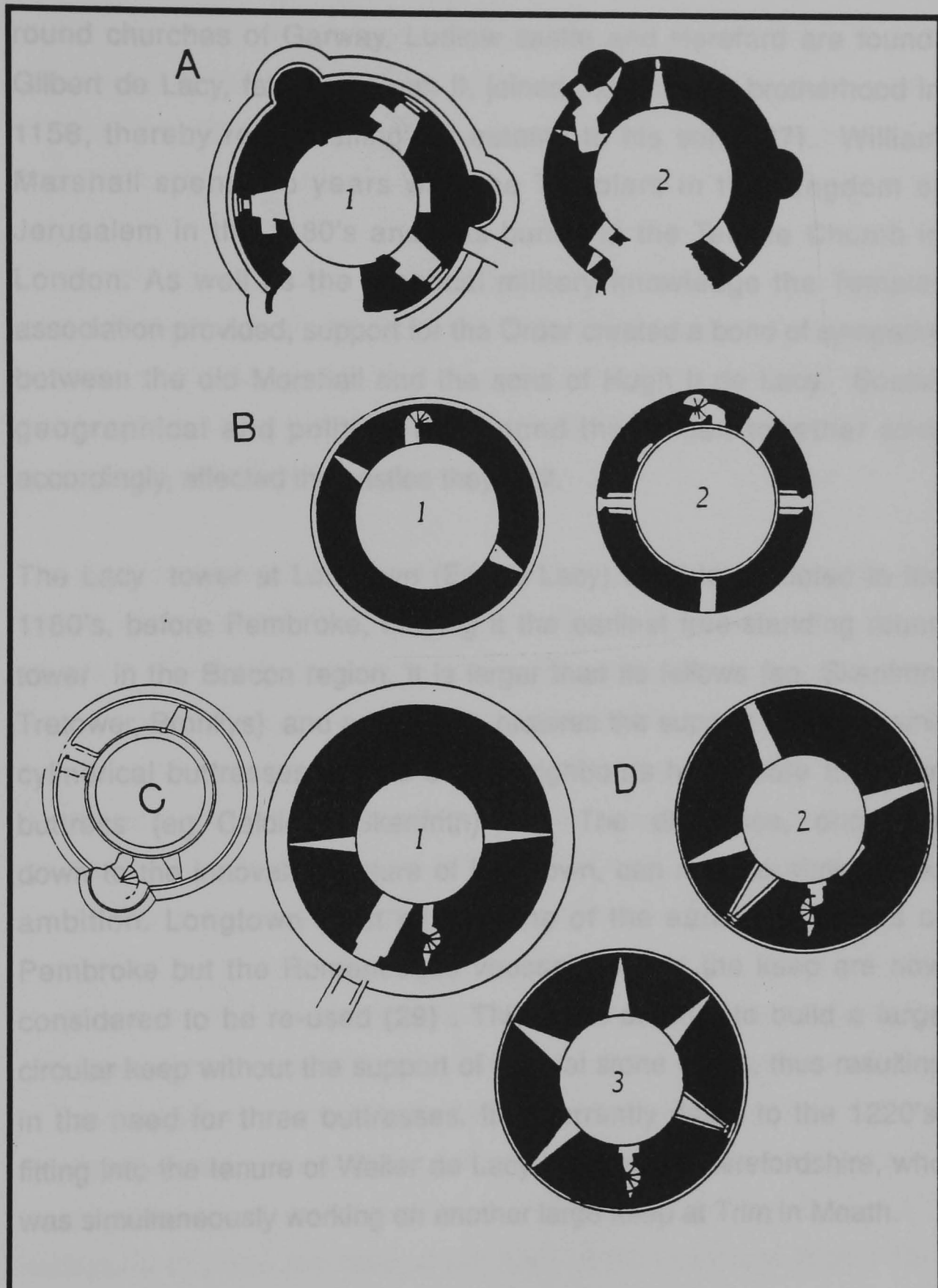
The late-12th, early 13th-century round donjon of Pembroke is currently considered to be the earliest of its type in the Welsh marches. Its origins are to be found in France. The three-storey format over an unlit basement, first-floor entry and external marking of the interior floors, is found at Laval, Lillebonne and Chinon. The key difference lies in the vaulting; Pembroke has a single stone vault, itself unique among its Welsh contemporaries, whereas French towers were invariably vaulted throughout.

Pembroke formed the prototype for many of the castles erected in early 13th century Wales, Herefordshire and Ireland. William Marshall the Elder, earl of Leinster, was the social leader of a group of barons whose careers took similar turns. Hubert de Burgh, who rebuilt Skenfrith castle, was the brother of William, first earl of Connacht. Hubert himself played a major part alongside Marshall in the repulse of the French invasion of 1216. Both were present at the siege of Dover castle. Hugh de Lacy II held the earldom of Meath, which passed to his son Walter, while his second son Hugh III gained control of Ulster. Stephen d'Evreux, Marshall's cousin and under-bailiff in Leinster, came from a major Lacy tenant family (25). The Marshall and the Lacies acted in consort in the early 1200's to oust Meilyr Fitz Henry, King John's justiciar in Ireland (26). Patronage of the Knights Templar further connected the families; it is within the de Lacy honour that the three

24. Jeremy F.Knight, *The road to Harlech:aspects of some early thirteenth-century Welsh castles*, in John.R.Kenyon & Richard Avent, *Castles in Wales and the Marches:Essays in Honour of D.J.Cathcart King*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1987 p.75

25. David Crouch, *William Marshall:Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire 1147-1219*, Longman 1990 p.99

26. *Ibid* pp.96-7



Scale : 8mm = 12ft. 0 12 24 36 48ft

Figure 14: The Longtown/Greencastle Cycle

- A. Longtown
- B. Dundrum
- C. Skenfrith
- D. Pembroke

A, B, and D plans after Derek Renn, *Norman Castle in Britain*, Second Edition, John Baker 1973. Plan C from D.F.Renn, *The Round Keeps of the Brecon Region*, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 60, 1961

round churches of Garway, Ludlow castle and Hereford are found. Gilbert de Lacy, father of Hugh II, joined the Templar brotherhood in 1158, thereby relinquishing his estates to his son (27). William Marshall spent two years with the Templars in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 1180's and was buried in the Temple Church in London. As well as the practical military knowledge the Templar association provided, support for the Order created a bond of sympathy between the old Marshall and the sons of Hugh II de Lacy. Social, geographical and political ties bound these men together and, accordingly, affected the castles they built.

The Lacy tower at Longtown (Ewyas Lacy) used to be dated to the 1180's, before Pembroke, making it the earliest free-standing round tower in the Brecon region. It is larger than its fellows (eg. Skenfrith, Tretower, Bronllys) and as a result requires the support of three semi-cylindrical buttresses. None of its neighbours have more than one buttress (eg. Caldicott, Skenfrith) (28). The difference, once put down to the innovative nature of Longtown, can now be attributed to ambition. Longtown must still be one of the earliest imitators of Pembroke but the Romanesque voussoirs within the keep are now considered to be re-used (29). This is an attempt to build a large circular keep without the support of internal stone vaults, thus resulting in the need for three buttresses. It is currently dated to the 1220's, fitting into the tenure of Walter de Lacy II, sheriff of Herefordshire, who was simultaneously working on another large keep at Trim in Meath.

The Longtown keep stands on a contemporary motte, is built of shaly sandstone rubble and has a plinth that batters twice, each with a chamfered string-course. The buttresses are placed symmetrically, one backing a fireplace recess, one flanking a corbelled-out latrine and

27. Wightman 1966 pp.188-9

28. D.F.Renn, The Round Keeps of the Brecon Region, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 60, 1961 pp.129-143

29. J.K.Knight, Usk Castle and its affinities, in M.R.Apted et al, eds., *Ancient Monuments and their interpretation: essays presented to A.J.Taylor*, Chichester 1977, pp.139-54

containing a spiral staircase. At the upper level there are beam holes for an external timber gallery. The walls are 15ft. thick, giving an external diameter of only 45ft. The entrance is on the first floor via a stone staircase (30).

Longtown possesses a strong 13th century gatehouse with 2 D-shaped towers, probably built simultaneously with the keep. This protects a weaker curtain wall. Tower and gatehouse alike secure a motte and 2 baileys of standard 12th century format. A third bailey encloses the village of Longtown.

The main problem with the latest revision of the Longtown dates is the format of the castle. This is so obviously 12th century, motte, inner square bailey, outer rectangular bailey, that it is difficult to reconcile it with the archaeological evidence that the motte is nothing more than a contemporary support for the keep. The Lacy castle at Lower Ponthendre, three-quarters of a mile from Longtown, is perhaps the predecessor of the latter. The 1187 Pipe Roll mentions 'Newcastle' and 'Ewyas Lacy', emphasising that two castles existed by this date (31).

Hugh II was killed in Ireland the previous year, leaving his heir a minor, and it is possible that this halted work on the castle, as indeed it did at Trim for different reasons. Perhaps the first two baileys precede the Pembroke keep. When work continued the new styles were adopted where possible, but the confines of the existing baileys made it necessary to place the keep at the apex of the inner one in true 12th century fashion.

In 1211, according to the Irish pipe rolls, the Lacies built a 'magne turris' at Dundrum in County Down (32). This is another round tower, at

30. M. Salter, *The Castles of Herefordshire & Worcestershire*, Folly Publications 1989 pp.32-3

31. Pipe Roll 33 Henry II 1186-1187, *The Pipe Roll Society*, London 1915 p.214; "et in custodia castelli de Ewias et Novi Castelli et castelli de Wibelay".

32. T.E.McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster: The History and Archaeology of an Irish Barony 1177-1400*, John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh 1980 p.73

least of 3 storeys with first floor entry. It has no buttresses. Dundrum's keep is placed not at the apex of the inner bailey as at Longtown, where it protects one side of the castle, but wholly within a contemporary multangular curtain wall (33). It must be later than Longtown and thus places the probable origin of the latter in the first decade of the 13th century. The original entrance is through a simple 'hole in the wall' but, in the 1260's, an impressive gatehouse was added with one externally-projecting D-shaped tower to enfilade the line of approach. Dundrum represents a progression from Longtown in that its round tower is defended by the curtain wall rather than being itself an integral part of the perimeter defences.

Dundrum derives strongly from Pembroke (34). The latter's round tower, dating from c. 1190, is similarly built within the inner bailey, although it is placed slightly closer to the curtain than Dundrum. Its defences consist of 2 contemporary salient towers, the Horseshoe gate and the Dungeon tower, on the inner curtain. The outer ward has fully circular mural towers flanking straight sections of curtain whereas the Dundrum curtains are multangular; the latter are only 4ft. thick and so on first appearances weak. However, there is evidence for a timber-roofed passage running along the top of the south-west curtain (35).

The Dundrum gatehouse cuts off the inner from the outer bailey whereas the Pembroke great gatehouse is at the SE corner of the outer bailey; like Dundrum it has a single D-shaped tower enfilading the exterior of the castle. Pembroke is the more impressive of the two but, it is significant that the latter has straight stretches of curtain flanked by round towers, whereas Dundrum has a multi-faceted curtain with fighting platforms that remove the need for mural towers. The extra

33. For descriptions of Dundrum see T.B.Barry, *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, Routledge UP 1988 pp.59-61; T.E.McNeill, *op.cit.* pp.7-9; *An Archaeological Survey of County Down*, HMSO 1966, pp.207-211, Fig.133

34. D.J.Cathcart King, *Pembroke Castle*, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 127, 1978 pp.75-121; D.J.Cathcart King, *Pembroke Castle: Derivations and Relationships of the domed vault of the donjon, and of the Horseshoe gate*, *Chateau Gaillard* 8, 1976 pp.159-169

35. T.E.McNeill, *op.cit.* p.7

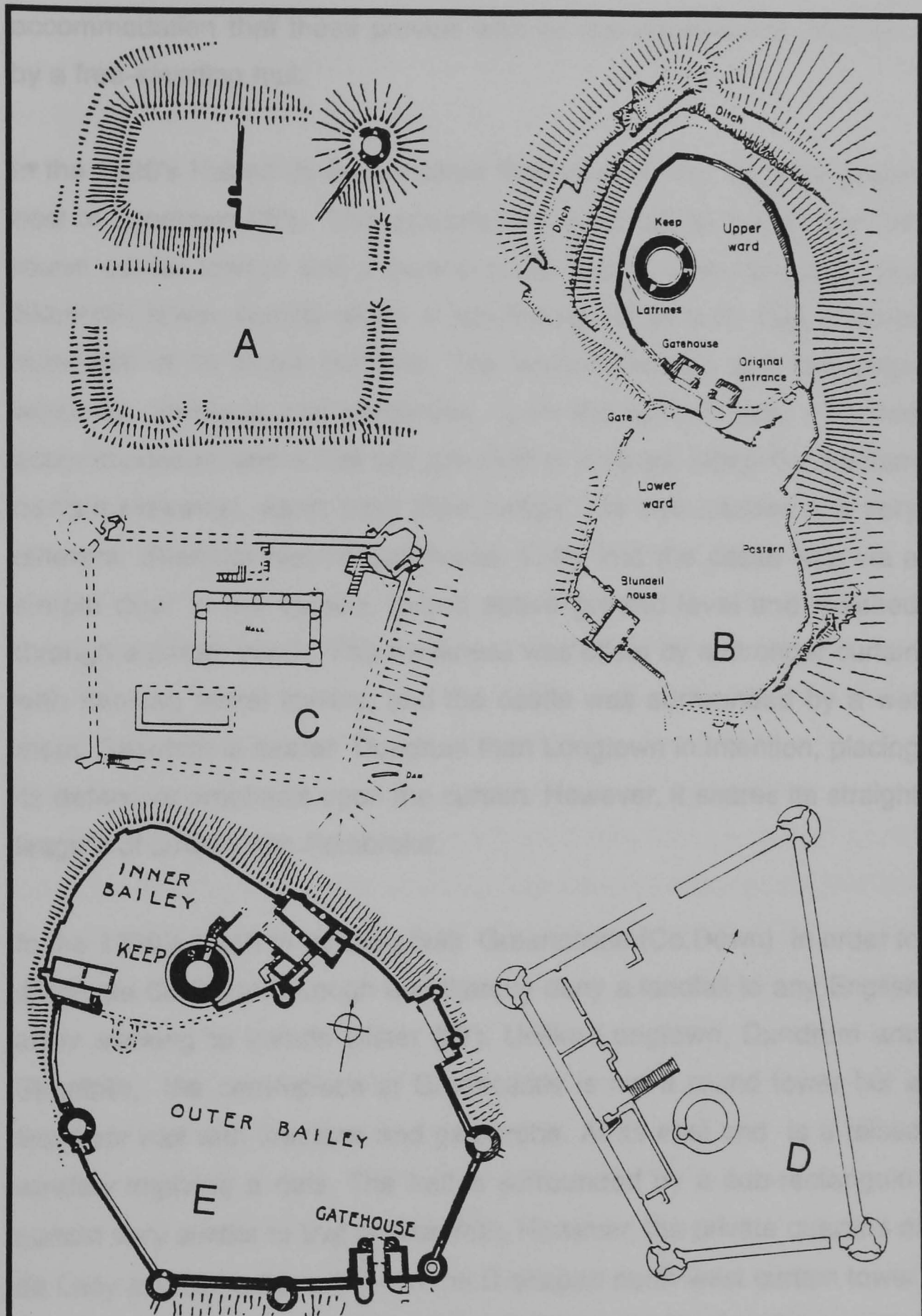


Figure 15: The Longtown/Greencastle Cycle

A. Longtown Castle (after Renn, 1973)

B. Dundrum Castle (after T.B. Barry, *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, Methuen 1987)

C. Greencastle (after T.E. McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, John Donald 1980)

D. Skenfrith Castle (after McNeill, 1980)

E. Pembroke Castle (after Sidney Toy, *Castles: Their Construction and History*, Dover Publications 1985, reprint of the 1939 edition)

accommodation that these provide was compensated for at Dundrum by a free-standing hall.

In the 1220's Hubert de Burgh rebuilt Skenfrith Castle , 12 miles south-east of Longtown (36). This consists of a quadrilateral curtain with 3/4 round corner towers and a central round keep . Like Longtown, the Skenfrith tower stands within a supporting motte and has a spiral staircase in its single buttress. The lord's chamber, with two large windows, fireplace and garderobe, is on the second floor . Further accommodation and a hall are provided in a range along the western curtain. However, apart from their keeps, the two castles are very different. Skenfrith has no gatehouse. Entry into the castle was via a simple door in the curtain, raised above ground level and reached through a timber porch. This weakness was offset by a stronger curtain with flanking mural towers, and the castle was surrounded by a wet moat. Skenfrith is nearer Dundrum than Longtown in intention, placing its defensive emphasis upon the curtain. However, it shares its straight lengths of curtain with Pembroke.

In the 1230's Hugh III de Lacy built Greencastle (Co.Down) in order to dominate Carlingford Lough and thereby deny a landfall to any English army seeking to invade Ulster (37). Unlike Longtown, Dundrum and Skenfrith, the centrepiece at Greencastle is not a round tower but a first-floor hall with fireplace and garderobe. At its east end is a raised window implying a dais. The hall is surrounded by a sub-rectangular curtain very similar to that at Skenfrith. However, the private quarters of de Lacy appear to have been in the D-shaped north-west curtain tower, linked to the hall by a former corridor. It had en-suite chambers on two floors (38). The functions of the keep have been sub-divided; the lord sleeps in a mural tower and works in the hall. Once the round tower was

36. See David Robinson, *Heritage in Wales*, Queen Anne Press 1989 pp.127-8

37. T.E.McNeill, *op.cit.* pp.23-27; 'Grim Fortress or picturesque ruin? Greencastle, Co.Down, in A.Hamlin and C.Lynn, eds., *Pieces of the past: archaeological excavations by the Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland 1970-1986*, HMSO 1988, pp.66-9

38. T.E.McNeill, *op.cit.* p.24

taken out of the circuit of defence it was a short step to returning to the spacious rectangular format. The first floor at Dundrum had a fine fireplace, and handsome windows with window seats, but the Greencastle hall version, built twenty years later, was far more comfortable.

Like Skenfrith, Greencastle has no gatehouse. It relies instead upon a rock-cut ditch outside its curtain.

The fifty years separating the first phase of Longtown from Greencastle, the work of Hugh de Lacy II and his sons, can be seen as a clear progression in military architecture with Pembroke providing the inspiration and Dundrum and Skenfrith sitting at various in-between stages. Longtown would have been a motte and bailey had not new developments prompted the adoption of a new style of donjon. Pembroke, Dundrum and Skenfrith retained the great tower as a fortified residential suite, but deployed their curtain walls in a new manner. Pembroke marks the conception of the form; a perfect round tower inspired by the castles of Philip Augustus. Its closest affinities are with other Marshall work; the mural towers at Chepstow, Cilgerran and Caerleon, which variously duplicate the offsets, string-courses and batter (39). Greencastle abandoned the round tower in favour of a central hall, but followed the Skenfrith model of curtain deployment. The Pembroke and Dundrum gatehouses hint at the eventual outcome, when residential accommodation in keepless enclosures would be moved to the forefront of the castle in the form of a heavily defended gatehouse. The principles of castle development 1180-1250 can largely be told through these five sites and three families. They were based in South Wales and the Marches but had extensive estates in Ireland, travelled abroad (Hugh de Lacy III participated in the

39. Jeremy K. Knight, *The road to Harlech: aspects of some early thirteenth-century Welsh castles*, in *Castles in Wales and the Marches: Essays in Honour of D.J. Cathcart King*, ed. John R. Kenyon and Richard Avent, Cardiff, University of Wales Press 1987 pp.75-88. This article expounds similar ideas to those expressed above but casts the net wider. See also Appendix 11 where the Honour of Richmond is considered in the same way.

Albigensian Crusade) and were in frequent contact with each other.

We should also expect to find similarities between the castles of lord and tenant. A good example of this is the resemblance between the Lacy castles of Weobley and Dunderum and their subinfeudated castle at Lyonshall in Herefordshire.

B. The Weobley/Lyonshall/Dunderum Cycle

Weobley Castle, the first caput of the Lacy family in Herefordshire, is a substantial earthwork with significant stone remains and evidence of structures within its ringwork. This offers a variety of interpretations (40). It is possible that in its first phase it was a motte and bailey. The area between the counterscarp bank and the ringwork bank is potentially large enough for a small bailey, particularly if the counterscarp bank has been subsequently enlarged. There is evidence for a platform within this area, although it may simply represent an internal collapse of the bank.

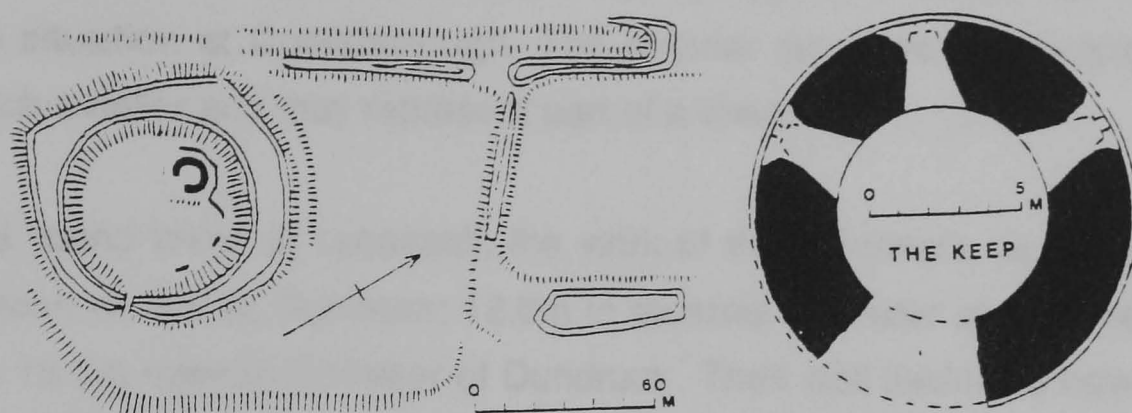
Two partially stone structures can be detected within the ringwork; one, rectangular in shape, is large enough to represent a hall. The interior of the ringwork may have been extremely cramped, even more so than at Tretower, as we have at least two structures here to deal with.

The plan of Weobley bears a striking resemblance to the d'Evreux castle at Lyonshall (41). The d'Evreux's were an important Lacy tenant family, related also to the Marshalls. Lyonshall had been alienated from the Lacy demesne, at the latest by 1188 when it is mentioned in the Pipe Roll (42). The earliest phases of the castle may therefore be the work of the Lacies. Like Weobley it is a ringwork and bailey. Both consist of a number of irregular enclosures with the focal point being surrounded by several lines of defence. Within both ringworks were

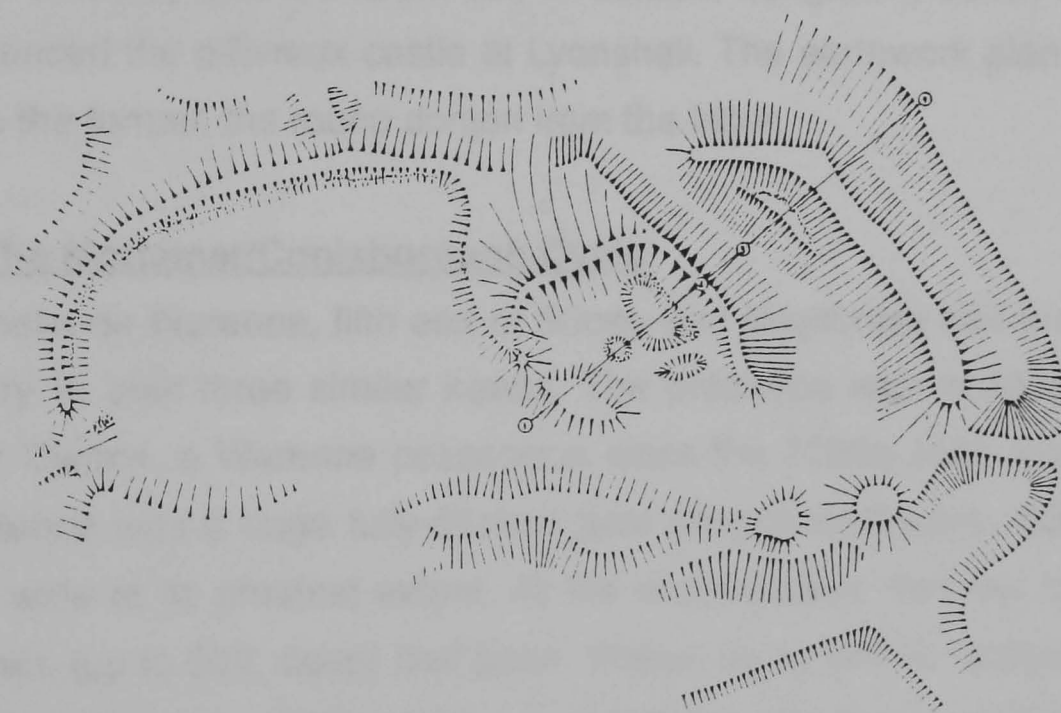
40. See Appendix Thirteen for a fuller account.

41. Mike Salter, *The Castles of Herefordshire and Worcestershire*, Folly Publications 1989 p.34

42. Pipe Roll 34 Henry II p.214



Lyonshall



Weobley

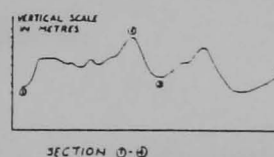


Figure 16: Weobley and Lyonshall

Weobley Plan from original survey discussed in Appendix Thirteen
 Lyonshall Plan from Mike Salter, *The Castles of Herefordshire and
 Worcestershire*, Folly Publications 1989

circular structures; that at Lyonshall survives to reveal a round tower on the model of Dundrum surrounded by a polygonal chemise not unlike the situation at Conisborough. The circular structure at Weobley is much smaller and may represent part of a chapel.

The round tower at Lyonshall, the work of the d'Evreux's, is a smaller version of that at Dundrum; 12.6m in external diameter as opposed to the 15.3m internal diameter of Dundrum. Their wall thickness however is similar; 2.8 m at Lyonshall to approximately 2.9 m at Dundrum (43). Both have splayed openings at basement level. Unfortunately the upper floors do not survive at Lyonshall and so the comparison can go no further.

Both Weobley and Dundrum (or, in default, Longtown) seem to have influenced the d'Evreux castle at Lyonshall. The earthwork plan comes from the former, the round donjon from the latter.

C. The Mortemer/Conisborough Cycle

Hamelin de Warenne, fifth earl of Surrey and illegitimate half-brother of Henry II, built three similar keeps. The prototype was at Mortemer, near Dieppe, a Warenne possession since the 1050's (44). Already in existence was a huge fully-ditched pear-shaped earthwork, 500ft. long and wide at its greatest extent. At the north-eastern end soil from the ditches (up to 50ft. deep) had been thrown up to form a subtriangular platform 300ft. by 200ft. At the apex of this area was a small motte upon which, in the 1160's and 1170's, Hamelin built the tower upon which the keep at Conisborough would be based.

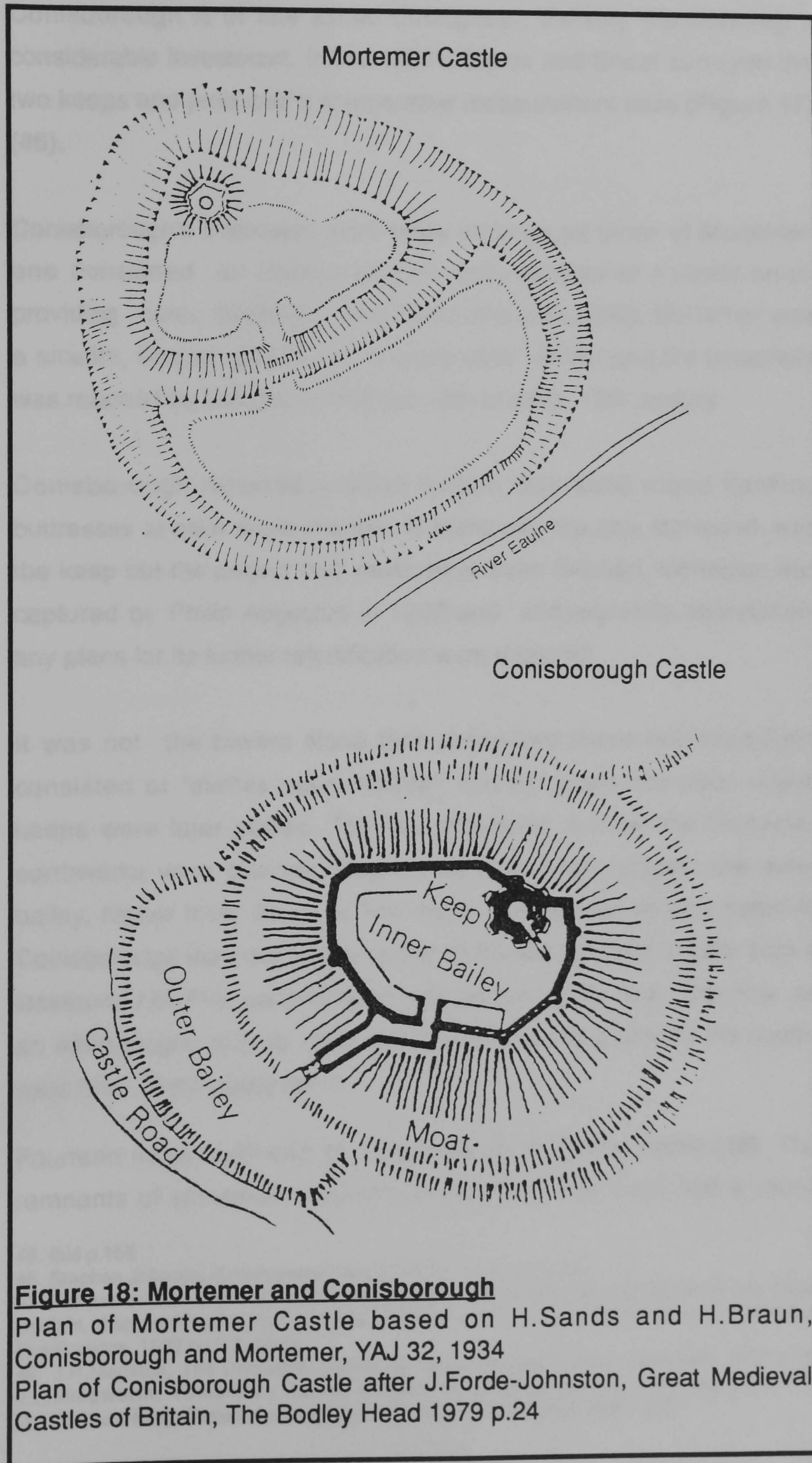
Both Mortemer and Conisborough possess cylindrical towers with six equally spaced semi-hexagonal buttresses. With their many angles, these negate the military benefits of the round tower and so their purpose must be aesthetic. Mortemer is built of local flint rubble whilst

43. An Archaeological Survey of County Down, ed. E.M.Jope, HMSO Belfast 1966 pp.209-10

44. H.Sands and H.Braun, Conisborough and Mortemer, YAJ 32, 1934 pp.146-59

Figure 17. Comparative Dimensions of the keeps at Conisborough and Mortemer, after H.Sands and H.Braun, 1934

<u>In Feet</u>	<u>Conisborough</u>	<u>Mortemer</u>
Height from Ground	90' (4 storeys remain)	40' (2 storeys remain)
Exterior Diameter at Entrance Floor Level	52'	36'
Internal Diameter at Entrance Floor Level	22'	20'
Wall Thickness at Entrance Floor Level	15'	8'
Width of Buttress at point where it joins wall	15"5'	6'
Projection of Buttress at Entrance Floor Level	8'	4'
Width of Buttress Face	9'	3'
Diameter of tower including buttresses	68'	44'
Plinth projection	6'5"	1'5" (?)
Number of buttresses	6	6



Conisborough is of fine ashlar throughout, thereby representing a considerable investment. In the 1930's Sands and Braun surveyed the two keeps and produced a comparative measurement table (**Figure 17**) (**45**).

Conisborough's buttresses were twice as large as those of Mortemer; one contained an oratory and all were utilised at summit level, providing oven, dovecote, water-tanks and stairs (**46**). Mortemer was a smaller, simpler version; all its floors were timber and the basement was reached by trapdoor. In the late 12th or early 13th century

Conisborough received a stone curtain with solid round flanking buttresses at each angle change. At Mortemer, the only stonework was the keep but the project may never have been finished. Mortemer was captured by Philip Augustus in 1202 and subsequently abandoned; any plans for its further refortification were dropped.

It was not the towers alone that connected these two sites. Both consisted of "mottes upon mottes", two-tier platforms upon which keeps were later placed. The key difference is that the Mortemer earthworks were planned integrally as three rising stages; low outer bailey, higher inner bailey or first motte and highest second motte. At Conisborough the inner bailey or first motte was scarped initially from a limestone hill. The second motte was placed upon this, and only as an afterthought, was an outer bailey added, curving around the south-west flank of the castle (**47**).

Fourteen miles north-east of Conisborough is Thorne castle (**48**). The remnants of stonework upon the motte show that it too had a round

45. *Ibid* p.156

46. Stephen Johnson, *Conisborough Castle*, HMSO 1984 pp.17-18

47. For further discussion of the relationship between Conisborough and Mortemer see Sarah Speight, *Warrenne Castles: Their place in the Social and Architectural Development of Medieval Fortifications*, 1989 pp.5-7, 14-15

48. J.R.Magilton, *The Doncaster District: An Archaeological Survey*, Doncaster 1977 p.73; J.L.Illingworth, *Yorkshire's Ruined Castles*, S.R.Publishers Ltd, 1970 reprint p.132; D.J.Cathcart-King, *Castellarium Anglicanum* 2, Kraus International 1983 p.527

tower, this time with three equally spaced rectangular buttresses. Thorne is an estate castle rather than an honorial caput and is thus of a simpler, cheaper format. There is internal evidence from the keep at Conisborough that Hamelin was in financial difficulty and forced to cut back on some of his more ambitious plans. The first floor fireplace hood and lintel, and the round headed doors, were designed for flat rather than circular surfaces as they do not fit the interior curve correctly. The upper storeys reveal uneven stone blocks and poorer jointing. Perhaps the original intention was for the higher floors to be multangular, and thus suitable for a groined vault (49). Financial considerations may therefore have dictated that the keep at Thorne, though circular, had only three buttresses and these rectangular.

The Thorne earthworks are in two stages only with a clear delineation between motte and bailey; there is no superimposed 'motte upon motte' as there is at Conisborough and Mortemer. It may have been more akin to Orford, built by Hamelin's brother Henry II in the 1160's, than to Conisborough and this could mean it even pre-dated the latter. Hamelin must have received constant inspiration from the castle-building of his royal brother. The plan of Conisborough is very similar to that of Henry's castle at Neaufles which has a round tower (50). Yet, there is a 'typical' type of Warenne castle; a round tower placed upon a motte as at Lewes, Mortemer, Conisborough and Sandal. All share a basic scheme but their detail is different. Most are established earthwork castles before refortification in stone commences.

3. Artistic Expression in Castles and Churches

It is not only large-scale planning details that link castles together. The minutiae of sculpture and painting is even more telling, implying as it does intimate contact. Such contacts can be extended also to the church. Norman lords cared deeply for the artistic merit of churches, thus we see so many Saxon churches being replaced. Occasionally

49. Sarah Speight, *op.cit.* p. 15

50. For a plan of Neaufles see Francois Matarasso, *The English Castle*, Cassell 1993 p.82

they gave their lives for the church : Walter I de Lacy of Weobley (d.1085) fell from the scaffolding and was mortally wounded as he supervised the construction of St.Guthlac's in Hereford (51).

Although there is evidence for craftsmen retained in honorial service much of the finer work decorating castles and churches was created by travelling groups of craftsmen. The Herefordshire school of sculpture (mid-12th century) was patronised by the Lacies of Castle Frome and by Hugh de Mortimer of Wigmore (52). Near Lewes in Sussex are five 12th century churches with related schemes of wall-painting (53). The five churches, Clayton, Plumpton, Westmeston, Coombes and Hardham, are small and simple with rectangular nave and chancel. Their frescoes are characterised by the use of cheap, locally-obtained pigments; red and yellow ochres, lime white and carbon black. Stylised towers are used to separate subjects or to close them, as in the Bayeaux Tapestry. The style is c.1100 and of such quality that it seems likely that a wealthy patron was involved, perhaps even William de Warenne II or III. The first Warenne's cousin, Roger de Montgomery, lord of Arundel, is recorded as having paid for a series of paintings in the refectory at Cluny (54).

Why did Norman lords care so deeply for the decoration of churches when many of them lived in simple earthworks? First, timber castles were probably quite as finely decorated as their stone counterparts, though being of less durable material nothing survives. Philip Barker believes that the timber buildings at Hen Domen were richly carved and painted (55). When a lord began to build in stone he spent just as much effort on the appearance of his residence as any church; as witnessed by Castle Acre, and the round chapel at Ludlow. Secondly, a church was immortal whereas the castle was by comparison temporary.

51. Mon.Ang. 1, p.95

52. Nigel and Mary Kerr, A Guide to Norman Sites in Britain, Paladin 1984 pp.115-119

53. David Park, The 'Lewes' Group of Wall Paintings in Sussex, ANS 6, 1983 pp.200-237

54. Ibid p.233

55. Philip Barker and Robert Higham, Hen Domen Montgomery: A Timber Castle on the English-Welsh Border, Vol.1, The Royal Archaeological Institute pp.91-2

Castles were built quickly and sometimes on impulse; churches and monasteries had to be better planned as they involved the permanent alienation of land. Thirdly, stone was expensive. In Normandy only wealthy and important nobles could afford to build a stone castle. Investment in a stone church produced a better return as it provided for the eternal heavenly rather than the temporary earthly life.

Similar artistic themes commonly appear within castles and churches. Within the honour of Tickhill, the voluted capitals of the priory church at Blyth are decorated with human heads. The head is a common enough motif in Romanesque decoration (56). There are other fine examples at Felkirk in the West Riding (57). It is interesting, if not exceptional, that human heads, this time with attached bodies, also decorate the contemporary gatehouse at Tickhill castle. Here there were originally seven or eight heads in two rows above a decorative band of diapered triangular panels. They were placed in such a position, above the gate passage, so as to be strikingly obvious to all entering the castle.

The Blyth capitals are perhaps based upon those of Rouen Cathedral which date to c.1063. The heads and mouths of both types are identical although there are differences of relief (58). In 1060 or 1064 Roger de Busli sold the tithe of Buslei to the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Rouen (59). He was familiar with Rouen at the time when its cathedral was being decorated with sculpture. The abbey no longer survives but it probably contained similar work. When Roger founded Blyth priory c.1080 he chose to make it a dependency of Holy Trinity (60). It would not therefore be a surprise if this alien priory resembled its parent in

56. Heads can be seen in La Trinite and St.Etienne, Caen, the alien priory of Stogursey (Somerset), Richmond, Durham and Colchester castles, and within the St.John's Chapel at the Tower of London.

57. Peter Ryder, *Medieval Churches of West Yorkshire*, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service 1993, p.27

58. *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1984: Exhibition Catalogue, Hayward Gallery 5 April-8 July 1984 p.152

59. J.H.Round, ed., *Calendar of Documents preserved in France, 918-1206*, 1899 no.83 p.23

60. R.T.Timson, ed., *The Cartulary of Blyth Priory*, RCHM HMSO 1973, Vol.1, forming Vol. 27 of the Thoroton Society Record Series (for 1968) no.325 pp.207-9

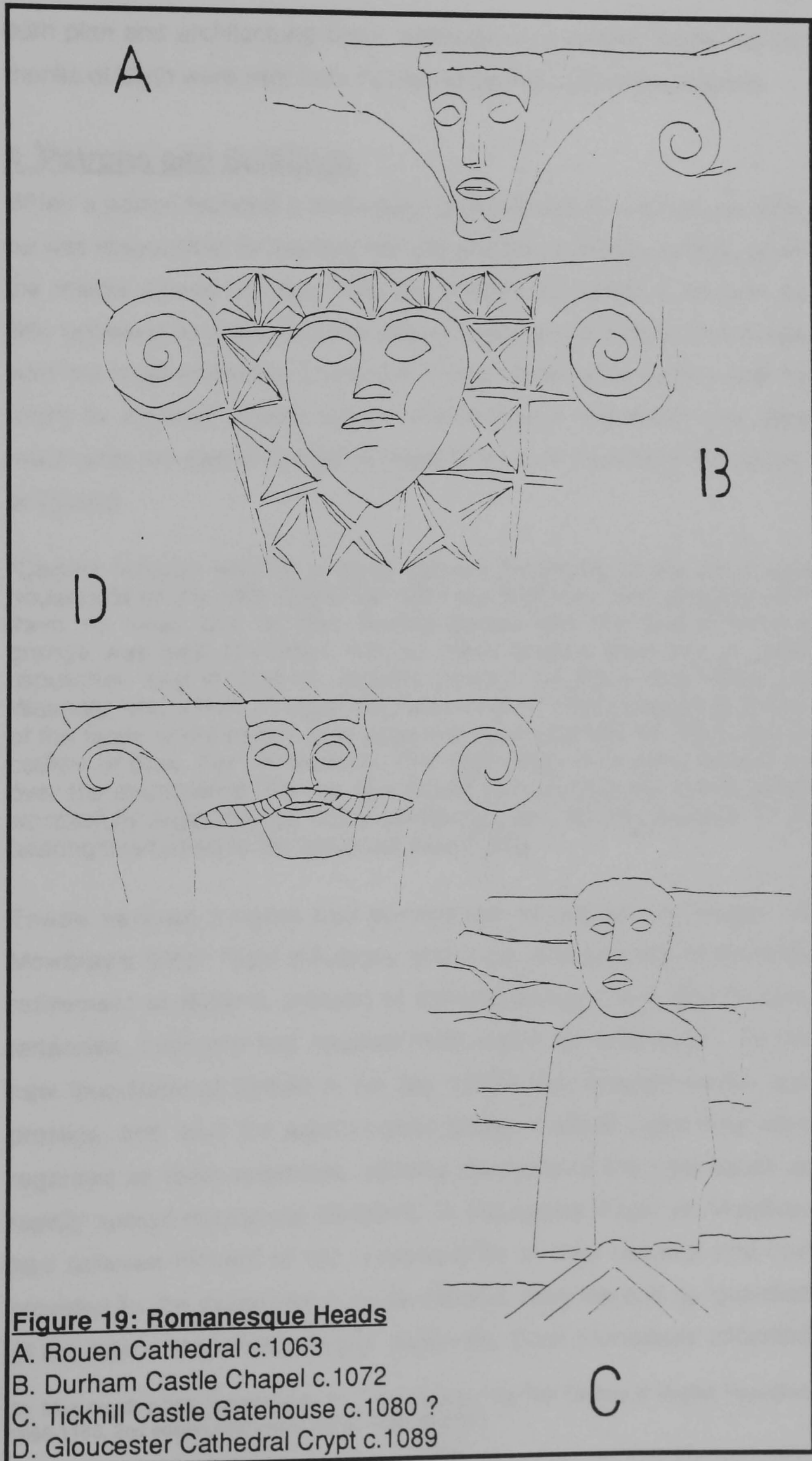


Figure 19: Romanesque Heads

A. Rouen Cathedral c.1063

B. Durham Castle Chapel c.1072

C. Tickhill Castle Gatehouse c.1080 ?

D. Gloucester Cathedral Crypt c.1089

both plan and architectural detail, although on a smaller scale. As the monks of Blyth were sent from Rouen, so perhaps were the masons.

4. Patrons and Buildings

When a patron founded a monastery, and particularly a Cistercian one, he was responsible for erecting the first wooden buildings so that, when the monks arrived on site, they could begin the religious life with as little upheaval as possible. If the patron continued to support the house past his initial endowment then the house would grow quickly and he might be involved in later stages of expansion. A monastery was very much what the patron wished to make of it, as is clear from the history of Byland;

“Certain veteran knights of good service belonging to the court and household of the lord Roger became lay brethren, and brought with them no small part of their worldly goods, with the help of which a grange was built at Wildon. Among these knights were two of great reputation and discretion, namely Landric de Agys and Henry de Wasprey, and a third of equal discretion named Henry Bugge, guardian of the fabric of the abbey, who acquired much property for the house in course of time. For immediately after their entry it became known all over the countryside that the new house had within a short time been wonderfully supported by noble gentlemen, and so the devotion of all hearing this turned to the aforesaid place” (61).

These veteran knights had served the household of Roger de Mowbray's father Nigel d'Aubigny and were now entering honourable retirement at Byland. Instead of subinfeudating them with mesne tenancies, their lord had retained them within his entourage. To the new foundation of Byland in the late 1130's they brought wealth and prestige, and, from the account given above, it would seem they were regarded as local celebrities, causing the fame of the new house to rapidly spread throughout Yorkshire. In one stroke Roger de Mowbray had relieved himself of the responsibility of their upkeep and had provided for the expansion of his foundation. Note the role as 'guardian of the fabric' that Henry Bugge assumed. Each monastery allocated

61. Mon.Ang.5, p.350. Translated by Sir.Frank Stenton, The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166, 2nd edition, Clarendon Press, 1961 pp.140-1

certain revenues and offerings to a 'fabric fund' which paid for the building works that were almost continually in progress.

Henry de Lacy II scored a financial coup when he persuaded a group of foreign bishops to grant indulgences to penitents travelling to Stanlaw abbey who would pray for his ancestors. The pilgrims were also beseeched to give alms to enable the monks to move to a safer and more profitable venue (Whalley). Thus, by the ploy of an indulgence, Henry shifted part of the financial burden of relocation (62).

In several documented examples patrons took an active role in the planning of their monasteries. Jervaulx was founded at Fors in 1144 by Ascarius FitzBardolph (63). His lord, Alan of Richmond, confirmed the grants and gave the monks wood from his forest 'for their houses and to do all necessary things' (64). The earl also asked to be informed when the buildings were erected so he might be present. This happened in 1145. On arrival at the site the Earl, instead of just symbolically planting a spade in the earth or laying a stone, declared he wanted to participate in the raising of the church with his own hands. This is how the first wooden church was built (65). By such means Alan eroded the rights of the true founder of Jervaulx, FitzBardolph, and came to be regarded by the monks as their patron.

The history of Jervaulx, which is contained within the *Historia Foundationis* of Byland, makes clear the importance of Count Alan to the house, although he is never called the founder. He was crucial to the acceptance of the new house by Savigny, calling there on his way to Brittany in order to commend the new abbot. Roger de Mowbray was similarly vital in the settlement of the dispute between Byland, Calder

62. T.D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe*, 4th edition revised by J.G. Nichols and P.A. Lyons, George Routledge and Sons, London 1872, Vol.1 pp.144-146

63. EYC 4, Part 1 pp.24-6

64. EYC 4, Part 1 no.24, p.26

65. Mon. Ang. 5 p.569, no. III

and Furness. He visited the general chapter at Citeaux, stating that he "could assign and give the monastery of Byland to the subjection of whomsoever he wished" (66). Clearly the influential standing of a major baron was an excellent weapon for a monastery.

But the house had to exist before its allegiance could be disputed. The Chronicle of Melsa explains how William Le Gros personally supervised the building of two sizeable wooden buildings for the first monks:

"he had a certain great house built with common mud and wattle, where the mill is now established, in which the arriving lay brothers would dwell until better arrangements were made for them. He also built a certain chapel next to the aforementioned house, which is now the cellarer's chamber, where all the monks used the lower storey as a dormitory and the upper to perform the divine service devoutly" (67).

The second building is unusual in that it compounded the functions of two separate structures; the dormitory and the chapel. When rebuilding took place under Abbot Adam a few years later, he chose simply to enlarge this structure rather than to separate the two units. Here is an example of Cistercian simplicity in its purest, and most rarely seen, form.

Adam was a monk given to passions; his career had taken him from Benedictine Whitby to Cistercian Fountains. At Fountains he had earned a reputation as a skilled architect and had been entrusted with building work at Kirkstead, Woburn and Vaudey. In 1150 he became Abbot of Melsa but, by 1160, had retired to Gilbertine Watton where he was walled up in an anchorites cell attached to the church. In 1167 he narrowly escaped being burnt alive and returned to Melsa, where he stayed until his death in 1180. His spell as an anchorite suggests a desire for practical simplicity. This was certainly achieved by the dormitory/oratory where the monks could both 'psallerent et pausarent'.

66. Janet Burton, *The Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx, and the Problems of the English Savigniacs, 1134-1156*, in, *Monastic Studies* 2, Headstart History 1991 pp.125-6
 67. E.A.Bond, ed., *Chronica Monasterii De Melsa*, Vol.1, RS 1866, p.107

The majority of each day could be spent within the walls of one building (68).

The founding charter of Cistercian Sallay states that William de Percy first constructed the monastery and only then summoned a contingent of monks from Newminster to come and settle there (69).

The fortunes of a house often rose and fell with those of their patron and this too can be reflected in monastic architecture. Llantony Prima, in Monmouthshire, began an ambitious rebuilding scheme in the 1170's with the help of its patron Hugh II de Lacy, who was simultaneously working on his new motte and bailey castle at Longtown (70). Between 1175 and 1190 a new presbytery, central tower, and north and south transepts were built. Gerald of Wales came here c. 1191 and commented, "it is roofed in with sheets of lead and built of squared stones, which are admirably suited to the nature of the place" (71). Between the death of Hugh de Lacy in 1186 and the inheritance of his son Walter in 1198 Llantony was without a patron. Building ceased by 1190 and did not re-start until 1200. A similar pattern occurred at Trim in Ireland - c. 1200 Walter began work on the curtain wall surrounding his square keep. The north section was built first with square towers. Then, c. 1210, he fell out with King John and was not restored to undisputed lordship of Meath until c.1220. Work on the curtain recommenced but new developments in architecture had been absorbed and the later mural towers on the southern line were round and D-shaped (72).

68. Peter Fergusson, *The First Architecture of the Cistercians in England and the work of Abbot Adam of Meaux*, JBAA 136, 1983 pp.74-86

69. J.McNulty, ed., *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St.Mary of Sallay in Craven*, YASRS 87, 1933, p.1

70. See above pp.118-126. The round tower at Longtown has now been redated to c. 1200, however, the plan of the castle suggests that its first phase may well have been under construction at this period.

71. Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales*, Penguin Classics 1978 p.96

72. T.B.Barry, *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, Methuen 1987 pp.46-7

At Llantony c.1200 the new nave was begun, to be followed by aisles and a west front with twin towers. By 1230 the cloister, chapter house and prior's house were complete. Prosperity came to an end again in 1241 when Walter de Lacy died. His estates were dismantled and Lacy interest in the house evaporated. There followed a period of decline, marked archaeologically by the abandonment of the north transept chapel. Situated as it was on the fringes of Norman society, in the 'debatable land' of the marches, Llantony was a house that needed a powerful patron to survive. When the patron was not at hand the house suffered (73).

Investment in stone and mortar was an effective method of stamping one's authority on the landscape. Particularly effective was the sharing of architectural styles and motifs by affiliated sites. A monastery was linked to its daughter houses by such means and then the whole was linked to the patron, creating a powerful body of work symbolising the faith/wealth/greatness of the founding family. Such architectural continuity is visible amongst the remains of the family of La Trinite Vendome, an important Cluniac house in the Loire-et-Cher patronised chiefly by the Counts of Anjou. The mother house and her satellites are linked by a number of Romanesque features, principally their doorways, divided windows and bell towers. There are seven sites to consider: La Trinite, Boisseau, Lisle, Pezou, Coulommiers, Broch and Courtoze (74).

At Boisseau, the stringcourse surrounding the west doorway has the same checkerboard motif that decorates a capital in the Lady Chapel at La Trinite. The doorway at Lisle follows the same arrangement as Boisseau but it is more ornamental; two beasts drinking from a vase appear on the northern capital and two birds share the southern. At Pezou the doorway has greater depth but similar decoration.

73. O.E.Craster, *Llanthony Priory*, HMSO 1963 pp.4-6

74. Penelope D.Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power: The Abbey of La Trinite, Vendome, 1032-1187*, New York University Press 1981, Chapter 5 pp.132-145

The courtyard wall at La Trinite contains a window divided into 2 round arches sharing, as their inner support, a slender colonette and capital. Above this a diamond shape is cut through the stone. The gatehouse at Courtoze has an identical window, although here the colonette is sturdier.

The bell tower of La Trinite is in 5 sections, each more elaborate than the last. The decoration repeats itself on all sides, suggesting the structure was built to be free-standing. At the daughter house of Broch, near Bauge, the bell tower is of 3 storeys; the arrangement of windows and buttresses is the same as at La Trinite but on a simpler scale.

The evidence suggests that La Trinite superintended the construction of her daughters and deliberately planned the replication of architectural details in order to translate the spiritual relationship into a concrete one. In the words of Penelope Johnson: "La Trinite buildings had more than a visual impact on their neighbours. Each cell served as a focus for a burg, drawing people into a settlement which then had monks of La Trinite at its hub" (75). In England we know that the monk Adam was sent out from Fountains to oversee the construction of Vaudey, Woburn and Melsa; it is therefore tragic that insufficient remains from these sites in order to postulate such a web of relationships as that established by La Trinite.

5. Isabella de Forz

There is evidence from estate records to reveal the extent to which individual lords were personally involved in building works upon their estates. It seems that few lords left such matters entirely to their officials. N. Denholm-Young, in two important works of the 1930's, recorded the depth to which such seigneurial involvement went (76). The example that he kept returning to time and time again was that of

75. Ibid pp.143-4

76. N. Denholm-Young, *The Yorkshire Estates of Isabella de Fortibus*, YAJ 31, 1934, pp.389-420; N. Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration in England*, OUP 1937

Isabella de Forz , the Dowager Countess of Aumale, who died in 1293.

In May 1260 Isabella was widowed. She retained the control of extensive dower lands; one-third of Holderness, half the barony of Cockermouth, and the three manors of Borley in Essex, Clopton in Suffolk and Radston in Northamptonshire . She also controlled the wardship of her son and, from 1261, that portion of Holderness which had been granted by Henry III to his son Edward. By May 1266 she was furthermore in illegal possession of the honour of Skipton, formerly an Aumale estate (77). With the death of her brother, Baldwin de Redvers, in 1262, Isabella also became Countess of Devon and suzerain of the Isle of Wight.

Isabella was a politically and socially active woman, managing to fend off would-be suitors yet maintaining a position in the heart of noble society (78). One element of this was the maintenance of her castles. In 1267 she occupied and had refortified her disputed castle of Skipton as a direct threat to the Lord Edward . A body of archers and men-at arms was collected and furnished with new equipment, the drawbridge, and well were repaired. Funds and provisions were carted over from Holderness and there are indications that such works were paid for by the levy of an extra-ordinary tax on Holderness (79). The Lord Edward sensibly decided to leave her be.

More mundane works were carried out at Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight which, after 1262, became Isabella's favoured residence for a period of over twenty years. Like the great churches, Carisbrooke became a scene of constant building work, concentrated on the 'great and little chambers', kitchen , salting house, 'chamber next to the gate and the great gatehouse' (80). The new kitchen, built of stone shipped

77. See Denholm-Young, *The Yorkshire Estates of Isabella de Fortibus*, p.396 for an account of this episode.

78. For comments on her political role see Jennifer C.Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, Longman 1992, pp.110-11, 116-7, 136, 138

79. Denholm-Young, *op.cit.* p.396

80. P.G.Stone, *Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, London 1891, p.74-6, 90, 97-8, 100; HKW II pp.591-2

over from the mainland, was 45ft. long, 32ft. wide and 16ft. high. Its cost was kept down to 341 7s. 6d. by the use of timber felled on the de Forz estates and carried to the castle by the customary tenants (81).

One of the major preoccupations of the nobility of medieval England was with the buildings in which they lived and in which their souls were prayed for. This took the form of maintaining craftsmen within the household or subinfeudating them upon the estate, of closely supervising the officials in charge of building works, and, of course, of keeping a very close eye upon the constructions of their neighbours with an eye both to keep up, but also to better.

81. Mavis Mate, Profit and Productivity on the Estates of Isabella de Forz (1260-92), *Economic History Review* 2nd series, 33, 1980 pp.326-334

CASTLE AND CHURCH

CHAPTER FIVE

The 'castle and church' possessed many shared functions; to control, to protect, to sustain a local community, to create between themselves a 'caput'. 'Castle' in fact is a misleading term representing a defined military structure overlooking a settlement. It may be more in keeping with the spirit of the 12th century to refer to the 'castlery', an area surrounding and embracing the castle, a community with all local facilities, including religious, that looked to the castle as a focal point. Such a castlery would equal a caput, the difference being that a caput can exist without a castle. 'Church' must also be a flexible term embracing the hierarchy, the parish and monastery, as well as the community of faithful.

The caput was created from the cooperation of castle and church, a combination that controlled people and places. The relationship manifested itself in three chief ways; the presence of the religious within the castle household ; the relationship of the castle with the parish church; and the role of the lord as monastic patron and founder.

1. The Household Ecclesiastics

By the late medieval period roles within the noble household had been sub-divided and defined. Richmond Castle in the 1270's supported six chaplains on an annual income of £25.00 (1). They probably performed some of the functions defined in the household of Henry Percy the 5th earl of Northumberland (1477-1527) who had eleven priests in his service:

1. The Dean of the Lord's chapel.
2. The surveyor of the Lord's lands.
3. The Lord's secretary
4. The Lord's almoner.
5. A sub-dean in charge of the chapel choir.

1. Calendar of Patent Rolls 1272-81, p.270

6. A riding chaplain for the lord.
7. A chaplain for the Lord's eldest son.
8. The Lord's clerk of the closet.
9. The Master of Grammer (Tutor)
10. A priest to read the Gospel in the chapel daily.
11. A priest to sing mass for the ladies in the chapel daily (2).

This comprehensive break-down of priestly duties was not present in the 12th century household, mainly because feudal holdings were smaller. From the late 13th century failures of male lines and escheats collected vast estates into the hands of a few individuals such as Henry, Earl of Lincoln, his successor Thomas of Lancaster and, later, the Percies. In the earlier period many of the priests found travelling with noble households had permanent occupations outside the cavalcade; the abbot of Byland and the prior of Newburgh joined the Mowbray establishment when they had business to transact or favours to seek; when the work was done they returned to their houses (3).

The largest 12th-century honours employed up to a dozen clerics. Some were both parish priests and castle chaplains, thereby saving the castle a salary. Samson d'Aubigny, a cousin of Roger de Mowbray, held nine churches pertaining to demesne manors and in three cases, Owston, Kirkby Malzeard and Brinklow, his cousin had a castle next door. During his career, from before 1129 to c.1154, Samson witnessed more Mowbray charters than any other member of the household. It could be assumed that this was due to the blood-tie but for the fact that the same can be said for his predecessor Guy, who served Nigel d'Aubigny from before 1114 to c. 1121 (4). Clearly the chaplain was an important member of the household. It was a good post from which to expect further advancement. Royal chaplains tended to become bishops (eg. Thurstan of Bayeaux, chaplain to Henry I, became Archbishop of York in 1114) while noble chaplains became administrators and landlords, often with executive powers and custody

2. Calendar of Patent Rolls: Edward I 1272-81, London 1901, p.270; Thomas Percy, The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland at his castles of Wresill and Lekinfield. London 1827 p.323

3. Mowbray Charters, Nos. 110, 119, 177, 196, 236, 327. See also Appendix 12.

4. For an account of Samson's career see Mowbray Charters pp. LXV-LXVI

of the seigneurial seal. It is interesting to note however that Samson d'Aubigny seems never to have been accorded a clerical title in his cousin's charters; perhaps he was so well known that it was unnecessary, or else the administrative side of his career was paramount.

Clerics travelled widely on their lord's business. Some were in deaconal orders, employed to keep accounts and write letters and charters. A mid 12th-century charter of William Le Gros, Count of Aumale is attested by the clerks Simon the Chaplain, Isaac, Roger and Warner (5). Each is mentioned elsewhere as 'the Count's clerk'. Isaac served the Count in the 1150's and witnessed many of his charters. He was one of the few men to hold land within the honours of both Holderness and Skipton and was a benefactor of Melsa Abbey, whose chronicler described him as 'a wise clerk and a man of great authority' (6). Purely parochial priests may have had little more contact with their feudal lord than any other tenant. But, that a man became a priest at all often infers that he had the patronage of a local lord or bishop; Gilbert of Sempringham was prompted to enter the priesthood by Bishop Alexander of Lincoln and it was Alexander who enabled him to set up his first community of women (7).

Charter witness lists are a useful indicator of clerical visitors to the baronial household. Roger de Mowbray's gift to Rievaulx in 1154 is witnessed by no less than nine ecclesiastics; Archbishop Roger of York, John the Treasurer (of the church of York), Robert the deacon, Ralph the archdeacon, Robert the archdeacon, Theobald clerk of the bishop of Durham, Robert the chaplain, Roger abbot of Byland, and Augustine prior of Newburgh (8). These were all men de Mowbray knew personally, most of them were close friends who visited the household, occasionally rather than honorial servants. The charter had

5. B. English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260: A Study in Feudal Society*, OUP 1979 p.93

6. *Ibid* p.93

7. Brian Golding, *Hermits, Monks and Women in Twelfth-Century England: The Experience of Obazine and Sempringham*, *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. Judith Loades, *Headstart History* 1990 pp.134-6

8. *Mowbray Charters*, no.236, pp.162-3

thirty-five witnesses of which the first five listed were ecclesiastic. On the day when this charter was issued the Mowbray household was 25% clerical and 75% lay; this is a striking balance and indicates the high proportion of the population earning an ecclesiastical livelihood. The household was a business forum and as such a venue where we would expect church and lay dignitaries to meet.

Certain kinds of monastic grant necessitated the presence of monks within the household. In 1140, at the request of Thurstan of York, Roger de Mowbray granted the tithe of his household's daily food to Byland;

“and a lay brother named Lyngulf was deputed to follow the court of the lord Roger and collect each day the produce granted to the monks, and he sent it by a faithful messenger to the abbot and monks at Hood [one of the several sites the monks settled at prior to Byland]. And when the lord Roger was staying in remoter parts, the lay brother sold whatever belonged to the monks and sent the money to the abbot.”

But this arrangement was not always convenient “owing to the multitude of guests who were never lacking to so great a lord in large number”. Because of the difficulties in feeding the household the tithe was replaced by a land grant (9). In this case Lyngulf is not exactly a member of the Mowbray household but, for a period of time, he travelled with it; how many more of the flock of clerics thus travelling around secular estates were deputised from monasteries and churches in order to ensure that what had been granted to them was in fact received ?

2. The Castle Chapel

In a sense the chapel was ‘portable’ - when a lord moved from estate to estate he took the fittings of his chapel with him and it could be ‘set-up’ wherever he chose, even in a corner of the great hall. However, it quickly became standard practice for the greater castles to have a designated chapel, often recognised today by an east window or piscina. For earth and timber castles very little evidence exists. To

9. Mon.Ang.5 p.350. Translated by Sir.Frank Stenton, The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166, Second Edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1961 pp.140-1

establish a picture of timber castle-chapels we have to look at any available example, however far it may be from Yorkshire. At Hen Domen in Montgomeryshire a limestone stoup for holy water was found in a posthole. The building of which it formed part (XIII/XIV Phase X) underlay an apsidal ended structure that has been interpreted as the 12th century chapel (IX, Phase Y). The foundations of a possible bell-tower lie to its north-west. Building IX is not on the traditional east-west alignment but this may be due to a lack of space within the bailey (10). However, if as is argued the chapel overlies a still earlier chapel then it would seem odd for the chapel position not to have been well planned from the beginning of the castle's history. The castle is highly likely to have possessed a chapel seeing as there is no surviving parish church close by.

Yet there is no positive proof, even after thirty seasons of excavation, that Hen Domen did possess its own chapel. There is only the analogy of the apsidal shape to support the idea. The limestone stoup becomes a religious artefact only because of the 'chapel' context in which it is found.

The early 14th century stone chapel at Pleshey castle in Essex (Period IIIA) is correctly orientated but it is impossible to define the timber and stone structures that underlie it. In Period IB (post 1140) there was a circular stone tower on the site. Its interpretation varies from dovecote, limekiln, and watch-tower to church tower, either adjacent or attached to a timber nave (11). If the latter was the case (the excavators tend to favour the watch-tower theory) then this could be the church in which Hawise of Aumale was married to William de Mandeville in 1180 (12). In Period IIB (post 1180) the tower was replaced by a timber and wattle-and-daub structure aligned east-west. Could this have been a chapel?

10. P. Barker and R. Higham, *Hen Domen Montgomery: A Timber Castle on the English-Welsh Border 1*, The Royal Archaeological Institute 1982 p.45; R. Higham and P. Barker, *Timber Castles*, Batsford 1992 pp.334, 338, 346

11. Frances Williams, *Excavations at Pleshey Castle*, BAR 42, 1977 pp.46-55

12. Radulphi de Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 2, 1876, p.3

Timber castle-chapels survived well beyond the 12th century. Henry III commissioned one at Sauvey castle in Leicestershire, to measure 40ft by 22ft (13). The IIB building at Pleshey is estimated to measure c.35ft by 15-17ft. The sizes tally well when it is remembered that one was royal and the other baronial. As late as 1337 a survey of Launceston Castle in Cornwall recorded 'a little chapel, whose walls are of timber and plaster, and the timber thereof is almost disjointed' (14). At contemporary Pleshey the chapel was stone-built.

Documentary evidence is often all we have for a castle-chapel. An early 18th century view of Clitheroe shows the freestanding stone chapel of St. Michael in the inner bailey (15). It is a two-cell building with nave c.24ft by 20ft, chancel 14ft by 12ft, and a round-headed window at the east end. Its origins are obscure and its fate unfortunate; it now lies beneath a public lavatory. An 1122 charter of Hugh de Laval to the Cluniac monks of St. John's, Pontefract, confirms everything that Robert de Lacy I had given them, including 'the chapel of my castle at Clitheroe'. However, a papal confirmation of 1185-7 suggests that the founder of the chapel was Robert II de Lacy who died in 1194. William Farrer held the 1122 charter to be a later forgery, noting that subsequent confirmations from the Archbishops of York, the papacy, and Lacy lords of the honour, made no mention of St. Michael's chapel among the possessions of Pontefract. In the 1170's and 1180's there are several references to Waltheof or Walter, chaplain of Clitheroe (16).

The 15th century 'Historia Laceiorum', probably written at Whalley Abbey, attributes the chapel to Robert II and describes its function in some detail (17):

13. Calendar of Liberate Rolls: Henry II Vol. II 1240-45, London 1930 p.249: "To the sheriff of Leicester. 'Contrabreve' to make a wooden chapel, 40 feet by 22, in the king's castle of Sauveye out of timber which the justice of the forest will let him have in the forest of Rockingham, and when it is finished to find a chaplain to celebrate divine service therein."

14. A.D. Saunders, Launceston Castle, English Heritage 1984 p.7

15. B.J.N. Edwards, George Vertue's Engraving of Clitheroe Castle, Antiquaries Journal 64, 1984 pp.366-72; David Best, Clitheroe Castle - A Guide, Carnegie Publishing Ltd, Preston 1990 pp.4-7

16. J. McNulty, ed., The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven, YASRS 87, 1933 p.140; 90, 1934 p.140

17. For a discussion of the historical use of the 'Historia Laceiorum' see W.E. Wightman, The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1966 pp.12-14

“In this chapel, by the assent and licence of Geoffrey, senior, then dean of Whalley church, he had divine service celebrated and the Sacraments of the church administered to his domestic tenants, shepherds and foresters, so that his tenants remaining at a distance from the said church (of Whalley) might receive the sacraments of the church and fulfill their parochial rights in the said chapel through the chaplain serving there, as other parishioners within the said church used to do elsewhere in various chapels. To obtain this more easily, with the consent of the dean he assigned certain lands and rents to the same chapel” (18).

This makes two interesting points. First, that the chapel within the castle was parochial; there are other examples of intra-castle chapels serving parishes (eg. Castle Barnard) but this is normally only when the chapel pre-dates the castle. At Pevensey and Castle Rising the situation was soon rectified with the erection of a new parish church. It is unusual for a Norman castle-chapel to choose a parochial function, although here it may reflect a shift in the local population from the old centre of the area near Whalley church to the castle, three miles to the north. Whalley was too far away to serve the growing castle-borough and so it conceded limited rights and tithes to the chapel within the castle, an arrangement confirmed in 1185-7 by Urban III (19). This is the second point; Clitheroe Castle itself does not appear to have been built in a populous area but rather people were attracted to its hinterland in the ensuing period.

Of the scholars who have examined the Clitheroe evidence in recent years, William Farrer (1902-16), Joseph McNulty (1939/42), W.E. Wightman (1966) and David Best (1990), the first two come down in favour of an 1180's origin for both castle and chapel while the latter two choose the 1120's. There is evidence for both arguments, suggesting that an earthwork castle existed here in the earlier period and the 1180's saw a major rebuilding. As the Lacy caput in this region, Clitheroe must have had a chapel from the beginning of the castle's history.

18. Mon. Ang. 5, pp. 533-4, as translated by J. McNulty, *Clitheroe Castle and its Chapel: Their Origins*, Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 93, 1942 p. 46.
 19. Calendar of Charter Rolls 1, Henry III 1226-1257, London 1903 p. 109

3. Evidence for Castle Chapels in Yorkshire-based Honours

An examination of the 12th century stone castles of the county shows no standard chapel format or position. It is possible that different options reflect the status of the castle within its honour.

A. The Honour of Warenne

Castle Acre: The chapel was probably in the lower ward. Crop-marks reveal a building on an east-west orientation, just north of the great hall/kitchen complex.

Conisborough; Chapel One; On the second floor of the keep is a tiny oratory with vestry built into a buttress. The alignment is almost east-west. The oratory is hexagonal in shape, rib-vaulted with a trefoil-headed piscina in the vestry. The eastern window, a slit, is decorated with roll-moulding and surmounted by a round arch with chevron decoration, resting on small engaged columns moulded with capitals. The 2 nearest side-walls have small quatrefoil windows, a piscina on the north side and an aumbry on the south. Even the ribs are highly decorated with chevrons and interlace **(20)**.

Conisborough; Chapel Two; The household may have used a timber chapel until the early 13th century when a stone chapel was built in the inner bailey east of the gate-passage. Excavations found a piscina within. This could be the chapel mentioned in 1317-22 which needed timber for the repair of its roof **(21)**.

Reigate: Reigate castle chapel is mentioned in a confirmation charter of Henry Bishop of Winchester c.1150-71 **(22)**.

Thorne: The church of St. Nicholas stands in the castle bailey and may represent the site of a chapel later upgraded to parochial status.

20. S. Johnson, Conisborough Castle, HMSO 1984 p.17,19

21. Ibid p.22

22. John Blair, Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement before 1300, Alan Sutton/Surrey Archaeological Society 1991 p.146

B. The Lacy Honours in Yorkshire and the West Midlands

Pontefract: In the late 11th century Ilbert de Lacy built a freestanding collegiate chapel (St.Clements) in the castle bailey. This provided the Lacies with a team of literate priests who could combine administrative functions with their religious duties. Excavations in the 1880's and 1980's discovered that, in its earliest form, the chapel was a simple two-cell rectangular nave/chancel, the apse being added in the 12th century (23). The apse housed the high altar, approached by three steps, with an ambulatory behind the reredos.

Ludlow: The inner ward boasts one of the finest castle chapels to survive in England. The round nave of St.Mary Magdalene is standing while the position of the original chancel and octagonal apse are visible. The nave is divided externally into two storeys by a string-course, below which it was plastered. The entrance arch is of three orders with chevron and star patterns. At the rear the chancel arch marks a second building phase with more developed decoration. The completion of the chapel is dated to c.1120 on architectural grounds, but historically it fits the 1140's better when Gilbert de Lacy, a benefactor of the Templars (he joined the order in 1158), regained control of the honour (24).

Trim: Walter de Lacy's keep, dating from the 1190's, had a chapel on the second floor of the forebuilding. The east wall contained two aumbries and a large window, the north wall a sedilia. The height of the room was greater than its fellows in the other three side towers. It was thus specially allocated a religious function from the start (25).

C. The Honour of Helmsley

Helmsley: The apsidal east tower, built in the late 12th century by

23. Ian Roberts, Pontefract Castle, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service 1990 pp.59-61; Richard Holmes, The Foundation of St.Clements in the castle of Pontefract, YAJ 14, 1898 pp.147-57

24. Derek Renn, Chastel de Dynan: the first phase of Ludlow, castles in Wales and the Marches: Essays in Honour of D.J.Cathcart-King, ed., J.R.Kenyon and R.Avent, Cardiff, University of Wales Press 1987 pp.55-73

25. T.E.McNeill, Trim Castle, Co.Meath; the first three generations, Arch.J. 147, 1990 p.321

Robert de Ros I, comprised a single room over a vaulted basement. The upper floor was a chapel, lit by four tall lancet windows and probably a single one in the apse. It was large and impressive, suitable for the caput of the honour, and presumably D-shaped as much to provide the customary apsidal chancel end as it was to provide for the better defence of the castle. It is noticeable that the D-shaped wings projecting from the early keeps at Colchester and the Tower of London both contained chapels - the Helmsley example seems to be an attempt to build a similar chapel outside the great tower.

D. The Honour of Richmond

Richmond: Richmond boasts three chapels though no more than two seem to have been in use simultaneously:

Chapel One:The late 11th-century Robin Hood Tower houses St. Nicholas' chapel at ground floor level. It was decorated with a wall arcade of semicircular arches and shafts with simple cushion capitals. The east window was a single narrow slit, its sill bearing the altar. To either side were circular double-splayed openings. It was in this three-storeyed tower that, according to tradition, William the Lion was imprisoned after his defeat in 1174 (26); he would have been accommodated in a self-contained unit although, unusually, the chapel was below rather than above the living space.

Chapel Two:In the 13th century the Great Chapel was built on the west curtain. All that survives of this today is a single archway.

Chapel Three:Within the service range abutting Scolland's Hall to the north is a 14th-century chapel at first floor level.

For the 12th century there may have been another chapel provided within the complex of buildings that must have filled the inner bailey. Certainly St. Nicholas' seems too small to have served both count and

household in this large open-plan castle. There is no religious provision within the gate-tower. An alternative theory is that Holy Trinity Church in the market place began its life as the castle chapel. The market place boundaries were followed by the 14th century town walls and may represent the line of an outer bailey (27).

E. The Honour of Middleham

Middleham: The present chapel is housed within a 13th-century three-storey tower affixed to the east side of the late 12th-century keep. It is entered from the stairhead at the hall door (1st floor). All the tower floors were vaulted and the chapel storey had tall traceried windows on the north and south. The lower floors must have provided the vestry and perhaps the priest's lodging. They are lit by small round-headed windows as were the chapels at Richmond and Conisborough. The question here is where was the chapel in the late 12th century? The investment implied by the move down the hill from the ringwork to a large hall-tower suggests that a chapel was provided from the onset. It was probably within the keep; being moved outside in the 13th century when the space became required for something else.

F. The Lordship of Holderness

Scarborough: Two chapels were built here within the ruins of the Roman signal station:

Chapel One: The first was built c. 1000 and may have been associated with a monastery. It was destroyed c. 1066, when Scarborough was sacked by Harold Hardrada, but was rebuilt in the 12th century, the barrel vault surviving today.

Chapel Two: A second larger chapel was built by William Le Gros c. 1140. It was highly decorated with carved stone. Within the keep itself there is no sign of a chapel but it is possible that one was placed within the forebuilding, as was customary in other castles. The distance

27. See Appendix Three

between the medieval castle and the Roman signal station would make this likely. A writ of Richard I safeguards the possessions of the church of Scarborough *within the castle* which can only refer to a chapel (28).

Castle Bytham: A charter of 1226 refers to "St. Mary in the castle", "St. Thomas the Martyr in the Barbican" and "St. Mary Magdalene beneath the castle" (29).

G. The Honour of Brus

Skelton: From the later 12th century the Brus caput at Skelton had a stone keep. Unfortunately, it was demolished between 1788 and 1794 but part of the castle chapel reputedly survives within the modern house (30). There is documentary evidence that the chapel existed in the 12th century. Peter de Brus I, c. 1196, confirmed the grant of the manor of Kirk Leavington to his sister Isabel and her husband Henry de Percy on condition that Henry and his heirs spend Christmas Day at Skelton Castle. They were to lead the lady of the castle from her chamber to the chapel for mass, and after mass to withdraw to her chamber and share a meal (31). This indicates the high social status attached to the possession of a private chapel; the Percy tenants of Kirk Leavington pay their dues to their Brus overlords by symbolically attending them here.

H. Position and Function

There were four options for the positioning of a chapel:

1. Within the main tower (Conisborough, Helmsley)
2. Above the forebuilding (Trim)
3. Free-standing in the bailey (Castle Acre, Clitheroe, Pontefract, Ludlow)
4. Within a mural tower (Richmond)

28. EYC 1 no.365 pp.286-7

29. R.Allen Brown, *Castles from the Air*, CUP 1989 pp.76-7

30. Peter F.Ryder, *Medieval Buildings of Yorkshire*, Moorland Publishing 1982; B.J.D.Harrison, *The Lost Borough of Skelton*: Cleveland, *Bulletin of the Cleveland and Teeside Local History Society* 14, 1971 pp.1-8

31. EYC 2, p.25

Where there is evidence of only one chapel within a castle, then its position may reflect upon the status of the castle/its occupant. Helmsley's D-shaped tower looks out towards the village and parish church, its apsidal end symbolising the lord's right to private devotions and thus displaying his rank. Chapels in forebuildings and keeps suggest privacy and aloofness whereas a chapel in the bailey, as at Pickering, suggests a more accessible lord, in this case a royal constable, who celebrated mass alongside his household. Mural tower chapels (Richmond, Framlingham) suggest provision for the garrison and thus emphasise the military role of the site. The 13th century mural chapel at Framlingham was below the curtain walk-way - soldiers on duty were warned of its proximity by blind arcading positioned above (32). Whether a chapel was collegiate or singly-served has relevance; St. Clement's, Pontefract, was the hub of the Lacy chancery. Chapels with a single priest represent a purely religious function, although the priest may have other duties. Multi-chapel castles indicate at once the importance of the site, its continual development and, if more than one chapel was in use at a given period, a bi- or tri-partite division of the castle community; separate provision may be made for the lord's familia, his domestic household and his garrison. If evidence could be located for a chapel within the gate-tower at Richmond, or within a central seigneurial complex, then this would provide a good example. If for one period all the chapels were in use, we could postulate a private chapel for the lord, a chapel for the constable/steward and their households attached to Scolland's Hall, a chapel in the guest suite at the Robin Hood tower, and a garrison chapel on the west curtain.

The castle chapel emphasised the separation of the castle lord from his community - he possessed the right of private worship conducted with God via his own personal chaplain. He also had the gift of religious teaching for others in his hands. A castle chapel was a symbol of status, indicating that a lord had achieved a certain rank and privilege. It was a work of art, an expression of taste and knowledge derived from

other sites in England and abroad. In Winchester castle the plastered interior of the early Norman chapel was painted to resemble hanging drapery (33). In April 1992 mid-13th century Biblical paintings were discovered on the walls and ceiling of the St.Mary de Castro chapel on the first floor of the Agricola Tower at Chester (34). A chapel was a valuable source of patronage, usually endowed with its own land and rents giving it a semi-independence from the castle. It was an asset desired by monasteries and churches. The gift of a castle chapel thereby strengthened the ties between lord and church. The chapel of St.George within Oxford Castle was given to Oseney Abbey, whose canons crossed a small bridge into the castle to celebrate mass. When in 1324 the bridge was removed by the sheriff for the security of the castle, the king ordered its restitution for the convenience of the brethren (35).

Via the castle chapel the lord retained a form of power that had been denied him as a result of the Gregorian reforms of the 1070's, when it became no longer acceptable for lay people to own churches. The Norman lord might no longer canonically control the parish priest but he could own his own priest.

Much work remains to be done on castle chapels. Would a study of dedications reveal favoured saints ? To what extent was diocesan control extended over them ? The Royal Free Chapels are well documented but how many 'Baronial Free' chapels were there ? What is the significance of the few chapels that retained parochial functions? How valuable were they - a table of comparative values would have relevance to the status of each castle. This is a key point. The castle chapel was at once an integral part of the castle and a separate entity, capable of an independent evolution beyond the life of the castle and often controlled by external agencies such as monasteries. It is an example of the integration of the castle into the local community.

33. John R.Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, Leicester University Press 1990 pp.152-3

34. *English Heritage Magazine* No.19, September 1992 p.10

35. N.J.G.Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales*, CUP 1990 p.228

4. The Parish Church

In most castles there is no trace of a chapel. If we look for the nearest church we can understand why. In numerous examples the church and castle stand less than 1/4 miles apart and many are next-door neighbours. Here there is no need for the castle to have its own chapel unless the social status of its occupants renders it essential. A compromise is to have a relative of the castellan as the parish priest; ensuring a measure of seigneurial control in lieu of ownership.

Three relationship types can be noted;

1. A church is built next to a pre-existing early castle.
2. A castle is intruded into a established settlement which has its own church .
3. A castle is placed next to, or within, a disused religious site.

A. Secondary Churches

It is rare for a new church to be built next to an existing castle, except in exceptional circumstances where a church developed from a castle chapel. However, Jack Spurgeon, in a study of Glamorgan's early castles, comments that when the Normans established new ecclesiastical parishes they naturally sited churches next to already-functioning seigneurial centres (i.e.castles) (36). The evidence from Yorkshire and other parts of England suggests that the pattern was more often reversed; that when the Normans entered an area, the quickest means to establish control was to throw up a castle close to a Saxon church,make the latter parochial if it had been manorial, and by so doing take over the hub of the local community (much as societies in revolt seize the telephone exchange and broadcasting centres first). The church was the best means of communication in late 11th century England, and as such had to be harnessed to seigneurial authority in order for 'Normanisation' to be achieved.

Castle chapels began a parochial life once the castle was redundant.

At Doncaster the church of St.George overlies the site of the Fossard

castle. The line of the inner bailey was closely followed by the medieval churchyard. After a fire in 1853 mid-12th century architectural fragments were found inside the church indicating a chapel origin. In the early 13th century the castle was replaced by the church, built on the motte summit. Prior to this the burgesses were served by the church of St.Mary Magdalene in the market place (37). When Doncaster castle was abandoned by the Fossards their caput may have shifted to Langthwaite, where the nearby chapel took the dedication of St.George - do we see here a transferral of the functions and dedication of the castle chapel at Doncaster ?

B. Usurpation of Parochial Churches by Castellans

Castles and communities may have shared parish churches in the immediate aftermath of the conquest but, by the early 12th century, the aim of most castle-dwellers was to have their own chapel. The quality of chapels, particularly St.Mary Magdalene at Ludlow and the oratory at Conisborough, suggest these were status symbols ; the more private chapels a lord possessed, the higher his standing. To begin the process the parish church could be usurped by the castellan who would expand his outer defences to include it, or he could leave it to the locals and build his household a new structure. At Castle Barnard, in County Durham, the castle expanded in the 13th century to incorporate both the parish church and its graveyard. That the latter continued to be used suggests that the existing parish boundaries were not disrupted by the castle extension and that no alternative venue was provided for the parishioners.

At Castle Rising the late 11th century church within the middle bailey represents either the first parish church or the first castle chapel, built just after the conquest by Odo of Bayeaux. Soon after this church had been enclosed within the castle the villagers built a new parish church (St.Lawrence). This suggests that, whatever the original status of the church, it had initially been shared.

37. J.R.Magilton, The Doncaster District:An Archaeological Survey, Doncaster 1977 p.34

Elegant chapels, like St. Mary Magdalene's at Ludlow, were exclusive to the castle household. This explains why, in settlements focused on a castle, we may find a church/chapel within the defences and another just on the outside (eg. All Saints, Pontefract). At Pontefract Ilbert de Lacy expropriated a pre-Conquest place of worship; as a result All Saint's church was built to provide for the populace.

Kirkstall Abbey provides an interesting example of a parish church expropriated by a monastery to the detriment of the local community. It is a mirror image of the Pontefract example and indicates that we should not separate the secular from the sacred but rather 'the powerful' from 'the weak'. A bishop or great convent could do as much damage to a poorly protected community as any secular lord. Cistercian monks were initially settled by Henry de Lacy at Barnoldswick in 1147. They took over the parish church and refused to let the villagers use it, even on feast days **(38)**:

"Desiring therefore to provide for the peace and quiet of the monks, the abbot, it may be with some want of consideration, pulled the church down to its foundations, in the face of the protests of clerks and parishioners".

The parish priest took the case to the papal court but judgement was eventually given that better "a church should fall provided an abbey be constructed in its stead, so that the less good should yield to the greater, and that the case be gained by that party which would bring forth richer fruits of piety" **(39)**. This epitomises the problems faced by parish churches throughout the 12th century. Although the monastic chronicler has qualms about the abbey's high-handed treatment of the parochial church, in nearly every case where an abbey and church are in dispute it is the abbey that prevails. The latter was perceived to be the 'most good', and thus of the greater spiritual benefit to society. This is why it made sense for a community to have a parish priest who was related to their feudal lord; this was not mere acquiescence to nepotism

38. E.K.Clark, *Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey*, Thoresby Society 4, 1890 p.174-5.

39. *Ibid* p.175

but an insurance policy against the far-reaching influence of monastic houses in the area. A baron will have no qualms in seeing the rights of an unknown priest usurped but he will not stand for a member of his family, however remote, being disturbed in his living. When Roger de Mowbray gave the churches held by his cousin Samson d'Aubigny to Newburgh Priory it was with the express stipulation that Samson's son Roger should hold the livings after his father's death (40). Samson sealed the bargain by entering Newburgh in his failing years.

At Weaverthorpe in Humberside a more equitable settlement was arranged. The church chancel projected into the manorial compound whilst the nave lay outside it. The church is early 12th century and the manorial layout may be contemporary. This resembles the arrangements found in mixed and Cistercian monasteries; dual access to different parts of the church to enable two different groups to use it simultaneously with as little contact as desired. At Domesday Weaverthorpe belonged to the Archbishop of York (41).

C. Primary Churches

Castles situated close to parish churches are most often the later of the two, deliberately placed to harness both the power of the church and the local amenities that both castle and church required; to be near water and population. It is a scenario repeated again and again throughout the country and at all social levels, from the lowliest knight to the great feudatories, be they secular or ecclesiastical. William of Malmesbury provides an interesting example in the career of Bishop Roger of Salisbury:

“Roger, who wished to manifest his magnificence by building, had erected extensive castles at Shireburn, and more especially at Devizes. At Malmesbury, even in the churchyard, and scarcely a stone's throw from the principal church, he had begun a castle” (42).

40. Mowbray Charters, nos. 175, 196

41. Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, Dent 1989 pp.268-9

42. William of Malmesbury, *A History of his own times, from 1135-1142*, translated by Joseph Stephenson, republished in *Contemporary Chronicles of the Middle Ages*, Llanerch Enterprises 1988 p.24. See Appendix 6

Malmesbury castle was begun in 1118. This year, according to the chronicles, was also the date at which Roger began to misappropriate the revenues of Malmesbury Abbey . The connection is obvious and was perceived by Henry II who had Malmesbury castle demolished upon his accession.

Chroniclers of the 12th and 13th centuries noted and resented the secularisation of churches and monasteries too closely associated with castles. Henry d'Avranches commented that the cathedral at Old Sarum was tainted by the proximity of the fortress:

“Against their [the monks'] will they had to supply uninvited soldiers with food, and, what was worse, even the poor had to leave homes of refuge, lest they be driven away in disgrace. The house of God in this fortress became nothing less than the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple of Baal. Either place was a prison” (43).

Yet in canon law, in the works of Augustine and in the words of Ailred of Rievaulx, the monk was the soldier of Christ, the monastery his castle. There was a dichotomy between the acceptable face of church secularisation and the extent to which the church could let itself be exploited.

5. Fortified Churches

Fortified churches existed both at the instigation of parishioners and lords. In North Yorkshire there are a group of church towers containing features indicative of domestic accommodation; fireplaces, garderobes etc. The tower of Bedale church is protected by a portcullis at the foot of the stair. Such towers were designed to be occupied in emergencies but by whom it is often difficult to say; most towers would have difficulty sheltering more than a dozen people and so would be little use for any but the smallest hamlet. To know who such towers were designed for we need to establish the relationship between church and local landowner. Did he have his own secular defence or was his status such

43. W.J.Torrance, A Contemporary Poem on the Removal of Salisbury Cathedral From Old in Sarum, Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine 57, 1959 p.242

that his home was less secure than the church ? Fortified churches do seem to appear in areas where population is meagre and dispersed and secular defences are thin on the ground, suggesting that they provide a focal point for the community. An exception is Bamburgh in Northumberland where there is a fortified church close to the castle. Perhaps we see here the parishioners making their own provisions for their security because their proximity to a major castle makes the area prone to attack. Alternatively, the protection could be against drunken troops from the local garrison ! The advowson of the church at Bamburgh and of a similarly fortified church at Norham, belonged to the bishops of Durham. These prelates were used to fortifying their castles and palaces and so it perhaps simply followed that they should also fortify the churches most closely connected with them.

Twelfth-century mottes or ringworks were placed next to churches to emphasise the seigneurial power of the castle-dweller, their partnership with the priest in local government. However, in exceptional circumstances churches could be seized for purely military purposes. In 1144 the church of Merrington was encircled by a ditch (44) .The Empress Matilda's men built a timber 'fort' at Bampton in 1141. According to the Gesta Stephani it was placed " right on the church tower, which had been built in olden times of wondrous form and with extraordinary skill and ingenuity" (45). Perhaps a palisaded curved ringwork was thrown around the church. The Gesta suggests the tower to be very old but the base of the present structure is Norman and extremely solid. A late 11th century building may have seemed 'ancient' to a writer of the enlightened 1140's. The church/castle was captured by Stephen's forces in 1142. Considering its location near Oxford, the year and the Gesta description, it is most likely that the Matildan troops simply added encircling defences to an already strong church. In an age of predominantly timber castles a stone church was a magnet to an army. William Le Gros expelled the canons of Bridlington in 1143 and

44. Morris, p.252

45. K.R.Potter, ed. and trans. Gesta Stephani, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976, pp.138-9

then fortified the building. 'Castleburun' occurs as a place-name here (46). The supreme example of a fortified church comes from Meelick in Ireland where a church was filled with earth up to its gables to form a motte (47). The church on its own was probably stronger !

Contemporary chroniclers were strongly against the utilisation of church property by warring factions. The 'Gesta Stephani' deplored how in 1140 Geoffrey Talbot, a relative of Gilbert de Lacy of Weobley and Ludlow, besieged the troops of King Stephen in Hereford castle:

"Entering the church of the mother of God, the cathedral church of the episcopal see, and impiously driving out the ministrants at God's table, he recklessly brought in a throng of armed men and turned a house of prayers and a place of atonement for souls to a confusion of strife and a haunt of war and blood. It was indeed dreadful and intolerable to all men of righteous feelings to see a dwelling of life and salvation transformed into an asylum of plunderers and warriors, while everywhere the townsmen were uttering cries of lamentation, either because the earth of their kinsfolk's graveyard was being heaped up to form a rampart and they could see, a cruel sight, the bodies of parents and relations, some half-rotten, some quite lately buried, pitilessly dragged from the depths; or because at one time it was visible that catapults were being put up on the tower from which they had heard the sweet and pacific admonition of the bells, at another that missiles were being shot from it to harm the king's garrison" (48).

This illustrates the inherent danger of building your castle next to a church. There were many spiritual and practical benefits but, at the same time, the church was an excellent base for enemy forces; even the graveyard could be disturbed to form ramparts.

The 11th and 12th centuries saw large numbers of western towers added to parish churches - where these stood next to late Saxon or Norman earthworks they surely had a defensive as well as a liturgical function. The word 'belfrey' originates from 2 Germanic words, 'bergan' (to protect) and 'frithuz' (peace). In the 11th century belfrey meant something like strong-place, refuge or tower (49). Bells were hung in

46. The Chronicle of John of Hexham, in Symeonis Monachi opera omnia, ed. T. Arnold, RS 1882 p. 315

47. Morris, p.252

48. Gesta Stephani, ed., K.R. Potter, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976 pp.108-111

49. Morris, p.255

early towers and had a warning as well as religious function. It is highly likely that the predominantly timber-building Anglo-Saxons regarded their stone churches as places of refuge as well as prayer. If this is the case, there was good reason for an incoming Norman to site his often hastily-built earthwork next to a church, or even to encompass it in his bailey as happened at the Mowbray castle of Owston. If such churches appear to take up too much space today, we must remember that they have been constantly re-developed since, and their area increased two-or-three-fold.

The Northamptonshire tower of Earls' Barton is a fine example of an originally free-standing late Saxon structure that was only later incorporated into a parish church. It is ostentatious with long-and-short quoins, round and triangular-headed openings, arcading, pilaster strips and string-courses, strip-work and baluster shafts. It also occupies a defensible position on a promontory spur within a large ringwork of uncertain date. Yet it is very small - too small to have served a village community as their place of worship. It probably represents one portion of a late Saxon defended-seigneurial site, later occupied by the incoming Norman lord. The tower would have been incorporated into the parish church once the fortifications had passed out of use (50). Earls Barton points to the fact that earthworks around churches, as at Laughton-en-le-Morthen and Owston Ferry, may not always post-date adjacent early castles. They are quite possibly examples of late Saxon fortified private churches. The first fortifications at Hastings, Dover and Pevensey, all encompassed pre-Conquest churches if not elements of pre-Conquest defences.

In the Norman period there are examples of congregations/bishops fortifying their ecclesiastical buildings as opposed to merely encasing them in defensive enclosures. At Gundulf's Rochester a small early Norman tower stands in the angle between the north transept and the

50. Nigel & Mary Kerr, *A Guide to Anglo-Saxon Sites*, Granada 1982 pp.89-91; H.M. Taylor & Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* 1, CUP. 1980 pp.222-226; H.Richmond, *Outlines of Church Development in Northamptonshire*, in, L.A.S.Butler and R.Morris, *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, CBA Research Report 60, 1986, pp.176-87

north choir aisle. Freestanding, it is almost square with heavy clasping buttresses. The original windows survive at ground, first and second floor level, small and deeply splayed. On the second floor there is an arch at the south end of the west wall; this may have been the doorway to a bridge connecting the tower to the north transept. The tower now contains the choir boys' practise room. With its thick walls and high entry it presents the appearance of a 'mini' keep (51). Gundulf possessed a second tower at West Malling, in association with a monastery. St. Leonards' Tower dates to c.1100. It stands on a commanding site on a shelf of rock, with 2 storeys marked on the exterior by windows - those on the east and south faces are set within rows of simple blind arcades. There is no stringcourse. The corners have shallow clasping pilaster buttresses, the north-west one enlarged to take a stair turret (52). The south wall has a central flat buttress. Both these towers are mini 'donjons', intended for the bishop rather than the local community. They are ecclesiastical versions of the baronial castle, though with the situation reversed. Ludlow is a large castle with a small chapel, Rochester is a large cathedral with a small donjon.

Churches could be completely surrounded by castles. A charter of William I to the monks of St. Benoit-sur-Loire tells how, for the safety of the Norman frontier with Brittany, he built a castle round the church of St. James de Beuvron and gave to the castle many rights which did not pertain to it (53). Thus he protected the community, the heart of the community being the church. In England we have the example of Tynemouth Priory. This was set within one of the largest fortified areas in the country and, from at least the 14th century, the priory was required to maintain a standing garrison. This was a fortified area crucial to national defence yet it was controlled by monks. It easily maintained both its religious and military character. In the 15th century

51. J. Newman, *West Kent and the Weald*, The Buildings of England series, 2nd edition, Penguin 1976 p.473; Pam Marshall - private communication.

52. Nigel and Mary Kerr, *Norman Sites in Britain* p.49; J. Newman, *West Kent and the Weald*, Penguin 1976, 2nd edition p.605

53. *Regesta I*, p.2

the Percies built a chantry chapel here; their arms appear on many of the roof bosses entwined with the symbols of Christ, the Virgin and the Apostles. There is no conflict in the symbolism.

Protection for the church or bishop did not have to come in the form of a separate structure. Richard Gem has postulated that, at Lincoln, the west front of the minster in the 11th century was in itself a fortification with machicolations, garderobes, slit windows positioned to overlook portals and timber gallery to overlook the south side (54). Here the defensive mechanisms were brought to the church itself, rather than remaining at the precinct entrance as is the case with most monasteries. Lincoln represents the dilemma faced by churches when they found themselves next-door to fortresses of national strategic significance; if they did nothing, they were liable to face the treatment meted out to Hereford Cathedral during the Anarchy . If they semi-fortified themselves then they were an even more attractive proposition for a besieging force, but they were equipped to defend themselves against the neighbouring castle, should the need arise, and the strength of their fabric would ensure the better survival of their church.

A fortified church could indicate the oppression of the brethren or villagers. Orderic Vitalis recalled how the tenants of his own abbey at St.Evrout were forced to serve Robert of Belleme by building him new castles and demolishing those of his enemies. The abbot of St.Evrout eventually raised a tallage on his tenants and paid it to Belleme as protection money. Orderic recalls Robert, the simoniacal abbot of St.Pierre-sur-Dive, who in 1106 'converted the abbey into a fortress, assembled a troop of knights, and so turned the temple of God into a den of thieves', in order to support Curthose. Henry I attacked the castle-monastery and burnt to death the knights who had hidden in the church tower (55).

54. Richard Gem, Lincoln Minster: *Ecclesia Pulchra, Ecclesia Fortis*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 8: Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral 1986 pp.9-28

55. Marjorie Chibnall, Orderic Vitalis on Castles, Studies in Medieval History presented to R.Allen Brown, ed., C.Harper-Bill, S.J.Holdsworth, J.L.Nelson, The Boydell Press 1989 pp.43-56

There are numerous examples of noblemen who both patronised and oppressed the church. In uncertain political times the church was easy game. But as the end of life approached, or after bouts of illness, remorse often caused the sinner to restore his gains in full and offer more to salve his conscience. In this sense oppression could reap long term benefits. Between 1109 and 1114 Nigel d'Aubigny made restitution to St. Peter's York, to St. Cuthbert's Durham, to St. Albans, to Bec, to Lewes, to Selby and to Holy Trinity, York, amongst others (56). Perhaps it was his father's example that turned his son (Roger de Mowbray) into one of the foremost monastic benefactors of his day.

6. The Ecclesiastical Heritage

The Normans inherited an English church that was already in the process of being broken down into more manageable units. The large minster churches were slowly relinquishing their parochial duties to the thousands of smaller churches served by single priests being built by private lords. The minster church at Conisborough, 'the king's stronghold', had once overseen the religious provision for the whole of southern Yorkshire. It stood within the chief of a series of burghs defending the Don and the Dearne at Barnburgh, Kexbrough, Masbrough, Mexborough, Sprotborough, Stainborough and Worsbrough (57). By Domesday Conisborough had relinquished much of its control to the new lordships of Tickhill, Laughton and Doncaster and, soon after, Blyth Priory had been founded by Roger de Busli.

The Normans had several options available to ensure adequate church provision. Some, like de Busli, chose to establish alien priories and divert to Norman houses the tithes previously owed to the minsters. At Conisborough the Warennes chose to maintain the minster church. The canons probably remained in place, their ranks being filled by nominees of the earl as vacancies arose. At Pontefract Ilbert de Lacy

56. Mowbray Charters, nos.2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8.

57. P.F.Ryder, Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire, South Yorkshire County Council County Archaeology Monograph No.2 1982 pp.12-13; John Blair, Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book, in Peter Sawyer, ed., Domesday Book: A Reassessment, Edward Arnold 1985 pp.104-142

built a new non-parochial chapel within his castle but chose a collegiate format. St.Clement's, Pontefract was, and St.Peter's Conisborough became, more a group of noble clerks and retired servants than a religious community. Conisborough however, retained a reduced parochial function.

Whether the church was parochial or collegiate it shared a dependency upon the neighbouring castle. It has been said with regard to the Norman invasions of Wales that ; "the Norman church was just as much an instrument of conquest as the Norman knights" (58). It was for this reason that the reorganisation of the church was so important in the early years. The later monastic patronage had a profound effect upon the relationship of lord and church but it was the manipulation of the secular church that bound together ruler and ruled.

CASTLE AND MONASTERY

CHAPTER SIX

In 1986 Michael Thompson wrote ; “As the majority of castles are not associated with a monastery it [the building of a monastery close to a castle] can only have been an act of piety considered desirable by many but achieved by few” (1). The list he appended was indeed ‘tentative’; I have identified a further 24 cases from my regional study alone. Yet in comparison with the numbers of parish churches standing in association with castles, the number of monastic/castle relationships are few; we are seeing here a difference in status. Castles and capita of lesser status evolve around churches, monasteries are planted next to honorial HQ’s . There is another difference; castles follow churches but monasteries follow castles (in 95% of instances). It is misleading to call this an ‘act of piety’ - piety is only one of many reasons.

The Warennes built Cluniac priories close to their castles at Lewes and Acre, the wandering monks of Byland were settled for a short while within the Mowbray castle of Thirsk (2). William Le Gros initially endowed Vaudey Abbey next to Castle Bytham. Both the Warennes and the Bigods endowed monasteries close to their castles in Thetford. Their motives were varied and tell us much about their conception of their role in society but, before we explore the reasons behind the geographical proximity of some castles and monasteries, we must first establish why the monasteries were seen as attractive investments and what they had to offer secular authority.

1.Economy

First, little investment was required. Outlying parcels of land and land of

1. M.W.Thompson, Associated Monasteries and castles in the middle ages:a tentative list, Arch.J. 143, 1986 pp.305-21

2. Mon. Ang. 5 pp.349-50. Dugdale recounts the legend that the Seneschal of Thirsk invited the refugee Calder monks into the castle for refreshment. Gundrada de Mowbray watched them from the keep and only when she was satisfied of their piety did she decide to help them.

poor quality brought a better return when passed on to a monastery; the brethren exerted maximum effort for a minimum return whilst the benefactor gave a meagre gift but reaped spiritual benefits. This is not piety, but pragmatism. Frequently houses were endowed so poorly that their survival was in jeopardy within a generation and a new site was sought (eg. Byland, Vaudey, Sallay, Stanlaw). In the case of Vaudey, founded in 1147, the new site was provided not by William Le Gros, the founder of the house, but by Geoffrey de Brachecourt, a tenant of the earl of Lincoln. Yet it was William Le Gros who retained all the benefits of being 'patron' and was remembered as such in monastic annals. In reverse it is clear that sometimes it was the monastery that actively sought the patron to found a daughter house and thus take some of the economic pressure off the parent by removing a quota of monks.

Grants of parish churches, whether they be merely of the advowson or of the whole beneficum, cost the grantor little in the post-Gregorian climate. Aumale Abbey, via its cell of Burstall, controlled fifteen churches in Eastern Yorkshire. Yet disputed claims occurred frequently; the Ros family attempted to revoke Walter Espec's gift of churches to Kirkham and many churches found themselves the object of lengthy disputes. Adel Church was claimed by Holy Trinity, Sallay and Roche. The settlement of disputes frequently involved the patron. In a complicated case of the 1130's, between Whitby Abbey and Guisborough Priory over the chapel of Middlesborough, it was Robert Brus rather than any ecclesiastical council who negotiated the compromise (3). The alienation of parish churches in no way diminished the patron's influence over his former property.

Monasteries were useful sources of income, influence and prestige; sufficient patronage was dispensed to ensure house loyalty and political support but seldom were grants made that truly 'hurt the pocket' of the giver. James Alexander describes earl Ranulf of Chester (c.1170-1232)

3. EYC 2, no.873. See Janet E.Burton, *Monasteries and Parish Churches in Eleventh and Twelfth Century Yorkshire*, *Northern History* 23, 1987 pp.39-50

as a 'pinchpenny patron'. He makes the point that small frequent gifts meant much more to the monastery than they did to the wealthy giver. Many grants concerned future profits rather than current income and so were hardly missed. Immunities from toll arguably encouraged the economic development of honorial towns whilst judicial rights relieved houses from 'burdens and nuisances' without effecting the income of the earl (4).

Grants of common pasture improved the donor's own stock. William de Stuteville gave arable and pasture to Kirkstall on condition that 400 of the abbey's sheep should be folded in his sheepfolds (5). By this means beneficial cross-breeding would occur, some of the resulting lambs would accrue to Stuteville, and a valuable extra source of manure would be created.

The foundation of a monastery could prevent legal action being taken to recover land. When Henry de Lacy settled monks from Fountains at Barnoldswick in 1147, unbeknown to them the tenancy of the site was in dispute. De Lacy was the mesne tenant of Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk. He had defaulted on his rent payments and this fact alone negated his right to grant the land to the Cistercians. It was a cunning move. If land was in dispute it made sound sense for one party to grant it to the church. Great pressure was thereby exerted on the other party to allow the gift to stand. Both men lost the use of the land but the grantor gained all the rights of a monastic patron (6).

2. Nepotism

Monasteries could be treated as little more than proprietary parish churches, their rights, titles and estates being exploited. Often relatives of the founder/patron were installed as abbot or prior. The first prior of re-founded Whitby was William Percy's brother Serlo and the first

4. James W. Alexander, Ranulf of Chester: A Relic of the Conquest, University of Georgia Press 1983 pp.44-49

5. EYC 3 pp.308-9

6. E.K. Clark, The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey, Publications of the Thoresby Society 4, 1895 pp.169-208

abbot, when the status of the house was raised in 1089, was Serlo's nephew William. William de Brus was prior of Guisborough from its foundation to c.1145. The present church at Selby was begun by Abbot Hugh de Lacy (1097-1123). Selby was a royal foundation but the town had long-lasting connections with the Lacy family who built a siege castle here during the anarchy. Walter Espec's uncle was the first prior of Kirkham. In 1304 a Cistercian from Old Warden in Bedfordshire was elected prior of Cluniac Thetford. The only possible reason can be that his name was Bigod !

Family appointees worked to the benefit of both parties. There are numerous 12th century examples of patrons abusing their houses for their own gain, usurping land and rights. This tended not to happen when relatives were inmates of the house, and certainly not when a relative occupied the chief office. This was a benevolent nepotism, accepted by the religious as being to their own advantage.

3. Hospitality

Hospitality was one of the founding tenets of the Benedictine rule. Accommodation, service and care should be suited to the traveller's rank and sex. The Cistercians allowed women within the precinct for nine days on the occasion of a church' dedication and forbade them to spend a night whilst the Premonstratensians allowed patronesses only to enter the Cloister. For noble lords travelling with retinues a guest house was provided, normally with its own kitchen and latrine block. Should the retinue be too large tents would be erected for the servants and baggage.

A noble could only expect free hospitality from a monastery founded by his family. Lewes Priory held the manor of Walton in Norfolk of the Warennes, for the service of 2 'hospicia' in the year, on the way to Yorkshire and back; if they stayed more often they were to pay (7).

Walton lay near the roads from King's Lynn and Castle Acre to Wisbech at the lowest crossing point of the River Nene. It provided a convenient first night's halt on any journey into Yorkshire.

Kirkstall Abbey, founded by Henry de Lacy in 1147, was conveniently situated at the mid-point on the important trans-Pennine route that connected his honours of Clitheroe in Lancashire and Pontefract in Yorkshire. Excavations in the 1950's recovered a high proportion of non-locally produced pottery, particularly from the south-western midlands (8). Stephen Moorhouse has suggested that this is explained by the journeys of Lacy lords and administrators from estate to estate over a large area of the midlands and north. Midland tripod-pitchers were recovered at Kirkstall and also at Castle Hill, Almondbury, and Hiliam Burchard, the latter two sites both being Lacy estate centres in the 12th and early 13th centuries. Kirkstall shares its early medieval series of pottery with the Cluniac priory at Pontefract; ware, glaze, shape, rims and sometimes even decoration are often similar. When differences do occur they are late medieval, perhaps indicating the breakdown in the cohesion of the Lacy estates that followed the death of Thomas of Lancaster. Kirkstall served the Lacy family as a staging post and is an example of a monastery serving a different function to those closer to baronial castles. The most successful element within the abbey was the guest-house; when decline set in in the 15th century this building was rebuilt and enlarged, causing Moorhouse to suggest that it "may even have been run as a separate concern, or even leased out" (9).

The guest accommodation at Kirkstall, excavated in the 1980's, centred on a large aisled hall of the 13th century. As originally built, the guest-house comprised a substantial timber-framed aisled-hall of 4 bays set on cill walls, with an open central hearth and a service wing at its south

8. Stephen Moorhouse and Stuart Wrathmell, *Kirkstall Abbey Vol.1: The 1950-64 excavations: a reassessment*. Yorkshire Archaeology 1, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service 1987, p.108; C. Vincent Bellamy, *Pontefract Priory Excavations 1957-1961*, Publications of the Thoresby Society 49, 1962-64 p.106

9. Moorhouse and Wrathmell, *Op. Cit.* p.108

end. A wall fireplace at the north end of the hall suggests that the northern bay was partitioned off as a sleeping chamber. To the south of the hall block was a detached kitchen, and against its southeast corner were the fragmentary remains of a bakehouse. The building had a piped water supply (10).

This accommodation, resembling a manor-house in layout, was improved in the late 13th century. The main hall was rebuilt in stone with the addition of a 2-storey chamber block at its north end. At the south end, the service block was rebuilt as a cross-wing with additional chambers at first floor level and one on the ground floor. The main monastic drain was diverted to run down the west side of the guest-house, to serve latrine towers attached to both chamber blocks. To the south, the bakehouse was extended and a scullery provided. A new timber-framed hall with an open hearth was built to the west to accommodate lesser visitors.

At Easby the guest hall was a large vaulted chamber with a fireplace. Above it was the prior's chamber and above this the canons' dormitory. Attached to the west side of this building was another three storey block. This provided latrines for the canons on the top floor, high-status guest accommodation on the middle floor and lower status accommodation on the ground. The block was ingeniously planned, each section having separate access and thus privacy (11).

With guest accommodation provided of this calibre it is hardly surprising that the nobility chose to make use of monastic hospitality. As visitors they were exempted from the monastic code of discipline and were free to enjoy themselves at the monks' expense. In the 13th century Ranulf Neville of Middleham is said to have spent much of his time at Coverham Abbey, making the most of his rights as patron

10. Stephen Moorhouse and Stuart Wrathmell, *Kirkstall Abbey Vol.1: The 1960-64 excavations: a reassessment*, Yorkshire Archaeology 1, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service 1987; Glyn Coppack, *Abbeys and Priors*, Batsford 1990 pp.104-5

11. John Weaver, *Richmond Castle and Easby Abbey*, English Heritage 1989 pp.26-7

despite the fact that his castle at Middleham was less than two miles away (12). At Llantony Prima in 1135 a noble Welshman sought refuge with his household. They commandeered the refectory where the women 'were not ashamed to sing and profane the place with their light and effeminate behaviour' (13). Llantony was in a particularly awkward position in the midst of the marches. The founding family's properties in Ireland also meant that Llantony became a sanctuary for Anglo-Irish fleeing conflict; the priory was frequently home to exiled archbishops of Armagh. It is no wonder that monks sometimes complained that there was only thin soup left for them to eat after a party of visitors had left (14).

These secular drains on monastic resources eventually caused the latter to limit, via charter, the amount of hospitality and charity they were obliged to dispense (15).

For a high-ranking baron, involved in local and national politics, the provision of friendly monasteries was a useful adjunct to the stock of castles, town-houses and manor-houses he might have positioned throughout the country. Henry de Lacy's successor at Pontefract in 1311, Thomas of Lancaster, rarely strayed from Northern England during his dispute with John de Warenne because he had no following in the Warenne strongholds of Surrey and Sussex. John de Warenne, by contrast, had castles and houses in virtually all areas of the country from Lewes on the south coast to Reigate in Surrey, to Thetford and Acre in East Anglia, to Holt in North Wales, to Conisborough and Sandal in Yorkshire (and these were only the major sites). Warenne monasteries were generally close to Warenne castles which might be seen to negate the advantage of having monasteries for the purpose of accommodation but, when a family had large numbers of castles the

12. Guy Halsall, *Coverham Abbey: Its Context in the Landscape of Late Medieval North Yorkshire*, in Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum, eds., *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, BAR 203, 1989 p.127

13. G. Roberts, *Some Account of Llantony Priory, Monmouthshire*, London 1847 p.57

14. Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, The Boydell Press 1989 pp.84-5

15. For an example see EYC 8, p.57

monasteries served to expand their sphere of influence in each particular locality. For less wealthy barons it was expedient to maintain a balance between having all your ecclesiastical endowments on your doorstep, where they undoubtedly enhanced the nobility of your estate, and having some further afield where they could provide convenient accommodation.

4. Service

Much practical assistance flowed between monastery and patron. William de Warenne II gave to Castle Acre priory Ulmar the serf, a local stonemason, to assist the monks in the building of the church (16). The Warennes found themselves recognised as arbitrators in disputes between Cluniac foundations. One notable case affected their own houses. In 1283 William of Shoreham, Prior of Acre, used Warenne retainers to fortify his house, so as to defy the attempts of the Prior of Lewes to replace him. The outcome is not recorded but the earl was approached by the Abbot of Cluny and asked to eject Shoreham (17). Two centuries after the endowments of the first Warenne the bonds between the Cluniac movement and the earls of Surrey were as strong as ever. It was similar with the Percies and Whitby. In 1299, when the patronage of Whitby had passed from the Percies to the crown more than a century before, Henry Percy, endowing an anniversary there 'pur plus solempnement a aver le alme de nous en memoyre', spoke of 'our monks there serving God' (18).

Loyalty to the patron might come before that to the mother house. In 1201 the monks of Lewes supported Earl Warenne against the wishes of Cluny, excusing themselves by saying that the king, earls, barons and all the magnates were of one opinion in supporting the earl, and would take anything done against him as done against the whole realm (19).

16. F.J.E.Raby and P.K.Baillie Reynolds, *Castle Acre Priory*, 2nd edition HMSO 1952 p.4

17. *Ibid* p.4

18. *Mon.Ang.* 1 pp.415-6

19. G.F.Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny 1*, Lewes 1888 pp.99-101

The monastery was in effect a service industry, putting all manner of skilled men at the founders disposal. Monks witnessed charters and advanced loans. Two of the three executors of the will of Isabella de Forz were the Priors of Breamore and Christchurch, both houses being of her patronage (20). Monasteries provided scribes to record for posterity the histories of their founding families.

5. Proximity

Religious houses are more often placed next to major castles than to minor estate centres. In that sense **Figure 21** is misleading because it is concerned purely with the smallest distance between monastery and patron's castle and does not assess the status of the latter. It still, however, indicates those monasteries most firmly fixed within the 'orbit' of their founder. It also confirms that the closeness of the relationship lasted throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. Few Cistercian houses were founded after 1150 but, when Whalley was transferred from Stanlow in Cheshire to a site in Lancashire, it took up a position suitably close to Clitheroe.

Inverted commas around the name of the founder indicate this to be a 'hi-jacked' foundation; the monastery is founded by a mesne tenant but his lord usurps his rights and is soon considered to be the founder of the house, often being called such in the monastic annals. Jervaulx Abbey was founded in 1144 by Ascaris FitzBardolph, a tenant of the honour of Richmond, on land near Fors (21). In 1156 the house relocated to better land at Jervaulx, taken from the demesne of Earl Conan (22). FitzBardolph found all the privileges granted to the founder gradually being passed to the lords of Richmond. However, this process had started long before the move to Jervaulx. FitzBardolph's initial settlement was confirmed by earl Alan of Brittany who added a gift of wood from his own forest. He also requested that he be invited to

20. Susan Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century*, OUP 1955 p.167

21. *ESQ* 4, Part 1, no.23, pp.23-4

22. *ESQ* 4, Part 1, no.29, pp.32-3

the inauguration ceremony and together with his tenants he witnessed the raising of the first timber church (23). This was a ceremony of great spiritual significance and one at which Alan had stolen the place of principal honour from his tenant FitzBardolph.

Figure 20: Proximity of Cistercian Monasteries and Founder's Castles

<u>Monastery</u>	<u>Castle</u>	<u>Distance Between</u>	<u>Founder/Date</u>
Byland	Thirsk	8 miles	Mowbray c.1138
Combe (Warwicks)	Brinklow	1 3/4 miles	'Mowbray' 1150
Jervaulx	Richmond	10 miles	'Richmond' 1145
Kirkstall	Kippax	10 miles	Lacy 1147
Melsa	Skipsea	11 miles	Aumale 1150
Rievaulx	Helmsley	2 miles	Espec 1131
Roche	Laughton	2 miles	Busli 1147
Sallay	Gisburne	4 1/4 miles	Percy 1147
Vaudey (Lincs)	Bytham	Adjacent, then 4 miles	Aumale 1147
Warden (Beds)	Old Warden	1 mile	Espec 1136
Whalley	Clitheroe	4 miles	Lacy 1172 (relocated 1296)

The key relationship to note is that of Rievaulx and Helmsley. Here Walter Espec followed the example of Bishop William Giffard of Winchester who planted the first Cistercian foundation in England 1 3/4 miles from his manor of Farnham at Waverley in Surrey. Rievaulx was the first Cistercian foundation in Yorkshire. That both new houses were placed so deliberately 'under the wing' of their founder suggests the novelty of the order at that time and its need for protection, although it must be remembered that Farnham castle was built after the abbey. Abbey first, castle second was also the case at Taunton where Giffard's successor Henry of Blois held power. This may reflect the subtle difference between an ecclesiastical and a secular lord; the first builds

23. Peter Fergusson, *The First Architecture of the Cistercians and the work of Abbot Adam of Meaux*, JBA 136, 1983 p.77

a castle as an adjunct to an important church, the second builds a church as an adjunct to an important castle. But the order of building is less vital than the consistency of proximity. Waverley and Rievaulx set a precedent that many others would follow.

From the eleven sites in **Figure 20**, we can distinguish between those in close proximity and those further removed. Melsa, Kirkstall, Jervaulx and Byland were all within an easy morning-ride of their founder's nearest castle but they were not 'next door' as were Rievaulx, Warden, Roche and the others. We have already seen that Kirkstall provided a link between dispersed Lacy estates. Melsa Abbey seems to have filled a power void in southern Holderness, where there was no castle, by acting as the administrative centre of Helpston bailiwick (24). Mowbray benefactions to Byland were so small if frequent, that the house moved from Thirsk castle to Hood, to Old Byland, to Stocking and finally to Byland before achieving permanent settlement. The house only gained a secure base when its patron, Roger de Mowbray, attained his majority. Byland's temporary home, within the sound of the bells of Rievaulx, may indicate Mowbray hostility towards Walter Espec and an attempt at rivalry. Jervaulx, although ten miles from Richmond, was built on demesne land belonging to the lord of the honour and enjoyed as close a relationship as was possible with a frequently absentee patron.

Figure 21 indicates that the Cistercian ideals of solitude and freedom from secular taint were not long-lasting. The Cistercians were as involved in the everyday social and political life of Yorkshire as any other monastic order and their relationships with neighbouring castles and castellans were in some cases closer; few partnerships were stronger than that of Walter Espec and Ailred of Rievaulx.

A. The Augustinians

We would expect close relationships between Augustinian houses and

Figure 21: Proximity of Cistercian Monasteries and Associated Castles

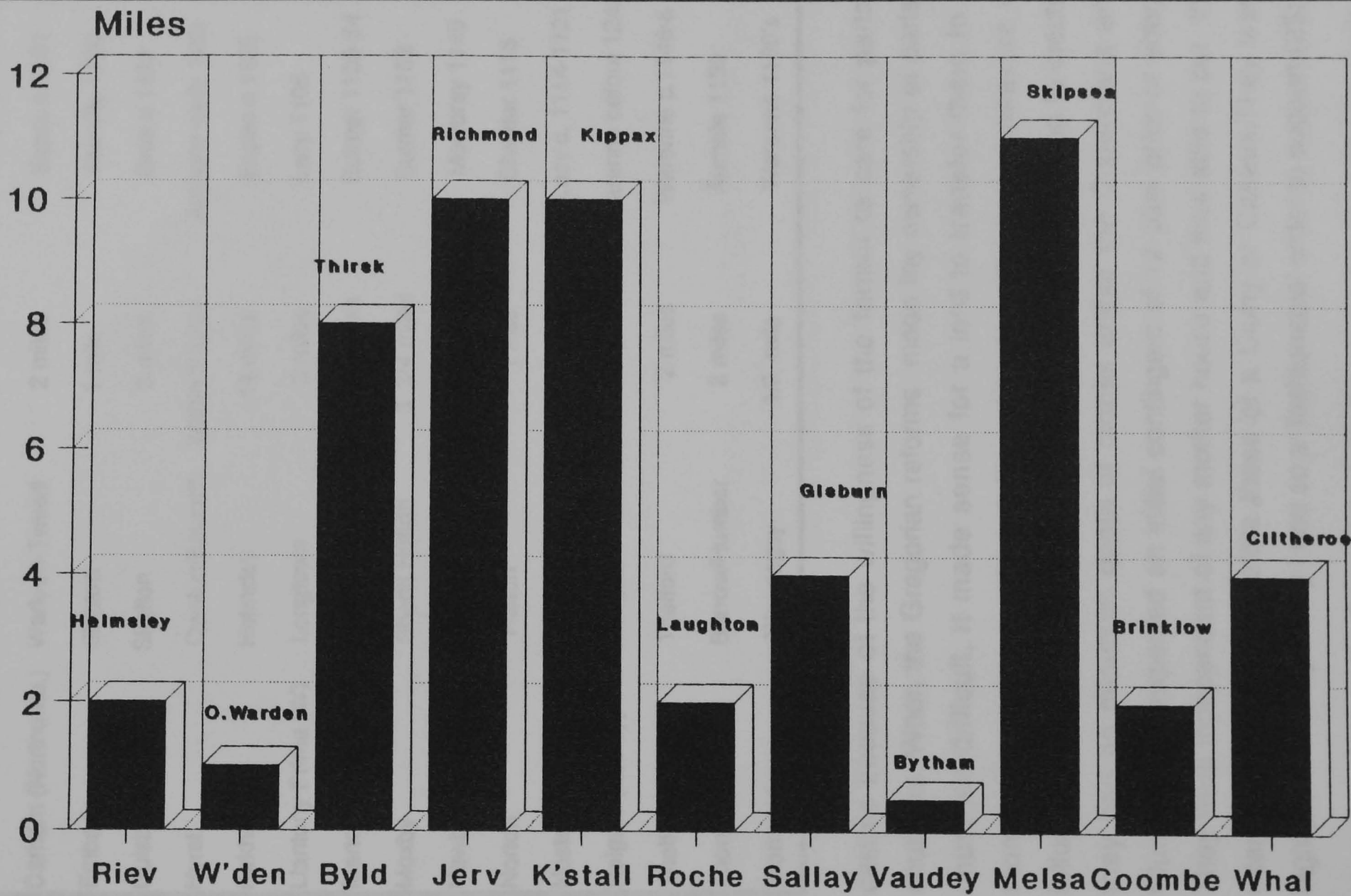


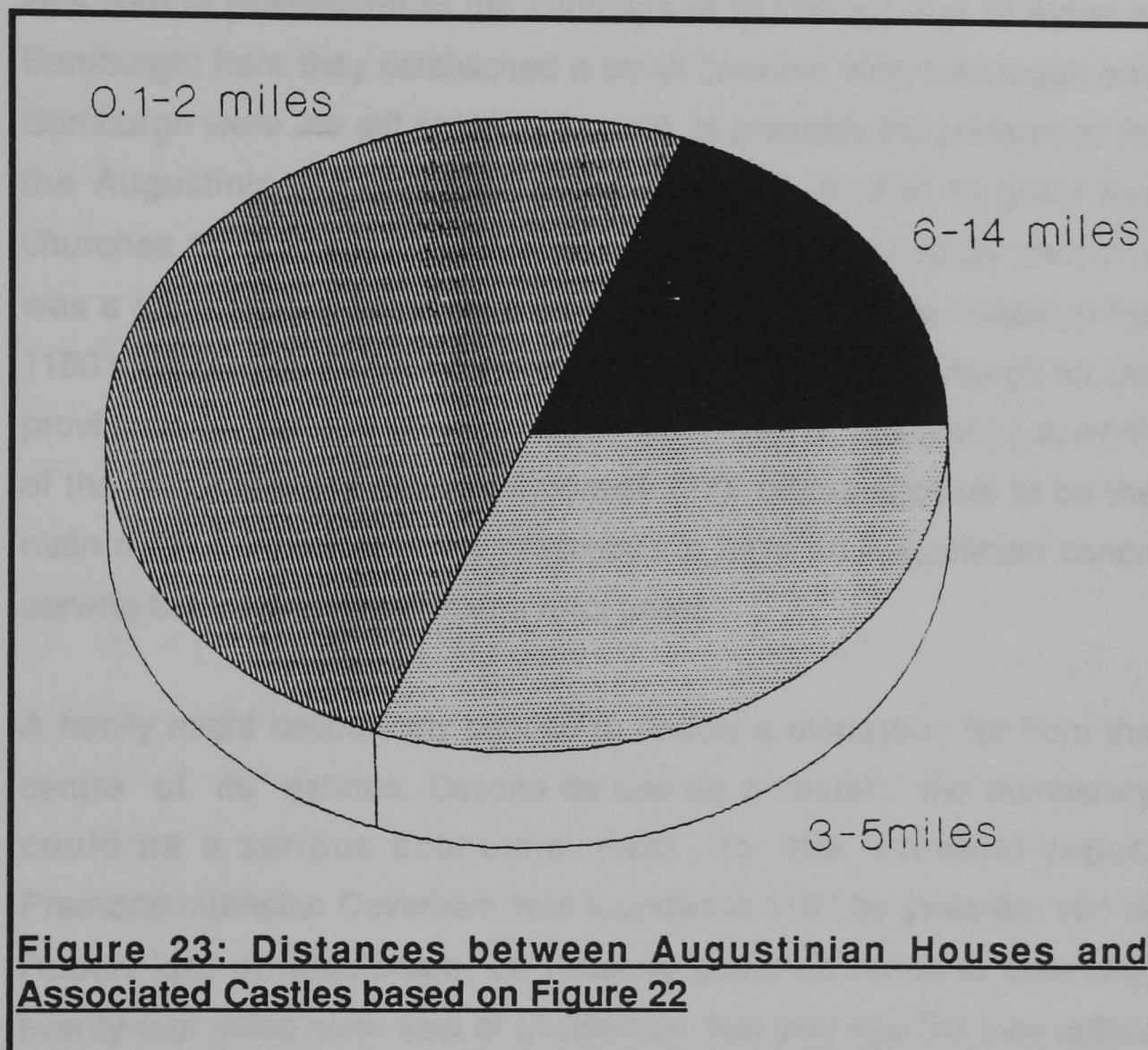
Figure 22: Proximity of Augustinian houses and Founder's castles

<u>Monastery</u>	<u>Castle</u>	<u>Distance Between</u>	<u>Founder/Date</u>
Aconbury (Herefs)	Longtown	12 miles	Lacy 1216
Carham (Northumb.)	Wark-on-Tweed	2 miles	Espec c.1131
Embsay	Skipton	1 mile	Rumilly 1120
Guisborough	Skelton	3 miles	Brus c.1119
Hyrst	Owston/Epworth	Within 5 miles	Aubigny early 12th
Kirkham	Helmsley	14 miles	Espec c.1125
Llantony Prima (W)	Longtown	2 miles	Lacy 1108
Marton	Sheriff Hutton	3 1/2 miles	Bulmer 1135-54
Moxby	Sheriff Hutton	3 3/4 miles	Bulmer 1158
Newburgh	Thirsk	8 miles	Mowbray 1145
Norton	Halton	1 mile	Chester 1115
Nostell	Pontefract	4 miles	Lacy c. 1114-1121
Reigate (Surrey)	Reigate	1/2 mile	Warrenne before 1240
Thetford (Norf.)	Thetford	2 miles	Warrenne c.1146-8
Thornton	Barrow/Humber	2 miles	Aumale 1139
Wormegay	Wormegay	1/2 mile	Warrenne 1180's

castles because of the willingness of the former to care for parish churches. When the Gregorian reforms made lay ownership of parish churches difficult, it made sense for a lord to transfer them to a monastery of his own foundation, thereby retaining a measure of influence otherwise denied. Augustinian houses were cheap to create; they had no minimum quota of monks unlike the Cistercians and Cluniacs who expected an initial contingent of 12 plus prior or abbot. They were independent of any mother house and thus able to put the interests of a patron before those of a Cluny or Citeaux. They were highly favoured by Henry I and so a 'fashionable' order to support (25).

25. Rev.J.C.Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*, S.P.C.K. London 1950

Figure 22 reveals that the sites furthest from their founder's castle, Kirkham and Aconbury, were competing for patronage with closer houses: Kirkham with Cistercian Rievaulx, and Aconbury with Llantony Prima. It is interesting to note that Walter Espec placed both of his



Cistercian foundations close to his castles whereas his earliest foundation, Augustinian Kirkham, was placed 14 miles away. This may be because he intended Kirkham to take over the running of parish churches in this area and to become his own base there. Newburgh settled on the site at Hood vacated by Byland. Roger de Mowbray made many benefactions to monastic houses but seems to have opted for 'quantity' rather than 'quality'. His charters show he was frequently in the company of the abbot of Byland and the prior of Newburgh, but he did not want them on his doorstep. The remaining cases are very close and must indicate a working relationship between the parties.

It is interesting to note the number of churches close to honorial castles

or manor houses that were granted to the Augustinians. A confirmation charter issued to Nostell by Archbishop Thurstan in the 1130's includes churches at Lythe (Fossard), Knaresborough, Weaverthorpe, Rothwell and Mexborough and 'the church of the castle of Tickhill' (26). Nostell was also in possession of the churches of St.Oswald and St.Aidan at Bamburgh; here they established a small convent. Knaresborough and Bamburgh were the gift of Henry I and it is probably his preference for the Augustinians that persuaded his tenants-in-chief to grant key churches to this order; once Augustinians served a nearby church it was a short step to obtaining their services for the castle chapel. In the 1180's William de Stuteville made an agreement with Newburgh for the provision of a resident chaplain within his chapel of Gillamoor just north of the honorial caput at Kirby Moorside (27). Status appears to be the main motive; it was far more prestigious to have an Augustinian canon serving the castle chapel than a rural priest.

A family might deliberately choose to endow a monastery far from the centre of its estates. Despite its use as a 'motel', the monastery could be a serious economic rival to the baronial caput. Premonstratensian Coverham was founded in 1187 by Waleran, son of Robert lord of Middleham, on recently acquired lands at Swainby, twenty-four miles north-east of Middleham. Not only was the new abbey far from the honour's heartland, but it possessed no territory from the ancestral demesne. However, because the tenants of the honour wished to endow the house, and as their lands were nearer Middleham, the abbey gradually acquired more and more property in that area rather than in its own heartland. By the early 13th century Swainby was isolated from the bulk of the abbey's estates and it made economic sense for the house to relocate itself to Coverham, within two miles of Middleham castle (28).

26. Janet E. Burton, *English Episcopal Acta V: York 1070-1154*, OUP, 1988 no. 54 pp.47-8; A. Hamilton Thompson, *A History and Architectural description of the Priory of St. Mary, Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 30, 1928 pp.27-33.

27. *EYC* 9, no.23 pp.102-3

28. Guy Halsall, *Coverham Abbey: its context in the Landscape of Late Medieval North Yorkshire*, in Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum, eds., *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, *BAR* 203, 1989 pp.113-139

6. The Monastery as Mausoleum

Most Norman barons were buried within monasteries their family had founded; the Brus' at Guisborough, Baldwin de Bethune at the door of the chapter house at Melsa, William Le Gros at Thornton, the Warennes at Lewes, the lords of Middleham at Coverham, Isabella de Forz at Breamore, William de Percy at Sallay, Walter Espec at Rievaulx and the later lords of Helmsley at Kirkham (29). In the early medieval period the location of family burials was status-enhancing. Laymen made substantial benefactions to churches to ensure a place of burial inside. In the 12th century it was fashionable for founders to be buried in the choir whilst monastic superiors were buried in the chapter house. At Pontefract the early Lacies were buried on either side of the altar of St. Benedict. Therefore, a good reason to site a castle next to a church was to create a family mausoleum. The 'family' of a lord was not confined to his living relatives. Henry II de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, stipulated that, when his monks of Stanlaw moved to a new site at Whalley in 1296, they must take with them the bones of his ancestors and call the new abbey 'Locus Benedictus', the name chosen by the original founder of Stanlaw (30). The site at Whalley was conveniently only three miles south of his castle at Clitheroe.

The links between the Yorkshire nobility and their monasteries did not diminish over time. Joel Rosenthal suggests that 'the greater the interval between the deaths the less likelihood of a common burial site' (31). This was not the case with Yorkshire as witnessed by the Whalley/Stanlaw transferral of coffins. The Warennes continued to favour Lewes priory from the death of Gundrada de Warenne in 1085 until that of John, the last earl de Warenne in 1347, when he requested that the 6 horses from his funeral procession should become the property of St. Pancras, Lewes (32). Distance between death-bed and

29. In 1845 lead caskets containing the bones of William and Gundrada de Warenne were found in the chapter house at Lewes. It is probable that they were removed from the choir during a 12th century rebuilding. See Glyn Coppack, *Abbeys and Priors*, Batsford 1990 pp.21-2

30. W.A.Hulton, ed., *The Coucher Book of Whalley*, 1, The Chetham Society 10, 1857 p.189

31. Joel Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise; Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972 p.96

32. *Ibid* p.86

burial site does not seem to have been a problem; Gundrada died at Castle Acre and John at Conisborough. However, some of the greater families were associated with a mausoleum at more than one site. Percies were buried alternatively at Whitby or Sallay, Lacies at Whalley or Pontefract, the lords of Helmsley at Rievaulx or Kirkham. One house would be favoured for a couple of generations but the alternatives were never forgotten.

Lay burial had an effect on church architecture. At Augustinian Kirkham, in the first quarter of the 13th century, an ambitious rebuilding began (33). Starting from the east a new choir and presbytery were built with eight bays and north and south aisles (the 12th century predecessor had been aisleless). It can be no coincidence that the completion of the first phase coincided with the beginning of 4 generations of de Roos burial here. In 1258 William de Roos was buried in front of the high altar in the middle of the presbytery (a position that in itself suggests his role in the building schemes). Robert de Roos was placed in a marble tomb on the south side in 1285, paralleled on the north side by William de Roos in 1316. Finally, his successor William was buried on the south side next to the high altar in 1343. When the burials ceased so did the rebuilding.

Monasteries added prestige to honorial capita. It was the same principal, although in reverse, that caused the Capetians to establish a palace next to the abbey of St.Denis and Henry III to build his palace of Westminster next to the abbey of his predecessors. Such provision, and on a lesser scale the provision of chapels within castles, proclaimed the intimate links between the elite and the deity. We only have to look at Castle Acre Priory - whereas its forerunner at Lewes was always known as the house of St.Pancras, here the house has come down through history with a name suggesting it was a possession of the nearby castle. By the time of Dugdale, Blomfield and Tanner in the 17th century its exact dedication had been forgotten - was

it St.Mary or St.Mary and the Apostles, SS.Peter and Paul (34) ? Twelfth-century records say simply the 'priory of Acre'.

Twelfth-century patrons wanted their monasteries to become rich and powerful, not by their gifts alone but by attracting the support of other men; the latter was a sign of the high regard in which the patron himself was held by secular society. These beliefs explain the reluctance of the Yorkshire barons to leave hermits and recluses in peace. Any respected solitary would soon find himself surrounded by a conventional monastery, frequently not of his own choice (eg. Nostell, Hood, Whitby, Bridlington, Kirkstall, Kirkstead and Selby). He either accepted the wishes of the landholder or moved on. Robert de Alneto had fled from Whitby to the solitude of Hood only to have the wandering monks of Byland forced upon him by his relative Gundrada de Mowbray (35). Adam began his monastic career at Benedictine Whitby, moved to Cistercian Fountains, then to the new site at Melsa. He seems to have been striving for an asceticism none of these sites could offer for, after a few years at Melsa, he retired to the anchorites cell at Watton (36).

The rise and fall of monastic houses was very much controlled by the patron; it is ironic that attacks upon monastic property were seldom perpetuated by unconnected secular elements, but were instead carried out by the founding family. In the 1080's William de Percy's shabby treatment of the monks of Whitby may have been the cause of their abandonment of the site for a temporary home at Lastingham. Henry de Lacy was continually at odds with Nostell in the 1150's (37). When Gilbert de Lacy was in need of cash in the 1140's he simply took possession of the lands of Llanton Prima 'by seignury' (38). If one generation gave too generously to a foundation then the next could find itself in financial difficulty. However, the monastery's institutional continuity allowed it to outlast such disputes and frequently to reap

34. Mon.Ang. 5, p.43

35. Mon.Ang.5, pp.349-50

36. Peter Fergusson, *The First Architecture of the Cistercians in England and the work of Abbot Adam of Meaux*, JBA 136, 1983 pp.74-86

37. EYC 2, *Earl of Chester's Fee*; Wightman 1966 pp.75/78

38. Wightman 1966 p.187

more from remorse in the next generation. An exception to this general rule was the bitter dispute between Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight and Isabella de Forz, Dowager Countess of Aumale (from 1260 to 1293). The Countess was accused of allowing her men to assault and imprison monks, lay brethren and servants, to steal horses, trample the abbey's corn, and to prevent the abbot from collecting his salt (39). Isabella pleaded successfully that her actions were taken to maintain order on the island when monks and lay brothers had been found armed in defence of some disputed tithes (40). Isabella, the richest heiress in England in the last third of the 13th century, tended to have her way. In 1267 she had even sued Breamore Priory, a house founded by her ancestors, the de Redvers earls of Devon, for a manor bequeathed with his body by her brother Baldwin (41). Despite this, upon her own death she was buried with full ceremony at Breamore. The cases of Quarr and Carisbrooke, Nostell and Pontefract indicate that the proximity of a monastery and its patron's caput may not always have been advantageous; the inevitable rivalry over local rights could become serious.

7. Political Ties

Monasticism was a great unifying force in medieval Yorkshire. The foundation chart (**Appendix Eight**) shows that different orders were in fashion at different times. Immediately after the conquest most nobles chose the Benedictines or the Cluniacs, whose arrival in England owes a great deal to the enthusiasm of William de Warenne I and his wife Gundrada who visited Cluny in the 1070's. During the reign of Henry I the reformed order of Augustinians was in favour whilst, from the 1130's until the 1150's, during the troubled years of Stephen's reign, it was the Cistercians who attracted the most support. Yet no noble was exclusive in his support of one order; Walter Espec and William Le Gros both founded 2 Cistercian houses and 1 Augustinian (although note that in both cases the Augustinian house was the earliest foundation and also

39. Calendar of Charter Rolls 2, Henry III - Edward I 1257-1300, London 1906 pp.211-12

40. Select Cases in the King's Bench 1, pp.120-8

41. Susan Wood, English Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century, OUP, 1955 p.167

that Walter Espec later made efforts to transfer Kirkham to the Cistercians) (42).

As feudal lords were cautious when it came to declaring themselves politically for one side or the other, so too they were cautious in their monastic patronage, preferring to 'hedge their bets' as to which order would bring them the greatest benefits in heaven. Neither were they exclusive in supporting only houses of their own foundation. Scolland of Richmond was an early patron of Cluniac Castle Acre Priory (he was buried there) while Archdeacon Conan of Richmond confirmed a gift by one of his tenants to Acre (43). Conan, son of Ellis, the wealthiest mesne-tenant of the honour, was a benefactor of the Augustinian Priory of Thetford (44). If Scolland had wanted to die a Cluniac, then St. John of Pontefract was much closer to Bedale; the fact that he chose Castle Acre suggests former dealings with the Warennes on behalf of the lord of Richmond. This link was maintained by Scolland's granddaughter Constance who gave Castle Acre Priory land in Lincolnshire for the soul of her grandfather "who was buried there" (45). The Augustinian priory at Thetford was special in that it was one of the few houses in England belonging to the order of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem. It was a crusaders' house. However, that Conan knew of its location and affiliation again suggests contact between the Warennes and the lords of Richmond.

Monastic patrons started by making grants to the houses of their friends and then founded their own houses using monks drawn from their neighbours' foundations (for example Jervaulx was colonised from Byland). A table of monastic affiliations therefore may mirror political and social alliances.

42. For an examination of the attempted transfer see Derek Baker, Patronage in the Early 12th-century church: Walter Espec, Kirkham and Rievaulx, *Tradition-Krisis-Renovatio aus theologischer Sicht*, festschrift Winfried Zeller, Marburg 1976, ed. B. Jaspert and R. Mohr, pp.92-100

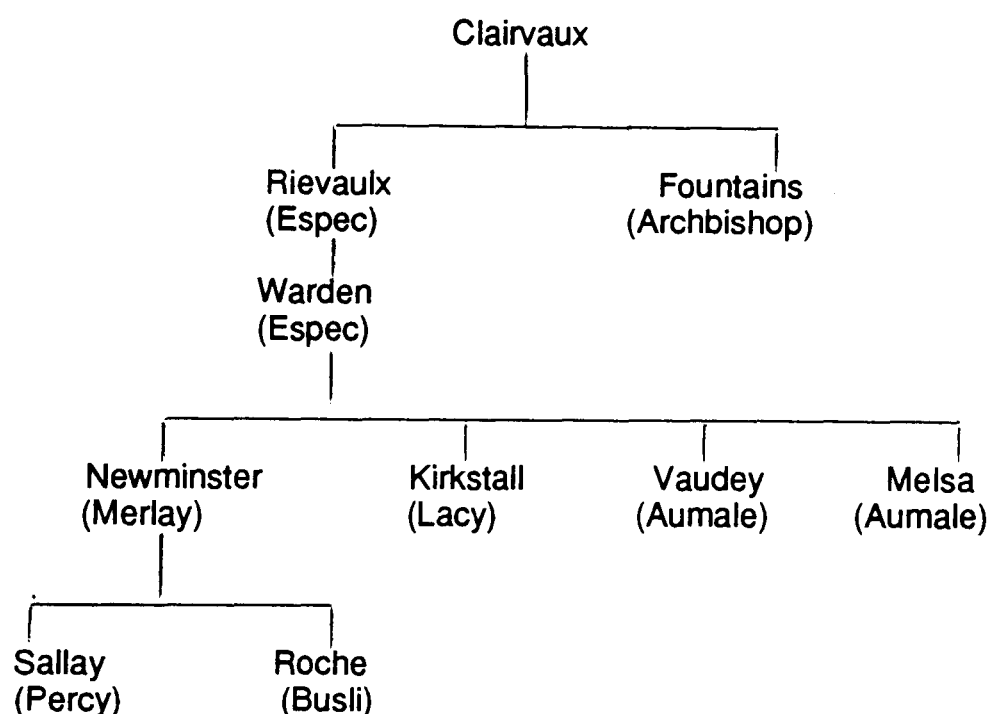
43. EYC 4 Part 2 pp.214, 349-50

44. J.N.Hare, The Priory of the Holy Sepulchre, Thetford, *Norfolk Archaeology* 37, Part 1 1979, pp.190-200; EYC 8, p.X

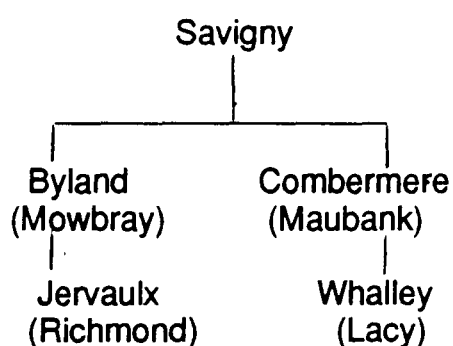
45. EYC 8 p.X

Figure 24 : Monastic Affiliations

The Family of Clairvaux



The Family of Savigny



Other known affiliations

Cluniac: Lewes (Warrenne) - Castle Acre (Warrenne)
Pontefract (Lacy) - Monk Bretton (Lacy tenant)

Augustinian: Bridlington (Gant) - Newburgh (Mowbray)
- Norton (Lacy/Chester)

Nostell (Lacy) - Hyrst (Mowbray)
Kirkham (Espece) - Carham (Espece)
- Thornton (Aumale)

Benedictine: Whitby (Percy) - Middlesborough (Brus)

The Augustinians did not have a system of affiliation but in some cases there is evidence that a new convent comprised a body of monks from

an earlier house; this is considered sufficient to suggest unofficial affiliation.

The clearest fact emerging from **Figure 24** is the influence of the Archbishop of York. By settling disaffected Benedictine monks from St. Mary's York at Fountains, Archbishop Thurstan (1114-1140) set in motion a chain of affiliations. Charter evidence shows that he advised Robert de Brus at the foundation of Guisborough (1119), Cecily de Rumilly at Bolton nee Embsay (1120) and Walter Espec at Kirkham (c.1125) (46). His was the overriding influence on the monastic revival of the north but the other key figures include Roger de Mowbray, Walter Espec and the Lacy and Percy families. To assess their role we must turn to the charter evidence.

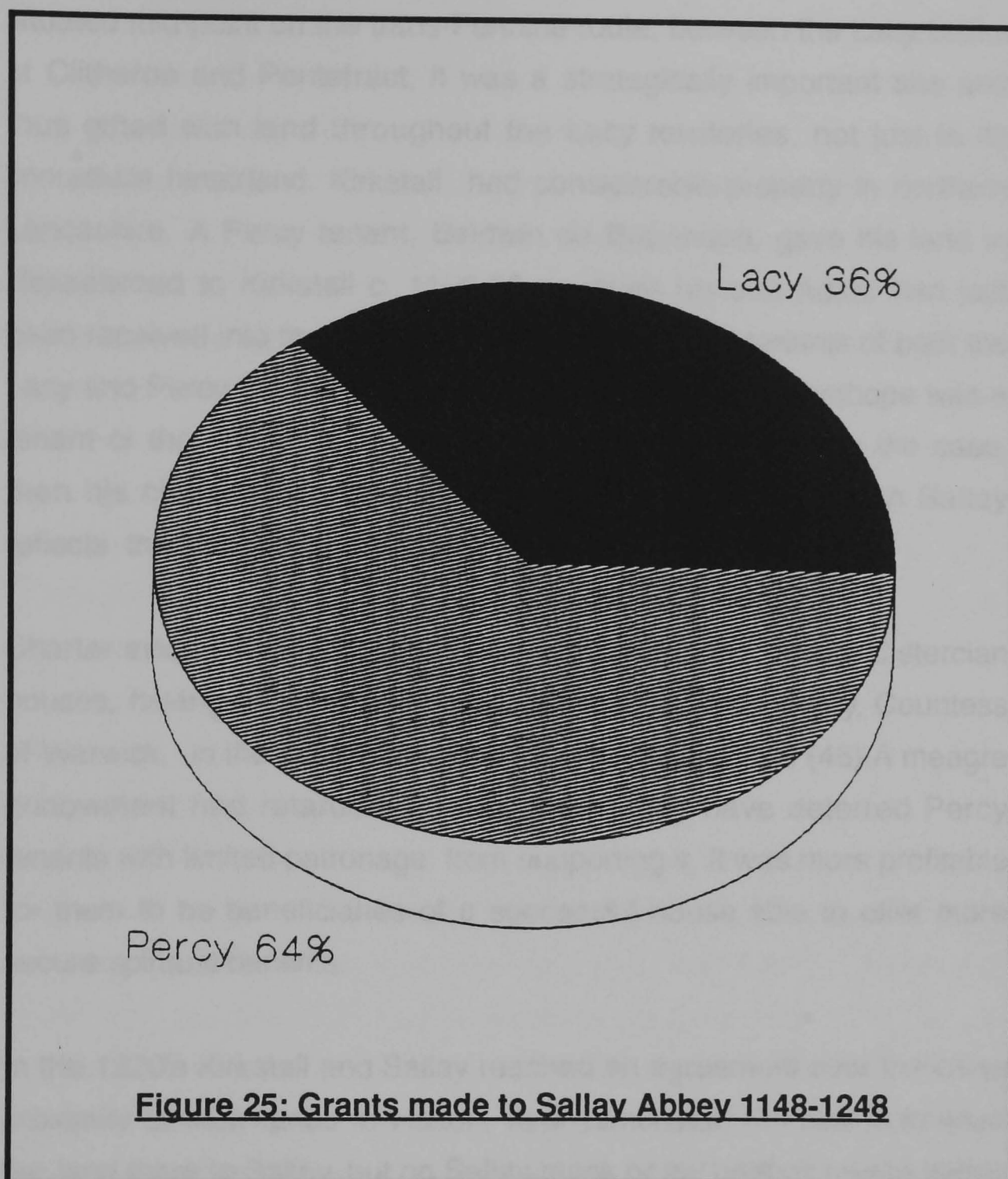
8. Charters as Sources of Monastic Patronage, Social Alliance and Estate Organisation

A. The Percy Fief in Craven.

Nearly 3,000 charters of the Percy family survive in accessible collections. Taking 1248 as a terminus date we find that, in the century since 1148, the Percies had made 16 grants of new lands, rents or churches to Sallay. In the same period the Lacy family, whose Lancashire caput of Clitheroe was only 3-4 miles away, had made 9 grants. None of the other families concerned in this study appear to have been benefactors of Sallay. Although I am concerned mainly with the 12th century it is relevant to see how long links between founding families and monasteries lasted; this proves the depth and political significance of the connection.

Percy benefactions to Sallay continue in the period after 1248 whereas Lacy grants fall away. One reason for this is the transferral in 1296 of the Cistercian house of Stanlaw in Cheshire to Whalley, only 7 miles

46. For the best account of Thurstan's monastic patronage see Donald Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York 1114-1140*, The Stonegate Press, York 1964. He died as a Cluniac monk at Pontefract.



south of Sallay. From the late 13th century the Lacy family had a house of their own foundation close to Clitheroe and it was to here that the bulk of their patronage was directed.

In the 12th and early 13th century Sallay's closest competitor was Lacy-founded Kirkstall, originally sited at Barnoldswick, 10 miles north-east of Clitheroe and 7 miles north-east of Sallay. The convent were at Barnoldswick for only five years before being relocated to a site now in Leeds city centre in 1152. So, for over 140 years, Sallay remained the major house in the Clitheroe catchment area. Yet because Kirkstall was

situated mid-point on the trans-Pennine route, between the Lacy capita of Clitheroe and Pontefract, it was a strategically important site and thus gifted with land throughout the Lacy territories, not just in its immediate hinterland. Kirkstall had considerable property in northern Lancashire. A Percy tenant, Baldwin de Bramhope, gave his land in Hesselwood to Kirkstall c. 1160-80 because his son Adam had just been received into the abbey (47). If the family were tenants of both the Lacy and Percy honours this is appropriate, but if de Bramhope was a tenant of the Percy honour alone, as seems to have been the case, then his choice of Cistercian Kirkstall instead of Cistercian Sallay reflects the lesser status of the latter.

Charter evidence tells us that Sallay was one of the poorer Cistercian houses, having to be virtually refounded by Maud de Percy, Countess of Warwick, in the 1180's, in order to ensure its survival (48). A meagre endowment had retarded its growth and may have deterred Percy tenants with limited patronage from supporting it. It was more profitable for them to be beneficiaries of a successful house able to offer more secure spiritual benefits.

In the 1220's Kirkstall and Sallay reached an agreement over the close proximity of their lands in Halton, near Lancaster. Kirkstall conceded her land there to Sallay, but no Sallay monk or lay brother was to reside there and neither abbey was to take land or pasture against the other, contrary to the form of the order (49). Agreements of this sort crop up frequently in monastic cartularies. Halton becomes wholly Sallay property but is to be leased and not retained in demesne, thus restraining Sallay's influence in the region. Such compacts were designed to limit damaging competition between monasteries.

The status of certain monasteries and the information contained in their

47. EYC 11, no.214

48. Joseph McNulty, ed., *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven* 2, YASRS 90, 1934, no. 615. The Countess of Warwick issued grants to Sallay "to prevent her father's charity from being lost".

49. *Ibid* 2, no. 501

cartularies reveal much about honorial capita. In the 12th and 13th centuries the Lacy castle-borough of Clitheroe was in close proximity to the Percy abbey of Sallay. The nearest Percy castle, Gisburne, was only 4.1/4 miles away but has virtually no documented history and was clearly not of the same local significance as Clitheroe. In fact it is Tadcaster in Yorkshire, 46 miles east of Sallay, that emerges from the Sallay chartulary as a significant Percy caput. A confirmation of the foundation charter of Sallay was given 'in the great plea at Tadcaster' (50). William de Percy confirmed to Sallay c. 1225 the church of Tadcaster, reserving the chapel in his 'curia' of Tadcaster and the chantry with the oblations of his family, servants and guests (51). William also granted Sallay the right to grind corn in Tadcaster mill on the same conditions as his freemen, with precedence of all but the Percy family and the parson of Tadcaster (52). Back in the 1170's the hospital of Tadcaster had adopted the Cistercian rule as a daughter house of Sallay (53).

The prominence of Tadcaster in the cartulary is a caution that the secular caput in the closest proximity to a religious houses is not necessarily the one that has the closest relationship with it. Sallay and Gisburne are only 4 miles apart but Gisburne is a mere local estate centre inhabited by a bailiff - the Percy lords are more frequently in residence at Tadcaster and it is thus from here that they build close ties with their Cistercian foundation. It would be interesting to know where they stayed when in Lancashire; Gisburne or Sallay. It may be that the guest house at Sallay entertained them more often than the small ringwork at Gisburne.

The other Percy caput mentioned in the Sallay cartulary is Spoforth. Hawise of Tadcaster released all her rights within the precincts of the abbey grange at Tadcaster to Sallay, in the court of her lord William de

50. Ibid 2, no. 531

51. Ibid 2, no. 612

52. Ibid 2, no. 624

53. Ibid 2, nos. 575, 578

Percy at Spofforth c.1217-23 (54). The abbey grange at Tadcaster confirms the close ties between the latter and Sallay but the reference to the transaction occurring within a court at Spofforth is interesting. 'Court' may simply mean enclosure and be devoid of any legal context but here it seems clear that the 'court' at Spofforth was a forum for honorial business. At Tadcaster the Percies had an earth and timber castle directly behind the parish church, (its motte survives today) whereas at Spofforth the family had built a stone manor house in the late 12th century. Here we have two important estate centres of radically different format.

Tadcaster is a fortified castle, acting as a chief Percy seat. Spofforth is a 'strong house' acting as a secondary residence, while Gisburne is a small administrative centre inhabited by Percy officials. Charter references to Gisburne are mainly to its forest resources. William de Percy, c. 1242, granted to Sallay the manor of Gisburne with its men and services; its corn mill and its suit [of court]; and Gisburne forest with the men remaining there, the freemen and their service excepted. William reserved his right of hunting in the forest (55). However, a charter of the 1220's does mention Henry de Percy, rector of Gisburne (56). If he was a member of the baronial family this implies a stronger Percy interest in the manor than has been previously considered. In 1332 the church of St. Mary, Gisburne, was appropriated to Stainefield Priory, a nunnery in Lincolnshire founded by William de Percy II and his wife Sybil de Valoignes in 1168 (57).

Charter evidence reveals information about the relationship between the Percy and Lacy families that can be found from no other source. Particularly important is the evidence of continuing interaction between Sallay Abbey and the Percy capita in northern England. The formats of Tadcaster, Spofforth and Gisburne can be elucidated by archaeology

54. Ibid 2, no. 578

55. Ibid 1, no. 33

56. Ibid 2, no. 417

57. VCH Lincolnshire Vol.2 p.130

but it is documentation that fills in the social and political ties.

B. Grants to Guisborough Priory

When dealing with charter evidence we have three main types of grant: land, churches and rents. As it is virtually impossible to quantify the relative values of each, it is more feasible to consider the quantity of charters granted, or 'instances of piety', than it is to consider the quality of grants. This produces a general guide to family patronage and indicates the large number of grants made by most of the Yorkshire baronage to the church. It enables us to contrast the number of charters granted to own foundations, to neighbouring houses, and to certain orders. Yet it is worth noting that the majority of grants are for tiny portions of land or immunities of little value; a large number of charters may represent little in 12th century financial terms.

The key element in an examination of Guisborough Priory patronage is the relationship between the Brus and Percy families. We know already that the Percies were sub-tenants of the Brus fee at Kirk Levington. During the reign of King John both families found their interests jeopardised and in 1216 Peter de Brus and Richard de Percy acted together to subdue Yorkshire on behalf of Prince Louis **(58)**.

If we look at Percy monasteries we find that the Brus were not benefactors of Sallay; this was way out of their territory. It was also a peripheral area in the Percy honour; they held 170 carucates in Craven as opposed to a larger block of 405 carucates in north and east Yorkshire. Whitby was a different matter, less than twenty miles from Skelton. There is only one Brus charter in the Whitby Chartulary but it is a significant one; rather than merely granting land or rents, it provides for the creation of a cell of Whitby, to be endowed with Middlesbrough Church **(59)**. The latter's position, geographically close to Guisborough Priory, means that a conscious decision had been taken here to endow

58. M.J.Vine, Two Yorkshire Rebels: Peter de Brus and Richard de Percy, YAJ 47, 1975 pp.69-79

59. Rev.R.C.Atkinson, Cartularium Abbatiae de Whiteby, The Surtees Society 69, 1879 no.111

Figure 26: Guisborough Priory Patronage

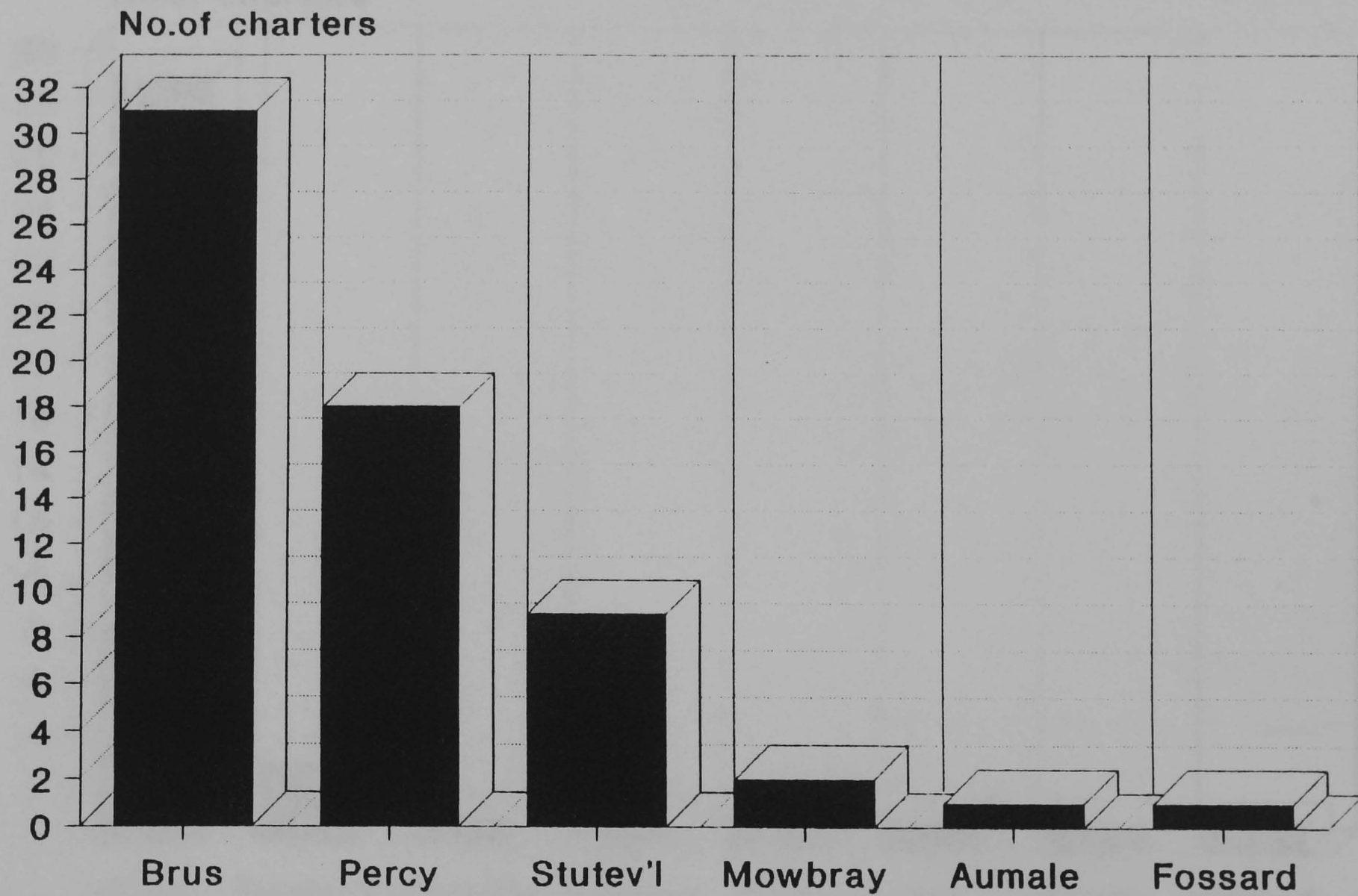


Figure 27: Patronage of Whitby Abbey c.1070-1250

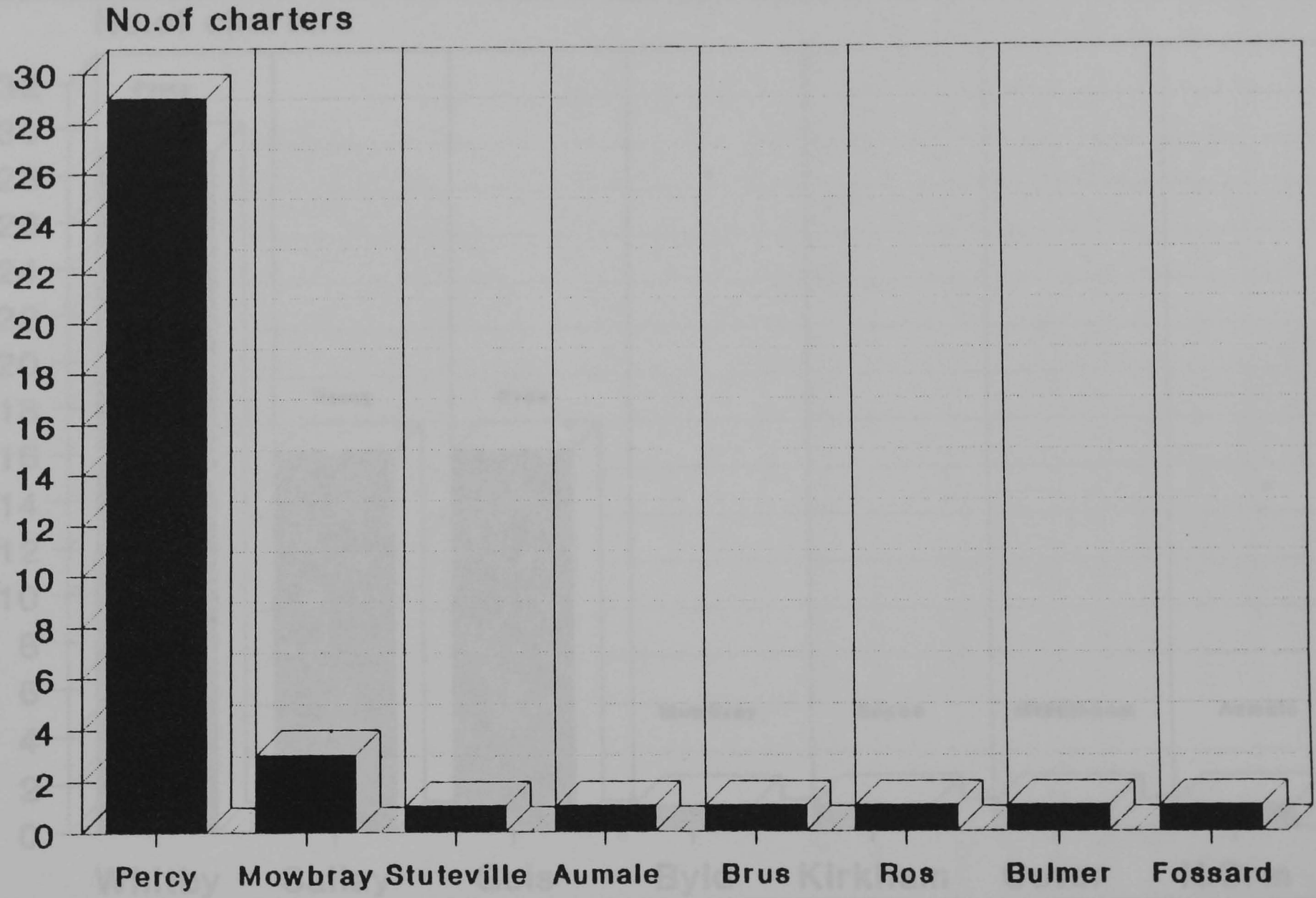
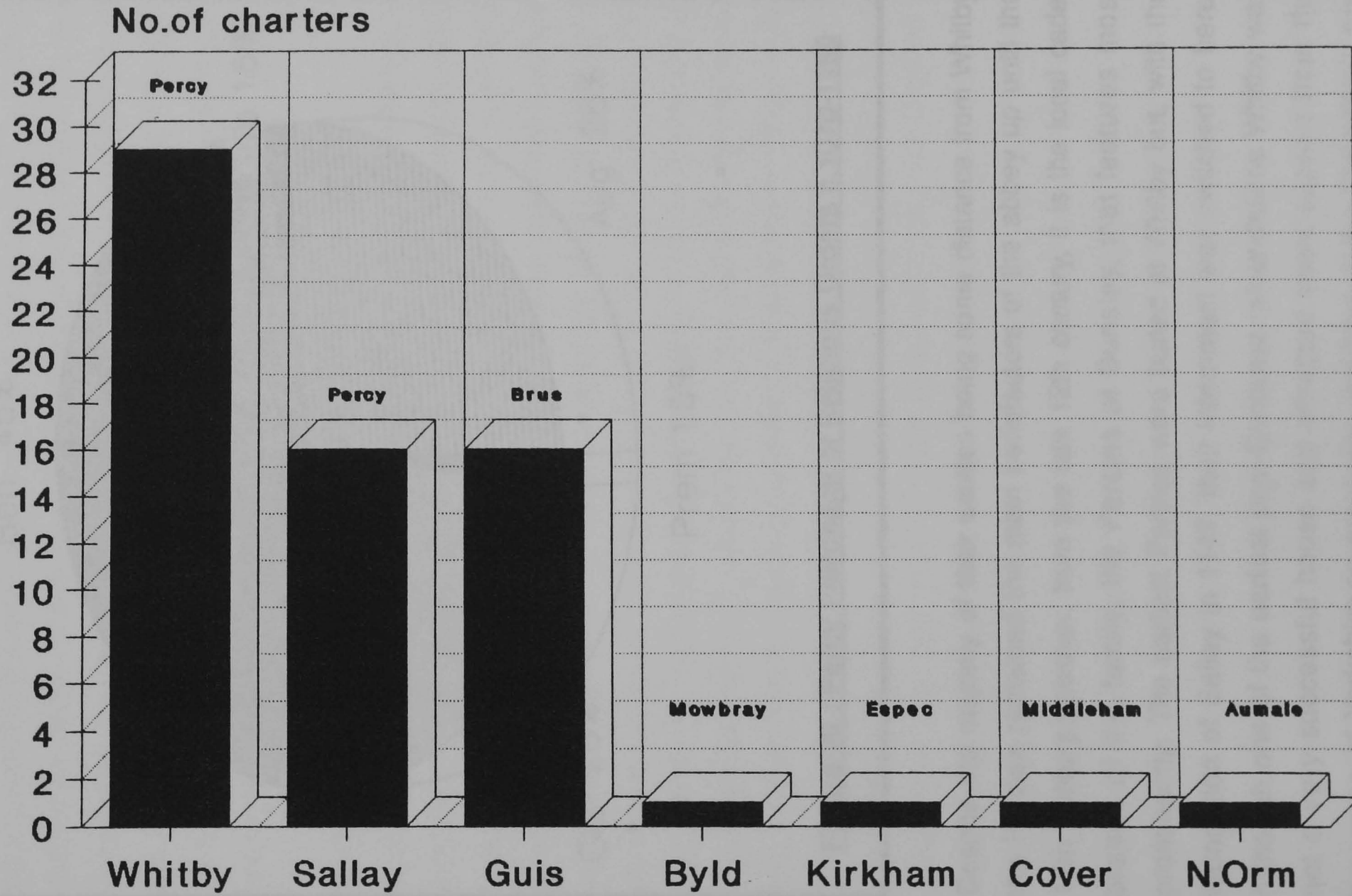
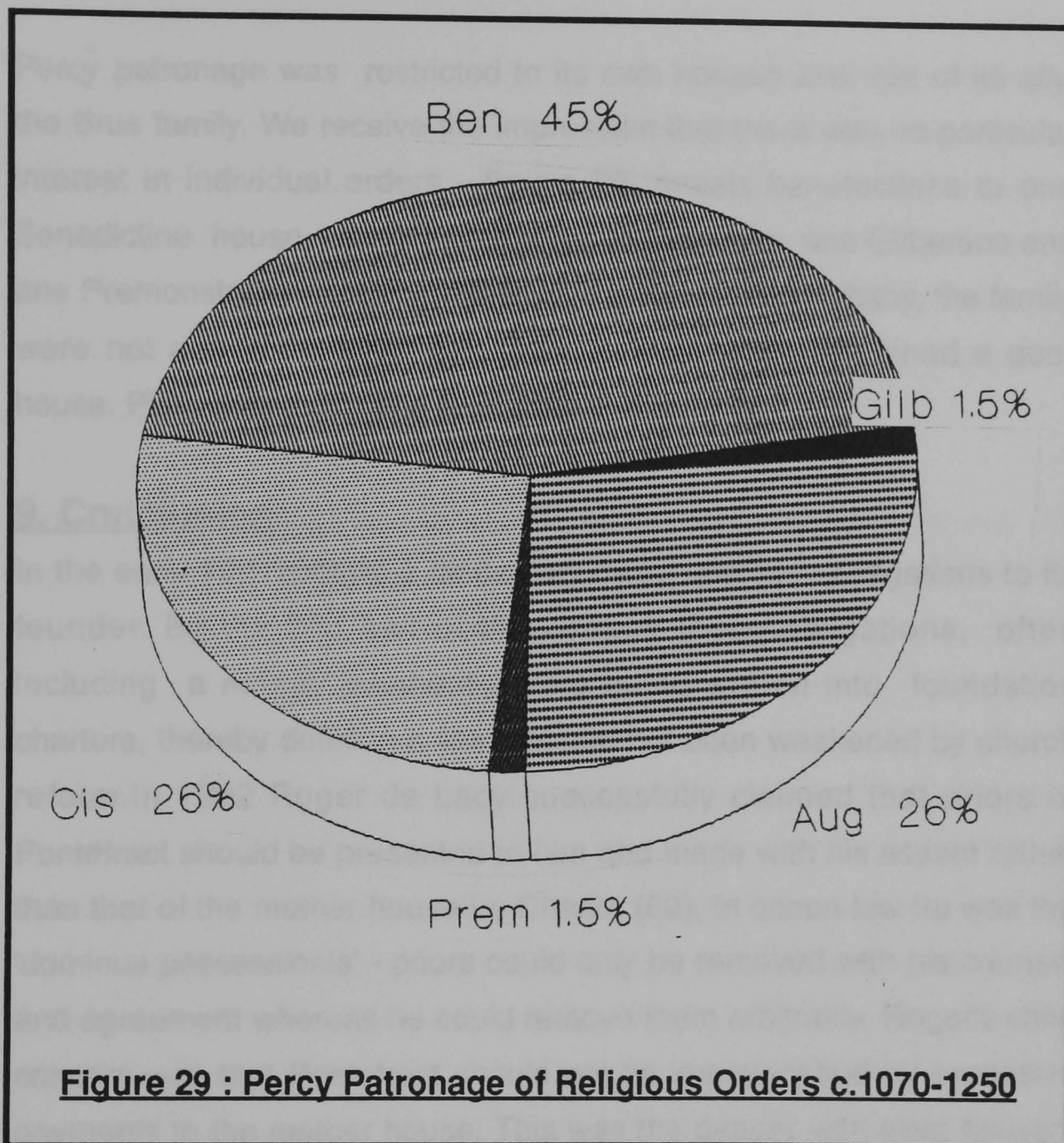


Figure 28: Percy Benefactions to Religious Houses c.1070-1250, showing House Founders



Whitby at the expense of Guisborough. This grant has been made for political and social rather than religious reasons.



Despite the majority of their estates being some distance from Whitby the Percies remained the main benefactors of the abbey up until the 14th century. However, from the late 12th century, it is the local cadet branch of the family, the Percies of Dunsley, that features most prominently. The earliest Percies were buried at Whitby but, with the foundation of Sallay in 1147, their internment was switched to here. Although one of the earliest post-Conquest refoundations Whitby was not a very successful house and attracted scant support from the baronage of Yorkshire; so great was the hold of the Cistercians and Augustinians over the region that the black monks must have seemed

out-dated and provincial. Whitby was also isolated from the main holdings of its founding family.

Percy patronage was restricted to its own houses and that of its ally, the Brus family. We receive the impression that there was no particular interest in individual orders - **figure 29** reveals benefactions to one Benedictine house, two Cistercian, two Augustinian, one Gilbertine and one Premonstratensian. Furthermore, as was seen at Whitby, the family were not above abusing their foundations. Sallay remained a poor house. Piety does not shine forth from their grants.

9. Conclusion

In the early 12th century a monastery owed unwritten obligations to its founder. By the 2nd half of the century these obligations, often including a money payment, were being written into foundation charters, thereby defining a link that had not been weakened by church reform. In 1202 Roger de Lacy successfully claimed that priors of Pontefract should be presented to him and made with his assent rather than that of the mother house La Charite (60). In canon law he was the 'dominus possessionis' - priors could only be removed with his counsel and agreement whereas he could remove them arbitrarily. Roger's chief concern was that Pontefract should not be impoverished by excessive payments to the mother house. This was the danger with alien houses. Initially their task had been to assist in the assimilation of England to Normandy, 'consecrating the work of their benefactors', while at the same time putting the burden of organisation on the parent house rather than the founder (61). Once this process was complete alien priories became a burden, draining resources back to Normandy unless the founder kept a close eye. Before 1102 Roger de Busli gave to La Trinite, Rouen, the church and vill of St. Mary, Blyth (62). St. Mary sent La Trinite 40 shillings annually while La Trinite provided her with monks

60. Susan Wood, *English Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century*, OUP 1955 pp. 54-5

61. Donald Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, OUP 1962, pp.14

62. R.T. Timson, *The Cartulary of Blyth Priory Vol.2*, HMSO 1973 no.361, p.230

and appointed her priors. However, this was a fairly controlled arrangement, written down from the start and monitored by the Archbishops of York. Pontefract and Blyth were fully conventual priories as opposed to 'estate' priories, mere English properties managed by a single monk or bailiff for the sole benefit of a French house. Burstall in Holderness was an example of the latter. This was one of the many English estates held by the abbey of St. Martin d'Auchy les Aumale - in the 13th century it was managed by the monk Eustace of Aumale. So inured was he to his solitary life that he sent packing a monk posted by the archbishop of Rouen to bear him company (63).

The choice of site for monasteries reflects upon the importance of the nearest castle. It provided the lord with high status witnesses for his charters, neighbours whose estate management could only raise the value of his own demesne lands, and a constant reminder of his piety and his reservation for the life hereafter. However, the latter reason for monastic foundation should not be exaggerated; piety was an everyday element of life rather than the exception it so often is in the 20th century. We should expect the Yorkshire nobility to be religious, but we should not expect religion to get in the way of their business sense: in twelfth century terms the two could be happily combined. In a society where the church was omnipresent it made sense to control that church in one's own particular corner. Church endowment brought with it rights of patronage; choice of incumbent, allocation of revenues. Monastic endowment brought annual rents, rights during vacancies, hospitality and low interest rates for loans.

In monastic literature of the 12th century no great divide is apparent between the castle and the church. To Orderic Vitalis and Ailred of Rievaulx, echoing the words of St. Anselm, monks were the soldiers of God sallying forth to do battle from the spiritual castle. Ailred equated Rievaulx with Helmsley; 'no castle is strong if ditch or wall has to stand alone, or if the keep is not higher than the rest; in this castle humility is

63. Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, Op.Cit. p.52

the ditch, chastity the wall and charity the keep' (64). From the baron's viewpoint monks were not alien creatures unable to understand secular life ; many were former knights skilled in combat as well as prayer. Bede's abbey at Jarrow was re-established by Reinfrid, a Norman knight who had participated in the harrying of the North in 1070-1. He had found his vocation in front of the ruins of St. Hilda's , Whitby.

It should not be surprising that the sacred and the lay seem to exist side by side. The emergence of the Cistercians as a driving force in 12th century Yorkshire brought them even closer together, with their employment of lay-brothers and their rejection of the oblate system (they preferred inmates to have had experience of the lay world). Within the Cloister monks went through a process replicating that of the secular lord; the transformation from novice (squire) to monk (knight). The acquisition of lands and offices meant as much to the monk as it did to the baron and their interaction was constant and detailed. There is no way in which the lay society of 12th century Yorkshire can be studied without constant reference to the church. The sins of his father explain much of the piety of Roger de Mowbray, the significance of the early Warennes is attributable in part to their membership of the brethren of Cluny and the respect in which Walter Espec was held in the 1130's and 1140's was recognised by his contemporaries as due to his magnanimity towards the church:

"They (the monks of Rievaulx) set up their huts near Helmsley, the central manor of their protector, Walter Espec, a very notable man and one of the leading barons of King Henry I" (65).

Grief or delight in the outcome of political events was expressed in religious terms. Eustace FitzJohn of Malton founded no less than four monastic houses as penance for his participation at Northallerton in

64. Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, ed. and trans., F.M. Powicke, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd 1950 pp.303-4

65. *Ibid* p.12

1138 on the side of King David (66). Monastic and parochial church were vital aspects of every honour; they stand side by side with the castle as the meeting places of medieval Yorkshire.

66. David Knowles and R.Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edition, Longman 1971 p.196; or C.Harper-Bill, *The Piety of the Anglo-Norman Knightly Class*, ANS 2, 1979 pp.63-77

CONCLUSION

We have seen how honours and capita developed post-1070 and have dealt with some of the features that affected capital success: urbanisation, interaction and the re-occupation of key sites in the landscape. Finally, we should consider the role of the individual. The baronial lord was the embodiment of the caput; the influence of the one depended significantly upon the influence of the other, and the prestige of the lord derived similarly from a series of relationships created through seven main avenues:

1. Blood/Marriage and Wardship
2. Warfare
3. Church Patronage
4. Sub-Infeudation
5. Administration
6. Social Gatherings
7. Architectural Choice

1. Blood/Marriage/Wardship

Although the greater Yorkshire families did marry outside their region, they showed a preference for partners from Yorkshire, closely followed by Northumberland and Lincolnshire families. When two alliances were made between two families, within less than two generations, we see a close relationship, or the desire to create one. Adam de Brus II of Skelton (d.1196) married Agnes, sister of William of Aumale. His cousin, Robert de Brus II of Annandale, who also died c.1196, married Eufemia, a niece of William of Aumale. These alliances occurred during the twilight of Aumale's career; he had lost Scarborough, Pickering and his earldom, and perhaps now was looking north for gain. In any quest for lands in Scotland the friendship of the Brus family must have been invaluable. Alternatively, these marriages healed the serious breach between the families occasioned by the minority of Adam de Brus II. William le Gros had bought Adam's wardship and used it as an excuse to destroy or requisition his property to his own ends (1).

1. English, Holderness pp.23-4

Wardships were a way of gaining control, if only temporarily, over a neighbour's lands. William Le Gros was also the guardian of William Fossard. According to tradition, Fossard seduced his guardian's sister c.1179 and fled abroad. In his fury Aumale obtained royal consent and destroyed the Fossard castle of Montferrant near Birdsall (2). When he relinquished charge of Adam de Brus, Aumale illegally retained his manor of Danby and castle of Castleton on the Esk (3). The family did not regain Danby until 1200 .

Family relationships tied people together but, unless the connection is close, we must always look for an alternative qualifying explanation for behaviour or development. In 1949, Sydney Painter commented upon the rebellion of 1215:

"A number of scholars have suggested the possibility that ties of blood led many men into the baronial party. There is ample evidence that the family played an important part in 13th-century politics, but we know little of how family was defined in the minds of the men of the time. Did a man feel that he had family obligations toward his second cousin ?" (4).

Twelfth-century genealogies, as recorded by monastic cartularies, were concerned with presenting a high-status lineage and thereby preserving ancient relationships between patron and recipient. They were not concerned with younger sons and daughters, and the cadet branches they established, unless they followed the senior line in their choice of patronage. Breaks in the tenorial succession were of interest only so long as the new line continued the patronage of the old. The Whalley Abbey 'Historia Lacciorum' successfully explained the join between the first and second lines on the accession, in 1194, of Roger, Constable of Chester. It recorded the benefactions of each generation, both to preserve a record of its property and to show future generations of the family what was expected from them (5).

2. E.A.Bond, *Chronica Monasterii De Melsa*, Rolls Series 1866, Vol.1, p.105

3. M.J.Vine, *Two Yorkshire Rebels: Peter de Brus and Richard de Percy*, YAJ 47, 1975 pp.69-70

4. See J.C.Holt, *Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England III: Patronage and Politics*, TRHS 34 (5th series) 1984 pp.1-26

5. *Mon.Ang.* 5 pp.533-4

To the baronial family the fate of cadet members was important because the better they 'did' in life, the more widespread was felt the influence and prestige of the family name. This motivated the promotion of 'good' marriages and the acquisition of wardships. But the relationship held firm only within a limited area; relationships between branches on different sides of the channel were soon diminished and eventually forgotten. If brothers settled in far-distant parts of England (for example, Nigel d'Aubigny in Yorkshire, his brother William in Bedfordshire) they tended to have few contacts thereafter. A notable exception is the two branches of the Lacy family based in Yorkshire and Herefordshire.

Until 1204 the Lacy lands in Normandy were held of the Bishops of Bayeux by 'parage'. This meant that a landowner's estates were shared equally among his heirs, as far as possible in units of not less than one knight's fee. Brothers holding knight's fees were equal in status save that they did homage to their lord through their eldest brother (6). As neither branch of the Lacy family sold or exchanged their Norman possessions before 1204, this would have been a continuing link between them. The principle of parage could also be applied to castles. In 1212 Blanche of Navarre held a council on female succession laws whereby it was agreed that, if a baron had more than one castle, his daughters were to select their preference by age and rank. In 1224 the principle was widened to the male succession (7). This had the effect of lessening the status of the castle; it became standard practice for each sibling to possess one.

The church was a key means of contact. In September 1138 the papal legate, Alberic, was in Yorkshire accompanied by Bishop Robert of Hereford, the former prior of Llanton Prima. Robert had previously been head of a Lacy foundation and he was now, in his episcopal role, overlord of the Lacies at Holme Lacy. It may well be due to his close

6. W.E. Wightman, *La famille de Lacy et ses terres normandes*, *Annales De Normandie* 2 No.4, 1961 pp.267-277

7. Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Baillage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne 1152-1284*, The John Hopkins University Press 1975, p.100

links with the family that their tenure began to subtly change, from a life tenure only to a hereditary one (8). While in the north he perhaps met Ilbert II de Lacy of Pontefract. Politics united both houses in the 1170's; during the revolt of the Young King, Henry de Lacy of Pontefract assisted Henry II in the defence of Breteuil whilst his cousin, Hugh II of Weobley, held the neighbouring fortress of Verneuil for the King (9).

A further link was Ireland. Hugh de Lacy II of Weobley and Ludlow was justiciar of Ireland in the 1180's. During a row with King John in 1181 he was replaced temporarily by a distant relative John, Constable of Chester. John's son Roger succeeded to the honour of Pontefract in 1194. Gerald of Wales tells us that before Hugh left Ireland he and John of Chester "joined in building a very large number of castles throughout Leinster" (10). The castles of the honour may provide another connection. Both branches built ringworks; Kippax, Mirfield, Selby, Donnington, Ludlow, Weobley and Trim. The ringwork format is far more common than it was once thought but the number built by the Lacy family is surprising and suggests some common influence perhaps stemming from Normandy (eg. the ringwork at Breteuil, built by William FitzOsbern, overlord of Walter de Lacy of Weobley).

Tenants were a further link between dispersed families. The separation of families put in motion by the post-Conquest settlement permeated not only the top layer of the feudal pyramid. Early in the 12th century Robert de Lacy was enfeoffed with the Yorkshire lands of William de Say (11). The de Say family were mesne tenants of the house of Montgomery. William was probably a tenant of Roger of Poitou and shared his banishment in 1102. Another branch of de Say held manors in Shropshire of Roger de Lacy (12).

8. H.M.Colvin, *Holme Lacy: An Episcopal Manor and its Tenants in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, in *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham* ed. V.Ruffer and A.J.Taylor, OUP 1950 pp.15-40

9. Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, RS 1, pp.49-51; Wightman 1966 p.234

10. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, ed. and trans. A.B.Scott and F.X.Martin, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1978 p.195

11. EYC 3 no.1421 pp.126-7

12. EYC 3 pp.126-7

The success of one branch of a family was often instrumental in the success of another. The Stutevilles of Valmont in Normandy acquired the castlery of Mitford in 1279 and in the 1280's were given free reign to cross the channel from one set of estates to the other (13). The ease with which they did this was quite possibly due in part to the high favour in which their cousins, the Yorkshire Stutevilles, were held by the crown.

Marriage linked families tenurially for the marriage portion made the husband the tenant of his father or brother-in-law. It therefore made sense for neighbour to marry neighbour. Marriage to a widow brought potential ties to two families, that of her birth and of her previous husband. The enjoyment of a strategically placed dowry was the main reason but there appears also to have been a feeling that to marry a powerful man's widow brought honour to the second husband. Agnes of Aumale, sister of William Le Gros, married William de Roumare II, earl of Lincoln (d.1151) and then Adam de Brus II. Her first marriage was a political alliance secured at the end of the civil war, healing the breach between Aumale and Ranulf of Chester, Roumare's uncle (14). Alice de Gant, a niece of Earl Alan of Richmond, married first Ilbert de Lacy and secondly, c.1142, Roger de Mowbray.

The wardship of the heir was another incentive. Sybil de Valoignes married first Robert de Ros who succeeded to the barony of Helmsley c. 1158, secondly William de Percy of Topcliffe and thirdly Ralph de Aubigny. In 1182 de Aubigny paid a fine of 200 marks for marrying the mother of Everard de Ros (15).

Marriage meant support. Henry II, Count of Eu (d.c.1190), wedded Maud, the daughter of Hamelin Vth earl of Warenne and the Countess Isabel. Maud's brother, William VIth earl de Warenne, supervised the

13. EYC 9 pp. 41-65

14. B.English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260: A Study in Feudal Society*, OUP 1979 p.22

15. W.Percy Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, 2 volumes, The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne 1968-70, p.226. See Appendix 1

running of the honour of Tickhill for his niece Alice, Countess of Eu (16). Another of his sisters, Isabel, married Robert de Lacy of Pontefract (d. 1193). Here we can see the three great honours of southern Yorkshire all bound together by marriage ties in the late 12th century.

Marriage ties were vital to a barons social status. William de Warenne I's daughter Edith was the mother of Gundreda de Gournay who married Nigel d'Aubigny. In 1191 Isabel, widow of Robert de Brus of Annandale, married Robert de Ros of Helmsley. This was a good match for de Ros as Isabel was an illegitimate daughter of William the Lion, King of Scotland. Adam Fossard, from a cadet branch of the family, married Hawise, a niece of Robert de Stuteville III, one of the leaders at Northallerton in 1138. Respect for a man's achievements could survive his death. John de Busli son of Richard, the founder of Roche Abbey, married Cecily of Old Warden in Bedfordshire, a niece of Walter Espec. Neither were of major baronial families; their knowledge of each other may well have been through the agency of the lord of Helmsley.

2. Warfare

Despite their due degree of internal conflict, between the Mowbrays and the Stutevilles, William of Aumale and the Fossards, the Gants and the Brus', the Yorkshire nobility tended to present a united front when dealing with external threats or causes. Many of them took the Cross; William de Percy I died on the journey to Jerusalem in 1096; William de Warenne III died on the second crusade. William Fossard I and Roger de Mowbray returned alive and Roger made a second journey in the 1160's. He was captured at Hattin in 1188 on his third crusade and died soon after his ransom by the Templars. In 1241 William de Forz II, Count of Aumale, and Peter de Maulay of Mulgrave, set out for Palestine together. More significant however is the remarkable unity they displayed in 1138 when faced by a Scottish invasion:

16. E.C.Waters, *The Counts of Eu, sometime lords of the honour of Tickhill*, YAJ IX, 1886 pp.257-302

“...whereupon the barons of that province, to wit, archbishop Thurstan (who, as will presently appear, greatly exerted himself in this emergency), William of Aumale, Walter de Gant, Robert de Bruce, Roger de Mowbray, Walter Espec, Ilbert de Lacy, William de Percy, Richard de Courcy, William Fossard, Robert de Stuteville, and other powerful and sagacious men assembled at York, and anxiously deliberated as to what course should be pursued at this crisis. Much irresolution was caused by distrust of each other, arising from suspicions of treachery, by the absence of a chief and leader of the war (for their sovereign, King Stephen, encompassed by equal difficulties in the south of England, was just then unable to join them), and by their dread of encountering, with an inadequate force, so great a host; so that it appeared as if they would actually have abandoned the defence of themselves and their country, had not their archbishop, Thurstan, a man of great firmness and worth, animated them by his counsel and exhortations” (17).

Richard of Hexham’s comment, that the barons would have abandoned their lands to the Scots had it not been for Thurstan, reflects his predictable bias. The secular leaders at Northallerton were already closely bound together by their monastic patronage; this was the same group that had acted in consort with Thurstan for the past decade, establishing the Augustinians and the Cistercians in Yorkshire. For two of them their lands were already under threat; Walter Espec’s northern castle of Carham (Wark-on-Tweed) was besieged by the Scots but was valiantly holding out under his nephew Jordan de Bussey (18). June 1138 found Ilbert de Lacy struggling in vain against the onslaught of William FitzDuncan at Clitheroe (19). Most of these men had been closely tied to King David since the early 1120’s; his actions now must have seemed treacherous. Before battle commenced in August, both Robert de Brus and Bernard de Balliol renounced their allegiance to David (20). This then was a bitter conflict; Thurstan provided the spiritual leadership, the conviction that their cause was just, but the desire to defeat David was already in place.

17. Richard of Hexham, *The acts of King Stephen and the Battle of the Standard, 1135-1139*, in *Contemporary Chronicles of the Middle Ages*, trans. Joseph Stephenson, reprinted Llanerch Enterprises 1988 p.65

18. *Ibid* p.60

19. *Ibid* p.63; John of Hexham, *Historia Regum*, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 2, ed. T.Arnold, RS 1885 p.291

20. Richard of Hexham, *Op.Cit.* pp.66-7

To Ailred of Rievaulx the great leader of the English host was not Thurstan, or his deputy Bishop Ralph Nowell of Orkney, but Walter Espec. He described Espec standing before the army recounting the deeds of his life, the battles he had fought and the kings he had served. He portrayed Espec as a noble giant, a man who did not thirst for battle, but one who knew his cause was right and necessary (21).

During the Anarchy, William Le Gros, Count of Aumale and Count Alan of Brittany were constantly vying for the position of 'king' of Yorkshire. In spring 1142 King Stephen had to rush to York to prevent a tournament taking place between them (22). As principal supporters of the King their lives and those of their followers were too valuable to be wasted in a private squabble. Yet the previous year, in February 1141, both Counts had stood united at the Battle of Lincoln. In fact they were two of the men singled out by Robert of Gloucester in the pre-battle speech attributed to him by Henry of Huntingdon;

"There is Alan, count of Brittany, in arms against us, nay against God himself; a man so execrable, so polluted with every sort of wickedness, that his equal in crime cannot be found; who never lost an opportunity of doing evil, and who would think it his deepest disgrace, if any one else could be put in comparison with him for cruelty.....Then we have the Count of Aumale, a man singularly consistent in his wicked courses, prompt to embark in them, incapable of relinquishing them; from whom his wife was compelled to become a fugitive, on account of his intolerable filthiness" (23).

They seem to have had a lot in common ! During the civil war the count of Aumale set himself up to be the law-enforcer of Yorkshire, making the most of the prestige he acquired when Stephen made him Earl of York after the battle of the Standard (although he seems rarely to have used the title) (24). He built Scarborough castle, seized Pickering and Danby, and destroyed the Gant motte and bailey at Hunmanby in the

21. The "Relatio de Standardo of St.Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, in, Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, Vol.3, RS, London 1886 pp.183-189

22. B.English, The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260:A Study in Feudal Society, OUP 1979 p.21. See Donald Nicholl, Thurstan, Archbishop of York 1114-1140, The Stonegate Press, York, 1964 pp.240-1 for the disreputable behaviour of William Le Gros.

23. The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, trans. Thomas Forester, 1853, facsimile reprint Llanerch Press 1991 pp.275-6

24. English, Holderness pp.18-19

East Riding.

The war between Stephen and Matilda was a pretext for private warfare; men used the breakdown of royal law in order to attack neighbours whose estates they coveted and whose political alliances they mistrusted. Gilbert de Gant, a supporter of the Empress, was an ally of Ranulph of Chester. Both had fiefs well placed to harrass the Aumale lands, Chester in Lincolnshire and Gant between Holderness and the Honour of Skipton. It was a tit for tat situation. Gant captured Bytham and killed Aumale's brother. In retaliation Aumale burnt Hunmanby and fortified the Gant foundation of Bridlington Priory (25). Yet, despite spending the war attacking each others' properties, the dispute seems to have been entirely political rather than personal for, by 1147, we find Gilbert de Gant endowing Aumale's Cistercian foundation at Bytham and one of his tenants helping in the monks relocation to Vaudey (26).

Yorkshire suffered even more unrest in the 1140's as a result of the death of Archbishop Thurstan and the consequent struggle over his successor. This created greater uproar than the royal crisis and indicates just how powerful the northern archbishop could be. William Le Gros tried to settle the matter in typical style. He attempted to bribe the saintly Waltheof of Kirkham to stand for the office by offering his support in return for favourable leases on some of the episcopal estates (27). When Waltheof refused Aumale switched his support to William FitzHerbert and, on one occasion, seized one of his opponents, the York Archdeacon Walter of London, imprisoning him in Bytham Castle. Walter was later castrated, so violent did the dispute become (28). In 1147 FitzHerbert supporters marched on Fountains Abbey, home of the Cistercian candidate, Abbot Henry Murdac, and inflicted serious damage (29). Aumale also prevented the Bishop of

25. D.F.Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 2nd edition, John Baker 1973 p.117

26. English, *Holderness* pp.21-22

27. *Ibid* pp.19-20

28. John of Hexham p.303, 307, 313; C.T.Clay, *Notes on the early archdeacons in the church of York*, YAJ 36, 1944 p.283

29. R.Gilyard-Beer, *Fountains Abbey*, HMSO 1970 p.8

Durham from casting his vote in the election although despite this Murdac was successful (30). The whole affair had been thrown out of all proportion by the polarisation of Yorkshire society into pro-Stephen and pro-Matilda parties.

While William of Aumale was meddling with the politics of the succession his rival, Alan of Richmond, was reaping the fruits of archiepiscopal estates left largely unprotected, by looting the crops and grain stores (31).

With the civil war over Henry II reduced Aumale's power. He was stripped of his title 'Earl of York' although the chroniclers diplomatically state that Henry "*received back* Yorkshire from the Count of Aumale" (32). Aumale was forced to hand over Pickering, Danby and his own foundation of Scarborough. In partial recompense he was given a life grant of the royal motte and bailey at Driffield.

Forfeiture was a threat that faced most of the tenants-in-chief of Yorkshire at some time, particularly during the numerous succession disputes of the late 11th and 12th centuries. The Mowbray rebellion of 1095 saw the earl of Northumberland conspiring with Odo of Champagne (second lord of Holderness) and Robert de Lacy, to replace Rufus with Stephen of Aumale (father of William Le Gros), a nephew of the Conqueror. Odo was imprisoned for his crime and his son exiled for a time (33). The Lacies were punished severely, losing their estates and returning to Yorkshire only in 1135 (34). William de Warenne II was involved in the Bellesme rebellion of 1101 and forfeited

30. English, Holderness p.20

31. The Priory of Hexham:Its Chroniclers, Endowments and Annals 1, Surtees Society 44, 1863 p.132. See Appendix 5

32. Rolls of Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-19, ed. D.M.Stenton, Selden Society 56, 1937 No.89

33. Orderic 4 pp.280-5; Symeon of Durham, A History of the Kings of England, trans. J.Stephenson 1858, facsimile reprint Llanerch Enterprises 1987 p.163

34. For the restoration of the Lacy family to their original fief see EYC 3 no. 1440, pp.143-4 and No.1449 pp.147-8. In the latter charter Henry II and the Empress Matilda pardoned 'Henry de Lacy and his heirs the anger and ill-will which King Henry, his grandfather, bore towards Robert de Lacy, Henry's father'.

his estates for a year (35). Robert Stuteville fought for Curthose at Tinchebrai in 1106 and spent the rest of his life in one of Henry I's prisons (36). The Mowbrays rebelled against Henry II in 1173 and were punished by the destruction of their castles (37).

During the 1140's the Stutevilles came back into favour at court and as a result began to press their claims to the Honour of Mowbray, much of which had been held by Robert de Stuteville I prior to 1106. At the beginning of the reign of Henry II, Roger de Mowbray was forced to grant Stuteville 9 or 10 knight's fees and, in 1201, a further 10 were conceded (38). This long-running dispute was one of the reasons that pushed the Mowbrays into joining the rebellion of 1174. Robert de Stuteville was sheriff of Yorkshire, his younger brother sheriff of Northumberland and his son holder of valuable manors in the west riding adjoining the Mowbrays. His daughter married a son of Eustace Fitz-John of Malton, a henchman of Ranulf of Chester who had extorted lands from the Mowbrays during the Anarchy (39).

The Warwickshire caput of the Mowbrays was at Brinklow on the Fosse Way, mentioned together with Thirsk and Malzeard in the Pipe Roll of 1130. Brinklow was held as a sub-tenure of the honour of Leicester. The castle was a powerful motte with two baileys south-east of the church. The site was abandoned by 1174 but may have already gone out of use during the civil war. Brinklow stood within the area covered by the famous treaty between the earls of Chester and Leicester c.1149-53 (40). By selling his support alternatively to Stephen and to Matilda (who each tried to win his aid with grants of the honour of Tickhill) Ranulf of Chester had used the civil war to build an impressive

35. Orderic 6 pp.12-14

36. Symeon of Durham, op.cit. p.172

37. Jordan Fantosme cites Roger de Mowbray's chief grievance as being his inability to regain the constable-ship of York castle which had been held by his father. See Jordan Fantosme, *The History of the War between the English and the Scots in 1174 and 1174* trans. J. Stephenson, in *Contemporary Chronicles of the Middle Ages*, Llanerch Enterprises reprint 1988, pp.97-83

38. Mowbray Charters no.386 pp.247-8; EYC 9 no.42 pp.116-7, no.43, pp.117-9, no.44 pp.119-120

39. Mowbray Charters p.xxvii-xxviii, no.397

40. Sir. Frank Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166*, 2nd edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1961 p.249, 285

sovereignty over an area stretching between Chester and Lincoln. His lands in Warwickshire and Leicestershire bordered those of the powerful Robert of Leicester whose relatives included the earls of Warenne, Warwick, Northampton and Worcester. To preserve the status quo the two barons drew up a treaty outlining a 'no-man's land' between their territories in which neither party might build castles. This zone stretched from Rockingham and Coventry on the east and west, northward to Gotham, 16 miles from Leicester. Neither lord was to attack the other unless a formal defiance had been issued 15 days in advance.

The treaty displayed just how polarised baronial society had become. Neither the king nor the lesser barons were given much consideration. If the Mowbray castle at Brinklow was deemed a 'nuisance' by either party then Roger de Mowbray would have little choice but to abandon it. Powerful as he was, he was not in the league of Chester and Leicester who could draw up a treaty regulating warfare in the midlands with barely a reference to the king (41).

The actions of the Mowbrays, during the civil war and in the 1170's, provide an example of how conflict barbarised Yorkshire society, turning neighbour against neighbour and turning motte and baileys into objects of terror to the local population. Subinfeudations had drafted away many of the household knights who could choose cash and kind rents in lieu of military service. To fill the gap Roger de Mowbray employed mercenaries and incidents of theft and extortion among his 'castrenses' or garrison troops suggest hired thugs rather than local people. During the late 1140's/1150's men from Kirkby Malzeard stole grain belonging to Fountains Abbey and forced the monks to pay 83 marks protection money. Men from either Malzeard or Thirsk exacted castle-works and money from tenants of St. Mary's Abbey York at Myton on Swale. In 1174 the men of Owston went on a rampage, devastating the surrounding countryside before they surrendered to the King (42).

41. Ibid p.249, 285

42. Mowbray Charters Nos. 102-3, 318

Mowbray's behaviour was not unusual; it was replicated by Alan of Richmond and William of Aumale amongst others. The political crisis had turned many lords and capita into objects of terror where the sheriff's writ did not run. During the reign of Stephen the Yorkshire baronage ruled their estates and region much as they wished. When royal interference was threatened their resentment was strong. The resumption of firm royal rule in 1154 was not altogether welcome; the period of independence was followed by one of close crown supervision. This was one reason for the rebellion of 1174, which saw the Mowbrays lose so much of their old influence and find themselves eclipsed by the Stutevilles.

The Lacies underwent a similar process after their expulsion by Henry I. The honour they regained upon the accession of Stephen was quite seriously depleted. The Paynel mesne tenancy, consisting of lands in Lincolnshire and the manors of Leeds and Garforth in Yorkshire, was permanently upgraded to a tenancy-in-chief, while the heirs of Hugh de Laval retained nearly a third of the honour as a half mesne, half chief tenancy until their forfeiture in 1201. Their portion was fully restored to Roger de Lacy in 1203. It was his celebrity as a loyal supporter of King John and constable of Chateau Gaillard that restored the second branch of de Lacy to the position initially enjoyed by the first branch.

Despite the opposing positions they might take during civil wars and rebellions the Yorkshire baronage recognised and resented the difference between their own kind and southerners, mercenaries and civil servants exported north by the crown. William de Forz I, the Poitevin mercenary who became the second husband of Countess Hawise of Aumale, was never popular in Holderness. None of the honorial barons and officials, who witnessed the charters of William le Gros and William de Mandeville, can be found witnessing charters for de Forz (43). William Maltravers held Pontefract by a fifteen year lease and consequently had no concern for the long-term interest of the

honour. The dispensing of patronage, the sign of a nobleman, was not something he could afford. His murder was committed by his own honorial barons, preparing the way for the return of Ilbert de Lacy II (44).

3. Church Patronage

A lord began his career of monastic patronage with endowments to the monasteries founded by his neighbours and friends. When he set up a house of his own its monks, and therefore the choice of Order, were frequently derived from a friend's establishment. Even after setting up two or three new houses a lord would not cease to make gifts to others; apart from spiritual considerations it was good public relations to support the houses held dear by his fellow Yorkshiremen. Ernald de Percy endowed the Brus foundation of Guisborough while Adam de Brus II acquitted the monks of Byland of toll on all the fish they brought to his markets to sell (45). William Fossard I gave land at Wharram for the burial of himself and his wife at Melsa Abbey (46). Their great-granddaughter, Isabel de Turneham, was also buried at Melsa. Melsa as well as Rievaulx were supported by Robert de Stuteville III, while in the late 11th century Geoffrey de Stuteville, probably a brother of Robert I, was a benefactor of William de Warenne's Lewes Priory (47).

Monastic orders came in and out of fashion. In the late 11th century, when monasticism was being re-established in the north of England, the first foundations were Benedictine. William de Percy refounded Whitby c. 1076 and in 1088 Selby was set up by King William Rufus and Blyth by Roger de Busli. But the Benedictines never gained a large foothold in Yorkshire; the first two generations of post-Conquest barons sought the new 'reformed' orders. In 1077 William de Warenne established the first Cluniac foundation in England near his castle at

44. EYC 3 no.1440 pp.143-4

45. EYC 2, no.746; EYC 2, n 7-8

46. Calendar of Charter Rolls Vol.1:Henry III 1226-1257, London 1903, 233-4

47. EYC 9, nos 9,10,19. EYC 9 p.68; Edmund de Stuteville witnessed at Lewes a charter of William III Warenne to the Templars. EYC 9 p.119; Geoffrey de Stuteville gave the church of Melton Mowbray and the tithes of Axholme and Hampton in Arden to Lewes Priory. See J.H.Round, Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol.1, Public Record Office 1899 no.1391

Lewes in Sussex. Twelve years later he founded a second Cluniac house within his castle at Acre in Norfolk. His choice of order was copied by his Yorkshire neighbour Ilbert de Lacy who established the Cluniac Priory of St. John at Pontefract just below his castle in 1090.

From the 1130's onwards it became feasible for lesser men to found monasteries and we see a number of mesne tenants creating houses as dependencies of the greater houses of their masters. In 1154 Adam Fitzswane, a sub-tenant of the Lacies, established Monk Bretton Priory as a daughter house of St. John at Pontefract (48). In reverse, tenants-in-chief could hijack foundations from their tenants if they offered a greater endowment.

Political clout rested to a large degree upon the possession of castles and high-profile monastic patronage. It helped a lord no end if his foundations became the richest, and thereby architecturally finest, buildings in the region. The waning of Cistercian regulations on simplicity probably owe much to the pressure of lay patrons for elaborate sculpture and decoration. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* shows three relevant houses with incomes exceeding £1000 at the Dissolution: St. Mary's York, Fountains and Lewes. All three houses had maintained their primary status due to centuries of baronial patronage (49). The fourth richest house, Guisborough, was fortunate in having solid local support. In Yorkshire there was a considerable divide between the greatest houses, Fountains, Rievaulx, St. Mary's and Byland, and the bulk of lesser houses. This was reflected in secular society. The leaders of Yorkshire society were correspondingly the Archbishop of York and lords of Richmond, Helmsley and Thirsk. In wealth all were probably second to the earl Warenne but he was a relative stranger. Despite his large Yorkshire estates and castles, his political world was orientated towards the south where the priory of Lewes retained its links with the family until the end of the line. Lewes'

48. EYC 3, no.1665, p.320

49. Dom. David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England Vol.III: The Tudor Age*, CUP 1961, Appendix IV

daughter-house, Castle Acre, never had more than 30 monks. Yet in 1537, with only a prior and ten monks, it still had an annual income of £306 11s. 4 3/4d., greater than many more populous monasteries (50).

Early success did not always last. At its height Rievaulx had been home to 600 men. In 1380 the abbey fell to an all-time low of 18 and in 1536 it possessed only 24 monks (51). Lowly Newburgh was wealthier than both Rievaulx and Byland at the Dissolution.

Mowbray Newburgh was to be the most successful canonry ; in the 1530's it was larger than Easby with 18 canons and Thornton with 28 (52). Of the smaller Cistercian houses, Roche had fallen by 1538 to 19 monks from a peak of 175 whilst Kirkstall had begun to decline by the 1380's with only 17 monks and 6 lay-brothers (53). In terms of size, power and patronage, very few monasteries achieved greater success than in the 12th and 13th centuries. Few foundations were made after 1300, the exceptions being Carthusian Axholme (Mowbray 1397-8) and Augustinian Haltemprice (Wake 1320's). These later creations were different in spirit from their predecessors. They were not meant to act in accord with a neighbouring castle and their social role was more limited to the strictly religious. Tradition ensured that old castle/monastery links survived but the new fashion was for chantry chapels, staffed by individual priests rather than communities of loyal monks. A change in the perception of piety also created a fashionable interest in the smaller impoverished houses; many noblemen chose to endow these rather than the larger, wealthy houses, out of a belief that their generosity would be more appreciated and revered by the latter. Thus the ties which had created large capita, embracing castle, church and monastery, gradually faded away and Yorkshire society became more disparate.

50. F.J.E.Raby and P.K.Baillie Reynolds, *Castle Acre Priory*, HMSO 1983 p.6

51. Sir Charles Peers, *Rievaulx Abbey*, HMSO 1983 p.4

52. Joan and Bill Spence, *The Medieval Monasteries of Yorkshire*, Ambo Publications, York 1981 p.75

53. Peter Fergusson, *Roche Abbey*, English Heritage 1990 p.29; Joan and Bill Spence, *Medieval Monasteries* op cit. p.59

A. Nunneries

This is not to say that the 12th century nobility had not made foundations of non-influential monastic communities. Most families also founded nunneries. The Percies founded Stainefield and Handale, the Warennes Marham (which was exceptional for a Cistercian nunnery in that it was accorded abbatial status from its inception in 1249 - this must be due to the political profile of the foundress, Isabel, Dowager Countess of Arundel, daughter of William VI earl Warenne) (54). The Mowbrays endowed Spinney in Leicestershire, Conan IV of Richmond Rowney and Cheshunt, the Aumales North Ormsby, the Lacies Aconbury, Cecily de Rumilly Arthington and Bertram de Bulmer Moxby, in association with his monastery at Marton. The Stutevilles are the sole family for which we have evidence *only* of a nunnery. If they made no male monastic foundations then this will reflect badly on their status.

Northern nunneries were usually founded either by wives of tenants-in-chief or by their vassals; they did not attract the front rank support of male establishments. Their endowments were male dominated in that they were designed to create a female community dependent upon male lay brothers and male priests. By contrast, southern England had a tradition of large, independent Benedictine nunneries that acted as residences for unmarried and widowed royal women. Northern nunneries were designed to cope with a diversified economy; lay sisters to run the gardens, lay brothers to serve the fields, canons to minister to the parish church and the nuns; church and nuns to form the core of the spiritual community. Exceptionally, Stuteville Keldholme was on the southern model; a house for nuns only. It was consequently poorer, possessing only its site, some land to the north, a vegetable plot, the right to gather wood for building and burning, pasture for sheep, pigs and cows, and bark from specified trees (55).

Female monasteries were founded for different reasons than houses of

54. Sally Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1991 p.96

55. Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England*, The University of North Carolina Press 1988 p. ; EYC 9 no.12, pp.92-3

men. First, often to provide a future refuge for the founder's female relatives (note the convent was often sited on land which formed part of a wife's marriage portion or her dowry). Secondly, on the principle that wandering female hermits were a danger to society and to themselves and should be enclosed. Once founded, the conduct of the women was felt to have repercussions for the spiritual benefits accruing to the founder. In 1216 Margaret de Lacy founded Aconbury 12 miles from Longtown castle. She had intended the house to be subject to the Hospitallers but was disturbed to find that this would make the sisters liable for service abroad. Her fear was that the services of the house would be impaired, thus affecting the benefit to her family. If a sister was abroad then that was one less voice praying for the Lacies in church (56).

4. Tenancy Agreements

Tenants-in-chief were also mesne tenants of their neighbours and so in some capacities were each other's equals and on other occasions each other's liegeman. If Henry I summoned a meeting of the Yorkshire baronage Earl Alan of Richmond and Roger de Mowbray would attend as equals; however, on the occasion of the foundation ceremony of Jervaulx, Roger de Mowbray would be there in his capacity as tenant of the Earl's manor of Masham. The Percies were sub-tenants of the Honours of Richmond and Brus. The Brus held Kirkburn of the Fossard fee, the main line of Fossard were tenants of the Honour of Mowbray while the heirs of Walter Espec, the Ros family, were tenants of the Count of Aumale.

Cadet branches of major families were frequently enfeoffed on the lands of other tenants-in-chief. Junior Stutevilles, Percies and Fossards, held lands from Adam de Brus II. Sub-infeudation therefore fashioned a complex network of legal ties between families. This created a pyramid of feudal responsibility. For instance, in a writ of Henry II, Torfin son of Robert son of Copsi was to "cause the brethren

of the hospital of St.Peter, York, to hold in peace the land of Heslington which Robert his father had given them; and in default this should be done by Roger de Mowbray, and failing him by Earl Conan, and failing him by the king's justice" (57).

5. Administrative Service

Twelfth-century charters tended to be issued in batches from key points on a lord's estates. The number and quality of the witnesses was important and the lists reveal the company the issuer was keeping at that time. Everard de Ros witnessed a charter of William Le Gros c. 1150 (58). The Ros family had once been mere mesne tenants in Holderness but by this time they were the recognised heirs of Walter Espec of Helmsley. Alan de Percy of Topcliffe witnessed King David's grant of Annandale to Robert de Brus c. 1124 (59). The continual occurrence of members of one family in the witness lists of another suggests long-standing contacts.

Many important men started their careers as household officers of a tenant-in-chief. The Ros family only ceased to be the stewards of the Counts of Aumale when they inherited the barony of Helmsley. They did however maintain close ties with their old masters. Robert de Ros II negotiated the return of William de Forz II to England in 1214 to receive his inheritance and was present at the new count's ceremony of homage (60). The Bulmers, forerunners of the Nevilles, began as stewards to the Fossard family (61). Another Fossard steward, Wimund de Lockington, was the brother-in-law of Abbot William de Percy of Whitby (62). The Nevilles gained land through marriage into the family of the hereditary constables of Richmond (63).

57. EYC 5 no.159

58. C.T.Clay, A Holderness Charter of William Count of Aumale, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 39, 1957 pp.339-42

59. Early Scottish Charters Prior to AD 1153, ed., Sir. Archibald Campbell Lawrie, 1905 no.54

60. English, Holderness p.67, p.151; T.Duffus Hardy, Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, The Record Commission 1835 p.104

61. EYC 2 nos. 1012, 1013, pp.337-339

62. EYC 2 no.1047. For details of a later household official see Appendix 12.

63. EYC 4 Part 2, no.262, pp.153-4

The lords of Yorkshire exerted influence in many ways. Symeon of Durham recounts an episode occurring at Durham at Easter 1121. The monks were bringing an action against the chapter of St. Peter's York over the church at Tynemouth, both parties claiming hereditary control (64). The Durham monks' complaint was heard;

“before a large assembly of the principal men who happened to have met there at that time about some business; namely Robert de Brus, Alan de Percy, Walter Espec, Forno the son of Sig; Robert de Whitwell, Odard, sheriff of Northumberland, with the nobility of this county, and many others. When the monks laid their case before this assembly, lo! Arnold de Percy, a man of well-known rank and wealth, and of unshaken adherence to truth, rose up, and stated before all, in evidence of the truth, that he had both heard and witnessed how the earl [Robert de Mowbray] had repented on account of this injustice which he had violently inflicted on St. Cuthbert... On hearing this, all pronounced that injustice had been done to the church of Durham; and although the matter could not at that present time be set right, yet careful for their future interests, they providently recorded that this action had been tried before such a numerous assembly”.

By “numerous” Symeon really means “august”. These were men of wealth and influence, the chosen few whose task was to rule the north wisely and justly. Legally they did not have the power to try the case on this occasion but their choice of side in the matter would be crucial to the outcome. Few courts would ignore the opinion of great tenants-in-chief, only one step removed from the king.

Administrative service to the crown necessarily brought men into contact with their neighbours; Anschetil de Bulmer, steward to William Fossard, became sheriff of Yorkshire and in that capacity had dealings with most tenants-in-chief. However, no family surpassed the Stutevilles in service to the crown. With the accession of Henry II the family returned to royal favour and became a dominant force in the north.

6. Social Gatherings

Judging by the forest grants to monasteries which reserve the game for

64. Symeon of Durham, *A History of the Kings of England*, trans. J. Stephenson, 1858, facsimile reprint 1987, Llanerch Enterprises pp.188-9

Figure 30 : Stuteville Crown Servants

Roger de Stuteville - sheriff of Northumberland 1170-1185. Castellan of Wark 1173. Castellan of Edinburgh 1177.

Robert III de Stuteville - supervisor of works at Bamborough 1168. Sheriff of Yorkshire 1170-1175. Castellan of Brough and Appleby 1174.

William de Stuteville - castellan of Knaresborough and Aldborough 1173. Castellan of Topcliffe 1174. Castellan of Roxburgh 1177. Custodian of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, with all their castles, 1199. Sheriff of Yorkshire 1200-1201. Castellan of York and Pickering 1200-1201.

Eustace de Stuteville - appointed to view the condition of the royal castles in Yorkshire 1240-1241

the pleasure of the grantor , and by the numerous chases and parks in existence in medieval Yorkshire, hunting was a popular pastime (65). In October 1159 William de Brus of Sneaton and Ralph de Percy were hunting together in Eskdale. Their game, a wild boar, ran into a hermitage and the hermit shut out the hounds, allowing the boar to die in peace. Percy and Brus believed the hermit had spoiled their game and seriously assaulted him. The Abbot of Whitby brought them to repentance and they visited the dying hermit to beg his forgiveness. This was granted on the condition that they make a fish-garth of wattles and stakes for Whitby Abbey. The hermit then died (66).

No Ralph de Percy is known from this period but the story is important in its association of the names of Percy and Brus. Alan de Percy and Robert de Brus the younger fought with King David against their kin in 1138 and later evidence associates the two families with the earliest opposition to King John (67). Charter evidence illustrates the Percy subtenancy of the Brus honour at Kirk Levington and the similar directions of their monastic patronage (68).

65. For two Mowbray examples see Mowbray Charters nos. 53, 238

66. EYC 2, pp.355-6

67. M.J.Vine, Two Yorkshire Rebels: Peter de Brus and Richard de Percy, YAJ 47, 1975 pp.69-79

68. EYC 2 p.25

Occasionally we hear of great social occasions. Ralph de Diceto described the marriage on January 14th 1180 of Hawise, Countess of Aumale, to William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex. The ceremony took place at Pleshey castle. Diceto was either present, or spoke to one of the guests, as his account was written soon after. He mentions several happy omens that occurred on the day, hardly tactful a few years later as the marriage remained childless (69). Unfortunately Diceto does not mention any of the wedding guests; it would have been interesting to see if any other Yorkshire barons made the journey south for the event.

Monastic foundations and church dedications provided occasions for important social gatherings. On March 5th 1132 Walter Espec, his nephews, his neighbour Eustace FitzJohn of Malton, his tenants and a group of Augustinians from Warter Priory, gathered together to witness the official foundation ceremony of Rievaulx (70). Perhaps they repaired to Helmsley for dinner afterwards? The foundation of Lenton Priory took place in Nottingham castle c.1103-8 and was witnessed by the patron's family, the Peverels, and eighteen vassal families (71).

The witnessing of charters was perhaps the most important social event. It was a method of affirming friendship and loyalty to the grantor. At the Battle of the Standard Walter Espec put his right hand into that of the Count of Aumale and pledged himself [*do fidem*] to conquer or die (72). He was proving his loyalty to Aumale despite his known friendship with David. Charter evidence reveals the ties between the two houses. William of Aumale's son-in-law, William de Mandeville, witnessed two charters, one of King Richard and one of Henry II, to Espec's foundation of Warden Abbey. Henry II's confirmation was also

69. Ralph de Diceto, *Opera Historica* 2, RS 1876 p.3. Richard of Devizes described the bride as "a woman who was almost a man, lacking nothing virile except the virile organs", John T. Appleby, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, Nelson Medieval Texts 1963 p.10

70. Donald Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York 1114-1140*, The Stonegate Press, York 1964 p.154; *Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievallie*, ed. R.C. Atkinson, *The Surtees Society* 83, 1887 pp.16-21

71. Daniel Williams, *The Peverils and the Essebies 1066-1166: a Study in Early Feudal Relationships, England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, The Boydell Press 1990 pp.241-259

72. Ivan E. Broadhead, *Yorkshire Battlefields*, Robert Hale, 1989 p.57

witnessed by Roger, Robert and William de Stuteville (73).

7. Architectural Choice

Fortification was one of the factors that established the pecking order in Yorkshire society. It was again a factor in which the role of the individual was important. The major castles, those whose military use lasted on into the 17th century, or which possessed features of architectural significance, were built by the lords with the widest social connections. The Warennes were related to the kings of England, Scotland and France. Their castle at Lewes has two mottes, a fine shell keep and a noticeable 14th century barbican. Conisborough has a unique cylindrical tower with six hexagonal buttresses. Castle Acre develops from an undefended manor house to a strong keep with powerful earthworks. The 13th century work on the motte tower and barbican at Sandal is a significant step in the development of 'theatrical' fortification whilst Holt is a baronial 'Edwardian' castle. Even the Warenne castles that we know least about, Reigate and Thetford, were on a scale larger than most. Their castles embody their social rank.

The lands of the Herefordshire Lacies stretched from the west midlands and South Wales to Ireland. Their castles illustrate their social circle with influences chiefly derived from the work of the Marshalls and Hubert de Burgh. Many families maintained close ties with Normandy; Conisborough derived from Mortemer and perhaps Neaufles, Pontefract is reminiscent of Etampes, Blyth owed much to Rouen, and Richmond to Caen.

Stone fortresses were crucial to the standing of national figures yet some important families, for instance the Mowbrays and Percies, controlled their estates adequately from early earth and timber castles whose stonework, if any existed, has failed to survive or be recorded. This raises the point that perhaps what a castle was built of was not as consequential to contemporaries as we would believe. It was 'the

73. C. Herbert Fowler, *The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Old Warden, Bedfordshire*, Manchester University Press 1931 p.288 no. 344C

castle' in general that symbolised lordship. Contemporaries called both timber and stone towers 'donjon'. But the extra expense involved in stone building inevitably represents investment, appreciation of the site and the expectation of some benefit. Peer group pressure and fashion meant more than local defensibility. The stone castle made a statement to one's neighbours and friends rather than to one's enemies. What it *represented* in terms of individual and family status was as important as how strong it was, or even what it looked like.

The majority of castles surviving today appear to have been of earth and timber yet this belies the sophistication still available to them. Even the 'obscure' castle at Barrow-Upon-Humber, guarding the Count of Aumale's ferry from Paull to Barrow Haven, has been found to contain at least three, if not four, separate phases (74). The first was probably a simple ringwork, later developed into a bailey upon the addition of a motte. A second bailey followed south-east of the motte, built partially in marsh land which may have entailed the building of a third drier bailey on the north side. How quickly each phase followed upon its predecessor is unclear - the pottery finds from within the area enclosed by the third bailey are confined to the late 11th and early 12th centuries. There is then a lengthy gap in finds until the 17th-century suggesting that the castle did not survive the 12th century. But when did its life begin ? The last Saxon holder of the manor, earl Morcar, also held much of Holderness and so he too probably operated a ferry at Barrow. The ringwork phase may be pre-Conquest .

The history of the castle is one of personal preference and also of fashion. Castles develop in cycles; rectangular keeps give way to circular keeps which in turn give way to rectangular buildings once more when the defences of the castle return to the perimeter. We journey from defence to increased defence while simultaneously seeing a consistent concern with comfort and appearance. The apparent contradiction is embodied in the flexibility of the terms 'keep' and

74. C. Atkins, 'The Castles', Barrow-Upon-Humber, Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 18, 1983 pp.91-3. See also Appendices 13 and 14.

'donjon'; terms that are applied alike to public and private space, with vastly-differing functions. 'Keep' unfortunately retains much of its 16th century meaning (an artillery fortification). Ideally it should be replaced altogether by 'great tower' or 'donjon' but even these terms have strong military connotations and implications that this one feature represents the entire castle. At Helmsley what was once called a keep seems to have been instead simply a tower-chapel, standing independently rather than within a larger structure. Each major baron had a personal interpretation of the word 'castle', hence the importance to be attached to honorial architecture and the information to be gleaned from it.

We have also seen that barons chose *not* to defend their residences from an early date. Particularly in West Yorkshire, and specifically within the honour of Pontefract, the impression is given that local capita were only defended if they were able to conveniently re-occupy an earlier defensive site; eg. Almondbury, Barwick, Kippax, Laughton-en-le-Morthen. Other sites, at Bradford, Leeds and Rothwell, were not fortified. Fortification was not a necessity, even in 1066.

8. Duality

This study has been principally concerned with the dual-nature of, and the role of, castle and church in the creation of 12th century capita. These were fluid structures designed to cope with a wide variety of functions. In border regions, of which 11th-century Yorkshire was one, the parish church was the type of building most likely to be attacked, precisely because it was usually the most well built structure around. The role of the church as a communal defence was an added incentive for the local castellan to ensure that his parish/manor retained its religious identity, for the piety of his parishioners prompted them to provide for themselves a church both spiritually and physically prepared for attack. This role continued into the modern era: George Clarkeson, in a 1561 survey of the Percy estates, stressed not only the role of fortified churches but also of fortified vicarages which were regarded not as private houses but as part and parcel of the village's communal

defences (75). On the other hand, the building of undefended residences soon after the conquest, as at Castle Acre, indicates a smoother transfer of authority than is often credited.

If the church was a place of communal defence, then the castle was also a centre of religion. If a man had the resources to build a fine masonry castle, then he invariably endowed it with at least one chapel. His chaplain was the embodiment of the secular church and the religious castle; a man adept at both mass and manorial accounting. Samson d'Aubigny, the cousin and personal chaplain of Roger de Mowbray, was parish priest of several churches adjacent to Mowbray castles, chief witness of Mowbray charters and stand-in for his lord in the manorial courts. Samson successfully juggled the secular and the sacred and ended his days peacefully at Newburgh, after securing the succession of his privileges and properties to his son (76). In fiction another example is the priest in *Piers Ploughman* (77). There was scant conflict between the sacred and the secular; both embodied the other, the religious role of castle and castellan was normal as was the military role of the church. This is not to say that the latter was not a matter of theological debate:

"And clearly such a disastrous calamity befell the king and his men in that place for the reason that from a church there, that is to say from a house of religion and prayer, he allowed a castle to be made and a home of blood and war to be raised up. For, because a church is built so that the house of God should be, and be called, a house of prayer, most assuredly he who makes it a habitation of warriors gives offence to God himself. So, because, as it is written, no sin goes unpunished and with what measure a man metes it shall be measured to him again, my opinion is not foolish if I assert that this happened to the king because he turned a house of peace and salvation into an asylum for war and strife" (78).

75. Robert Bartlett, *Colonial Aristocracies of the High Middle Ages*, in, Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, ed., *Medieval Frontier Societies*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989 p.258

76. *Mowbray Charters* no.196 pp.138-9

77. William Langland, *Piers the Ploughman*, Penguin Classics 1959, p.27, p.121. At the beginning of his vision, on the plain full of people, Piers sees priests who "went into the service of lords and ladies, sitting like stewards managing household affairs - and gabbled their daily Mass and Office without devotion". Later he dreams that "Religion is a rider of horses, a rover through the streets, an arbitrator at Days of Settlement, and a purchaser of land. He rides like a lord on his palfrey from manor to manor, with a pack of hounds at his heels".

78. *Gesta Stephani* pp.92-4

The episcopal author of the *Gesta Stephani*, here relating how in 1139 King Stephen built a siege castle at Wallingford, is one of several clerical commentators to condemn the abuse of church property by the warring factions during the civil war. He perceived a clear difference between peasant communities seeing their parish church as a protector and great lords throwing clerics and monks out of churches and monasteries in order to garrison them. The civil war saw a huge escalation in the number of churches used for military purposes and, for the predominantly clerical authors of the day, it was difficult to reconcile this with the role of the church as arbitrator, protector and peacemaker. Up and down the country, at Lincoln, Winchester and Wallingford, church besieged castle and castle besieged church. The castle was not always successful, a fact that perhaps indicates a lower standard of military architecture and a large number of castles in disrepair.

9. The Role of Yorkshire

With the appointment of Robert de Mowbray as earl of Northumberland, and the foundation in 1080 of the castle at Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, Yorkshire ceased to occupy the northern frontier of Norman England. Its chief honours were not on the line of Scottish advance, with perhaps the exception of Pontefract. However, the region was still crucial to the process of 'Normanisation'; the great estates were designed to be offensive, to push the line of effective control northwards but their weapons were not military. William Rufus recognised as much when he brought in foreign knights to garrison Carlisle castle and simultaneously "sent very many peasants hither with their wives and livestock to settle there and till the soil" (79). Only intensive alien colonisation could underpin Norman conquest and control in depth. Thus Rufus extended royal authority to the north while at the same time putting a cap on the individual ambitions of the Yorkshire baronies.

Yorkshire by 1100 was a settled region; land changed hands and

honours expanded, but they did so via royal interference or through Scottish invitation. The attitude of the young David proved that gain did not have to equate with blood. The defences of many Yorkshire castles remained static throughout the 12th century; the great stone keeps at Tickhill, Conisborough, Richmond, Bowes and Scarborough, were completed only towards the end of the century. Royal Pickering remained a simple motte and bailey throughout its history. Fortification was not the prime concern, a fact reflected in the status of contemporary household officials. In the honours of Richmond, Holderness and Pontefract, the steward habitually took precedence over the constable. Only Roger de Mowbray broke the mould; in his charters the constable is usually highest in the witness-list, as they were in the necessarily more military-orientated households of the earls of Chester and kings of Scotland. But by the late 13th and early 14th century the constable had become a pure bureaucrat. William de Alta Ripa served Thomas of Lancaster as his bailiff of Nottinghamshire and Henry de Lacy as bailiff and constable of Donnington Castle (80). If the office of Constable had retained any military meaning it would have been highly irregular, not to say dangerous, for its occupant to serve two masters. Manors also varied widely in their retention of old titles. A constable in the manor of Donnington probably fulfilled exactly the same responsibilities as a bailiff in Nottingham.

Yet despite their non-militaristic nature there is evidence that later kings regretted the size of land grants doled out by the Conqueror in the 1070's. When lines failed, or estates were forfeited, they were seldom handed out in their entirety to a new man. Tickhill was retained by the crown while the earl of Mortain's manors were divided between his mesne tenants. The condition of Yorkshire after the harrying had merited on the spot attention. As William could not give this he entrusted the region to a small number of trusted followers and relatives, chiefly William de Warenne, the Alans of Richmond and his brothers Odo and Robert of Mortain who, although they were largely

80. Robert Somerville, *A History of the Duchy of Lancaster 1:1265-1603*, London 1953 p.73

absentee landlords, could be expected to have loyal vassals. The upheaval caused by the disputed succession of the Conqueror's sons was not foreseen, perhaps the king's single greatest mistake, and resulted in the region furthest from royal control coming under threat. When Roger de Busli died c.1098-1100 Robert Curthose was undefeated and it is therefore not surprising that Henry took the opportunity to keep control of a strategic estate linking the midlands and the north.

A. The Irish Example

Castle-capita were important as foci for permanent settlement and because they intimidated both native and imported settlers alike, directing them to follow the new regime. Gerald of Wales, describing the similar situation in Ireland a century later, commented that "when the Irish had been hemmed in by castles and gradually subdued, Hugh [de Lacy II] compelled them to obey the laws" (81).

In Ireland men were building castles with the hindsight of a hundred years of experience behind them. The choices they made therefore have a direct bearing upon the role of the castle as it evolved during the first half of the 12th century. The policy of the 1170's outlined by Gerald is far removed from the Yorkshire scenario:

"It is far, far better to link together slowly at first castles set in suitable places and proceed to build them gradually, than to build many far apart and in all sorts of places, unable to help each other in a systematic way or in times of necessity" (82).

The theory sounds good but in practise, both in 1070's Yorkshire and 1170's Meath, castles were a product of success, not a prelude to it. A case could be made that the Mowbrays co-ordinated their activities from four or five of their castles during the rebellion of 1174, but there is no indication that the castles built in Yorkshire in the forty years after the Conquest formed any 'chain of defence'. Economic factors, the

81. Geraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland* ed. & trans. A.B.Scott & F.X.Martin, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1978 p.190

82. *Ibid*, chapter 38

location of valuable manors, the existence of ready-made seigneurial sites, and the need for accommodation, played a far greater part in castle construction. In Ireland T.E.McNeill has argued that early castles were predominantly built along the vulnerable borders; in border areas perceived as being secure, and inner areas, castles did not proliferate (83). If the same theory is applied to Yorkshire, and particularly the honours of Richmond and Skipton, then clearly being on the northern edge of 'Normanised' England in the late 11th and early 12th century was not perceived as a problem. The castles built in these areas served non-military purposes; they were far more concerned with providing seigneurial foci for capita, bases around which civilian settlements could develop, than they were with providing segregated lordly fortresses. Thus another illusion is broken; it is pure myth that the Anglo-Saxon fortress was communal whereas the Norman equivalent was private. The latter was indeed a tool of conquest but to achieve conquest it had to become integrated, to serve the community and church rather than be served by them.

10. Future Directions

The military role of the castle is receding further year by year down the priority lists attributed by modern scholars to castle-builders. Inevitably one day the process will go too far and reaction will occur. But perhaps we are still missing the point. Landscape studies are currently fashionable but do they help? Their chief concern seems to be to demonstrate the command of castles over the peasant landscape, over villages, parks and forests; in other words over property the castle 'owned'. Yet what we need to do is view the castle in terms of its equals, in terms of the other major 'owner-users' in the landscape. The castle was one element in a power-sharing coalition. Castle, monastery, church and borough, shared an inter-dependence upon each other while at the same time enjoying an independence that made each major elements in the landscape. Modern scholarship should be concentrating more upon this dichotomy, recognising the diversity of

83. T.E.McNeill, *Hibernia Pacata et Castellata*, Chateau Gaillard 14, 1988 pp.261-275

capita controlling the land. We know the various elements that formed capita. The castle was one of these, but not always the greatest. Particularly in Yorkshire monasteries could be extremely powerful institutions wielding justice and control just like the castle.

Paul Stamper, in a lecture on Caus castle given at an Oxford Conference in November 1992 commented that the Corbet family seem to have subinfeudated all their possessions not visible from the ramparts at Caus (84). He was making the point that they were 'monarchs of all they surveyed'. However, it is more interesting to consider this as a case where the lords realise the *limitations* of their power and subinfeudate accordingly. Any one structure can only control so much territory, thus we see the development of networks of castles and churches spaced throughout baronial and monastic honour alike. Penelope Johnson's work on La Trinite at Vendome is an excellent example of the latter (85). Although the church was a vital support to honorial administration it could also detract from it. The lower gentry tended always to patronise the monastic house nearest to them. If this was not a house founded by the lord of their fief then their loyalty was being divided between the lord of their land and the lord of their church.

Another theme which merits more attention is the reliance of many capita, and castles in particular, upon the important political or religious places of the immediate and remote past. The location of such sites is one reason but the *significance* of these sites may well prove to be a greater factor. The archaeological transformation of the Anglo-Saxon seigneurial sites at Goltho and Sulgrave into Norman castles is now well known but why were such centres chosen? Can the status of the late Saxon holder be equated with that of the incomer, did the attached territory remain the same, did the relationship with a nearby church remain in place? Goltho and Sulgrave do not appear to have been

84. Paul Stamper, *The Corbets of Caus*, lecture given at the Joint Meeting of the Castle Studies Group and Society for Landscape Studies, Oxford University 14th November 1992

85. Penelope D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power: The Abbey of La Trinite, Vendome, 1032-1187*, New York University Press 1981

particularly important places, in contrast perhaps to Kippax and Laughton-en-le-Morthen in Yorkshire (86).

Castle studies desperately need to be brought out of isolation; indeed I question whether or not anyone should ever publish a book on 'The Castle' again. Whether it be concerned with architecture, origins, political history or social role, the castle does not exist in isolation. It is not enough to insert chapters into books (or Phd's !) on 'The castle as midwife:monasteries', 'The castle as midwife:towns', 'Castle and community', 'Castle and church' (87). Instead we must revise our whole definition of 'the castle' and start writing books entitled 'The Rise of the Caput', 'The Medieval Caput in England and Wales'. Only then will we be doing justice to the three factors, 'family, faith and fortification' that really controlled the post-conquest landscape.

86. For the large estate based on Laughton in the pre-conquest period see Glanville R.J.Jones, *Early Territorial Organization in Northern England and its bearing on the Scandinavian Settlement*, *The Fourth Viking Congress*, ed. A.Small, Oliver and Boyd 1965

87. Chapter Titles taken from N.J.G.Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales*, CUP 1990; M.W.Thompson, *The Rise of the Castle*, CUP 1991

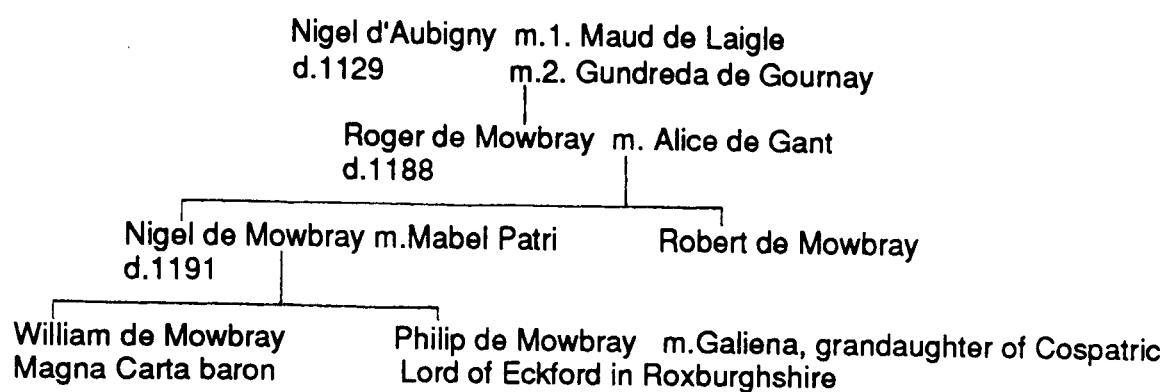
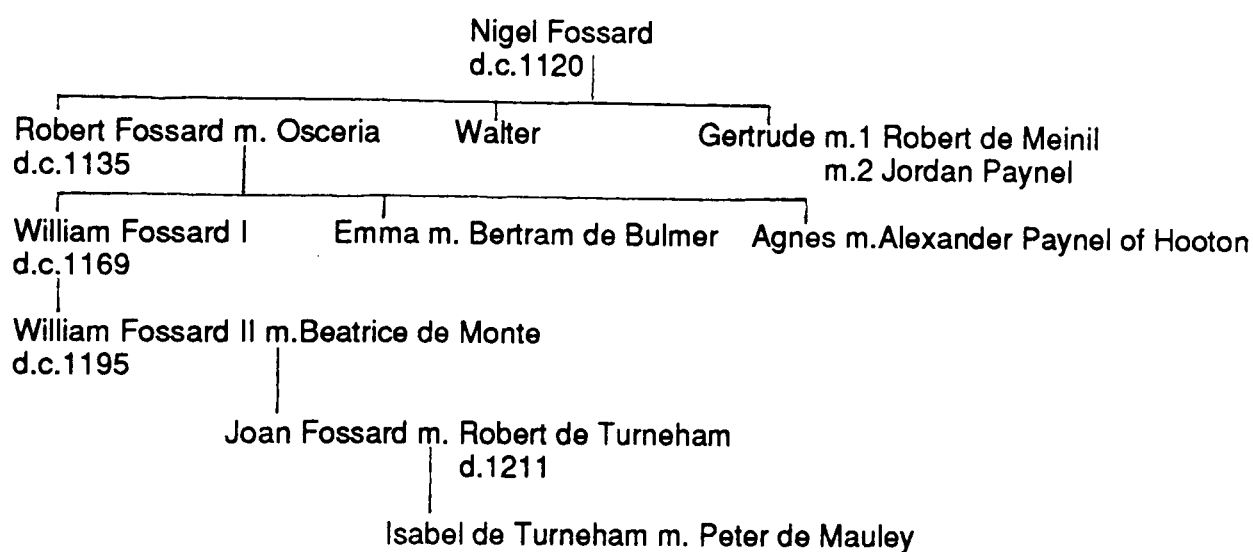
APPENDIX ONE

Genealogies

The most noticeable factor about the following genealogies is how short-lived most of the families were; few families lasted into the 13th century without breaks in the line of succession. The male lines tended to die out within three or four generations and the estates were divided between female co-heirs, or carried on through a single female. The four sisters of Peter de Brus III succeeded to a quarter of the Brus barony each. The second youngest, Margaret, married Robert de Ros of Wark (d.1274), thereby uniting two important northern families. The honour of Aumale escheated to the crown in 1274 with the exception of the considerable dower of Isabella de Redvers.

The genealogy of the houses of Richmond and Warenne show a marked tendency towards continental marriages in contrast to the local ties of most other Yorkshire families. All of Count Stephen's five children made Breton/French alliances; Geoffrey Boterel to a daughter of Jean I of Dol-Combour, Alan to the ducal heiress Bertha, Henry to Matilda, daughter of the count of Vendome, Matilda to Gautier de Gand and Olive to Henry of Fougères. It is clear to see which side of the channel their preoccupations lay. Their fortunes had improved considerably since the time of Count Eudo of whose numerous offspring the majority sought land in England. Perhaps it was the gains this cadet branch of the Breton ducal house made in England that enabled them to reassert their claim to, and eventually occupy, the ducal chair.

The Yorkshire baronage very quickly became 'diluted'. This affected the development of honorial castles; as new blood took over old-established honours, so ties with the lesser castles weakened, manor houses sprang up to replace them and investment was directed to new places.

Mowbray**Fossard****Descent of the Counts of Aumale**

Drogo de la Bevrere, lord of Holderness 1071-1086	FORFEIT
Odo, count of Champagne 1086-1096	FORFEIT
Arnulf de Montgomery 1096-1102	FORFEIT

Stephen, son of Odo, count of Aumale 1102-1130
b.c.1070 m. Hawisa de Mortemer

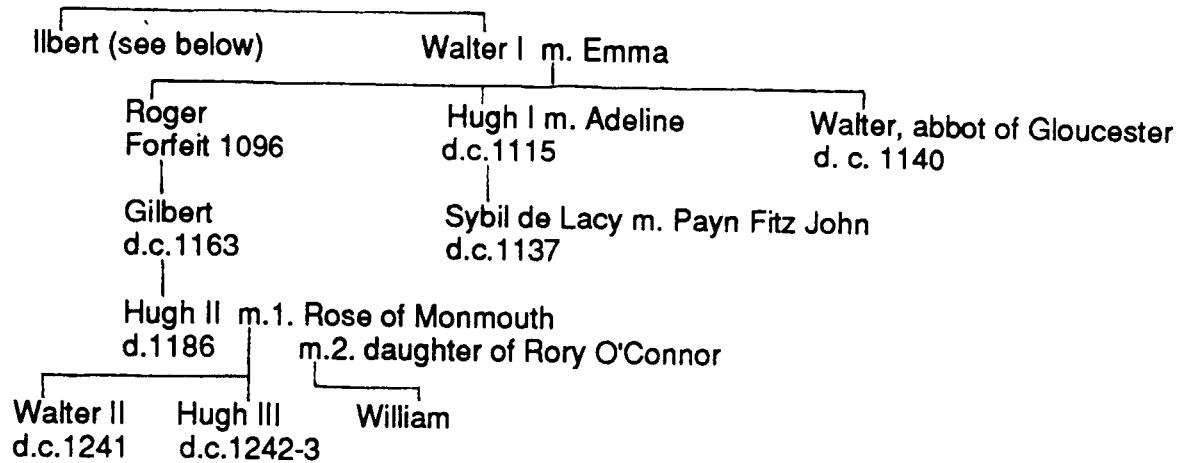
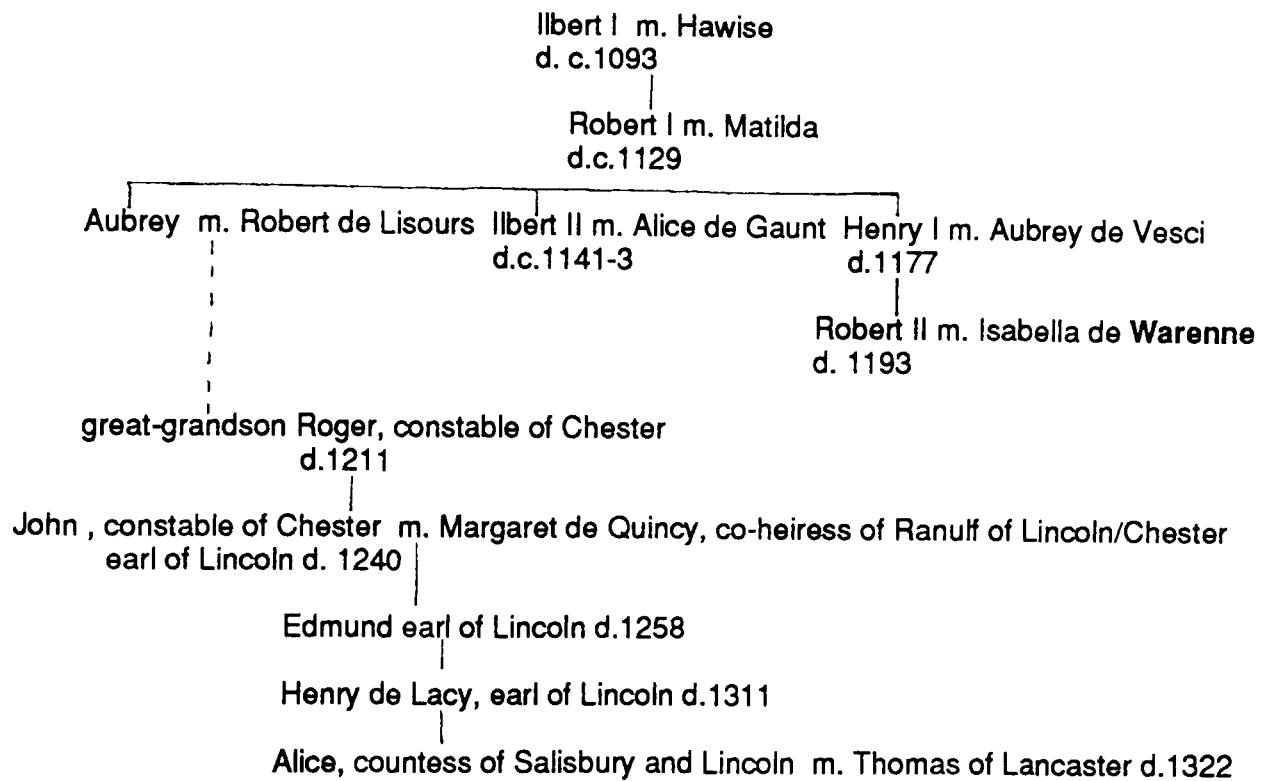
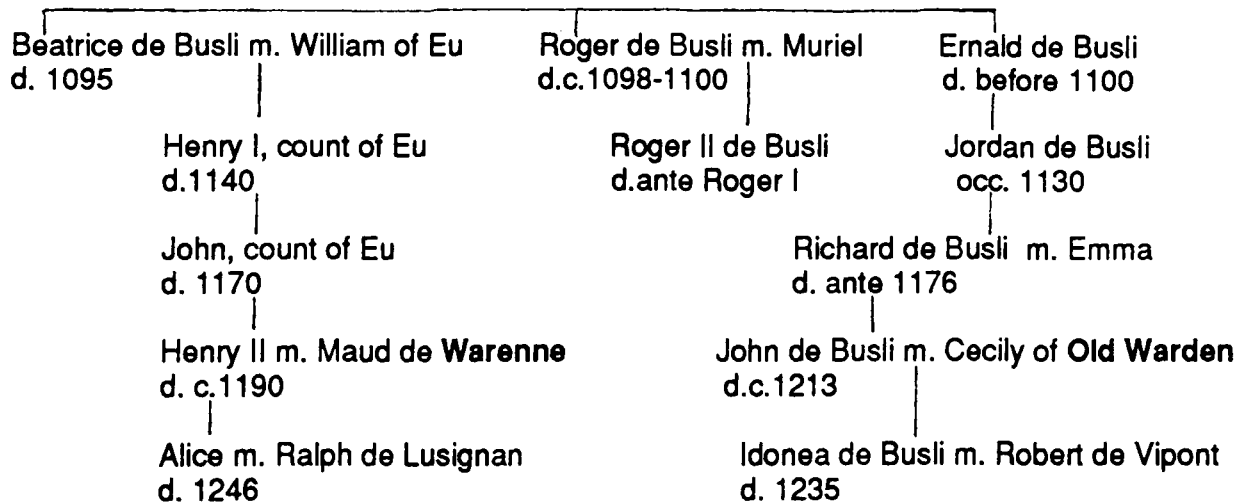
William Le Gros m. Cecily de Rumilly
b.c.1115, d.1179

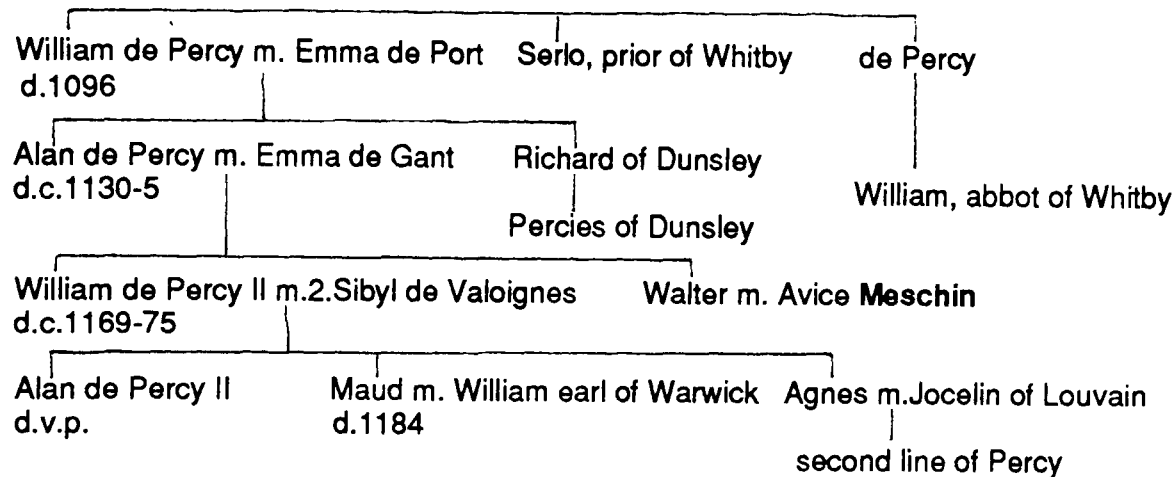
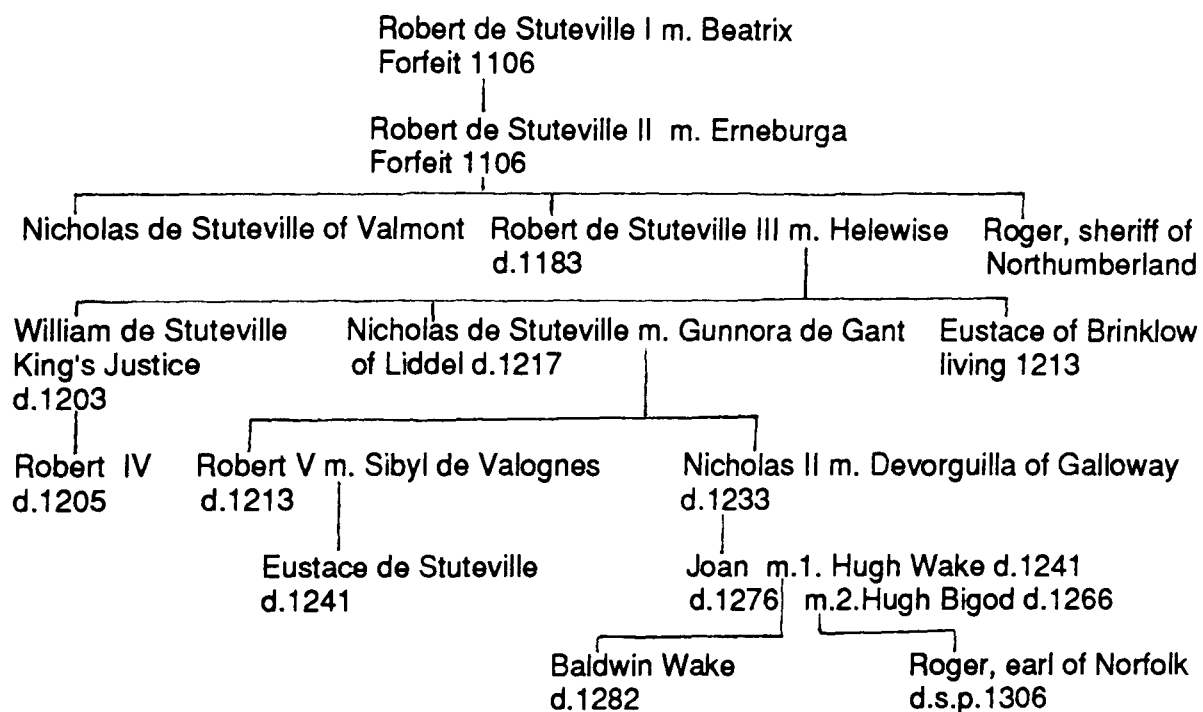
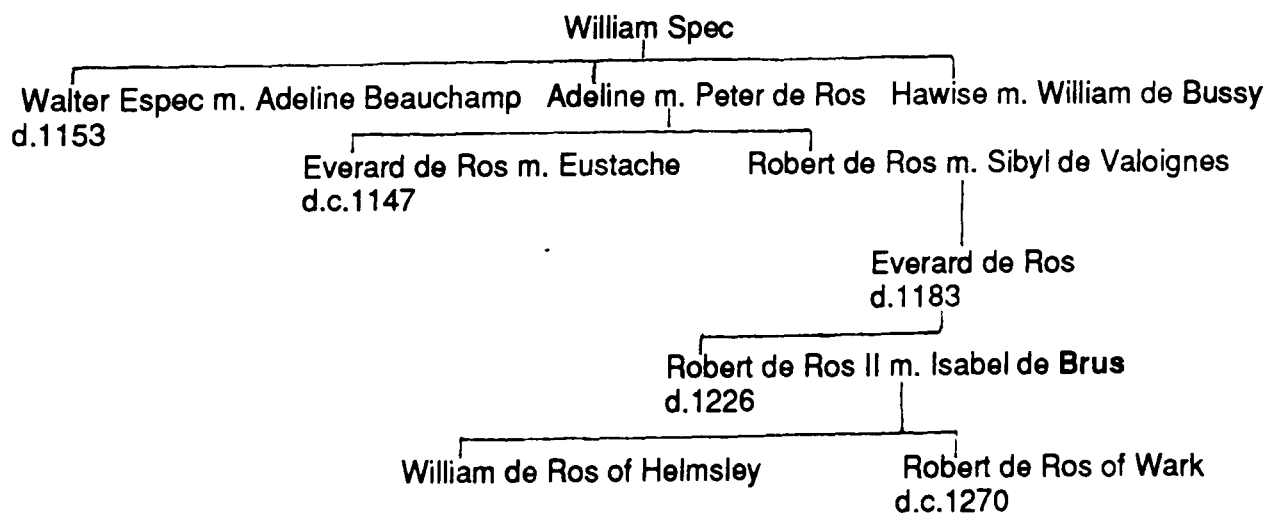
Hawise, countess of Aumale d.1214 m.1 William de Mandeville d.1189
m.2 William de Forz d.1195
m.3 Baldwin de Bethune d.1212

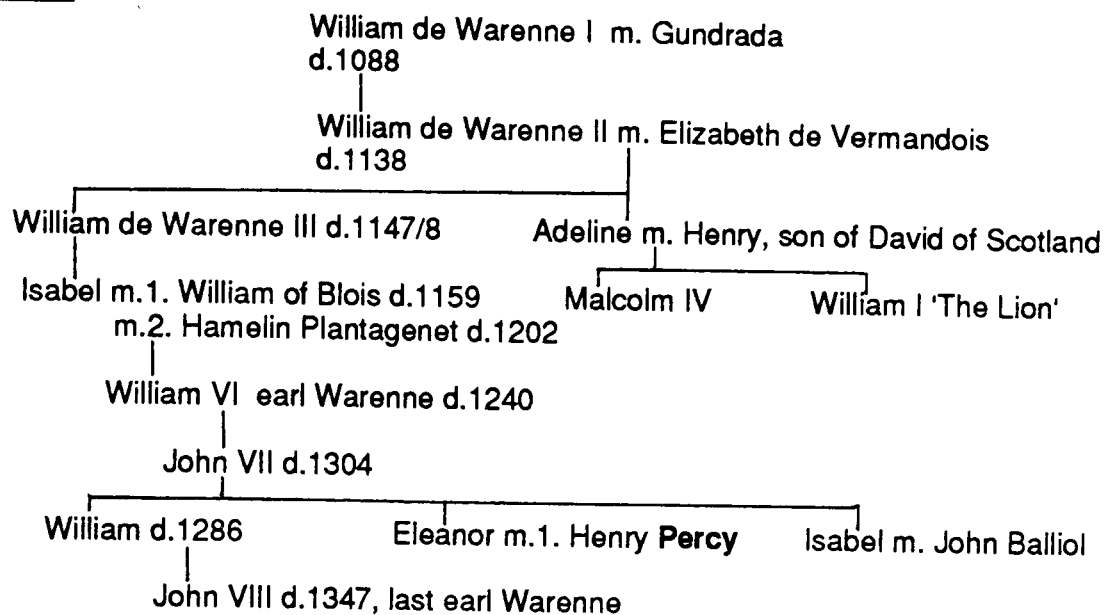
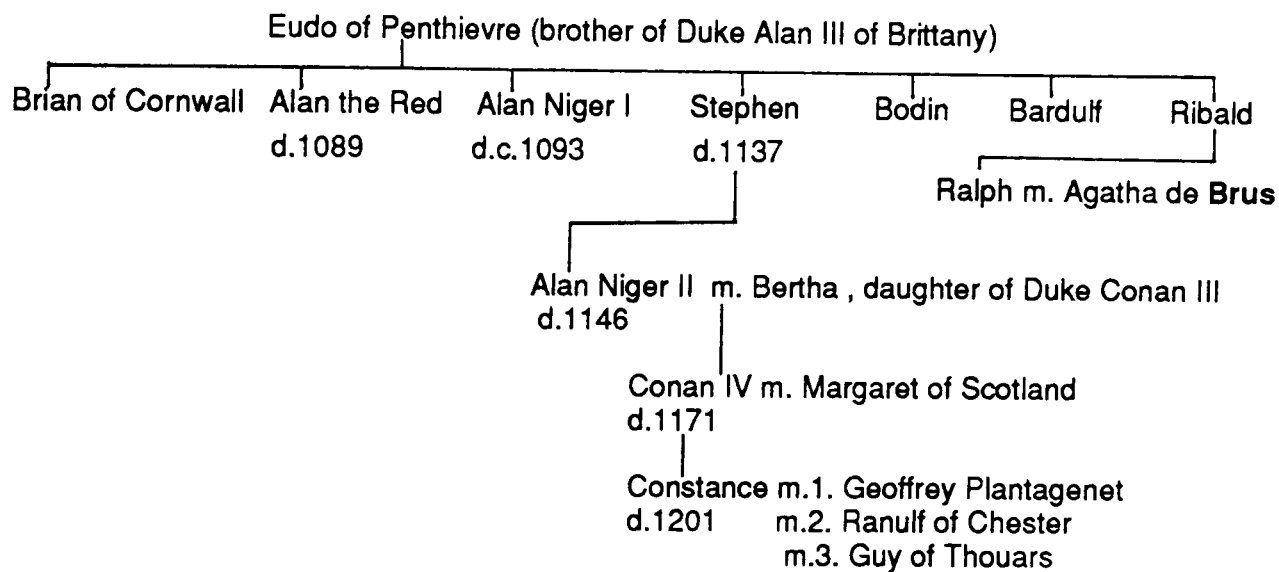
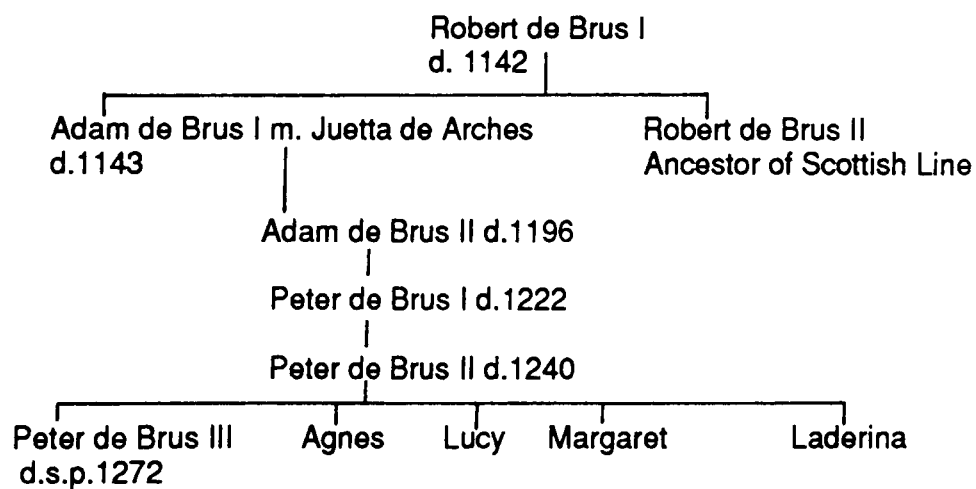
William de Forz II m. Aveline de Montfichet
b.c.1191-6 d.1241

William de Forz III m.1 Christiana of Galloway
b.c.1216 d.1260 m.2 Isabella de Redvers
d.1293

Aveline de Forz m. Edmund Crouchback
d.1274

Lacy of Herefordshire**Lacy of Pontefract****De Busli and Eu**

PercyStutevilleEspec/Ros

Warrenne**Richmond****English Line of Brus**

APPENDIX TWO

Twelfth-Century Castles and Manor Houses in Yorkshire and on lands attached to Yorkshire-based honours

The Honour of Aumale

Aldborough: In Domesday Book four of Drogo de Bevrere's knights held land around Aldborough where there was an early castle. All trace of it has long since been washed into the sea.

Aumale: Guerinfrey Sire d'Aumale, ancestor of the lords of Holderness, built a castle at Aumale in north-eastern Normandy in the early 11th century. In 1089-90 Odo of Champagne surrendered the castle to the supporters of William Rufus and it was enlarged and strengthened with royal funds. In 1173 William Le Gros surrendered the castle to Henry the Young King. The Aumale family used Aumale castle frequently before 1204.

Barrow-Upon-Humber, Lincs. TA065225: The motte and bailey here was probably built by the lords of Holderness to control the ferry over the Humber. Local field boundaries and geology suggest that in the 12th century the banks of the Humber were further south than at present and that Barrow Haven extended further inland. The castle would have controlled the latter. The evidence comprises a writ of William Rufus, granting to St. Mary of La Sauve Majeure the two tithes and churches of Barrow and Bytham which Arnulf de Montgomery had given, and a confirmation charter of Richard I stating that Thornton Abbey held the castle of Barrow (1). The first establishes the association of the parish of Barrow with other Aumale properties, the second shows the castle in the hands of William Le Gros' favoured monastery. Excavations by E. Varley in 1964 found Norman pottery and gaming pieces but no indication of stone defences (2).

Bridlington TA176680: In 1143-4 William Le Gros expelled the canons from this Gant foundation and fortified it against the supporters of the Empress.

Burstwick TA 220290: There was a park here in the time of William Le Gros and by the time of his daughter's second husband, Baldwin de Bethune, there was a manor house. Burstwick was thereafter the Holderness caput of the Counts of Aumale.

1. Regesta 1 no. 483 p.116 ; Robert Brown, Notes on the earlier history of Barton-On-Humber 1, London 1906 p.96
2. Neil Loughlin and Keith Miller, A Survey of Archaeological Sites in Humberside, Humberside Joint Archaeological Committee 1979, pp.194-5

Bytham, Lincs.SK 991185: Drogo de Bevrere built the first castle here. Initially part of the Counts' demesne, it was subinfeudated to the Coleville family. Bytham was a large ringwork with stone defences added in the first half of the 12th century.

Driffield TA 035585: The royal motte and bailey at Driffield was obtained by William Le Gros in 1155 as compensation for his loss of the title "Earl of York" and the castles of Scarborough and Pickering. He held it for life only but it was later granted to his grandson William de Forz II.

Scarborough TA 048892: The Chronicle of Melsa tells us that "William, surnamed Le Gros, Count of Aumale and Holderness, observing this place to be admirably situated for the erection of a castle, increased the great natural strength of it by a very costly work, having enclosed all the plain upon the rock by a wall, and built a tower at the entrance " (3). Henry II confiscated Scarborough in 1155 and completed it at royal expense but it is not clear who was responsible for the inception of the keep. Its architectural affinities are with Castle Hedingham and Rochester, dating from the second quarter of the 12th century, and so William Le Gros may be its originator.

An inquisition commissioned in 1260 describes with considerable detail the dilapidated condition of the castle. Most of the rooves were broken and 'in the great tower seven doors and twenty-nine windows are entirely wanting' (4).

Skipsea TA 162551/160550: Founded by Drogo de Bevrere, this was the chief stronghold of the Aumales until the late 12th/early 13th century. It consisted of a large motte (with remains of a stone gatehouse) in the middle of a mere, joined by a wooden causeway to the bailey or burgus enclosure. The mere contains remnants of a harbour associated with the castle's occupation.

Cockermouth, Cumbria NY 122309, **Rougemont** SE 296463, **Skipton** SD 995519: Cockermouth and Skipton passed to the Aumales via the marriage of William Le Gros and Cecily de Rumilly. The Aumales were not responsible for any extensive building work at either site until the 13th century. Rougemont was the first caput of the manor of Harewood; it passed to William de Forz by right of his wife, Isabella de Redvers, in 1248.

The De Brus Honour

3. RS. I p.XIII

4. Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I, Vol.1 ed. William Brown, Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association Record Series XII 1891 pp.72-3

Annan, Dumfriesshire NY 199666: This was the caput of the second line of Brus ,settled in Scotland by King David in 1124.

Bardsey SE 366433: A Mowbray manor forfeited in 1175. Henry II granted it to Adam de Brus in 1184 but the family quitclaimed it back to the King in 1200 whereupon it passed briefly to William de Stuteville and thence to Kirkstall Abbey. The sixteen year Brus tenure may have occasioned the construction of the castle.The remains consist of a long platform divided into two wards. Excavations in the 1930's produced evidence for a substantial square stone structure on the eastern side of the platform (5).

Castle Eden, Durham c.NZ 427388: A now vanished second line Brus castle mentioned between 1143 and 1152. It was more than a mere 'Anarchy' castle as is shown by a Brus charter whereby the brethren of St.Cuthbert at Durham were given the chapel of Castle Eden on condition that when Robert de Brus II or his wife were at Eden the chaplain of the castle chapel should officiate (6).

Castle Leavington NZ 461103: There is a large ringwork in this Brus manor. In the later 13th century it passed to the Meynels of Whorlton Castle.

Danby NZ 688082: There are remains of a horseshoe-shaped ringwork here, overlooking the Esk and commanding a north-south route across the North Yorkshire Moors. Excavations in 1988 detected a stone-revetted ditch defending the entrance but nothing to support the late-19th century report of a local antiquary that there were foundations of a shell-keep (7). William Le Gros took the castle from his ward Adam de Brus II during the reign of Henry II and the Brus family only recovered it in 1200.

Lochmaben , Dumfriesshire NY 089812/083823 : The Brus built a castle at Lochmaben to supersede their first caput at Annan. There are two remains; a motte at the second grid reference and earthworks underlying the later stone castle at the first site.

Skelton NZ 652193: Skelton replaced Danby as the caput of the Yorkshire Brus'. Tragically the castle was destroyed in the late 18th century. Old engravings suggest that it once boasted a late 12th century stone keep (8).Part of the chapel does however survive, embedded in the present house.There was a burgus enclosure in front of the castle protected by an earthwork.

5. Faull and Moorhouse 3 p.736

6. EYC 1, No. 649 pp.2-3

7. S.J.Sherlock, Excavations at Castle Hill, Castleton, North Yorkshire, YAJ 64, 1992 pp.41-47; J.C. Atkinson, Forty Years in a Moorland Parish, London 1891 pp.263-4

8. Peter F.Ryder, The Medieval Buildings of Yorkshire, Moorland Publishing 1982

The Honour of Espec/Ros

Helmsley SE 611836: At Helmsley Walter Espec built a huge rectangular ringwork. The first stone defences were added by his great-great-nephew Robert de Ros after 1183. There was no keep but instead a D-shaped chapel tower formed the focal point, supported by an enclosing stone curtain with round corner towers.

Old Warden, Bedfordshire TL 137446: This was the caput of William Spec, father of Walter Espec. On the death of Walter in 1153 Warden passed to two of his three co-heirs and no portion of it ever came to the de Ros family. The castle was a ringwork sited half-way up a steep slope (9).

Wark-On-Tweed, Northumberland NT 824387: Henry I gave the barony of Wark to Walter Espec sometime after 1118. Espec set his castle on a high ridge on the south bank of the Tweed, guarding a ford not far from the Scottish border. This time a motte rather than a ringwork became the focal point. In 1138 the Scots took and demolished Wark, but only after three sieges and starvation had been endured by the garrison. The castle then passed to the Scottish crown until its resumption and rebuilding by Henry II in the late 1150's. In 1200 Wark was granted to Robert de Ros II. The polygonal shell keep and curtain wall may be his work. Wark remained with the de Ros family until the early 14th century (10).

The Fossard Family

Aughton SE 702387: Here the Fossards built a rectangular motte and encircled it by a double ditch system. The bailey has been destroyed by a secondary moat which surrounded a late-medieval manor-house (11).

Birdsall SE 795639: This was the Fossard castle destroyed by William Le Gros c. 1173. Its timber was purchased by Robert Stuteville and presented for use in the first buildings at Melsa Abbey. In format it consisted of a steep and narrow foreland, dissected into three platforms by ditches.

Doncaster SE 573025: Motte and bailey built within a Roman fort. Held by the Fosards before 1130 and after 1196.

9. David Baker, *Mottes, Moats and Ringworks in Bedfordshire: Beauchamp Wadmore revisited, Chateau Gaillard 9-10*, 1982 pp.35-54. Baker comments that the extra bank and ditch added above the ringwork give the impression of rectifying an initially poor choice of position.

10. The best recent account of Wark is M.J.Jackson, *Castles of Northumbria*, Barmkin Books 1992 pp.120-125

11. H.E. Jean le Patourel, *The Moated Sites of Yorkshire*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series No.5, London 1973 p.18, Fig.7

Felixkirk SE 467846: The motte and bailey here may have been built either by the main or a junior line of Fossard.

Langthwaite SE 551067: This was a small township within the soke of Doncaster. There was a castle in the marshlands perhaps built in the 13th century to succeed Doncaster. Its relationship with the de Busli castle of Langthwaite is unclear; there are two earthworks here, one of a motte and bailey and one of a manor house. It is possible that the Fossard castle may be represented by the latter (SE 555068).

Lockington SE 998465: At Lockington there is a Fossard ringwork and bailey with a wet ditch.

Lythe NZ 832117: This was the caput of the Fossard Cleveland estates and the predecessor to Mulgrave castle. It consisted of a large inner platform, whether a motte or ringwork is unclear, with a bailey backed against a steep drop of 100ft to Sandsend Beck.

Mulgrave NZ 839117: The late 12th or early 13th century successor to Lythe. It is a polygonal curtained enclosure with solid round mural towers as at Conisborough and Knaresborough. The keep, with its round angle-turrets, was begun c. 1300 and remodelled in the 16th century.

Sheriff Hutton SE 657662: Not far from the later Neville manor house Bertram de Bulmer, steward of William Fossard I, built a rectangular ringwork c. 1140. During the Civil War the Bulmers supported the Empress and their castle was besieged and taken by Alan III of Richmond.

Whorlton NZ 481025: The ringwork and bailey at Whorlton was built by Robert de Meinil, son-in-law of Nigel Fossard. There was an attached burgus enclosure east of the bailey.

The de Lacy Honours of Pontefract and Clitheroe

Almondbury SE 152140: Henry de Lacy built a motte and bailey within an Iron-Age hillfort here during the reign of Stephen. The castle continued in existence beyond the civil war, the motte being crowned with a stone keep. There was a burgus enclosure here.

Barwick-in-Elmet SE 398375: Henry de Lacy built a second motte and bailey here, again within an Iron-Age hillfort. The castle covered a third of the hilltop, the remaining two-thirds being given over to the burgus. The motte is unusual in that it is completely surrounded by its bailey.

Clitheroe, Lancashire SD 742417: There was a castle at Clitheroe by

1102 when the bailey is mentioned in a charter. The origins of the small keep are unclear but it may have been built by Roger de Lacy I in the reign of Henry I and, if not by him, it was certainly built by the time of Roger II (1177-94). This was the caput of the Lacies Lancashire estates.

Donnington, Leicestershire SK 448276: Castle Donnington came into the Lacy family with the inheritance of Roger de Lacy, Constable of Chester in 1193. Its chapel was served by monks from Norton Priory, a foundation of the Constables of Chester. The castle was a ringwork. The surviving stonework dates from the tenure of Lord Hastings who obtained the castle in 1461. An engraving of 1792 exists depicting a long hall with pilaster buttresses here (12).

Halton, Cheshire SJ 539821: Halton passed with Donnington to the Lacy family with Roger the Constable in 1193. He may be responsible for the late 12th century format of the castle; a stone walled enclosure on a rocky site with several flanking towers and rectangular hall.

Hillam Burchard, SE 509299 : This was one of the demesne manors near Selby. It was presumably attacked during the conflict in the area in the late 1130's and was thereafter subinfeudated. In the 1150's Pain Fitz Burchard returned his two carucates in Hillam to Henry de Lacy who seems to have made a habit of reclaiming subinfeudated land (13). Hillam was a minor estate centre. There is no trace remaining of any capital messuage.

Kippax SE 417304: This is an early ringwork castle that provided an important estate centre for the Lacies. The bailey is now occupied by the churchyard.

Mirfield SE 211204: A motte thought to have originated as a steeply sided ringwork. Mirfield was subinfeudated by Ilbert de Lacy to three Englishmen.

Pontefract SE 460224: Ilbert de Lacy established his caput here by 1086, building a motte and bailey castle on top of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery and settlement. The chapel of St. Clement was built in the reign of Rufus.

Rothwell SE 345281: A demesne manor of importance which possessed a manor house by the 14th century at the latest. In the late 11th century St. Clement's at Pontefract possessed two parts of the tithes of the honorial demesne here and in the 12th century the church of Rothwell was granted to Nostell Priory (14).

12. Leicestershire Museums Archaeology Record; site summary sheet, current plan etc.

13. Wightman, 1966 p. 87, 93

14. EYC 3 pp.182-3, 185

Selby SE 615324: In 1143 Henry de Lacy built an adulterine castle close to Selby abbey. Within a week of building commencing the structure was under siege and it was quickly destroyed (15). The abbey itself was surrounded by a moat, perhaps dating from this period. A 1534 valuation of the abbey timber mentions trees 'here the scite of the late Monastery there, without the mote, within the cumpasse or precincte of which mote all le scite or scytuacion of the saide late monastery is sytuate and sett' (16).

Whitwood SE 399249: Ilbert de Lacy I may have raised this castle to collect fees at a ford over the river Calder. A sherd of 12th or 13th century pottery was found on the site in 1977 (17).

The de Lacy Honours of Ludlow and Weobley

Frome, Herefordshire SO 670458: This was a demesne Lacy castle built in the latter half of the 12th century. It possesses a large ringwork some four metres high supporting the remains of a shell keep. There are three baileys in line and traces of a gatehouse. In 1242-3 the castle was held by Gilbert de Lacy of Cressage, a cadet branch.

King's Pyon, Herefordshire SO442489: Demesne motte.

Laysters, Herefordshire SO568632: Demesne motte south of the church. The motte is three metres high with a summit diameter of twenty-four metres.

Longtown (Lower Pont-Hendre), Herefordshire SO 326281: A small motte and bailey that faded out of use from the 1180's, when it was replaced by the stone castle at Longtown, three-quarters of a mile away. It is a tall, moated motte with a bailey extending between it and the Olchon Beck to the north-east.

Longtown, Herefordshire SO 321292: Motte and bailey built by Hugh de Lacy II in the 1180's. It has a round keep with three buttresses probably built by his son Walter. The curtain wall and gatehouse are 13th century.

Ludlow, Shropshire SO 508746: Ringwork and bailey castle begun in the late 11th century, probably by Roger de Lacy. The gate-tower was remodelled into a keep c.1180. The inner bailey contains the early Norman round nave of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene.

Lyonshall, Herefordshire SO 331563: A ringwork and bailey castle,

15. D.F. Renn, Norman Castles in Britain, 2nd edition, John Baker 1973 p.308

16. YAJ 41, 1963 p.363 n.204

17. Faull and Moorhouse 2 p.562

similar in plan to Weobley, but with a round tower derived from Longtown. The first phase may pre-date the subinfeudation of Lyonshall before 1188. The keep is the work of the D'Evreaux family.

Mansell Lacy, Herefordshire SO406455: Small motte with wet moat held in demesne.

Stanton Lacy, Shropshire SJ497821: Motte 11ft high with a circular ditched bailey to the south and two later rectangular enclosures to the north-east. This was an important vill prior to the development of Ludlow. Stanton Lacy controlled the important north-south route here. Its castle sank in status to little more than a demesne farm-centre after Ludlow castle was built.

Weobley, Herefordshire SO 403513: A demesne ringwork and bailey with double ditches belonging to the Lacies. Mentioned by Florence of Worcester in 1138 when it was captured by King Stephen (18). A schematic 17th century drawing of the castle shows a quadrangle with corner and mid-wall towers, gateway and a great tower.

The de Lacy Earldoms of Meath and Ulster

Carrickfergus, Co.Antrim J4287: John de Courcy, King John and Hugh de Lacy III are attributed with the building of Carrickfergus castle . De Lacy's work dates from the early 13th century.

Carlow, Co.Carlow S 7177: Hugh de Lacy II erected an earthwork fortress here. The stone keep was probably built by William Marshall between 1207 and 1213.

Clonard, Co.Meath: Castle restored to Walter de Lacy in 1215.Motte and bailey close to a river and to an ancient monastery refounded by the Lacies

Dundrum, Co.Down J 4037: Deriving from Longtown, Dundrum has a Lacy built round keep dating from the early 13th century.

Durrow, Co.Offaly: This motte and bailey was built within an abandoned monastery by Hugh de Lacy II. He was assassinated here as he supervised the work in 1186.

Trim, Co.Meath N 8057: In 1172 Hugh de Lacy II built an earthwork castle here. It was rebuilt in stone from 1175 onwards, the chief element being a massive square keep with four square side towers.

18. Florence of Worcester, A History of the Kings of England, facsimile of the Joseph Stephenson translation first published in the Church Historians of England 1853, Llanerch Enterprises, undated p.193

The Honour of Mowbray

Brinklow , Warwickshire SP 438796: A demesne Mowbray castle consisting of a strong motte and two baileys. It was probably destroyed as a result of the Mowbray's participation in the Young King's rebellion of 1173/4.

Burton-In-Lonsdale, SD 649722: Ringwork with shell wall and pebble floors on summit and a bailey on each side. Excavation discovered several artifacts here including 2 silver pence of the first issue of Henry II.

Hood, SE 504814: Roger de Mowbray settled the monks of Byland here for a while and when the monks moved on they were replaced by the canons of Augustinian Newburgh. The castle is presumed to be an adulterine castle of 1215-6. However, the chronicle of Melsa refers to Hood Castle in the time of Henry I raising the possibility that it was built by Robert de Stuteville I before his forfeiture (19). It occupies the summit of a narrow high ridge and is isolated by ditches to form a long platform. A licence to crenellate was granted in 1264.

Kinnard/Owston Castle, Lincolnshire SE 806003: By the mid-12th century the Mowbrays had built a motte and bailey at Owston (Kinnard) on the west bank of the River Trent. The Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi states that during the rebellion of 1173-4 Roger de Mowbray 'firmavit castellum apud Kinardeferiam in insula quae vocatur Axiholm' (20). This suggests that Roger built a new castle. However, the words of Ralph de Diceto are more precise: 'castellum ab antiquo constructum sed tunc temporis dirutum reaedificavit' (21). Clearly Roger was upgrading an existing fortification. The former history of the site may have ended with the exile of Robert of Mortain in 1095, but considering the wealth of the manor, by far the richest within the Mowbray honour, it would be surprising if there was no Mowbray residence here before 1174. The castle was besieged in 1174 and defended by Roger's second son Robert. It was captured by the forces of King Henry and in 1176 it was slited. Four years later Adam Paynel was fined 2 marks because the job had been badly done: 'de castello de Insula non bene prostrato' (22). Today a large motte stands behind the church which fills its bailey. When Leland visited the site he commented "there was a castle at the south side of the church garth of Owston, whereof no piece now stands. The dyke and the hill where the arx stood yet be seen. It some time called Kinnard" (23).

19. E.A.Bond, ed., Chronica Monasterii de Melsa 1, RS 1866 p.316

20. Benedict of Peterborough, Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Vol.1 ed. W.Stubbs, RS 1867 p.64

21. Radulfi de Diceto, Opera Historica Vol.1, RS 1876 p.379

22. Mowbray Charters p.XXX

23. M.W.Thompson, The Decline of the Castle, CUP 1989 p.175

Kirkby Malzeard, SE 237745: This castle was also destroyed in 1175. The remains are scant although Whitaker recorded that its inner defences were of masonry in the early 19th century. (24).

Sedbergh, SD 662923: This Mowbray manor has a motte and bailey ditched on all sides except the south where the ground falls steeply away.

Thirsk, SE 429820: This was the caput of the Mowbray honour with its own motte and bailey (in which the monks of Byland were for a short while sheltered before being settled at Hood). It was dismantled by Henry II in 1175.

The Percy Family

Gisburne in Craven, SD 830508: This is a small partial ringwork sited on the steep east bank of the Ribble mid-point between Newsholme and Gisburne. It was the caput of the Percies Craven fief.

Kildale, NZ 604096: A possible motte belonging to a cadet branch of the Percies. It may originate from the 12th century but developed rather as a manor house than as a castle.

Kilton, NZ 704176: A mesne castle of the Percy fief consisting of two enclosures walled in the late 12th century on a natural promontory. There is a possibly 12th century round-backed fireplace with roll-moulded imposts. This may have been the earliest 'keepless' castle in Yorkshire. The curtain wall had projecting towers but no true keep (although there was one large square tower).

Tadcaster, SE 484436: A low, spacious Percy motte and bailey by the side of the River Wharfe.

Topcliffe, SE 410750: The first Percy caput consists of a small motte with a horse-shoe bailey near the River Swale. It was never fortified in stone and was replaced in the 13th century with the manor house that lies north-west of the castle.

The Honour of Richmond

Bowes, NY 992134: A Norman keep was built within a Roman fort here in the 1160's or 1170's. It was probably begun by Earl Conan and finished by Henry II. The keep was ditched and pallisaded but there is no sign of an outer bailey. Bowes appears to have maintained military status into the 13th century. It is termed a *castle* as opposed to a

24. T.S.Gowland, The Honour of Kirkby Malzeard and the Chase of Nidderdale, YAJ 33, 1938 pp.349-96

capital messuage in a 1268 inquisition into the lands of Peter of Savoy (25).

Burrough Green, Cambridgeshire TL 642549: A large moated site with slight banks, possibly the residence of Count Alan who in 1086 had a deer park here. In 1808 the remains of a tower of some sort survived (26).

Carlton-in-Coverdale, SE 068846: A possible motte not far from Middleham.

Catterick, SE 240981: A steep motte just north of the church with the churchyard occupying the natural site for the bailey. It was probably an adulterine castle, built by Alan III and dismantled by Henry II, (although a constable of Richmond castle is known to have resided at Catterick in the 14th century).

Cotherstone, NZ 013200: The motte here was once crowned by a circular shell keep. It belonged first to Earl Alan III's brother Bodin and then passed to their brother Bardulf and his descendants, the Fitz-Hughs.

Cowton, NZ 293023: Earthworks of a castle belonging to tenants of the Honour of Richmond.

Hutton Conyers, SE 326735: An adulterine castle built in 1140 by Earl Alan III. It comprises a square platform defended by concentric banks and ditches and is not unlike the early castle at Helmsley.

Killerby, SE 254971: The motte and bailey of Scolland, steward to earl Alan III. The site overlooks a ford over the River Swale.

Middleham (William's Hill), SE 125873: A strong ringwork; the first home of Ribald, brother of Earl Alan I. Situated in a good defensive position on the brow of a hill.

Middleham, SE 127876: The successor to William's Hill, a huge hall-keep built in the 1160's or 1170's by either the son or grandson of Ribald. The site is not as defensive as that of the earthwork and the castle had only weak outer defences until the 14th century.

Pickhill, SE 346838: Pickhill was given by Alan III to his constable Roald who probably built the motte and bailey here. It has now been largely obliterated by a railway.

25. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 2: Edward I no.381 pp.210-223

26. Daniel and Samuel Lyons, Magna Britannia Cambridgeshire 1808, reprinted 1978 p.96

Ravensworth, NZ 141076: Beneath the 14th century quadrangular castle are the remains of an earlier earthwork, perhaps 12th century. Ravensworth was held by the Fitz-Hugh's of Cotherstone.

Richmond NZ 172008: The caput of the honour. A large enclosure castle walled from the 1070's in stone . The great tower built over the 11th century gateway is late 12th century, the work of Conan IV, seen to completion by Henry II.

Yafforth, SE 347950: A motte set amidst the marshes of the River Wiske, possibly an adulterine castle of the civil war. In the Feet of Fines of Richard I a suit is recorded concerning 'the pasture of the island where the castle of Yafforth was, and the meadow close to the island' (27).

The Stuteville Family

Burton Agnes Old Hall, TA 103633: Although not a castle, this house is semi-fortified in that it was built of stone in the 1170's. It consists of a first-floor hall above a four-bay vaulted undercroft with an arcade of heavy cylindrical piers with water-leaf capitals. It is thought to have been built by Roger de Stuteville, the name deriving from his daughter Agnes.

Buttercrambe, SE 533584: On the west bank of the Derwent are slight traces of an earthwork. It may date from the late 11th century. William de Stuteville, who held Knaresborough Castle from 1173 to 1203, was granted a licence to fortify a castle at Buttercrambe c.1200 . In 1282 the extent of the lands of the late Baldwin Wake reported that there was here 'a certain capital messuage consisting of diverse houses, both necessary and others well built' (28).

Cottingham, TA 041331: The double-moated enclosure here may be a part of the castle first mentioned during the reign of Stephen. William de Stuteville obtained a licence to crenellate for Cottingham c. 1200. The house is mentioned twice in *inquisitions post mortem* of the later 13th century. In 1276 'the capital messuage in Cottingham, with the moat round the court, and a garden' were worth forty shillings. In 1282 the surveyors said 'by their oath that the capital messuage of Cottingham is well constructed with a double ditch enclosed by a wall....' (29). Note that the double-moat is mentioned only in the later survey.

27. Pipe Roll 22, no.170.

28. Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I,1, Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association Record Series 12, 1891 p.242

29. Ibid pp.169, 239

Cropton, SE 755893: A Stuteville motte and bailey with traces in the latter of the foundations of timber-framed buildings, including an oblong hall.

Kirby Moorside, SE 700868: The site of a 13th century stone Stuteville castle that may have had an earthwork 12th century predecessor. The 1282 survey describes the dwelling here in identical terms to those used for Buttercrambe: 'There is there a capital messuage consisting of diverse houses, both necessary and others, well-built, one grange in bad repair only excepted' (30). If standard phrases were in use for I.P.M's then their uses are limited. However, the description makes clear that these capital mesuages consisted of various buildings forming a complex - these were not single-houses standing in isolation. They were more akin to farms.

The Honour of Tickhill

Bradfield Castle Hill, SK 271923: Much mutilated partial ringwork on lands comprising part of the Honour of Tickhill.

Bradfield Bailey Hill, SK 266927: A large motte and bailey against a cliff. All the banks seem to be made of piled stones and rise on average 5.8 metres from the base of ditches 11 metres wide. The castle commands wide views over the northern side of the Loxley Valley. In 1103 Bradfield was separated from the honour of Tickhill and granted to the earldom of Shrewsbury.

Kimberworth, SK 405935: A manor granted by Roger de Busli to his brother Ernald. The castle was probably a motte and bailey. Nearby is a 17th century manor house in the grounds of which are remnants of a small 13th-century chapel and a medieval barn. There is a small section of medieval wall behind the house and some re-used moulded stones built into it (31).

Langthwaite, SE 551067: A motte and bailey held by Fulk de Lisours from Roger de Busli. In the north-west angle of the bailey there is a projecting mound, most likely a barbican as at Mexborough. The motte is 16ft high and has a wet moat.

Laughton-en-le-Morthen, SK 516882: A demesne castle of Roger de Busli, perhaps built on the site where earl Edwin has his 'aula'. It is a motte and bailey.

Mexborough, SK 484999: Low landscaped motte with bailey and barbican overlooking a ford; 'Strafforth Sands'. In 1986 a cross slab of

30. Ibid p.246

31. Information and photographs supplied by Lloyd Powell, South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit

the late 12th or early 13th century, with an incised sword upon it, was found in the chancel floor of the local parish church of St. John the Baptist (SK 47939970).

Sprotborough, SE 542033: A Busli manor subinfeudated to Fulk de Lisours. There is an isolated motte 16ft high with ditches 20 ft wide. It has a counterscarp bank on the north. It overlooks a brook on the edge of a small valley. Less than a mile away is the York-Doncaster road.

Tickhill, SK 594928: A motte and bailey with an early 12th century gatehouse built by Roger de Busli. The two keeps on the motte are thought to date from the reign of Henry II. This was the caput of the honour.

The Honour of Warenne

Castle Acre, Norfolk TF 819151: A fortified country house rather than a castle, constructed largely in stone from the first and its defences being increased throughout the 12th century as political conditions dictated. An important residence for the Warennes and the venue chosen for the laying-in of Gundrada de Warenne, wife of the first lord.

Conisborough, SK 514989: An impressive 12th century castle, the cylindrical keep with its polygonal buttresses being the work of Hamelin de Warenne in the 1180's. In format it is rather like a small motte within a large oval motte with a horse-shoe shaped bailey to one side.

Lewes (The Mount), Sussex TQ 416097: This motte formed the first castle of William de Warenne. It was abandoned by the 1070's for a better site within the town.

Lewes, Sussex TQ 414102: The caput of Warenne's Sussex Rape. A strong castle with two mottes, both originally fortified with shell keeps. A 12th century gatehouse survives in front of a 14th century barbican.

Rastrick: Eighteenth century antiquarians describe an earthwork at Rastrick, possibly a strong ring-work. It was unfortunately destroyed in the 1770's. It would have been situated within the demesne of the manor of Wakefield but may have been subinfeudated in the 12th century, possibly to the Elland family (32).

Reigate, Surrey TQ 252504: A huge ringwork and bailey castle with wide and deep ditches and originally masonry walls (33).

32. Faull and Moorhouse 3 p.739; 2 p. 485

33. See Wilfrid Hooper, Reigate: Its Story Through the Ages, Kohler and Coombes Ltd, Dorking 1979 pp.44-49

Sandal, SE 337182: An early 12th century motte half enclosed by a semi-crescentic bailey. The stone fortifications date from the 13th century and later.

Thetford, Norfolk TL 875828: A huge motte and bailey utilising the double ditch system of an Iron-Age hillfort. The castle was slighted by Henry II in 1174/5 but excavation has revealed that occupation debris continues in the northern part of the bailey into the early 13th century (34). The castle is protected by the Iron-Age banks to the north and west and by the River Thet on the south and east.

Thorne, SE 689133: A strong motte with traces of a round or polygonal tower on the summit, perhaps a smaller version or prototype for Conisborough. The castle once had a stone gatehouse.

Wakefield, SE 326197: A motte with two baileys first mentioned 1174-8. It appears to have co-existed with nearby Sandal until the 14th century as it had its own constable but there are few documentary references to it.

Whitchurch, Shropshire SJ 560425/526405: This was the only Shropshire manor held by William de Warenne in Domesday Book. The manor was soon subinfeudated, to a junior branch of the family who presumably built at least one of the two castles existing here. Both castles were motte and baileys.

Wormegay, Norfolk TF659117: Honorial caput of cadet branch of the Warennes. Large early motte and bailey.

34. John A. Davies and Tony Gregory, Excavations at Thetford Castle, East Anglian Archaeology 54, 1991 pp.1-30

APPENDIX THREE

The Oddities of Richmond

At Richmond, in the latter half of the 12th century, a new tower was begun around and above the original castle gateway. The domestic accommodation of the castle was provided elsewhere; within Scolland's Hall and the Robin Hood tower and probably within the long-vanished timber structures of the inner bailey. The new gate-tower therefore possessed no fireplaces, no kitchen (not in itself unusual as many 12th century keeps made do with external kitchens), a very narrow staircase, only one garderobe, tiny windows on the inside face but three fine large openings on the first floor looking towards the town. What was the function of this tower ?

1. The large windows suggest a ceremonial facade as at Newark and at Castle Rising. They provide a good viewing point over the town. This may suggest that these were not windows but doors intended to allow access onto a balcony. The lords of Richmond were seldom in residence. On the few occasions when they were they would have used the balcony to 'show themselves' to their tenantry and burgesses (1). A close examination of the masonry around the windows/doors may yet yield traces of a wooden structure.

2. The gate-tower is always assumed to be at the apex of the castle-complex. What however if it was at the mid-point, forming the link between the inner and outer baileys ? The triangular market-place lies directly in front of the gate-tower. The early burgage plots were laid out along the edges of this space, a space which may well have acted as an outer bailey. This would make the church within it a potential castle-

1. In 1157 Henry II built a house in Lincoln, now St.Mary's Guildhall specifically for his first crown-wearing in the city since the civil war. See David Stocker, St.Mary's Guildhall, Lincoln, The Archaeology of Lincoln Vol. XII-1, Council for British Archaeology 1991, especially pp.40-41

chapel in origin. Trinity Church is known to have existed by 1135-6 when it was given by Count Stephen to St.Mary's Abbey at York (2).

The parish church of Richmond, St.Mary's, was also in existence by this date. Stephen's charter refers to the 'ecclesie de Ricamunda et capella de castello' (3). St.Mary's stands on a lower site by the river. It provided the focus for the suburb of Frenchgate.

This scenario, the possibility that Holy Trinity church lay within the castle bailey and that the parish church simultaneously served the growing town, offers a further explanation for the gate-tower windows. These look out directly onto the church which, prior to its construction, would have been the most significant/tallest building in this part of Richmond. The three windows may well be symbolic of the Trinity served by the church.

3. The three windows/doors of the gate-tower form a front for a room below the hall. It may have served as an ante-room, a waiting area for visitors seeking interviews with the constable and more rarely the lord. Yet the staircase linking the two levels is very narrow; it is difficult to imagine a large party of burgesses filing their way up it. Perhaps instead this was a private staircase that led the interviewer down from his hall to the waiting interviewees on the first floor. There the business could be conducted in view of the bustling market place.

What the Richmond gate-tower *is* is intimately connected with who built it. To ascertain this we need to examine its contemporaries and the career of the last Breton lord of the house of Penthievre, Conan IV.

Richmond's Contemporaries

During the later 12th century the FitzRalphs were building their new castle at Middleham, Hamelin Plantaganet was building his cylindrical

2. EYC 4 Part 1 no.8 pp.8-11

3. Ibid p.9

tower at Conisborough and Henry II was working on the keeps at Scarborough and Chilham and the new castle at Orford. The King also commissioned work at both Bowes and Richmond. If we examine the royal expenditure figures then only £100 was spent on Richmond as opposed to nearly £1500 at Orford (4). If the latter figure built a castle from scratch, then the former figure must surely represent merely a finishing off of work already well under way by the time of Conan's death in 1171. A keep must entail the expenditure of at least £500 ; Henry did spend this amount at Bowes where his royal engineer Richard Wolveston was employed between 1171 and 1174 (5).

Expenditure of Henry II 1160's and 1170's

Bowes: 1171 £100; 1172 £224; 1172-3 £100; 1179-80 £117. In 1186 Rannulf Glanville accounted for £23 spent on the tower and in 1187-8 a further £6 for the tower's completion (6).

Chilham: Between 1171 and 1174 Henry spent over £400 here. This probably accounts for some stages of the octagonal keep (7).

Orford: 1165 - 1173 £1413 9s 2d. In 1172/3 preparations were made to resist the coming rebellion. A 'great ditch' was dug round the castle, a stone bridge was built across it, and palisades and brattices were constructed to defend the perimeter (8).

Richmond: Between 1171 and 1183 £113 was spent on the houses, tower and castle of Richmond. This cannot account for the gate-tower. Some of the money may have gone towards work on the Robin Hood Tower which became the prison of William the Lion after his capture at Alnwick in 1174 (9).

4. All figures taken from HKW Vol.2

5. John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, Alan Sutton 1987 p.345

6. HKW 2 p.574

7. HKW 2 p.613

8. HKW 2 p.769-771

9. HKW 2 p.806

Scarborough: Building work commenced here in 1157-8 and lasted until 1168/9 with break in 1165/7. The construction of a tower is referred to in 1158/9 and 1168/9. Over £650 was spent in total (10).

The expenditure on royal castles between 1155/6 and 1188/9, as calculated by Colvin, shows that 1172-3 was the highest spending period (11).

It is obvious that Henry II had his attention turned to the honour of Richmond during this period; from 1171 it was in his hands, providing a valuable northern stronghold and bargaining counter. The recorded royal expenditure on Richmond is meagre compared to that outlaid on Bowes and Scarborough yet the manner of the expenditure, small sums spread over several years as opposed to large sums in a short space of time, suggests that all three towers represent baronial projects completed by the Crown. Stylistically also these towers are old-fashioned compared to the polygonal towers being designed for Tickhill, Chilham, Odiham and Orford. Contemporary Middleham, built by a cousin of Conan IV, has similar proportions to Bowes; it is more 'palatial' but even Middleham did not have a fireplace in its hall and presumably relied upon an open hearth or brazier. Richmond is more akin to Scarborough; both having their halls in the bailey.

Conan IV

Conan IV was the son of Count Alan III of Richmond and Bertha, heiress of Duke Conan III of Brittany (after the disinheritance of her brother Hoel). His grandfather Stephen had intended Richmond to be his father's inheritance and we know that Alan III spent much of his life in England. A charter of Stephen issued in Brittany in 1123, in the name of the whole family, states that Alan was then in England (12). In 1142 he was in conflict with William of Aumale; so serious was their dispute that King Stephen had to travel to York to prevent a tournament taking

10. HKW 2 p.829-832

11. HKW 2 p.1023

12. EYC 4 Part 1, no.7 pp.7-8

place between them (13).

In 1146 Alan died. Shortly afterwards Bertha was remarried to Eudo, Count of Porhoet. At this point it seems that Eudo was recognised as the heir of Conan III. Certainly, on Conan III's death in 1148, Eudo was accepted as duke and no attempt appears to have been made to press the claims of the infant Conan IV. Eudo's rival was instead his brother-in-law Hoel who seized control of Nantes and proclaimed himself count. Conan seems to have spent his minority in England, probably at the royal court in the guardianship of Henry rather than at Richmond (14).

In 1156 the citizens of Nantes expelled Count Hoel and, refusing to admit Eudo, they appealed to Henry II of England. Henry took two decisions. He installed his brother Geoffrey as count of Nantes and sanctioned the return to Brittany of the now adult Conan IV to try to recover his inheritance. Why now? Henry was concerned to keep the borders of his empire intact and perhaps had thought it unwise to stir up trouble in Brittany whilst the populace were apparently content with Eudo.

Duchess Bertha was his cousin, an illegitimate grand-daughter of Henry I. However, with the actions of the citizens of Nantes the peace had been broken. Henry could provide for his brother, whom he had cheated out of his intended patrimony of Anjou, and could help his liegeman Conan. In September 1156 Conan crossed to Brittany, besieged and took Rennes, expelled Eudo and was accepted as duke.

Conan was now earl of Richmond and duke of Brittany, a powerful magnate but nonetheless at the mercy of Henry II. Henry's concern with Brittany rested upon the navigation of the Loire and the security of his two big cities, Angers and Tours. The position seemed ideal with the

13. English, Holderness p.21

14. This account of the career of Conan IV has been drawn from numerous sources, chiefly Orderic Vitalis, EYC 4 Parts 1 and 2, Eyton's Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II, London 1878, W.L. Warren, Henry II, Eyre Methuen 1973 and Patrick Galliou and Michael Jones, The Bretons, Basil Blackwell 1991

rule of Conan and Geoffrey but in July 1158 Geoffrey died. Conan immediately took possession of Nantes despite Henry's claims as his brother's heir. Conan was in a terrible position. To be more than a puppet duke he needed to control Nantes, yet to maintain it would provoke conflict with Henry and probably lose him his extensive English possessions .

Henry's solution was cunning . Louis of France would not concede the subordination of Brittany to the Duke of Normandy but he would grant Henry the honorary title 'Seneschal of France'. In this capacity Louis ordered Henry to intervene in Brittany and restore peace. Henry summoned the knight service of Normandy to assemble at Avranches at Michaelmas 1158. On the appointed day Conan also arrived and surrendered the county. In return Henry recognised him as duke and restored the earldom of Richmond which he had seized on hearing of Conan's occupation of Nantes.

From this point onwards Conan was a puppet duke, a vassal of the duke of Normandy. In 1160 he returned to England for his marriage with Margaret of Scotland. After the birth of their daughter, Constance, a bargain was struck with Henry. She would be betrothed to his third son Geoffrey and thereafter the duchy would pass to Geoffrey upon the deaths of both Conan and the former duke Eudo of Porhoet. It is unclear why Eudo's rights were thus protected - was this to appease the Breton people who disliked the Angevins or was it insisted upon by Conan to preserve peace in the duchy?

From January 13-28, 1164, Conan attended the Council of Clarendon in England. Henry may have discussed with him the increasing lawlessness in Brittany . In August of the same year the Constable of Normandy was forced to intervene which suggests inactivity on Conan's part. By summer 1166 Henry's patience had been stretched too far. In June he assembled his army to march into Brittany against Eudo of Porhoet and the lord of Fougères who were in

rebellion. Fougères fell in July. In August Henry proceeded to Rennes, the Breton seat of government. He deposed Conan, taking possession of the duchy in the name of his son Geoffrey. Geoffrey was summoned from England and the Breton barons did homage at Thouars.

Brittany occupied Henry's time for much of the year. A papal dispensation had to be obtained to facilitate the marriage between Constance and Geoffrey (cousins in the third degree), Conan had to be honourably retired to the county of Guingamp and the Breton populace had to be appeased. Popular feeling was strong against the deposition of Conan causing an increase in support for Eudo of Porhoët. Henry therefore had to win the duchy by force although he can be said to have had a legitimate claim. The chronicler Robert of Torigny described Henry taking over the duchy by 'saisire' (15). The feudal term 'seisin' indicates legitimate possession but not, necessarily, proprietary right.

Henry had in fact been interfering in Breton affairs since Conan's acceptance as duke. In 1156 he attacked the count of Thouars and in July 1162 besieged and took Dol. In August 1167 he faced a rebellion by the Comte of Leon and in April 1168 a major offensive by Eudo and Oliver de Dinan. Eudo was not brought to submission until January 1170.

On February 20th 1171 Conan died in Guingamp. A Breton Chronicle recorded "obiit Conanus, junior, Dux Britanniae" (16). To this chronicler at least Conan had never ceased to be the rightful duke. He was the grandson of Conan III, of the royal Breton house.

Henry II did not view Brittany as an independent state but rather as the equivalent of his wife's duchy of Aquitaine; a defined region with clear boundaries, but one which recognised the overlordship of the Duke of Normandy. The fact that France claimed overlordship of Brittany as well

15. Robert of Torigny, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, RS Vol. 4, 1889 p. 228

16. Rev. R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*, London 1878 p. 157

only compounded the held opinion that Brittany was in no way an independent dukedom. If Henry could not control the duchy through brothers or loyal vassals, then he would control it personally , although ostentatiously on behalf of his son. Constance and Geoffrey married in 1181 but, unfortunately for Anjevin plans, Geoffrey died six years later at a tournament in Paris. Control henceforth had to be exercised by less direct means, by choosing husbands for the duchess Constance and using the honour of Richmond as a bargaining tool whenever necessary.

The Honour of Richmond was retained, along with the county of Guingamp, by Conan when he lost his duchy. Although there is no record of Conan making any visit to England after 1164, such a trip would not be unlikely, particularly as between 1160 and 1171 he issued a charter to Jervaulx abbey, conferring upon the monks the burial of his body 'wherever he should die in England' (17).

Figure 31: The Charters of Conan IV
(Based on EYC Vol. IV)

No. ==	Place of Issue =====	Known or Suggested Date =====	Subject =====
30	Boston	October 1156 - April 1158	Co.Lincs.
31	Washingborough	" "	Kirkstead
32	"	" "	Rufford
33	York	" "	York
34	Richmond	" "	Durham
35	Cheshunt	" "	Cheshunt
39	Brittany	1156? - 1162	Richmond
44	Rennes	22 April 1158.	Rennes
45	Rennes	1158	Fountains
46	Rennes	1158	Kirkstead
47	Fougeres	1158	Richmond

48	Rennes	1158	Begard
49	Rennes	1158	Rennes
50	Rennes	1158 - 1166	Richmond
51	Rennes	1158 - 1166	Fougeres
52	Quimper	1158 - 1171	Jervaulx
53	Richmond	1159 - 1171	Marrick
54	Richmond	1159 - 1171	Mont St.Michel
55	Richmond	1159 - 1171	Manfield
58	Guingamp	1160 - 1166	Morbihan
59	Guingamp	1160 - 1166	Rennes
61	Guingamp	1160 - 1167	Guingamp
62	Guingamp	1160 - 1167	Guingamp
63	Guingamp	1160 - 1167	Guingamp
64	Guingamp	1160 - 1168	Kirkstead
65	Guingamp	1160 - 1171	Cambridge
68	Guingamp	12/3/1161-2 or 1162/3	Savigny
69	Quimper	15 August 1162	Quimper
70	Guingamp	1162 - 1171	Guingamp
71	Rennes	2 Feb 1162/3	Savigny
72	Wilton	c.Jan 1163/4	Mont St.Michel
73	Rennes	1166	Co.Lincoln

These datable charters confirm the international nature of Conan's estates. He can be found issuing charters concerning England while in Brittany and charters concerning Brittany while in England. There are few charters however that pinpoint visits to Yorkshire. Conan must have been in England for a period during the construction in order to issue his commands and check the work. Four possible periods are;

1. 1146-1158, chiefly late 1156 to early 1158 when Conan witnessed charters in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, including at Richmond. His recognition as duke may have been an occasion worthy of the

construction of a large tower.

2. 1160 - in England for his marriage to Margaret of Scotland. A royal marriage and grand social occasion - another occasion meriting investment on the ducal castle at Richmond.

3. 1159-1164: a period during which Conan paid several visits to England and to Richmond.

4. 1166-1171: Conan's last years were spent mainly in Guingamp but note the charter to Jervaulx, by which Conan left his body to the monks should he die in England - this suggests that his ties with Richmond were still strong (18).

There is no real evidence to support one period over another but Conan's marriage in 1160 does seem potentially a good moment for the commencement of the gate-tower. It would have been a permanent reminder to his new in-laws of his prestige. This would make the conversion of the gateway contemporary with that at Ludlow. The two developments are very different in their detail but the basic idea is the same.

The Premonstratensian abbey of Easby was being built in the 1150's just 3/4 of a mile down river from Richmond. The abbey, founded in 1151 by Roald the constable of Richmond could be viewed from the battlements of the completed gate-tower. It was favoured by Conan IV who offered his protection to Easby in a charter of the late 1150's (19). The position of Easby offers another indication of the function of the tower; from it all the important places within Richmond could be surveyed. The tower was designed to be plain internally, with only a narrow staircase and basic amenities, because its function was external. It offered a viewing platform linking lord and tenants, it extended the symbolic jurisdiction of the castle to the market-place and the churches of Richmond. What it most certainly was not was a tower of last resort; instead it was situated at the easiest approach to the castle, was a component of the curtain wall and thus an integrated part

18. EYC 4, Part 1 no.67, pp.64-5

19. EYC 4, Part 1 no.36, p.41

of the whole castle defence.

It is also worth comparing the overall plan of Richmond, as laid out in the late 11th century, with the ducal palace at Caen. Here the palace complex sat equi-distant between the two abbeys of St. Stephen and Holy Trinity, founded by William and Matilda to atone for having married within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. Richmond castle can be termed 'palatial' and it also sits close to the parish church of Holy Trinity, perhaps once the castle chapel. Caen was William's capital and we may see here an attempt by Alan of Richmond to emulate him on a smaller scale.

APPENDIX FOUR

Obscure Origins

In a number of cases the forerunners of stone castles cannot be clearly determined - were they ringworks or motte and baileys ? Only seldom do the stone remains help us decide; it is hard to believe that Caernarvon castle encircled a motte or that Kidwelly stands upon a ringwork. Even with contemporary literature available the answer may not be found.

In 1172 Hugh de Lacy II was granted the lordship of Meath, 'as Murrough O'Melaghlin...best held it'. Melaghlin had been a weak and ineffectual king and so in reality de Lacy was given license to reconquer the region between Dublin and the Shannon for himself. He achieved this by familiar methods; building castles, chiefly motte and baileys, fostering boroughs and founding monasteries. His caput was at Trim.

Trim is the largest castle in Ireland; a huge square tower with a projecting side tower on every face. As the central block is one storey higher than the surrounding ground-level and the side towers it seems to have been built on a mound, perhaps the motte of the castle captured by the Irish in 1172:

"Then Hugh de Lacy
Fortified a house at Trim
And threw a trench around it,
And then enclosed it with a spiked stockade" (1)

This sounds more like a ringwork but the poem goes on to describe the actions of the Irish attackers:

"They demolished the motte

1. The Song of Dermot and the Earl, trans A.B.Scott and F.X.Martin in Giraldu Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1978 p.195

And razed everything to the ground
 But first they burned down
 The castle (2).

The poem seems to distinguish between 'the motte' and 'the castle'. Another section talks about 'the castle and the stockade'. Wherever two elements are mentioned, it is clear that one must be the bailey, the domestic section of the structure. The physical fact that the central block of the Trim keep is raised one floor above the side towers would seem to suggest, in agreement with the poem, that the other element is a motte. However, the physical evidence has yet to be investigated and the term 'motte' may have had connotations wider than the expected mound with summit defences.

Marjorie Chibnall has outlined the various terms used for fortifications in the pages of Orderic Vitalis and in other 11th-century chronicles: castrum, castellum, municipium, praesidium, oppidum, arx, turris, mota, dangio, agger (3). Different writers used different terms to mean different things. Orderic used 'agger' to mean a rampart whereas contemporaries might use it to mean a motte. Most chroniclers were more concerned with literary convenience than with technical accuracy. It is true that the author of 'The Song of Dermot and the Earl' used the most precise term, 'la mot' but we still cannot rule out his choice being due to metre rather than fact. McNeill says "it is perverse to interpret the wording of the poem (mot, dongun, dejeter) as other than implying a motte" yet Chibnall states that 'dangio' was always used for a royal keep. Contemporary language, particularly literary language, cannot be used as concrete proof for castle format. Pairs of words like 'turris' (tower or donjon) and domus (house or abode), or 'camera' (chamber) and 'sala' (hall) were used sometimes as opposites, sometimes as equivalents. There is a *significant ambiguity* in contemporary castle terminology that proves the inherent flexibility of the form.

2. T.E. McNeill, Trim Castle, Co. Meath; the first three generations, Arch.J. 147, 1990 p.310

3. Marjorie Chibnall, Orderic Vitalis on Castles, in Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C.J. Holdsworth, J.L. Nelson, The Boydell Press 1989 pp.43-56

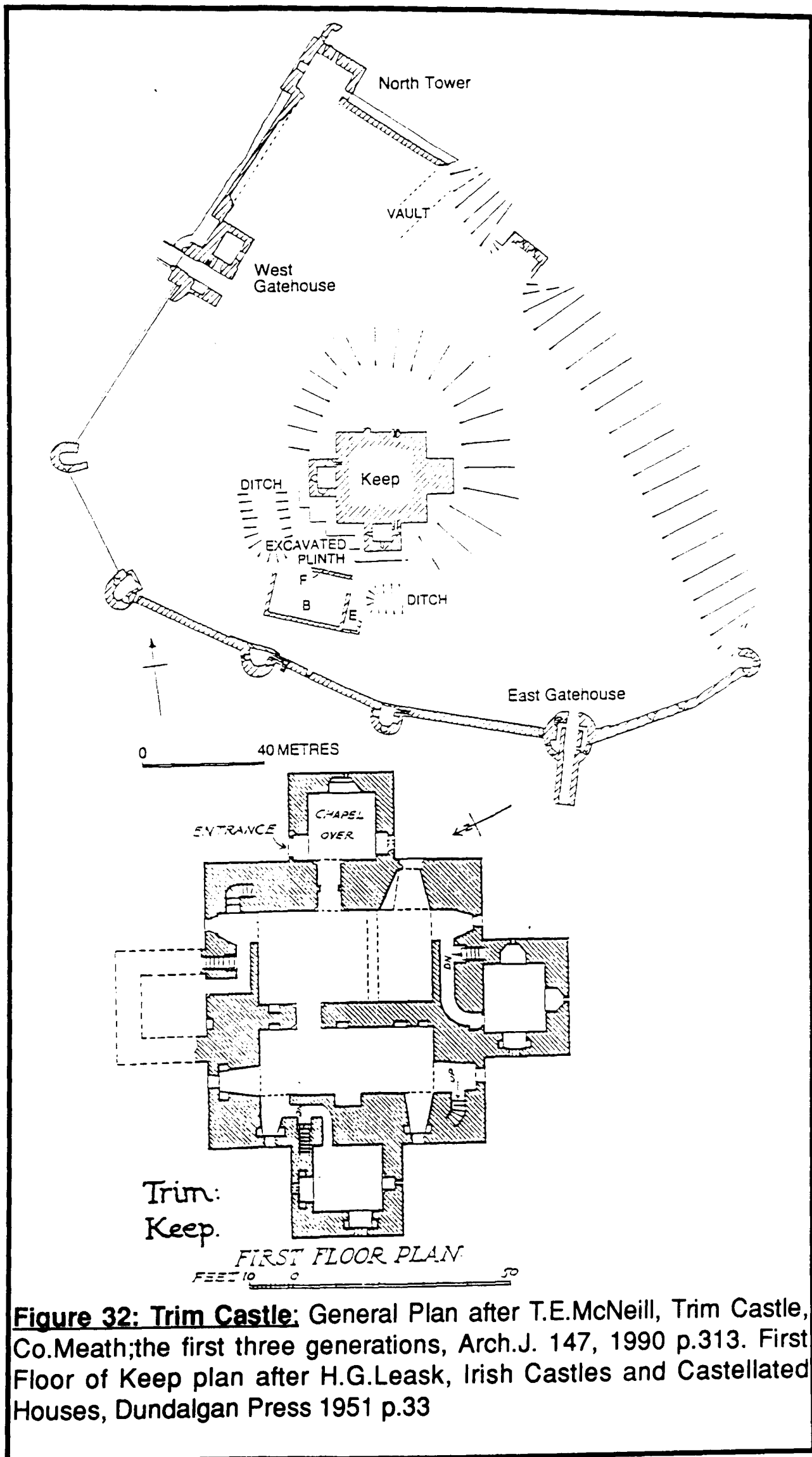


Figure 32: Trim Castle: General Plan after T.E.McNeill, Trim Castle, Co.Meath;the first three generations, Arch.J. 147, 1990 p.313. First Floor of Keep plan after H.G.Leask, Irish Castles and Castellated Houses, Dundalgan Press 1951 p.33

In 1971-4 P.D.Sweetman detected two ends of a ditch encircling the later keep at Trim with a free-standing stone structure standing in the gap between the ditch ends (4). The impression he received was one of a ringwork with perhaps a stone entrance tower. However, his excavations were confined to the exterior of the keep and thus inconclusive.

Whatever the origins of Trim, it was rebuilt in 1175 and from here on it is the giant keep that provides the focal point. It was built in two phases, the halt after phase one being sufficiently long to entail the roofing of the tower at this level (5). The break in construction was probably caused by the violent death of Hugh de Lacy II in 1186. His son Walter did not receive the honour until 1194. When work began again the height of the tower was increased and the number of rooms doubled. However, there was no hall within the tower; this was built along the northern curtain (6).

Trim seems to have been built to provide high-status accommodation rather than military strength. The complex arrangements of its rooms provide a number of private suites with restricted entries. Its side towers created space but also exterior angles; they were useless as a means for flanking fire. On at least two sides the tower was crowded by other buildings, again restricting its defensive capability. Finally, the entrance is a single door, uncovered by any flanking loop, leading to a double door into the main block. This was a large administrative/domestic/residential structure rather than a fortress. It is the home of a family integrated into Irish life; certainly after 1186 the Lacy fortunes were affected more by disputes with the English crown than they were with native unrest.

4. P.D.Sweetman, *Archaeological Excavations at Trim Castle, County Meath, 1971-4*, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 78C, 1978 pp.127-98

5. The latest as yet unpublished investigations at Trim (late 1993) suggest that the break in construction comes in the 1190's and is connected with the retention of Drogheda by King John

6. There is a concise account of the tower in T.E.McNeill, *The Great Towers of Early Irish Castles*, *ANS* 12, 1989 pp.99-117

There is a factor not considered by McNeill that argues in favour of Trim beginning its life as a ringwork. Adopting his chronology, Hugh de Lacy II came to Ireland in 1172 and within a year had built a castle sufficiently provocative for the Irish to attack and destroy. Rebuilding began in 1175 with the start of a hugely-ambitious yet non-military stone tower, its scale planned from the first although work had to be halted part-way through. The castle 'before' and 'after' 1172 was radically different. Had the Irish situation altered so much in 3 years that de Lacy could abandon even pretensions to a military structure? It seems more likely that the first structure erected was designed to be temporary - if Hugh de Lacy could rustle up nearly 15 earthwork castles for his followers in Ireland, in the first few years, then we must imagine his intentions for himself were somewhat grander (7). Considering the quality of castle he was capable of building in England (Ludlow, Longtown) it is more likely that Trim began its life as a temporary castle, and thus most likely a ringwork. Once Hugh had settled his men he could begin to plan his own edifice, the caput of a vast lordship and a symbol of his mini cross-Channel empire. Yet it also seems that Trim seldom saw the Lacies in residence and that Dublin was their usual home; this enables the oddities of the keep to be better understood. This was an occasional country residence as opposed to either a permanent home or a fortress. The limited use for which it was intended reduced its military effectiveness but at the same time increased its external 'aura' and internal comfort.

7. A.B.Scott and F.X.Martin, ed. and trans, *Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 1978 p.195; For the remains of these castles see G.H.Orpen, *Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland*, EHR 22, 1907

APPENDIX FIVE

Siege-Castles

Siege-castles are most obviously a phenomenon of the civil war of Stephen's reign, often placed in opposition to established castles or thrown up to protect vulnerable lands. In 1143 Henry de Lacy (d.1177) began work on a castle at Selby to protect the honour of Pontefract on its weakest eastern side and also the lands of Selby Abbey, whose recently elected abbot was a cousin of his. Another relative, Abbot Hugh de Lacy (1097-1123) had initiated work on the new church c. 1100 and the family felt a patrons interest in its fate although the founder of the abbey was King William Rufus. However, within a week of castle-works commencing it was under seige by an 'Earl William', unhappy at the stance the Lacies had taken. The besieger could be William of Roumare, earl of Lincoln, William Le Gros, count of Aumale and at this time earl of York, or William de Warenne, earl of Surrey. William le Gros seems the most likely candidate; he is known to have taken law and order very much into his own hands during the war and Selby would not be the first castle he had destroyed. The castle's format is lost but it is interesting to note that it apparently managed to hold out for several days even after 'Earl William' had sacked and burnt the town (1). Clearly if sufficient manpower was available a reasonable fortification could be erected within a few days.

At Hutton Conyers Earl Alan III of Richmond threw up a siege castle on land belonging to the Bishop of Durham. He was taking advantage of the vacuum left by the death of Archbishop Thurstan in February 1140 to terrorise Ripon and loot the well-stocked manors Thurstan had carefully left for his successor (2). Alan was an adherent of King Stephen and as such probably followed his lord in his opposition to the

1. *Historia Selbiensis Monasterii*, in, *The Coucher Book of Selby* ed. J.T.Fowler, YASRS 10/13, 1891/3, Vol.1 p.33

2. *The Priory of Hexham: Its Chroniclers, Endowments and Annals* 1, *Surtees Society* 44, 186 1863 p.132

new primate, Henry Murdac, chosen by the chapter of York; it is surely significant that Murdac, unable to enter the city of York until January 1151, spent most of his time at Ripon. It was not until after the death of Alan III, on July 24th 1147, that Murdac was finally consecrated.

The earthworks survive today and suggest a ringwork along the lines of Helmsley; a square platform defended by concentric banks and ditches. The castle was probably destroyed by Henry II upon his accession.

The majority of known siegeworks were of the ringwork type, easier and quicker to build than most other forms of castle. They thus illustrate the versatility of the form; its adoption for both short-term and long-term building projects.

APPENDIX SIX

Proximity of Castles and Parish Churches

Abbreviations: HF = Hill Fort
 MB = Motte and Bailey
 RW = Ringwork
 M = Motte

Lacy

1. Castle: Almondbury (SE152140): HF-MB c.1130-.
 Church: All Saints (1 miles) Perpendicular but dedication may point to earlier church on site.
2. Castle: Barwick-in-Elmet (SE398375) : HF-MB c.1130-.
 Church: All Saints (adjacent). Norman north window in chancel.
 Height of graveyard burial deposits suggests early medieval origin.
3. Castle: Kippax (SE417304) : RW late 11th century.
 Church: St.Mary (adjacent) Herringbone in aisleless nave walls and tower- very like that at Anglo-Saxon Carlton-in-Lindrick. There was an Anglo-Saxon seigneurial site here. Round-headed single-splayed windows, round-headed Norman north doorway.
4. Castle: Mirfield (SE211204) : RW-M late 11th century.
 Church: St.Mary (adjacent) has one round pier in the vestry and a south tower of c.1200. The rest of the church dates from 1871. The church probably stands in the bailey as it is on a platform linked to the motte by a causeway.
5. Castle: Pontefract (SE460224) : MB late 11th century.
 Church: All Saints (1/5 mile) is Norman, with 2-centred arched windows. Church lies on the side of the castle furthest from the town, suggesting it was the focus of a pre-urban settlement.
6. Castle: Whitwood (SE399249) : M late 11th century.
 Church: St.Philip (1/3rd mile) 1865-70

Lacies of Herefordshire

7. Castle: Frome (SO670458) : MB by 1160.
 Church: St.Michael (SO667458 1/4 mile) Anglo-Saxon layout but Norman details: early Norman west doorway with blank tympanum.

Sunken way runs between motte and church.

8. Castle: Weobley (SO403513) : RW late 11th century.
Church: St.Peter and St.Paul (1/4 mile) Norman south doorway. Both church and castle rebuilt in 13th century.
9. Castle:Lower Pont-Hendre (SO326281) MB 12th century.
Church: Clodock (1/3 mile). Long Norman nave. Late Norman chancel arch - 1 order of shafts with scalloped capitals but a pointed double-chamfered arch.
10. Castle: Laysters (SO568632) M 12th century
Church: St.Andrew (100ft.). One blocked Norman north window in nave. Norman south doorway with tympanum.
11. Castle: Mansell Lacy (SO426455) M 12th century
Church: St.Michael (adjacent) . 13th century chancel arch, nave west wall, south aisle.
12. Castle: Stanton Lacy/Culmington (SO497821) MB 12th century
Church: Culmington 1/4 mile - has herringbone visible in its outside walls and a narrow aisleless nave.

Warene

13. Castle: Conisborough (SK514989) : MB early 12th century.
Church: St.Peter (1/3 mile) Pre-Conquest tower and nave. Church and castle remodelled by Hamelin de Warene 1180's.
14. Castle: Thorne (SE689133) : MB 12th century.
Church: St.Nicholas, adjacent. Norman chancel windows. Church stands in bailey.
15. Castle: Lewes (Suffolk TQ414102) : MB late 11th century.
Church: St.John-sub-Castro (TQ414104) on northern slopes of castle hill. Rebuilt Anglo-Saxon doorway and Norman chancel arch.

Richmond

16. Castle: Bowes (NY992134) : stone keep late 12th century.
Church: St.Giles. Late Norman north and south doorways and Norman font.Church in one corner of Roman fort, castle in another - copy of Portchester.
17. Castle: Burrough Green (Cambs.TL642549): moated enclosure possibly 12th century.

Church: St. Augustine (1/2 mile NW) flint & 14th century.

18. Castle: Catterick (SE240981) : MB 12th century.
Church: St. Anne, adjacent. Building contract 1412. Church built in bailey.
19. Castle: Pickhill (SE346838) : MB 12th century.
Church: All Saints (adjacent) Norman south doorway and chancel arch.
20. Castle: Yafforth (SE347950) : M 12th century
Church: All Saints (1/4 mile) Norman window in tower.
21. Castle: Swavesey (Cambs. TL359689) M late 11th/12th century.
Church: St. Andrew (TL362693) Anglo-Saxon eastern quoins of nave and south wall of chancel.

Fossard

22. Castle: Aughton (SE702387) MB 12th century.
Church: All Saints, adjacent. Norman chancel arch and south doorway.
23. Castle: Lockington (SE998465) RW 12th century.
Church: St. Mary (SE997469) Norman south door and chancel arch. Portion of Norman stringcourse.
24. Castle: Felixkirk (SE467846) MB 12th century.
Church: St. Felix (adjacent) Chancel arch, nave arcades c.1130-40. Vicarage garden may occupy site of bailey.
25. Castle: Sheriff Hutton (SE657662) RW 12th century.
Church: St. Helen and Holy Cross, adjacent. Norman nave and tower.
26. Castle: Whorlton (NZ481025) RW 12th century
Church: Holy Cross. Norman chancel arch and south arcade. Church stands in middle of 'burgus' enclosure attached to castle. Perhaps a planned foundation like Pleshey.

Espec

27. Castle: Helmsley (SE611836) RW early 12th century.
Church: All Saints (1/5 mile). re-used Norman south doorway and Norman chancel arch.

Percy

28. Castle: Tadcaster (SE484436) MB 12th century
Church: St.Mary, adjacent. Re-erected Norman arch in west wall of south aisle.

Brus

29. Castle: Bardsey (SE366433) Late 12th century enclosure.
Church: All Hallows (SE366432). Late Saxon tower on earlier western porch. Anglo-Saxon nave with Norman arcades. Double belfry windows.

Stuteville

30. Castle: Cropton (SE755893) MB 12th century.
Church: St.Gregory, just outside bailey.
31. Castle: Kirby Moorside (SE700868) 13th century enclosure.
Church: All Saints (1/5 mile) Norman chancel window.

Tickhill

32. Castle: Laughton-en-le-Morthen (SK516882) MB late 11th century.
Church: All Saints (SK517882). Anglo-Saxon north porticus, brown gritstone fabric. Rebuilt late 12th century.
33. Castle: Tickhill (SK594928) MB late 11th century.
Church: St.Mary (1/3 mile) late 12th/early 13th century.

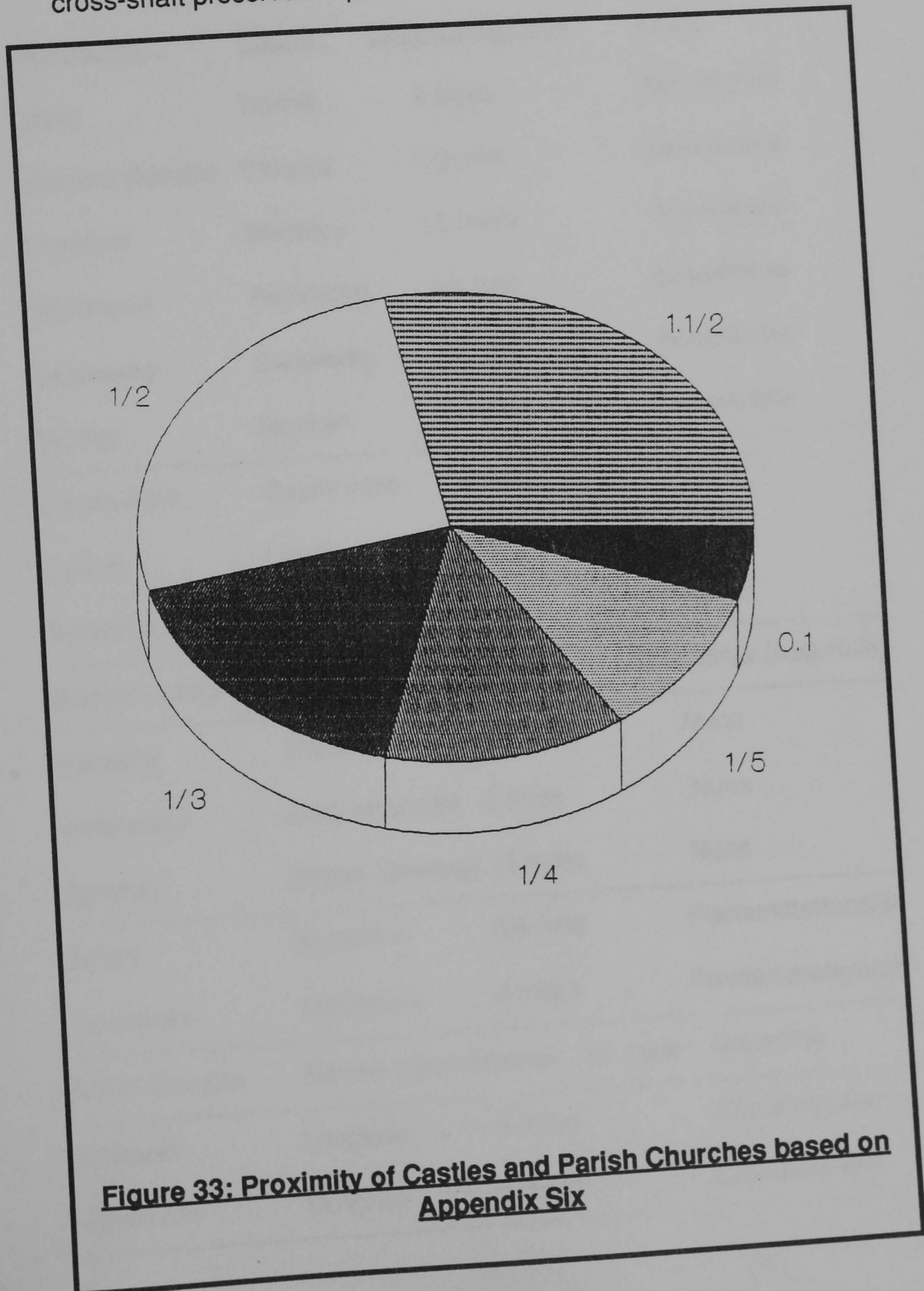
Mowbray

34. Castle: Brinklow (Warwicks. SP438796) MB late 11th century.
Church: St.John Baptist, adjacent. Present church perpendicular but virtually touches the bailey earthworks and may have developed from the castle chapel.
35. Castle: Kirkby Malzeard (SE237745) MB ? late 11th century
Church: St.Andrew (1/5 mile) Norman south doorway.
36. Castle: Owston (Lincs. SE806003) MB late 11th century.
Church: St.Martin, adjacent. Some herringbone.Church stands in bailey.
37. Castle: Thirsk (SE429820) MB late 11th century.
Church: St.Mary (1/5 mile). Fragment of hood mould of much lower tower arch in nave west wall and roof line of nave roof without

clerestorey.

Aumale

38. Castle: Castle Bytham (Lincs.SK991185) RW late 11th century.
 Church: St.James (SK988183) Norman north arcade cut through earlier wall with side-alternate quoins. 3 sections of pre-Conquest cross-shaft preserved in porch.



APPENDIX SEVEN

Distances between castles or head manors and monasteries, excluding Cistercian and Augustinian houses

<u>Monastery</u>	<u>Castle</u>	<u>Distance Between</u>	<u>Order</u>
Blyth	Tickhill	4 miles	Benedictine
Clonard (Meath)	Clonard	1/2 mile	Benedictine
Hereford	Weobley	10 miles	Benedictine
Richmond	Richmond	1/2 mile	Benedictine
Swavesey	Swavesey	1/2 mile	Benedictine
Whitby	Seamer	18 miles	Benedictine

Castle Acre	Castle Acre	1/2 mile	Cluniac
Lewes	Lewes	1/2 mile	Cluniac
Pontefract	Pontefract	1/2 mile	Cluniac

Burton Lazars	Melton Mowbray	2 miles	St.Lazarus (Aug.Rule)

Handale	Dunsley	10 miles	Nuns
Keldholme	Kirby Moorside	2 miles	Nuns
Spinney	Melton Mowbray	12 miles	Nuns

Easby	Richmond	3/4 mile	Premonstratensian
Coverham	Middleham	2 miles	Premonstratensian

North Ormsby	Barrow-Upon-Humber	22 miles	Gilbertine

Craswell	Longtown	6 miles	Grandmontine
Grosmont	Mulgrave	4 miles	Grandmontine

The proximity of the three Cluniac houses and their patron's castle is significant, reflecting an acceptance by Cluny of a large degree of lay influence over their houses. As with Waverley and Farnham, it is significant that the first Cluniac house in England, Lewes, was positioned so close to the founder's castle; the site of his first castle being bequeathed to the monks as part of their initial endowment. The Warennes clearly found the relationship beneficial as they replicated this situation at Castle Acre. Ilbert de Lacy may have been influenced by the Warennes but Pontefract was to be a daughter house of La Charite rather than of Cluny (1).

1. This may be a reflection of William de Warenne's membership of the fraternity of Cluny ; he was highly respected by Abbot Hugh who even then had to be talked into sending monks to Lewes. It is unlikely that Ilbert de Lacy would have been allowed the same privilege. See H.E.J.Cowdrey, William I's Relations with Cluny Further Considered, in *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. Judith Loades, Headstart History 1990 pp.75-6

APPENDIX EIGHT

Monastic Foundations Associated with Yorkshire Barons

This is not intended to be a complete list, nor does it cover all the important families of Yorkshire in the 12th century. Its scope is limited to those families with which this study is concerned and their most significant monastic foundations. There would have been numerous small cells connected with their estates but these are seldom traceable today.

<u>Founder</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Order</u>
Aumale	Burstall	1115	Yorks.	Benedictine Alien
Aumale	Thornton	1139	Lincs.	Augustinian
Aumale	Vaudey	1147	Lincs.	Cistercian
Aumale	N.Ormsby	c.1148-54	Lincs.	Gilbertine
Aumale	Melsa	1150	Yorks.	Cistercian
Forz	Portbury	c.1260-70	Som.	Augustinian
Brus	Guisborough	c.1119	Yorks.	Augustinian
Brus	Middlesborough	c.1120	Yorks.	Benedictine
Brus	Baysdale	c.1139	Yorks.	Nunnery
Bulmer	Marton	c.1135-5	Yorks.	Augustinian
Bulmer	Moxby	1158	Yorks.	Augustinian Nuns
Busli	Blyth	1088	Notts.	Benedictine
Busli	Willoughton	1135-54	Lincs.	Templar
Busli	Roche	1147	Yorks.	Cistercian
Espec	Kirkham	c.1125	Yorks.	Augustinian

Espec	Rievaulx	1131	Yorks.	Cistercian
Espec	Carham	c.1131	Northumb.	Augustinian
Espec	Warden	1136	Beds.	Cistercian

Fossard	Grosmont	c.1204	Yorks.	Grandmontine

Lacy	Hereford	c.1080	Heref.	Benedictine
Lacy	Llanthony 1	1108	Heref.	Augustinian
Lacy	Aconbury	1216	Heref.	Augustinian Nuns
Lacy	Craswell	c.1220	Heref.	Grandmontine

Lacy	Pontefract	1090	Yorks.	Cluniac
Lacy	Nostell	c.1114-21	Yorks.	Augustinian
Chester	Norton	1115	Ches.	Augustinian
Lacy	Kirkstall	1147	Yorks.	Cistercian
Lacy	Whalley	1172	Lancs.	Cistercian

Meschin	Wetheral	1100	Cumb.	Benedictine
Rumilly	Embsay	1120	Yorks.	Augustinian
Meschin	St.Beas	c.1120	Cumb.	Benedictine
Rumilly	Arthington	?	Yorks.	Nuns
Meschin	Calder	1134	Cumb.	Savignac

Aubigny	Hyrst	early 12th	Lincs.	Augustinian Cell
Mowbray	Byland	c.1138	Yorks.	Savignac
Mowbray	Newburgh	1145	Yorks.	Augustinian
Mowbray	Belwood Camera	c.1145	Lincs.	Templar
Mowbray	Sandtoft	1147-8	Lincs.	Benedictine ?

Mowbray	Spinney	1148-c.54	Leics.	Nuns
Mowbray	Combe	1150	Warwicks	Cistercian
Mowbray	Burton Lazars	c.1150	Leics.	St.Lazarus
Mowbray	Axholme	1397-8	Lincs.	Carthusian

Percy	Whitby	1076	Yorks.	Benedictine
Percy	Hackness	c.1085	Yorks.	Benedictine
Percy	Handale	?1133,c.1150-70	Yorks.	Nuns
Percy	Sallay	1147	Lancs.	Cistercian
Percy	Stainfield	1168	Lincs.	Nuns

Richmond	Swavesey	late 11th	Cambs.	Benedictine
Richmond	Richmond	1100	Yorks.	Benedictine
Richmond	Wath	late 11th/early 12th	Yorks.	Benedictine Alien
Richmond	Jervaulx	1145	Yorks.	Savignac
Richmond	Rowney	c.1146-60	Herts.	Nuns
Richmond	Easby	1151	Yorks.	Premonstratensian
Richmond	Cheshunt	1165-6	Herts.	Nuns
Middleham	Coverham	1187	Yorks.	Premonstratensian
Richmond	W.Ravensdale	1202	Lincs.	Premonstratensian

Stuteville	Keldholme	c.1130	Yorks.	Nuns

Warrenne	Lewes	1077	Sussex	Cluniac
Warrenne	Castle Acre	c.1089	Norfolk	Cluniac
Warrenne	Mendham	1090's	Suffolk	Cluniac
Warrenne	Thetford	c.1146-8	Norfolk	Augustinian

Warrenne	Henes	mid 12th	Lincs.	Benedictine
Warrenne	Wormegay	1180's	Norfolk	Augustinian
Warrenne	Reigate	mid 13th	Surrey	Augustinian
Warrenne	Marham	1249	Norfolk	Cistercian Nuns

APPENDIX NINE

Monastic Patronage

Stuteville Patronage

Only one Stuteville foundation has been traced - the nunnery of Keldholme near Kirkby Moorside (established c.1130). The scant examples of their patronage surviving from the 12th century show a large number of houses endowed moderately rather than a single house patronised significantly.

Only one house receives more grants than their own foundation of Keldholme. The seven grants to Guisborough are significant; the Stutevilles did not have territory in Cleveland. Their contact with the Brus family must have been through their numerous royal appointments in charge of castles and as county sheriffs.

A similar examination of the monastic patronage of the Stuteville tenants reveals the same preference for Guisborough; surely a case of 'copy cat' patronage. The omission of Keldholme is startling and perhaps reflects the preference of men with limited patronage to endow a 'greater' house rather than a low-status nunnery. Secondly, it may reflect upon the uncertain tenurial position of the Stutevilles. They spent fifty years battling against the Mowbrays for the return of the lands they forfeited in 1105. Although high in the favour of Henry II they were only partially successful, regaining a large portion of the honour as a mesne tenancy of the Mowbrays. With the outcome uncertain their tenants may have deliberately chosen to spread their patronage widely; Mowbray Byland would be a tactical choice and Rievaulx was a special case, the most successful house in Yorkshire and success breeds success.

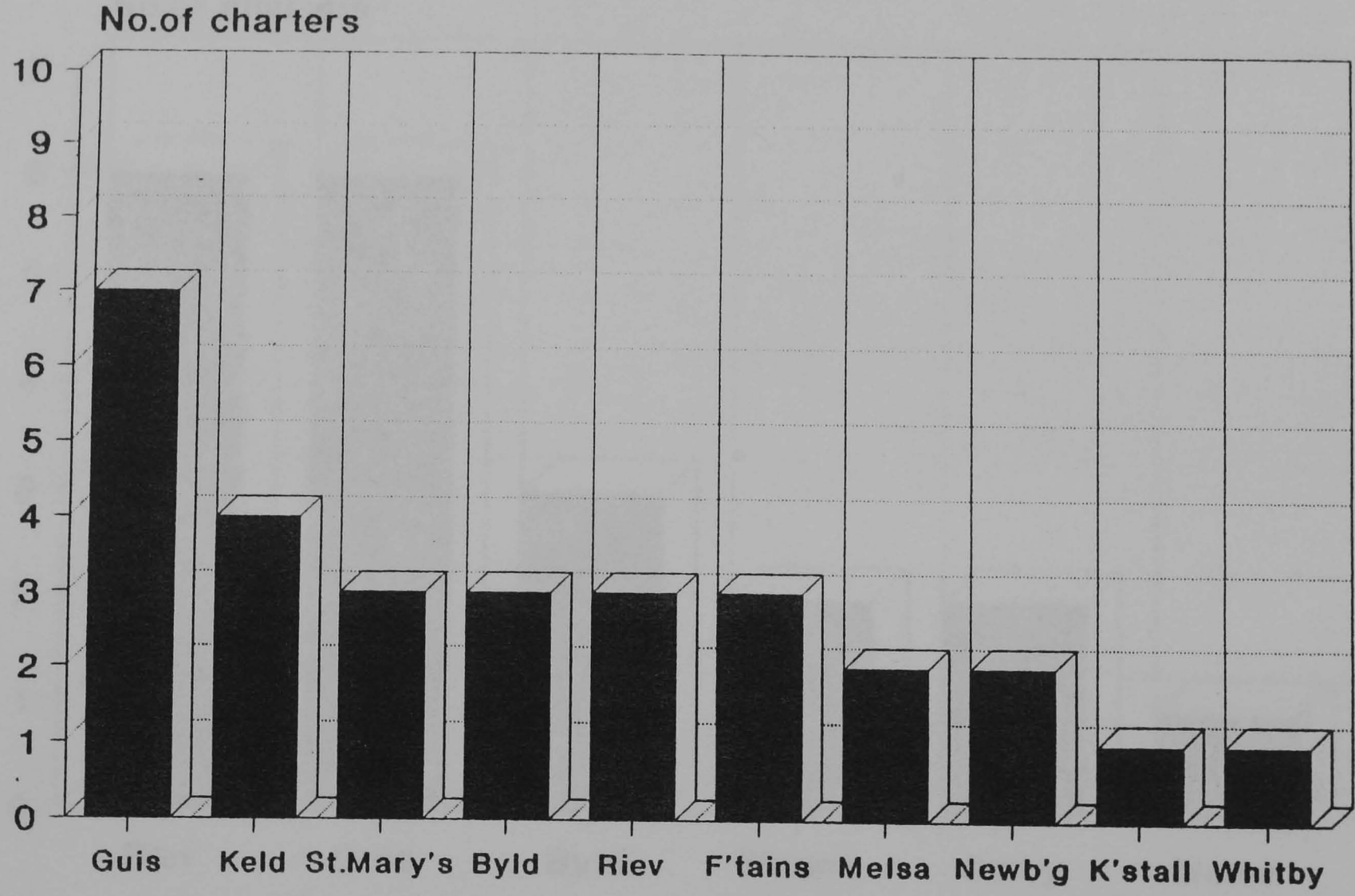


Figure 34: Stuteville Patronage of Yorkshire Houses c.1140-1220

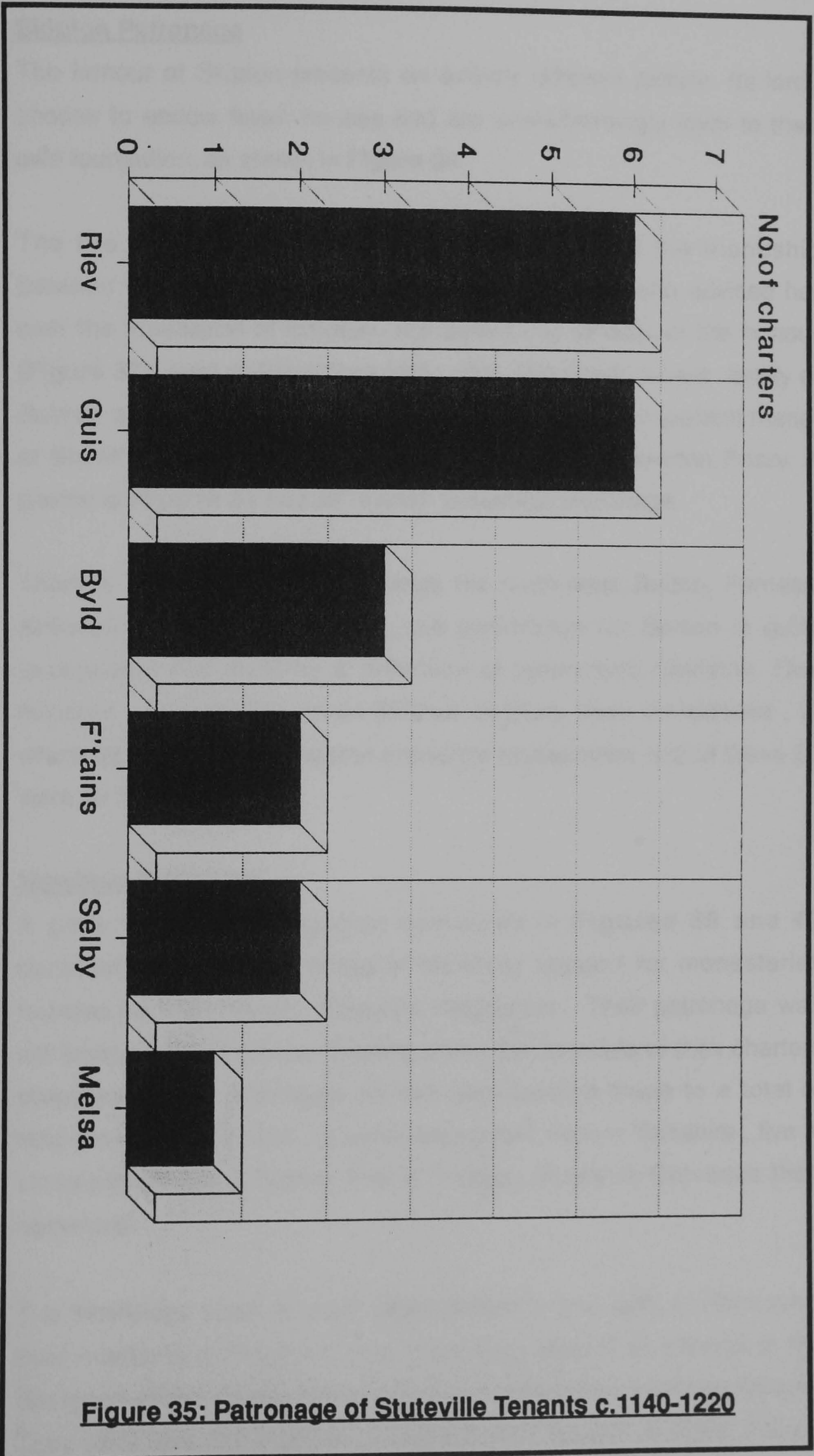


Figure 35: Patronage of Stuteville Tenants c.1140-1220

Skipton Patronage

The honour of Skipton presents an entirely different picture. Its lords choose to endow fewer houses and are overwhelmingly loyal to their own foundation, as shown in **Figure 36**.

The five grants to Fountains will be a reflection of the friendship between Cecily de Rumilly and Archbishop Thurstan who advised her over the foundation of Embsay nee Bolton. The tenants of the honour (**Figure 37**) tend to follow their lords. The important tenant family of Bulmer, also sub-tenants of the Fossard family with an important manor at Sheriff Hutton, were the founders of Augustinian Marton Priory. A glance at **Figures 36** and **38** reveals reciprocal patronage.

There is a strong local bias towards the north-west; Bolton, Furness, Kirkstall and Sallay. However, the preference for Bolton is quite exceptional and must be a reflection of tenant/lord relations. One hundred and seventy-seven Skipton charters were considered, of which 99 concerned Yorkshire/Lancashire monasteries and of these 57 were for Bolton.

Mowbray Patronage

A glance at the information contained in **Figures 39** and **40** demonstrates the wide range of Mowbray support for monasteries founded by their closest Yorkshire neighbours. Their patronage was not limited to these alone. Running down the schedule of their charters prepared by D.E.Greenway we see benefactions made to a total of forty-five establishments, of which twenty-two were in Yorkshire, five in Lincolnshire and a further five in France, chiefly in Calvados their homeland.

The Mowbrays seem to have been closest to the lords of Richmond, their overlords at Masham, with whom they shared an interest in the Savignac order. Jervaulx was colonised and supervised by Byland. They were also close to the Lacies and the Count of Aumale, William

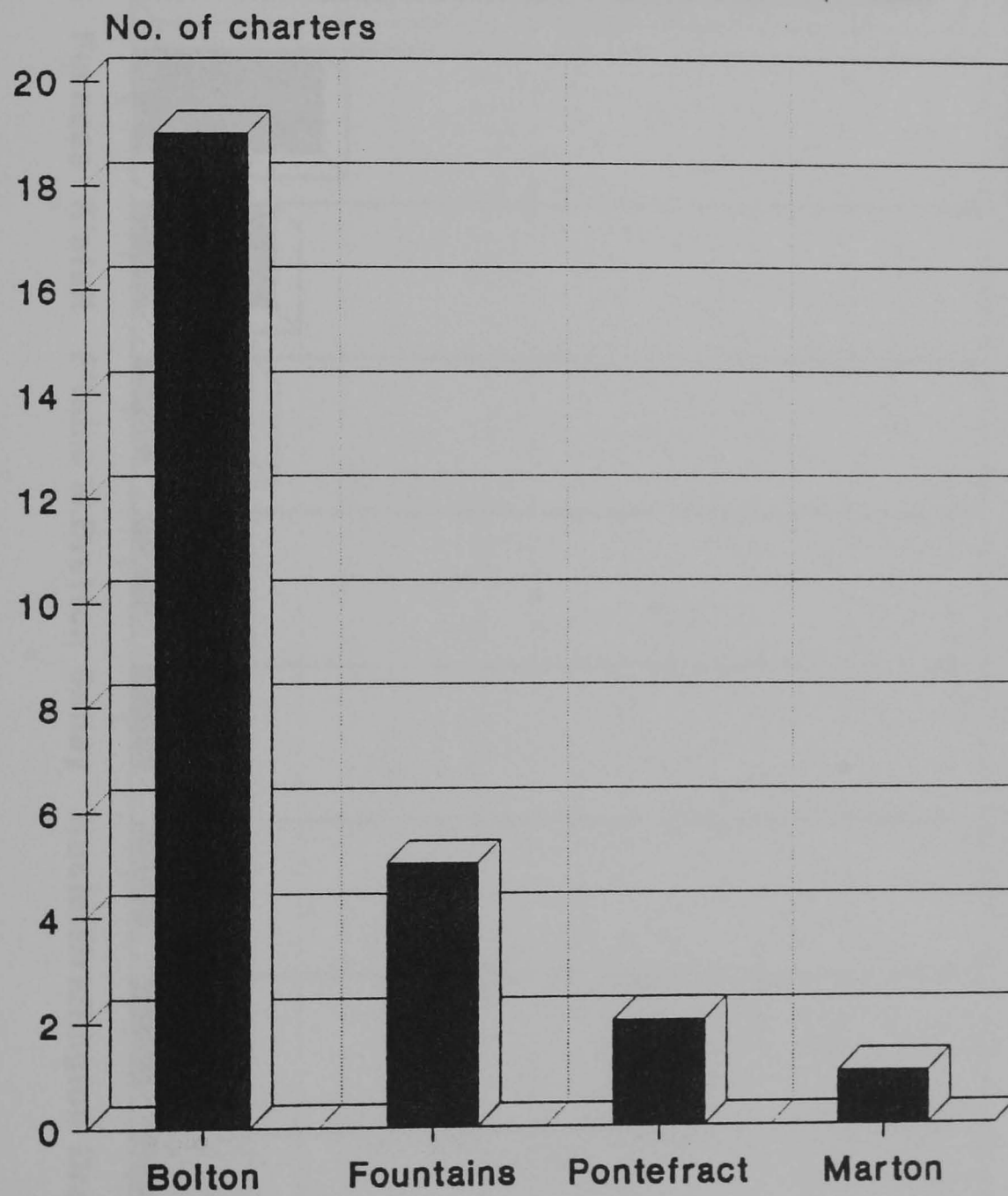


Figure 36: Patronage of the Honour of Skipton c.1100-1200

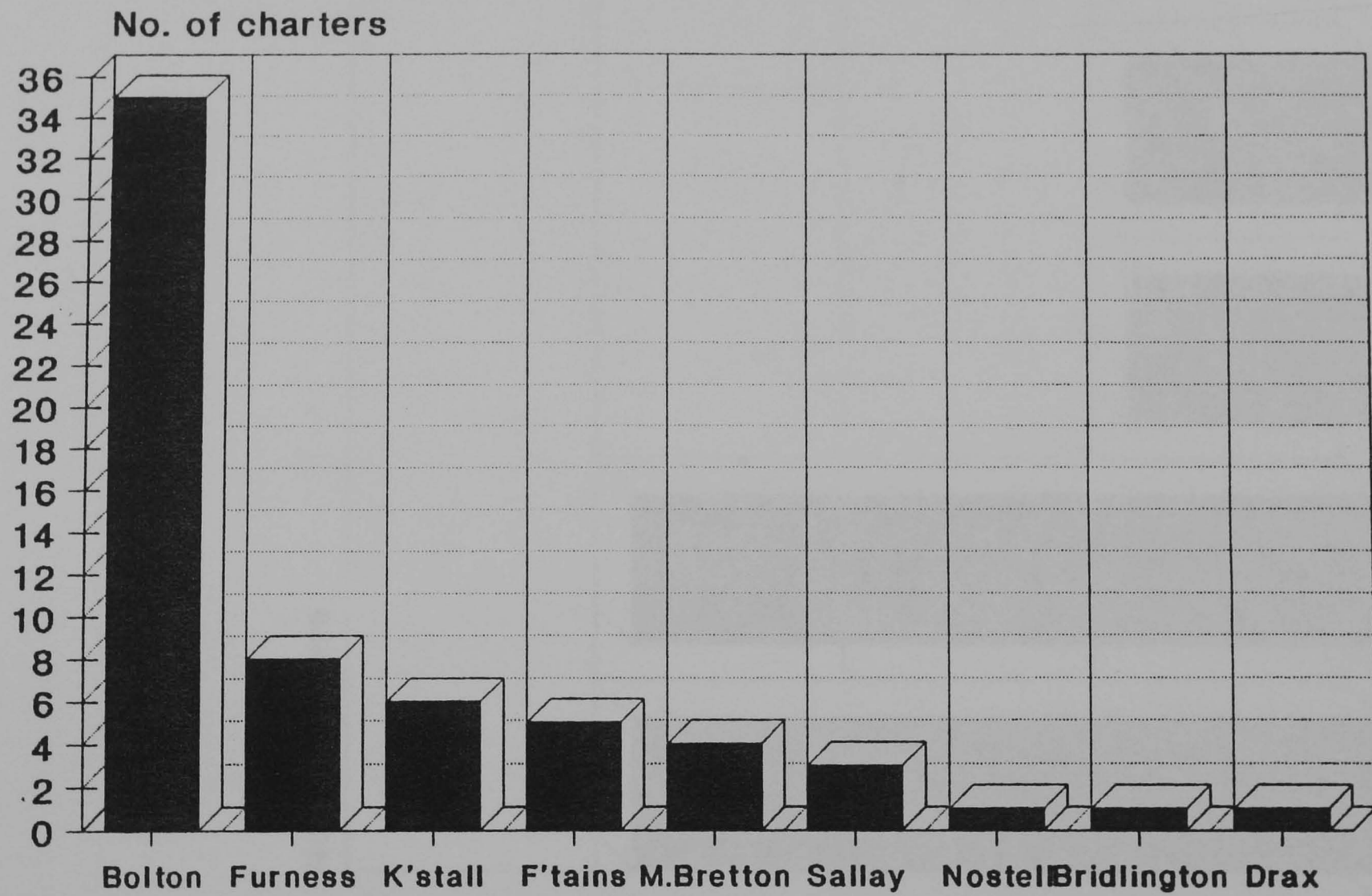
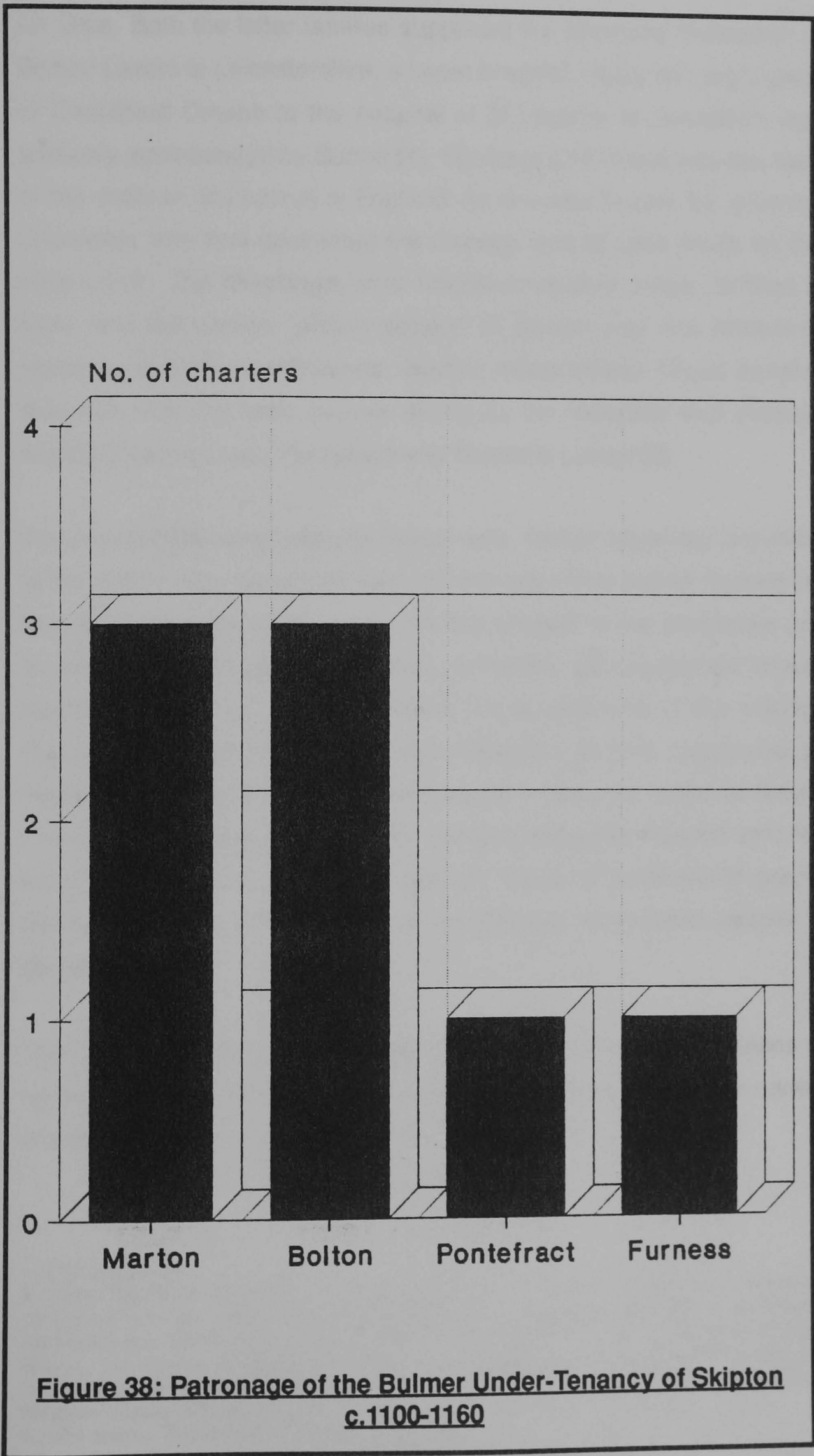


Figure 37: Tenant Patronage of the Honour of Skipton (excluding Bulmer) c.1100-1200



**Figure 38: Patronage of the Bulmer Under-Tenancy of Skipton
c.1100-1160**

Le Gros. Both the latter families supported the Mowbray foundation at Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, a Leper hospital. Henry de Lacy's grant of Castleford Church to the hospital of St.Lazarus at Jerusalem was probably administered by Burton (1). Founded c.1150 this was the head of the order of St.Lazarus in England. Its aim was to care for returning Crusaders who had contracted the disease, and to raise funds for the Holy Land. The Mowbrays were notable crusaders unlike William le Gros and the Lacies whose support of Burton was one means to assuage a guilty conscience. Burton nonetheless faced several disputes with monastic houses during its life including with Aumale founded Vaudey, Lacy Pontefract and Warenne Lewes (2).

The nearest Mowbray caput to Burton was Melton Mowbray two miles to the north - near enough to reinforce the role of the patron (indeed the hospital arms were impaled with the lion rampart of the Mowbrays and as late as the 16th century the Duke of Norfolk still proclaimed himself patron), but not too close to affect the sensibilities of the nobility. Patronage of the house, with the exception of that dispensed by Yorkshire tenants-in-chief, was restricted to a five-mile radius of Burton - an area that possessed no other monastic house or hospital until the early 14th century (3). Burton was the focus of small-scale grants derived not only from Mowbray tenants but from local people in general.

The Mowbrays, like most honorial lords, made conscious decisions to spread their patronage thinly, to foster connections with a wide variety of orders and areas.

1. EYC 3 pp.156-7

2. Terry Bourne & David Marcombe, ed., *The Burton Lazars Cartulary: A Medieval Leicestershire Estate*, Burton Lazars Research Group, University of Nottingham Department of Adult Education, Centre for Local History Record Series No.6 1987, nos. 9, 18, 59-62, 64; John Walker, *The Motives of Patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, in, Judith Loades, ed., *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, Headstart History 1990 pp.171-181

3. John Walker, *The Motives of Patrons*, *ibid* p.177

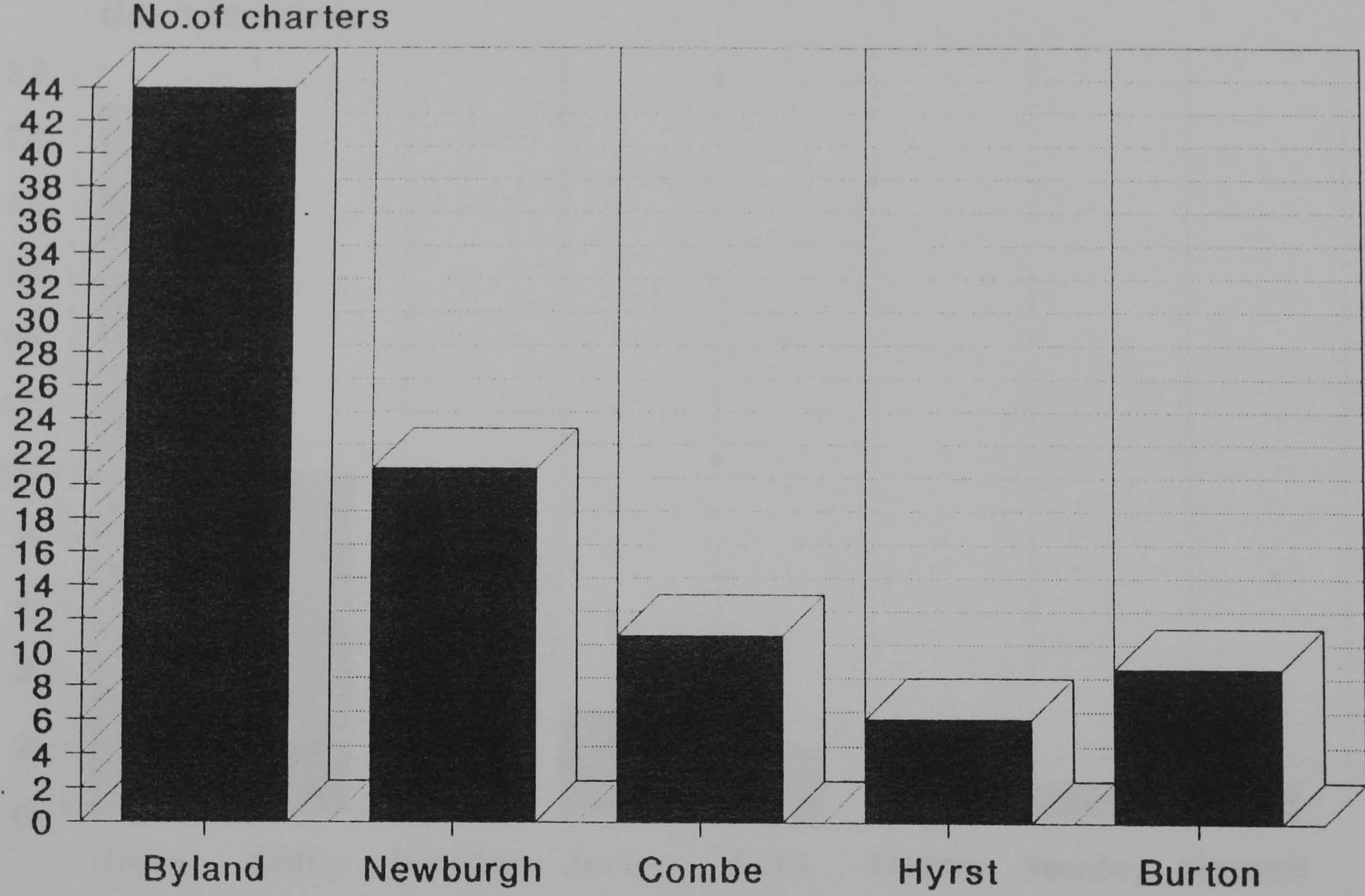


Figure 39: Mowbray Benefactions to Mowbray Foundations 1108-

1190

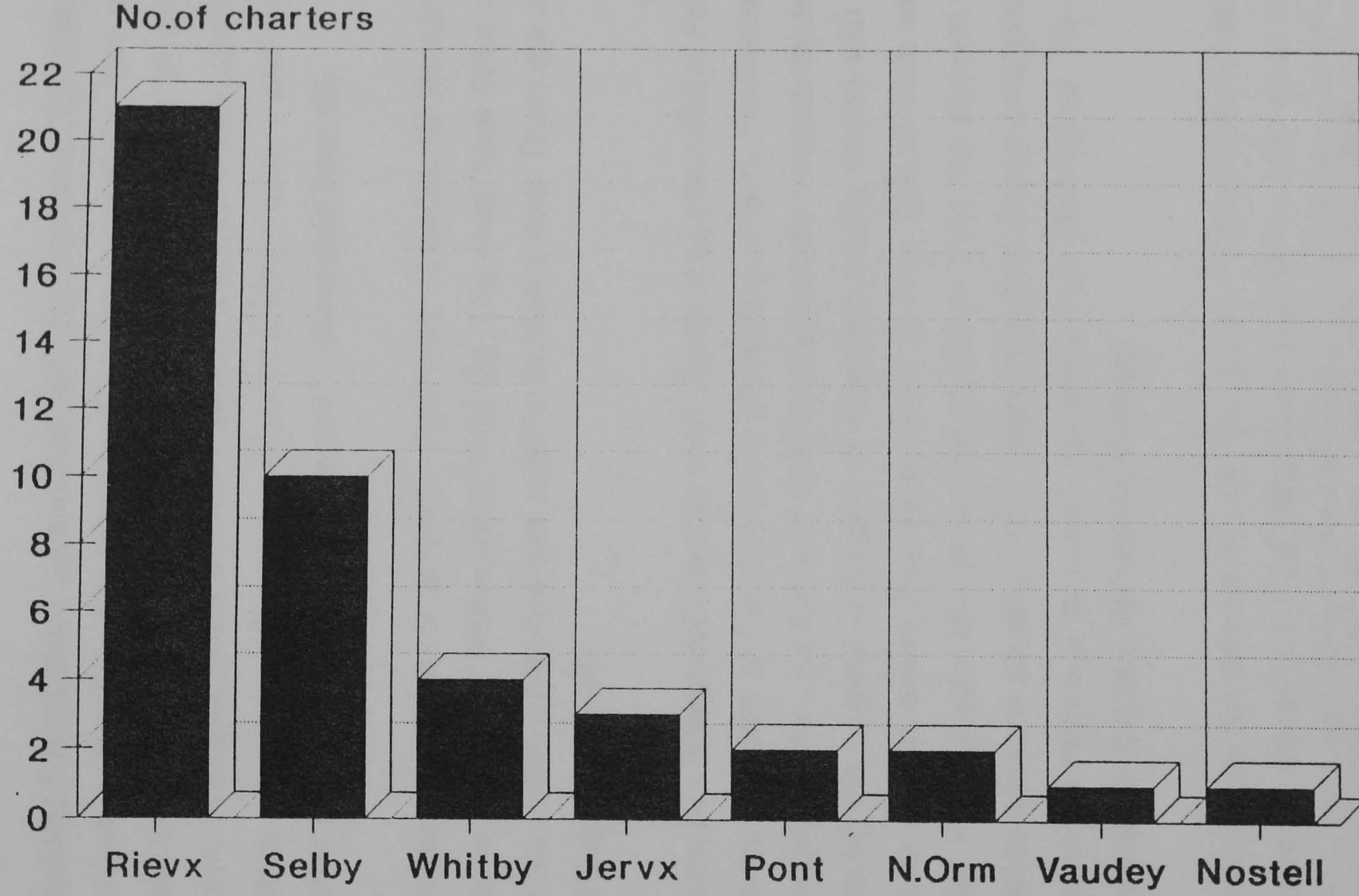


Figure 40: Mowbray Benefactions to Neighbour's Foundations
1108-1190

APPENDIX TEN

Monastic Foundations Associated with the Honour of Richmond

1. Swavesey (Cambs) - Benedictine. Alien priory close to Swavesey Castle. Swavesey was a cell of SS. Sergius, Bacchus and Briec of Angers. Founded in the late 11th century there are three surviving charters concerning Swavesey issued by Count Alan I and Count Stephen (1). The monks are mentioned in Domesday Book (2).

2. Benedictine Priory of St. Martin, Richmond - founded by Wymar the butler to the lord of Richmond in 1100 (3). This must have been quite near the castle. St. Martin's was a cell of St. Mary's York. There are three surviving charters (4).

3. Jervaulx - Savignac/Cistercian 1145. Jervaulx was founded at Fors in 1145 by a tenant of the honour of Richmond, Acaris FitzBardolph. According to the chartulary of Byland (created the 'mother-house' of Jervaulx) the original contingent of Savignac monks stayed with earl Alan for a while before they were settled at Fors. One of them was a skilled medical man who served the count. By 1154 the convent was suffering extreme poverty and 2 years later earl Conan arranged for them to be removed to a site ten miles from Richmond. He was therefore the '2nd founder' of the house (5).

4. Benedictine Nunnery of St. John the Baptist, Rowney (Hertfordshire) founded by Conan c.1146-60 (6). Conan endowed it with lands to an

1. EYC 4, Part 1 nos.1, 6; Alan I granted SS. Sergius, Bacchus and Briec the tithes and berewicks of Swavesey and pasture for their cattle. His brother Stephen added the tithe of his mills in Cambridge, the fisheries of Swavesey and the land in front of the priory gate. The foundation was an expression of devotion towards the Breton St. Briec whose relics lay in Angers.

2. DB 18, 14 60. There is an account of the priory in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society Transactions 1, 1904, p.34

3. EYC 4, Part 2 chapter 5

4. EYC 4, Part 1: Nos.8, 42 and p.80 no.1. St. Martin's held land in Catterick and held the tithe of the lord's mills in Richmond.

5. Mon. Ang. 5, 568- ; EYC 4, Part 1 no.23

6. Calendar of Patent Rolls 6, Henry VI 1452-61, London 1910 p.503; EYC 4, Part 1 p.82, no.156

annual value of 10 marks.

5. Premonstratensian Abbey of Easby founded 1151 by Roald, Constable of Richmond. Easby is only 3/4 of a mile from Richmond, although on the opposite bank of the Swale - it can be seen on a clear day from the tower of Richmond castle. Living so close to the abbey it was inevitable that the lords of the honour should take a special interest in its welfare and in one charter Earl Conan described himself as its 'protector' (7).

6. The nunnery of Cheshunt - formed from a hermitage c.1156-58 by Conan. Cheshunt was the caput of the Hertfordshire manors of the honour.

7. In a charter to Fountains, Alan III granted lands for the building of another Cistercian abbey - this however never took place (8).

8. The Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary's York was originally dedicated to the Norwegian saint, Olaf, and had been founded in 1055 by Siward, Earl of Northumbria. In 1085 its status was upgraded from priory to abbey and it was rededicated to St. Mary the mother of Christ. The change was due to the increasing number of Norman benefactors and the transfer of the house to a larger site adjoining the church of St. Olaf. William the Conqueror gave the abbey land, Rufus gave land and privileges of jurisdiction comparable to those enjoyed by St. Peter's and St. John's Beverley, whilst Henry I accorded St. Mary's the custody of the king's forest on the abbey's lands, which meant that the abbey could keep the king's foresters out of its estates. He also gave the abbey a tithe of the king's venison in Yorkshire in flesh and hides taken by any one at all whilst his Queen gave land worth £6 annually.

After the Crown the lords of Richmond were the chief patrons;

7. EYC 4, Part 1 no.36

8. EYC 4, Part 1 no.18

St.Mary's stood upon land adjoining their York properties. They and their tenants endowed the abbey with lands in Hang East, Gilling West and Gilling East, where the Pennine hills run down to the Yorkshire plain. The only endowments comparable to those of the counts were those made by the Meschins of Skipton when they offered estates to St.Mary's for the foundation of daughter houses at Wetheral and St.Bees.

This list of foundations displays a pattern; in areas outside Yorkshire where the earl has large landholdings, he founds a monastery to consolidate his authority (Rowney, Cheshunt, Swavesey). Within Yorkshire he patronises houses founded by his servants (Easby, St.Martins) and his tenants (Jervaulx). Of the greatest political importance is his patronage of St.Mary's, a house favoured by the crown and situated in the chief town of Yorkshire. Outside these groups the lords of Richmond were not generous; their patronage is largely restricted to Kirkstead Abbey in Lincolnshire and to Fountains.

APPENDIX ELEVEN

The Honour of Richmond: Regional Relationships

The earls of Richmond were major Yorkshire barons with properties also in southern England and particularly in Brittany. Alan II was a key supporter of Stephen during the Civil War :

"For the king, fearing that a rebellion had been stirred up against him in Cornwall too, as I have related, arrived there rapidly and unexpectedly and after recovering the castles of which Reginald (bastard son of Henry I) had taken possession put the county in the hands of Earl Alan, a man of the greatest cruelty and craft, and leaving him there with a body of soldiers very ready for action ordered him to wage continual warfare against Reginald until he was driven out of it" (1).

The deployment of Alan in Cornwall demonstrates a recognition by the king of the ancient links between Brittany and Cornwall and, by default, Yorkshire. But, despite his rank as a member of the Breton ducal house, Alan was able to hold on to Cornwall for less than a year. In a charter to St.Michael's Mount he styled himself 'earl of Cornwall' and asked for prayers to be offered for the soul of Count Brian, his uncle, "of whose inheritance I possess lands in Cornwall" (2). He was referring to the brother of the first three lords of Richmond who held the county of Cornwall briefly before 1076. In the charter Alan granted the church and manor of Wath in North Yorkshire to St.Michael's Mount, a grant that was confirmed by Conan IV before 1156 (3).

Little is known of Brian's career; in 1069 he witnessed a charter of William I for Exeter and helped to crush the rebellion of Harold Godwin's sons (4). He is attributed with the foundation of St.Leonard's

1. K.R.Potter, ed., *Gesta Stephani*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976 pp.102-3
2. P.L.Hull, ed, *The Cartulary of St.Michael's Mount*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society 5, 1962 p.6
3. Alison Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066-1216*, The Boydell Press 1989 p.108
4. D.C.Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, Methuen 1983 p.267; J.Tait, *The First Earl of Cornwall*, *EHR* 44, 1929 p.86; *Regesta* 1 no.23; *William of Jumieges, Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. J.Mark, *Societe de L'Histoire de Normandie*, 1914 p.141

Chapel at Launceston. Launceston castle was built by 1086 when Domesday Book refers to 'the Count's Castle' (meaning Robert of Mortain) (5). The most appropriate date for its construction would be late 1067/68 when a major revolt against the Conqueror was in full swing around Exeter. Exeter surrendered at Christmas 1067; Brian then led an army further into the south-west whilst the King built Exeter castle. It is extremely unlikely that Launceston would not have been fortified in this period; a castle here would control a large area between Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor while it overlooked the ford at Polson, at this time the chief landward entrance into Cornwall.

The earliest castle at Launceston consisted of a large earthen rampart revetted by a timber palisade, forming an enclosure. Set on a sloping ridge, this was not ideal and a few years later the rampart was heightened. Whether the motte was built at this stage or later is unclear (6). In the south-west corner of the bailey four rows of timber buildings have been excavated, comprising long, narrow houses and oval huts with cellars beneath. Associated with these was a large timber hall. To Robert Higham this suggests 'perhaps quarters for an army of conquest rather than high-quality accommodation' (7). The contemporary pottery finds included some regional types ('bar-lug') known to have been in use in the area for at least two centuries prior to the Conquest (8).

It is possible therefore that Brian built the first castle at Launceston before his return to Brittany c.1069. Cornwall contained few castles even in the 12th century and of these ringworks were more numerous than motte and baileys. This inadequacy in the field of fortifications is reflected both in Brittany and Richmondshire. Perhaps the Breton connection provides a reason ?

5. VCH Cornwall 2 Part 8 p.101; H.P.R.Findberg, *The Castle of Cornwall*, Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries 23, 1949 p.123

6. A.D.Saunders, *Launceston Castle*, English Heritage 1984 pp.5-6

7. Robert Higham, *Timber Castles - A Reassessment*, *Fortress* No.1, May 1989 p.60

8. For bar-lug pottery see the following articles, all by A.D.Saunders in *Cornish Archaeology*: *Excavations at Launceston Castle 1965-69:Interim Report*, 9, 1970 pp.83-92; *Excavations at Launceston Castle 1970-76:Interim Report*, 16, 1977 pp.129-137; *Launceston Castle*, 20, 1981

In 1141, after the battle of Lincoln, Earl Alan forfeited his briefly held southern earldom;

"For Earl Alan, a man, as has been said, of boundless ferocity and craft, laying a plot against the Earl of Chester to avenge the dishonouring capture of his king and lord, found his adversaries too strong for him and was captured, put in chains, and subjected to torment in a filthy dungeon until he assumed the yoke of forced submission and the most degraded servility, did homage to the Earl of Chester, and delivered over his castles to his disposal; and meanwhile he lost the earldom of Cornwall, which he had received as a gift from the king, Reginald now having the upper hand in the county" (9).

The earls of Chester were permanently casting covetous eyes at the honour of Richmond. Ranulph III held it during the 1190's as the second husband of Constance of Brittany and continued to lay claim to it periodically after their divorce. Yet apart from Richmond and Bowes the castles to be gained were meagre.

At Catterick immediately north of the church Alan III had built a motte and bailey during the reign of Stephen. The churchyard now occupies the bailey, the only trace of which is a deep ditch to the west. The local name for the site 'Palet Hill' suggests a paled or fortified hill. Despite Catterick being an important settlement in pre-Norman times the castle was insignificant and probably destroyed on the accession of Henry II.

A second adulterine castle was built at Yafforth; a motte without a bailey. It had been destroyed by 1198 as a suit is recorded in the Feet of Fines of Richard I concerning 'the pasture of the island where the castle of Yafforth was, and the meadow close to the island' (10). It was placed on the west bank of the River Wiske, probably to exact tolls at the ford.

Besides Richmond, Bowes, and the ringwork-type siegework at Hutton Conyers, these are the only two castles with strong evidence that they were built by the lords of the honour (11). Both are attributed to Alan III

9. Gesta Stephani pp.116-7

10. Feet of Fines 9Ric.1, The Pipe Roll Society 23, 1898, reprinted London 1929 no.170

11. For Hutton Conyers see Appendix 5

and both put up during the civil war. There are three doubtful sites. At Carlton-in-Coverdale there is a motte that is positioned more sensibly within the manor of Middleham than on the demesne lands. At South Cowton are non-definable earthworks, again most likely belonging to a tenant's castle. At Swavesey in Cambridgeshire are fragments of a possible motte and bailey most likely built by Earl Alan I of Richmond, who founded the alien priory nearby. Such a legacy of castles does not rank beside those left by the Warennes and Lacies despite the social status attributed to the lord of Richmond. A man of 'boundless ferocity and craft' he may have been but Alan III was sorely lacking in the realm of fortifications. A significant proportion of his estates were subinfeudated. The tenants on his Essex possessions were mainly Breton and held of him via a mesne tenancy occupied by the de Veres of Castle Hedingham, a family with its own Breton connections. By the 13th century they also controlled the Cambridgeshire estates of the honour while in Hertfordshire the Richmond manors were overseen by the family of Scalers (12). These types of tenurial link emphasise how easily knowledge was disseminated, but also the lack of personal involvement of a lord in many of his properties.

Of his principal tenants, Roald the third hereditary constable of Richmond had a motte and bailey at Pickhill that remained in use until 1319 when it was burnt by the Scots. Scolland built a motte and bailey at Killerby only a mile south east of Catterick. The motte at Cotherstone, with its fragments of a shell keep, was the home of the Fitz-Hervey family, descended from Bardulf, illegitimate brother of the first three lords. Finally there was William's Hill where Ribald is thought to have built a small motte that was later incorporated into a massive ring-bank.

Motte and baileys do not feature large within the honour of Richmond, despite the depiction in the Bayeux tapestry of the Breton examples at Dol and Rennes, and despite the prominent role played by Alan I in

12. W.R.Powell, *The Essex Fees of the Honour of Richmond*, *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 3rd series 1, 1964 pp.179-89

the post-Conquest settlement of the north. The problem might have been the sterile social scene within the honour. The lords of Richmond stuck very close to their roots and early castles were built either by the lords, their brothers, half-brothers and sons or by their Breton officials. We do not see here the particular Lacy strengths; utilisation and adaptation of existing fortifications, absorption of ideas from elsewhere. Another factor was the frequent non-residence of the lords. To strengthen their position within the hierarchy of Breton comital politics the lords of Richmond used their English estates as a source of patronage, a pool of land and revenues out of which their Breton followers could be rewarded; it was this continual removal of revenue from Richmond, and the lack of investment, that precipitated the dismal state of the honour in the 14th century. In 1341 the castle was said to be worth nothing 'within the walls or in the ditch' and to be in need of repair (13). In the 12th century the honour had been subinfeudated to such an extent (largely through the provision of manors for relatives) that the lord of Richmond personally held only as much land as his greatest sub-tenant, Conan son of Ellis. He had few demesne manors and hence his opportunities for building castles were fewer than his neighbours.

Brittany itself was weak in fortifications. In 1212 the only ducal fortresses in the counties of Rennes and Nantes were in the county towns, with the castle of Toufou south of the Loire. Ducal authority was poor; this was reflected in the proliferation of lesser baronial castles and the scarcity of ducal ones. A large number of mottes survive from the 9th-11th centuries but they demonstrate a preference for inaccessible sites in marshy areas and forests. Few early keeps survive and no shell-keeps such as were built at Barnstaple and Totnes in Devon by the Breton Judhael. In the third quarter of the 12th century Conan IV was most often in residence at Guingamp and Rennes. Guingamp was an early stronghold of the counts of Penthièvre predating their elevation to the dukedom of Brittany; its format would be

extremely interesting but it was unfortunately demolished by order of Richelieu.

Brittany, Cornwall and Richmondshire are all poorly fortified regions. The five or six castles built by household officials or illegitimate brothers within the honour of Richmond indicate an abdication of responsibility on the part of the early lords, due to their preferred interests abroad. These were erected as homes but also as guardians of geographical features; Killerby (ford over the Swale), Cotherstone (Teesdale), William's Hill (Wensleydale). Yet the scarcity of castles in these regions in the 11th and 12th centuries is also a reminder that fortification was not an essential occupation; castles were primarily 'strong-houses', their numbers multiplying in response to specific military/political/social situations. They were not built 'for the sake of it', without definite purpose.

The story of Richmond from the 13th century onwards is one of a declining link with Brittany. Only when in exile did the lords usually cross the channel and then they stayed with the court or on their southern estates rather than in Yorkshire. In 1378 the then exiled Duke John IV of Brittany was given Castle Rising in Norfolk in return for the port of Brest. This became his official residence and there is no evidence that he ever visited Richmond during his six year sojourn in England (14). Whereas during the 12th century the administrative links between Britany and Richmond were strong, by the 14th century they were virtually non-existent (though men from the honour of Richmond did fight for the Breton duke in the civil war of 1341-1365 and in the 1370's). Within the English household of John IV were few resident Bretons - only his chaplain and a few soldiers. This is a reflection of the frequent change of lordship Richmond had witnessed; its Breton character had been irrevocably diluted by 1300.

14. M.Jones, *Ducal Brittany 1364-1399*, OUP, London 1970 p.183

APPENDIX TWELVE

TRAVEL

Speed and conditions of travel were everyday concerns of the Yorkshire baronage. Travel affected their abilities to run their estates, their voice in politics, their ability to keep up with current fashions and thus the development of honours in general:

1. Speed of travel. How long did it take seigneurial bailiffs to complete the yearly audit ? How frequently were lords of vast honours able to visit their chief manors ?
2. Sending messages and imparting news. How easy was it for tenants and monasteries to get news to their lords ?
3. Hospitality. What conditions could a lord and his retinue expect while on the move ?

These areas all overlap. The basic point to make is that local administration entailed considerable movement and just as the royal court was peripatetic, so too were the households of the nobility.

By the later 13th century travel conditions had improved sufficiently for noble households to remain in residence at selected sites for lengthy periods. Food supplies and revenues from other estates would then be sent to the temporary headquarters. However, the financial officials, the bailiffs and stewards, still had to visit every manor to check over the accounts. Thomas de Weston, bailiff to the Dowager Countess of Aumale, Isabella de Forz, led an exhausting life in her service. As the richest female landowner in late 13th century England, Countess of Devon and Suzerain of the Isle of Wight in her own right, Isabella had far-flung estates to manage. This is reflected in the known movements

of her bailiff (1).

Figure 41 : A Schedule for Thomas de Weston

1279

Michaelmas - Harewood, then Cockermouth

Before Christmas - Back to Harewood where stays a week before journeying to Carlisle for the eyre.

1280-1283 Constable of Cockermouth Castle.

1280

February - At Harewood for a night then onto Borley (Essex) and Whitchurch (Oxfordshire)

Summer - At Harewood to audit the accounts.

1281

Audits the reeves accounts for Cockermouth then travels south.

Lent - Radston (Northants), York for three days.

July - Holderness, Penrith for three days.

Remainder of year - visits London (twice), York (twice), Nottingham and Caversham

November - Cockermouth

Weston would have travelled with only a small household, if not alone and thus his speed would be increased. On horseback a man might expect to cover 30 to 35 miles a day; the figure would increase as the road system improved but it would decrease as the size of his party grew.

Of the Yorkshire baronage, the lords of Richmond were amongst the most well-travelled. With their extensive possessions in Brittany most spent little time in England. Conan IV and his father Alan III were exceptions; both travelled lengthy distances throughout their territories, accompanied by household officials who likewise owned lands on both sides of the channel. Indeed, there was a flourishing Breton community in Richmondshire including estate administrators who took charge alternatively of manors in England and Brittany (2).

1. N.Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration in England*, OUP, London 1937 pp.36-7
 2. Michael Jones, *Ducal Brittany 1364-1399*, OUP, London 1970 pp.183; For a largely Breton witness list see EYC 4 Part 1 no.8

When lords were overseas for lengthy periods, as was the case with the earls of Richmond, a messenger service had to be established to ensure prompt dealing with major problems and the exchange of information. For tenants of the honour of Richmond a trip to Brittany to seek Conan would not have been a problem; most had families if not estates there and so were assured of hospitality on route. For others such trips were expensive and hazardous. In 1287 Kirkstall Abbey was heavily in debt and in desperate need of funds. Henry de Lacy, the patron, was in Gascony with the King. The Abbot therefore set out to find him and, after much hardship, arrived at the royal court. De Lacy agreed to help but his terms were not sympathetic.

He would rent some of the abbey's lands at a fixed sum and advance money to settle debts. He would buy any movable goods remaining on the lands at a fair price. However, the abbot distrusted the 'fair price' and wrote hastily to warn the monks that they should remove everything possible except for standing crops. He would meanwhile delay the earl's messengers. Both sides were business-like and out for their own advantage, yet underlying the transaction was the assumption that the patron should help a house in distress (3). Whoever came out of the deal best would be the party with the fastest messengers.

The medieval baronage was a mobile group; capable of travelling lengthy distances both in war and peace and with various mechanisms, chiefly monastic guest-houses and town-houses, at its disposal. It was not an inward-looking society. Its strongest links were of course with its neighbours, but marriage, war and land-ownership took its members farther afield and set of a chain of developments that would widen their horizons in terms of religion and architecture alike.

APPENDIX THIRTEEN

A Survey of Weobley Castle, Herefordshire (SO 403513)

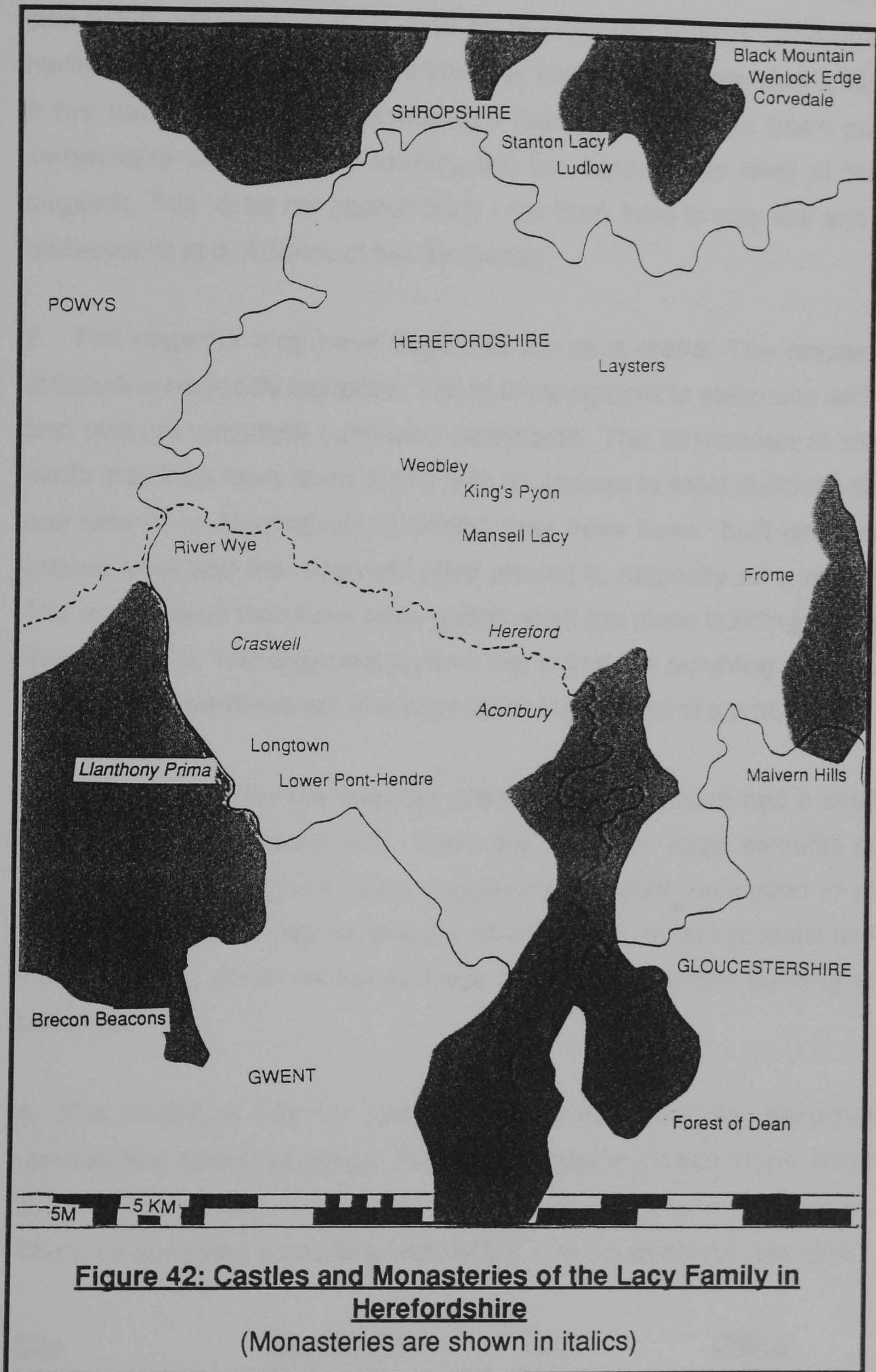
Weobley Castle was the caput of the Lacy lands in Herefordshire. It is an important example of a major castle, once supported by a network of minor centres and monasteries (**see Figure 42**), that once dominated its region but now lies neglected despite the significance of its surviving remains.

The earthworks at Weobley were surveyed in November 1992. The task in hand was enormous; this is an extremely complex castle with several significant features and much more stonework than was expected. The results of this preliminary survey should demonstrate how much more can be gleaned from the site if and when a more detailed survey is undertaken.

Before we started we had to be aware of modern usage of the site. The local residents informed us that the castle had served as a public garden during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Before the second world war there had been a tennis court in the main bailey (**A**) while during the war the Americans had a small base here. One gentleman remembered three huts in the bailey and an air-raid shelter in the area near the brook (**B**).

Most "earthworks" of the scale of Weobley should turn out to be multi-phase creations. This was a major baronial caput which *evolved* throughout the 12th century, on into the 14th century during which it probably passed out of use. The survey revealed several possible interpretations:

1. Feature **C**, the ringwork, shows no sign of ever having been



complete. Yet its siting is extremely odd for a partial ringwork. (Note - Castle Acre is also a partial ringwork relying on artificial as opposed to natural defences). We would expect the latter to be on a steep site, one

side being protected by a cliff-face as at Gisburne (Percy) , and thus having no need for a rampart. At Weobley however the open side is flat. If the flat side has been dismantled then the earth has been put somewhere else, possibly forming the low bank to the west of the ringwork. This does not appear likely - the bank here is very low and , moreover, is at a distance of twenty metres.

2. The ringwork may have begun its life as a motte. The present structure is decidedly lop-sided. The east-facing bank is steep and wide and perhaps originally continued westwards. The destruction of the motte may then have come about with an attempt to erect buildings on one side of it. Alternatively, a donjon may have been built up from ground level and the 'ringwork' piled around it, originally as a motte. The motte would then have been gutted when the stone buildings were quarried away. The argument against this is that the surviving remains within the ringwork are not of a large tower but instead of a small hall.

3. As it stands today the ringwork does not seem to have had a shell keep - there is no fourth side. There are, however, large amounts of stone within the ringwork bank, suggesting a buried foundation in at least part of it. This may represent a chemise wall, as at Lyonshall and Conisborough, which skirted part-way round an important building or buildings.

4. The ringwork interior contains three depressions, perhaps representing former buildings. Building **D** contained much stone within its banks and was perhaps a masonry hall measuring c.14 x 10 metres. This size compares favourably with extant or excavated hall examples:

<u>Site</u>	<u>Dimensions</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Fabric</u>
Hen Domen (L1a)	14 x 7m	c.1080	timber
Barnard	14 x 10.5m	c.1095	timber
Sandal	13.5 x 7m	12th	timber
Pickering (Old Hall)	16 x 6m	mid-12th	half timber/stone

Llantrithyd	14.2 x 8.2m	early 12th	stone
Ludlow	20 x 10m	13th	stone

The oval hollow next to **D** could mark the position of a forebuilding.

The circular stone building **E**, with a diameter of c.5 metres, may be a well. A local amateur archaeologist claims that it was deeper some years ago with some masonry lining showing. This is the easiest and most obvious explanation but it is worth considering a few alternatives. Building **E** approximates in size to a round structure excavated at Pleshey. Here the structure was dated to the later 12th century and four interpretations were offered (1):

1. defensive tower
2. church tower
3. dove-cote
4. lime-kiln

In the context of Weobley the position of the structure does not fit a defensive function unless building **D** was in some way connected to it. For it to be defensive it would need to link up with a wall. Note however that it does sit in front of the possible original entrance to the ringwork at **F**.

The church tower theory is feasible - the Lacy honour possessed several early round churches (St.Mary Magdalene, Ludlow Castle; St.Giles, Hereford; Garway). But this can only be the nave or the chancel and so a part is missing. Its size is against it being the nave; St.Mary Magdalene's round nave is c.10 metres in diameter. The rest of the church may of course have been timber. A timber nave placed to the west of the structure would give it an almost east-west alignment. Or, this may have been an independent belfry tower.

The position of a "chapel" within the ringwork enclosure is at first sight unusual. We would expect it to be in an outer bailey but, if the castle is

1. Frances Williams, Excavations at Pleshey Castle, BAR 42, 1977 pp.45-50

multi-phased, then its initial position would have been within a much-reduced structure. Once a site had been allocated for a major building it would be usual for it to be re-developed but also for its site to remain static.

5. We can discern three possible baileys:

A. the main enclosure

G. the platform within the ditch between the ringwork and counterscarp bank to the south-east

B. the enclosure to the west containing possible fishponds or a dammed lake.

It is also feasible that the area directly in front of the open-side of the ringwork functioned as a bailey. This would be part of the original castle.

The main enclosure (**A**) is classically shaped. A course of laid stone was detected almost along its entire eastern length and so it must have been defended by a curtain wall on this side, or at least had a stone-revetted bank. On the western side there is a lower bank descending to a brook. At point **L** along the eastern bank we found five courses of good-quality laid stone at least seven feet thick; the wall appeared to curve but this was due to stripping of the top stones. The wall is straight lower down.

Within the bailey at point **K** a rectangle is revealed when the grass is parched. This seems likely to be the tennis court.

At the northern entrance of the main bailey are four steps; they are not deeply buried and may be a feature of the Victorian park. This entrance may have been flanked by two towers - particularly on the east side the bailey bank ends in a steep pinnacle suitable for a tower. Between this bailey and the village is another large field enclosure most likely connected to the castle.

Area **G**, between the south bank of the ringwork and the substantial counterscarp bank, is particularly interesting for the platform that survives within it. Again, the bank is full of stone at this point. One explanation is that it represents a collapse of the counterscarp bank. Alternatively, it could be a remnant of an original bailey that has been quarried away to heighten the defences of ringwork and outer bank. An argument against this is that the moat is deep and waterfilled along this section. If we look at the section drawing 1-4, the platform seems most likely to mark a collapse from above.

Perhaps Area **G** once formed a horn work, as at White Castle ? At White Castle an earlier small bailey was converted to a horn work when the larger bailey was built. White is an enclosure castle with six towers placed in similar positions to those shown on the 17th century plan of Weobley (2). Indeed, there seem to be many parallels between Weobley and White.

White Castle was originally called Llantilio, after the manor in which it lay. During the Anarchy the manor was in the possession of Roger, earl of Hereford. It came to him via Payn FitzJohn who held a portion of the Lacy fief in the reign of Henry I (3). It is possible that the Lacies had acquired Llantilio during the advances into South-Wales made in the time of Rufus. The earliest work at Llantilio/White is a small rectangular tower perhaps dating to the mid-12th century. This was demolished in the 13th century when the round mural towers were added. The castle was held by Hubert de Burgh from 1201 to 1205 and from 1219 to 1232. He seems to have concentrated upon improving Skenfrith and Grosmont rather than White, but his tenure nonetheless indicates that the Lacies would have known the castle well.

Area **B**, only partially shown on the plan, is a large flat expanse leading down to the brook containing within it two rectangular enclosures. They

2. C.A.Raleigh Radford, *White Castle*, HMSO 1962, plan p.10.

3. The tenurial history of the Lacy fief is extremely complex during this period. See Wightman, 1966 pp.172.182; H.A.Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen 1135-54:Anarchy in England*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London 1970 pp. 157-8, Table 1.

look like fish-ponds, similar to those visible at Castle Bytham, but may have more to do with the second world war air-raid shelter. The area in general may be a later outer bailey. The entrance to it at point H seems to be a modern cut-through, accessing the route from the village through the castle to the fields beyond, but there is another entrance perhaps at J which may have served at an earlier period.

My preferred scenario for Weobley is that we have here a partial ringwork supporting a chemise wall encircling on 2-3 sides the seigneurial residence - the hall. The initial bailey area is the section directly to the west of the ringwork. The steepest defences are to the east and south, the weakest on the village (north) side and to the west where the ground slopes down to the brook. The latter is meagre now but may once have been more substantial. When the castle is extended it grows first to the south; i.e. the strongest defences are reinforced again by the addition of a powerful counterscarp bank and a wet moat. Then the village side is opened up with the addition of a fine open bailey surrounded by a stone curtain or an internally stone-revetted bank. Again the defences of this bailey are at their weakest on the west side which suggests that the brook was larger then.

There is a considerable quantity of stonework left within the earthworks at Weobley, plus remnants of castle stone built into the walls of the farm running parallel with the castle field to the north. This is not a humble earthwork but a significant baronial caput with, at the very least, stone foundations for all its major structures. Physically it is so situated as to dominate the village which sits on the middle of the road running between castle and church.

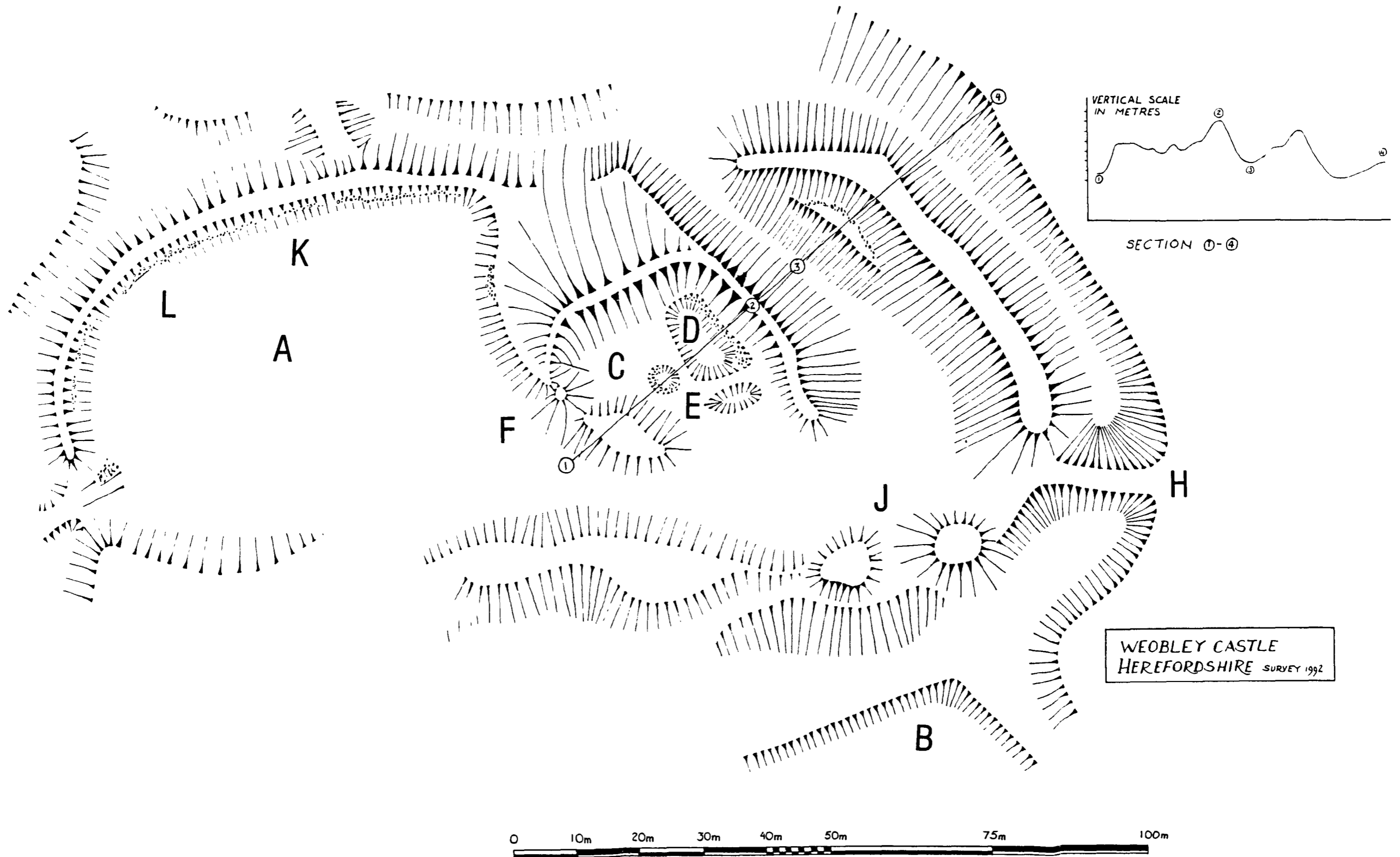


Figure 43: Weobley Castle: An Original Survey

APPENDIX FOURTEEN

William's Hill, Middleham (SE125873)

It was my intention to spend a couple of days at William's Hill, carrying out a survey as at Weobley. Unfortunately this site is the property of Mrs. L Peacock, a wealthy local landowner, whom the Mayor of Middleham had warned me was of an eccentric nature. I wrote to Mrs. Peacock and heard nothing, I telephoned but could get no reply, I wrote again, phoned innumerable times and eventually gave up. Without permission I could not cart a load of surveying equipment around her castle but, as there was a public footpath to the site, I could spend a few hours there examining the remains and carrying out a rough survey in order to produce a plan. The results of the latter are fairly accurate and move the interpretation of the site a step forward from the Victoria County History account of 1912 (1).

The first point to make is that the castle upon William's Hill was of stone; this is not a case of a lord relocating his castle to a new site because of the ability to then build in stone. Instead the explanation for the move, thought to have occurred in the 1170's or 1180's, must be due to the wish of the Fitz-Ralph lord to build an up-to-date rectangular hall-tower. In doing so the advantages of site were sacrificed, indicating that this move occurred because of fashion and status rather than any military purpose.

The castle left behind had itself undergone considerable development. It survives today as a square 'ring'-work with a semi-circular bailey to the south. The west side of the ringwork bank is considerably wider than the rest of the enclosure; one possibility being that here we have the initial structure, perhaps a motte, that has been subsequently

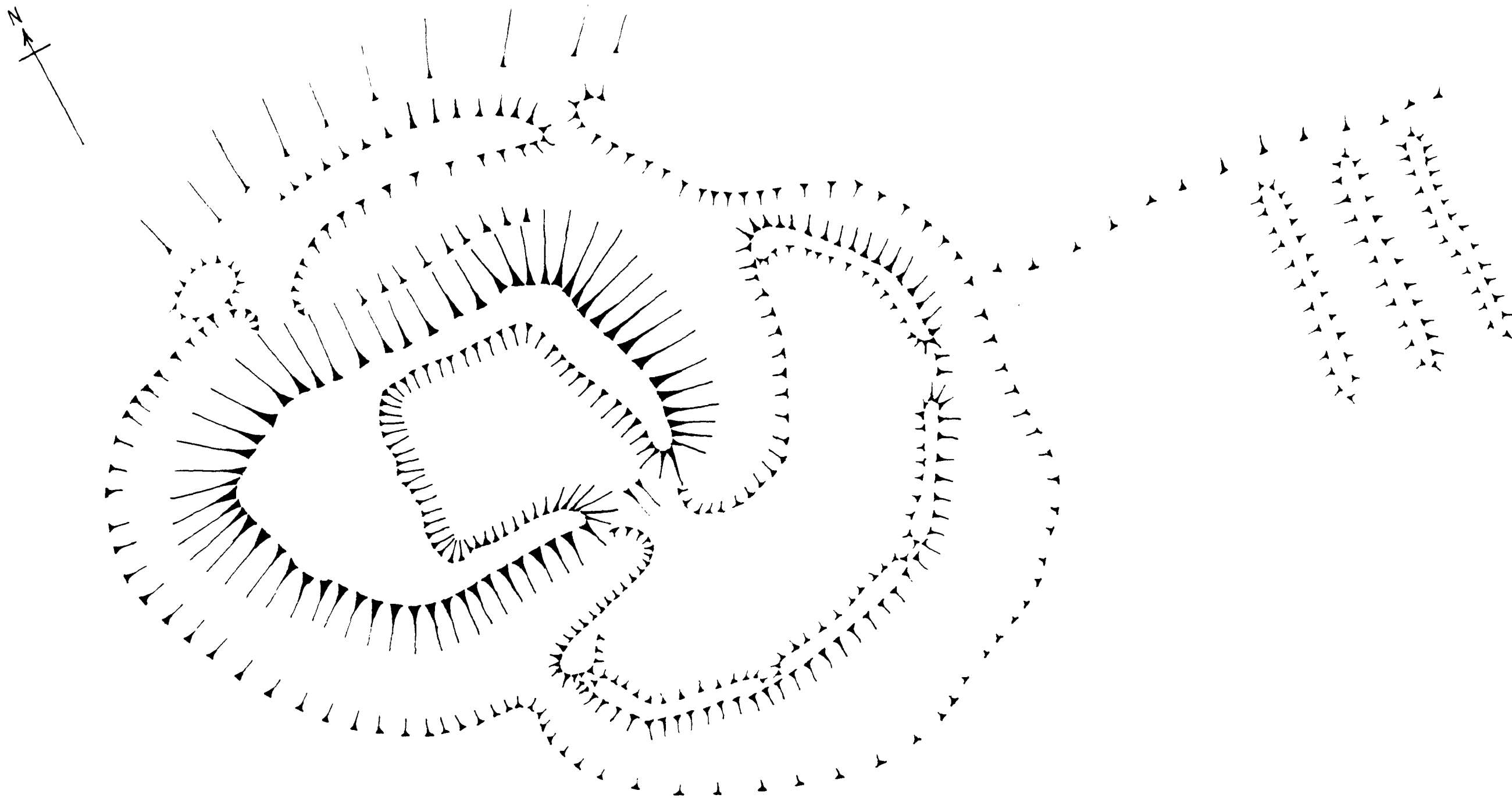
1. Victoria County History of Yorkshire Vol.2, ed., William Page, London 1912, pp.31 (plan), 33 (description).

incorporated into a ringwork instead. The interior of the ringwork may therefore represent the first bailey. The outer bailey to the south, which slopes down considerably from the ringwork, would be an addition of the second phase.

The whole castle is strewn with stone and the banks have very stony cores, yet we were unable to detect any intact courses as we had at Weobley. The best piece of stone found lay on the causeway connecting the ringwork to the bailey; it had clearly been cut, perhaps forming part of a lintel. Nigel and Mary Kerr, in *Norman Sites in Britain*, described the ringwork as having a polygonal curtain wall. I am sure there was a curtain wall but, suggest it was trapezoidal rather than polygonal for the ringwork interior is nearly square (2). They also describe the causeway as being cobbled.

The motte, once the ringwork had been built out from it, formed a corner platform looking down the hill on the side where the castle's defences were weakest. It was therefore an ideal place for a mural tower. The outer bailey is bounded to the south by a wet moat which extends round to the west to join up with the ringwork ditch, thus providing a wet barrier for a large proportion of the site's southern bounds. East of the main earthworks there are slight traces of a third bailey which include a deeper section of dyke across the crest of the ridge.

William's Hill is an earthwork worthy of further investigation. It holds some of the answers to the question of why men re-located their castles. Clearly the reason was not military. Nor was it due to a desire to build afresh, this time in stone. Instead, fashion seems to be the prime motive.



0 50 100
Scale in Feet

Figure 44: William's Hill, Middleham

APPENDIX FIFTEEN

Violence and the Creation of Socio-Political order in Yorkshire in the 1070's

Late 11th-century Yorkshire provides a clear example of the extent to which violence was used in the early middle ages to change and regulate society (1). The 'violence' in question falls very clearly into different categories and will indeed support a division into 'private', 'public' and 'ritual' forms. To examine these we will follow three main themes:

1. Military Conquest
2. Land-Redistribution
3. Social Change

Before looking at these elements in detail a general overview of the period is necessary.

The Norman Conquest of the North: Yorkshire 1065-80

The Norman conquest of England did not follow a set pattern but adapted itself to circumstances current in each region. In some areas it was relatively peaceful, in others a protracted and bloody affair. In the earldom of Northumbria, of which Yorkshire formed the southern sector, conquest took the latter course. Its completion can be judged by two factors, the eventual acceptance of the rule of William I and the replacement of the native aristocracy, both secular and ecclesiastic, by Norman, Breton and French nobles.

The Norman invaders did not create a problem in Northumbria, rather they stumbled into an on-going, bitter saga that had its immediate

1. This essay, substantially in its present form, will appear in G.Halsall, ed., *Private, Public and Ritual: Studies in Violence and Society in Early Medieval Western Europe*. To be published 1994, Boydell and Brewer

origins in the struggle of the English and Scottish kings from the late 10th century to establish their rule in the north, countered by the struggle of the north to retain its independence. Neither monarchy had been successful and it was therefore not to be expected that the Norman kings would be without opposition.

The current phase of unrest began in 1065, not 1066, when the leading men of Yorkshire and the north rose in revolt against their earl, Tostig Godwineson. One reason for the revolt, a reason for unrest that would recur several times before 'Normanisation' was achieved, was Tostig's attempt to impose a new tax, probably Danegeld, a levy that went against Northumbrian custom. 'Custom' is a key word in explaining the mentality and bloodshed of the 1070's; most of the assassinations and massacres that litter the pages of the region's history in this period can be attributed to the imposition of non-customary dues and practices. Violence did not occur because the new ruling party was French, rather because it followed the policy of the proceeding government in trying to impose a new political settlement on the north (2).

The unrest of the late 1060's therefore , unrest that was 'historical' rather than anti-Norman, forced William time and time again to turn his attention to the north. That his attention was drawn unwillingly is indicated by the measures he took. All his initial appointees were native aristocrats and all were spectacularly unsuccessful in calming the area and bringing to an end the spiral of killing and counter-killing. Modern historians assume the king had inaccurate knowledge of the region, hence his ill-advised candidates for promotion, and that he was trying to be conciliatory in appointing locals (3). Yet the suspicion must linger that William willed the northern nobles to cull themselves via their own internal squabbles until he had the time and the resources to impose Norman rule. By appointing natives and expecting them to raise new

2. There are clear accounts of the events of this period in W.D.Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: the region and its transformation, 1000-1135*, Croom Helm 1979, and R.Lomas, *North-East England in the Middle Ages*, John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh 1992, Chapter One.

3. This is the view of both Kapelle and Lomas.

taxes he split the malcontents into two parties instead of uniting them in opposition to a strong central government. He was taking a big risk but may have counted on a Scottish King, Malcolm III, cast in the mould of a Viking raider (he invaded Northumbria 5 times during his reign but made no permanent gains), and upon a disunited aristocracy .

Figure 45 : A list of prominent Anglo-Saxons and Normans killed as a result of Northumbrian unrest 1065-1080.

1. Tostig, former earl of Northumbria, killed at Stamford Bridge, September 25th 1066.
2. Copsig, earl of Northumbria - murdered March 12 1067 at Newburn-on-Tyne by Osulf, Morcar's deputy.
3. Osulf, former deputy in Northumbria - murdered later in 1067.
4. Robert de Commines, earl of Northumbria - murdered January 1069 at Durham.
5. Robert FitzRichard, 'governor' of Yorkshire - murdered 1069 at York.
6. Morcar, former earl of Northumbria - died in prison c.1070-1.
7. Edwin, former earl of Mercia and brother of Morcar - murdered by his own followers while fleeing to Scotland in late 1070.
8. Waltheof, earl of Northumbria - executed 1076.
9. Ligulf, adviser to Walcher, bishop of Durham and earl of Northumbria - murdered c.1078.
10. Walcher, bishop of Durham and earl of Northumbria - murdered May 1080 at Gateshead.
11. Leodwin, chaplain to bishop Walcher, the murderer of Ligulf - murdered May 1080 at Gateshead.

Of the eleven men listed in Figure 45, nine were Anglo-Saxon and seven of these were killed by fellow Anglo-Saxons. When we talk about the Norman obliteration of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, we should not forget that the Anglo-Saxons helped !

Soon after Hastings William replaced the north's choice of earl, Morcar, with Merlesveinn, sheriff of Lincolnshire and a wealthy Yorkshire landowner. Merlesveinn, however, declared for Edgar Atheling and

was succeeded in March 1067 by Copsi, a former colleague of Tostig who was quickly murdered by Osulf. William's next choice was Cospatric, a scion of both the Scottish and Northumbrian royal houses, but his tax-raising duties doomed him and his loyalty was always suspect. In 1068 Edwin and Morcar raised a revolt in favour of Edgar Atheling and were joined by Cospatric. This pushed William into his first journey north of the Humber whereupon he built the first castle at York, garrisoned it with 500 men under Robert FitzRichard and William Malet, and appointed his first Norman earl of Northumbria, Robert de Commines, who was dispatched to Durham. The Norman grip on the north was extended with a chain of crucial castles passing from Nottingham, Lincoln and York to Durham.

Revolt flared again in January 1069, beginning with the massacre of Commines and his men, the murder of Robert FitzRichard and the seizure of York. William marched north a second time, relieved the York garrison and built a second castle on the other side of the river entrusted to William FitzOsbern, the subduer of Herefordshire and Hampshire. His importance to William is an indicator of how seriously the Yorkshire situation was viewed. In September a Danish fleet arrived led by Osbeorn, son of King Sweyn. They attacked York but were forced back by the castle garrison who fired the city (4). Eventually, William was forced to pay the Danes off. He spent Christmas restoring some semblance of order to the burnt city.

The Danish invasion may have been the catalyst that forced William's hand and heralded the 'harrying of the north'. While the local aristocrats squabbled amongst themselves and staged small easily put-down revolts, he could put off the moment for large-scale action. However, once they began to invite outsiders to intervene it was a different matter. Decisive military action was now required. Due to the disparate nature of the opposition, its preference for subterfuge and assassination, a pitched-battle showdown as at Hastings was out of

4. It should be pointed out that there is no absolute chronology for the events of 1069; several sources, both primary and secondary, differ in the precise order of events.

the question. Instead William chose to ravage the land on either side of his route north from the Aire (near Pontefract), to destroy crops and settlements, to force rebels into hiding and to pursue them into their fastnesses. In the New Year of 1070 he split his army into smaller units and sent them out from York to burn, loot and terrify.

This was a standard medieval military tactic. Even as late as the Hundred Years War, pitched battles were to be avoided at all costs. The preferred policy was to 'lay waste' an opponents territory in order to gain loot and demoralise the populace. However, the campaign of 1069-70 was not a 'holiday outing' for the troops but was clearly an exercise in punishment. It bears some comparison with British policy during the Boer War when farmsteads were burnt and families rounded up into concentration camps in order to demoralise the 'bitter-enders' and prevent their return home. The harrying was a psychologically devastating operation, limited in its geographical extent, but nationwide in the shock waves it sent through the land.

It was brutally successful. The follow-up involved a grand-scale redistribution of estates to chosen Norman aristocrats, some of whom (eg. William de Percy) had led harrying parties. They were now given large honours and extensive powers as inducements to tackle the problems of the north.

1. Military Conquest: Contemporary Attitudes to the Harrying of the North

I initially classified the harrying as an example of public violence, violence that was state-instigated and impersonal. But an examination of the 12th-century chroniclers who describe it reveals less clear-cut perceptions. Despite the limitations of medieval chroniclers, their monastic bias, their plagiarism (perfectly acceptable to contemporaries), their tendency to write from one viewpoint, their fascination with fables and legends, their desire to paint moral rather than historical pictures, they provide us with a group of accounts startlingly different

not only in their detail but in their *perceptions* of the events of 1068-1071. A near-contemporary view of the harrying will bring us closer to a perception of early medieval violence.

I have looked at the descriptions of five chroniclers and contrasting views of three episodes:

1. Symeon of Durham (5)
2. Florence of Worcester (6) .
3. William of Malmesbury (7).
4. Orderic Vitalis (8).
5. Henry of Huntingdon (9).

A. The murder of Robert de Commines, earl of Northumberland, at Durham in January 1069

Symeon of Durham tells us that the Northumbrians revolted against Commines early in 1069, because he had allowed his men to loot and pillage their way through the city "even slaying some of the yeomen of the church" (10). Malmesbury does not record the event, nor does

5. Symeon of Durham, *Symeonis Monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 volumes, Rolls Series, London 1882-5; Symeon of Durham, *A History of the Kings of England*, trans. J. Stephenson, reprinted by Llanerch Enterprises 1987. References hereafter to the Llanerch edition. Symeon died c.1129 when his chronicle abruptly ends. He was a cloister monk by 1104 when he witnessed the opening of the tomb of St. Cuthbert. He may have been a child during the harrying; certainly he was well placed to record the evidence of those who lived through it .

6. Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, London 1848-9; Florence of Worcester, *A History of the Kings of England*, trans. Joseph Stephenson, Llanerch Enterprises Facsimile reprint, not dated. References hereafter to the Llanerch edition. This chronicle was written at Worcester, perhaps by a monk called Florence who died c.1118. It is more likely that it was written by John of Worcester but the monk Florence may have been one of his important oral sources. The account of the harrying was copied by Symeon who added extra details pertaining to Durham.

7. William of Malmesbury, *A History of the Norman Kings 1066-1125*, trans. Joseph Stephenson, Llanerch Enterprises Facsimile reprint 1989. William was of mixed Norman-English parentage and died c.1143. He was a methodical historian who studied all the sources he could find and constantly revised his work.

8. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, Clarendon Press, Oxford, revised edition 1990. Orderic was also half-Norman, half-English. He was born in 1075 and left England c.1085 for the monastery at St. Evroul, returning only once, to Worcester where he probably consulted the work of 'Florence'. He died in 1142

9. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls series, London 1879; *The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon*, ed. and trans. Thomas Forester, reprinted by Llanerch Enterprises 1991. References hereafter to the Llanerch edition. Henry was born c.1084 and died in 1155 when he was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. He was Archdeacon of Huntingdon, hence a secular clergyman . His history was written at the instigation of Bishop Alexander the Magnificent of Lincoln. He was a story-teller rather than a serious historian although he did copy documents in full.

10. Symeon of Durham p.136

Florence of Worcester. Orderic Vitalis mentions the murder ("they were attacked unawares, deceitfully") but not the supposed looting by the Normans (11). He is followed by Henry of Huntingdon (12).

B. The burning of the city of York in September 1069 by William Malet and the York garrison in order to obstruct the Danes.

Symeon attributes the burning of York in September 1069 to the garrison's fear that the combined force of Danes and Northumbrians would use the houses and ditches near the two castles to launch attacks upon them. He condemns the action as wicked and futile; God ensured that the Danes arrived before the whole city had been destroyed and were able to take the castles (13). Orderic says nothing about the city being burnt and attributes the loss of the castles to a foolish and doomed sally out of their defenses by the garrison (14).

C. The attitude of the Conqueror to the Danes during the winter of 1069-70.

During the winter of 1069-70 Symeon states that the Danes plundered the east coast of Holderness *at the invitation* of William; this was their reward for accepting a bribe to return home in the spring (15). William of Malmesbury by contrast has the Conqueror laying waste himself to large areas of eastern Yorkshire so that the Danes should find no sustenance and be compelled to leave or suffer hardship (16). Henry of Huntingdon states that William drove the Danes back to their boats (17). Orderic Vitalis describes the Danes as being reduced to 'wandering pirates, at the mercy of "winds and waves" (18) :

"They suffered as much from hunger as from storms. Some perished through shipwreck. The remainder sustained life with vile pottage; princes, earls and bishops being no better off than the common soldiers."

11. Orderic Vitalis pp.222-3

12. Henry of Huntingdon p.213

13. Symeon of Durham p.136

14. Orderic Vitalis pp. 228-9

15. Symeon of Durham p.137

16. William of Malmesbury p.25

17. Henry of Huntingdon p.213

18. Orderic Vitalis pp.232-235

Their fate was an inevitable outcome of the harrying; to Orderic they were almost incidental - there is no suggestion that the east coast was harried deliberately to deny them supplies, nor that William bribed them to leave.

These five chroniclers present a set of varying views of the harrying. Symeon's Conqueror is a vengeful monster who has a defined enemy; the people of Yorkshire and Northumberland. The Danes are an irrelevance to him. This therefore is ritual violence, a vendetta; the north has seen several uprisings since 1065, successive royal appointees have been murdered and William wants blood for blood. Malmesbury's Conqueror by contrast is equally hostile towards English, Scot and Dane alike:

"He [William] almost annihilated the city of York, that sole remaining shelter for rebellion, destroying its citizens with sword and famine. For there Malcolm, king of the Scots with his party, there Edgar, and Morcar and Waltheof, with the English and Danes, often brooded over the nest of tyranny; there they frequently killed his generals (19)".

Orderic Vitalis is further from the scene and is often betrayed by his lack of accurate information . He tries to be fair but does not really understand the politics of the region and its long history of separatism. He believes the malcontents to be a minority. He paints a glowing portrait of Copsi, the earl of Northumbria murdered in 1067 by his own people (20). He states that Copsi was killed because he refused to betray the king whereas in reality Copsi was a henchman of the hated Tostig. He had maintained himself after Tostig's exile in 1065 by plundering along the Northumbrian coast before deciding to throw in his lot with the Normans (21).

Orderic praises King Malcolm of Scotland for making peace with William in 1068:

19. William of Malmesbury p.24

20. Orderic Vitalis pp.206-209

21. William E.Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation 1000-1135*, Croon Helm, London 1979 p.106

"For the Scottish people, though fierce in war, prefer ease and peace, seek no quarrel with their neighbours, and give more thought to the religion of Christ than to the pursuit of arms (22)".

By such means Orderic insinuated that the northerners were wrong to rise against William, that they were led astray by malcontents and should have succumbed to a king established by God (23). William was 'filled with sorrow and anger' [Rex ergo tam dolore quam ira conturbatur] at the rebellion - his view is that of a father bitterly hurt by the foolish actions of his children (24). This is not to say that the harrying was any the less severe a measure - Orderic does not condone the violence, indeed he abhors it, but he does so because he sees the men of Yorkshire and Northumberland as misguided children rather than criminals. He gives the impression that the northerners were afraid of William because they felt guilty.

His portrayal of the harrying is therefore very different to that of Symeon; this is public violence, a necessary evil that has to be carried out for the good of the realm after all else has failed. To Symeon the harrying is a work of ritual violence, perhaps even enjoyed by its perpetrators. Henry of Huntingdon devotes merely a few lines to the harrying and is extremely matter-of-fact; his strongest statement is that the king "made great slaughter of the rebellious inhabitants" (25).

We should not expect William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis to be free from bias *because* they were of mixed parentage. The purpose of mixed marriages was to assimilate Saxon to Norman and calm local feeling, not to perpetuate Saxon culture and outlook. The terrible events of the harrying, and the motives for it, defied categorisation at the time and cannot be neatly pigeon-holed today. Perhaps the most important point to be made is that it was an exception; it does not represent the standard method of 'Normanisation'. For this we have to

22. Orderic Vitalis pp.218-9; see the less rosy view of William of Malmesbury p.25

23. Orderic Vitalis pp.206-7

24. Orderic Vitalis pp.228-9

25. Henry of Huntingdon p.213

look at more subtle processes.

2. Land-Redistribution

The re-distribution of land to a new class of land-owner follows two separate patterns. We see the inevitable un-regulated pillage and seizure but at the same time there are clear indications of royal control coming into play and attempts to cloak the routine expulsion of thegns with a mask of legitimacy. This is then both private violence (crime) and public violence, 'legitimised' government action.

The 'Claims' section of the Yorkshire Domesday provides us with evidence for both individual and state depredations. This recorded conflicting claims to individual portions of land, often with the verdict of the local jury. The disputes thereby preserved were between both Norman and Norman as well as Norman and Saxon. A Yorkshire manor might pass through three pairs of hands between 1070 and 1086 before its ownership was fixed by Domesday. This was partly the fault of the king:

"The King granted his land on the hardest terms and at the highest possible price. If another buyer came and offered more than the first had given, the king would let it go to the man who offered him more. If a third came and offered still more, the king would make it over to the man who offered him most of all. He did not care at all how very wrongfully the reeves got possession of it from wretched men, nor how many illegal acts they did" (26).

Lesser men no doubt negotiated with the king for their chosen portion of land but those who were to be the greater tenants-in-chief seem to have been free to take what they wanted. Domesday Book tells us that the Yorkshire landowner William de Warenne seized land and two horses in Bedfordshire and "has not yet given them back" (27). The

26. G.N.Garmonsway, trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, J.M.Dent 1972, p.218. This quotation probably refers to the way in which the King 'farmed' out his demesne estates but it is equally relevant to the process of subinfeudation as a whole.

27. DB 1, 211V

Yorkshire Claims were an attempt by the king to control a situation fast getting out of control.

They reveal Nigel Fossard (died c.1120) to have been a particularly rapacious land-grabber in the early post-Conquest years. At this time he was a mesne tenant. He only became a tenant-in-chief upon the expulsion of his lord, Robert of Mortain, in 1088. He is inveigled in 14 of the 38 claims concerning the north and east ridings and 7 of the 39 west riding claims. He had been compelled to relinquish several properties, including land in the royal manor of Great Driffield which until then he had 'detained by force' (28). Similarly, Hamelin, perhaps a man of Nigel Fossard, had 'detained by force 2 carucates and 5 bovates of land in the same vill' (29). If men were able to treat royal land like this, how much worse must have fared the rest. Nigel Fossard was, however, able to retain some 95 manors scattered about the north and east ridings. His fief was the most dispersed of the early tenancies-in-chief which may indicate not only its origin as a mesne tenancy but also a wish on the part of the king not to concentrate any one area in the hands of such a potentially unruly baron.

An entry for the west riding reads: "two marshalls seized Northmann's land and held it. The men of the wapentake do not know in what way or for whose use, but they saw them holding it" (30). The Claims clearly hide 'a multitude of sins'. Phrases such as 'detained by force' hint at the violence inherent in the seizure of land. A lord might be 'legally' enfeoffed in one manor and illegally in possession of neighbouring lands which suited the expansion of his territory. William de Percy probably held *Hagendebi* in Yorkshire simply because it lay a stone's throw from his caput at Tadcaster (31). This violence was not only inflicted by Norman upon Saxon. The numerous claims concerning two Norman parties suggest that competition was fierce, even in the north where more land was available to fewer tenants-in-chief.

28. DB 2, CE4

29. DB 2, CE5

30. DB 2, CW17

31. Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, CUP 1991

An important function of Domesday Book was to confirm in writing (hence in custom and law) who owned what in 1086 thereby reducing the opportunities for future conflict. It confirms that few natives survived long as tenants-in-chief. In West Yorkshire only Gospatric son of Arnketil appears in 1086. Far more however lurk beneath the surface of Domesday Book as mesne and sub-tenants. This was the fate of the sons of Gospatric; his lands in Bingley by 1086 were held of the sheriff Erneis de Burun (32). Gospatric's grandson demonstrates an occurrence which has further clouded the evidence for Saxon survival. His name was Simon de Mohaut. Unless his lineage was recorded alongside his name he would easily pass as of Norman blood. Of the surviving native mesne tenants a high proportion may have adopted French names in the interests of self-preservation. The Neville and Despencer families were themselves of native origin.

Reduction to tenant status and the adoption of non-native names were two common effects of land-redistribution. The former process is scantily recorded; land changed hands at 'kangaroo courts' set up from 1067 onwards. The Claims section of the Yorkshire Domesday hints time and time again that local juries were present at these courts and that they were forced to help disinherit their own friends and relatives by providing tenurial information (33). These changes were rubber-stamped and legalised by the sheriff but they represented a most sinister form of oppression; using the knowledge of the dispossessed in order to legalise their disinheritance. At such courts many former thegns must have found themselves re-labelled as tenants on their own land. If they did not accept the situation the alternatives were poverty, exile or death. Although the native remained on his land and retained his status as a "freeman", the increased rents demanded frequently forced his sons into bondage on the lord's demesne. So the maintenance of free status in 1070 did not mean a family had fallen as far as it would - servitude was only a short step away. By such means a

32. M.L.Faull and S.A.Moorhouse, ed., *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to AD1500*, Volume 3: *The Rural medieval Landscape* p.252

33. For instance DB 2, CN2, CE13, CE14, ('The men who have sworn'), CE15 ('They testify'), CE18 ('They say').

whole generation of people were subjected. This was a country-wide occurrence but the evidence for it is particularly strong in Yorkshire. Domesday Book lists a high proportion of natives among the under-tenants of Yorkshire's territorial fees.

3. Social Change

In examining both military conquest and land re-distribution we have had to broaden our definition of violence to include psychological intimidation and humiliation, weapons that are every bit if not more potent than physical violence. The psychological element is even stronger in the area of social change. Here we see subtler, sinister methods of 'Normanisation' at work, 'violence' that is intimate and domestic, that permeates the ordering of every working day. This does not slip easily into any of our three categories; private, public or ritual. The violence is private in that it is occurring at the lowest level, within every vill, and is affecting every peasant. It is public because it occurs throughout the length and breadth of the country and is perpetuated by every new landholder. It is ritual in that one of its chief tools is religion.

By 'social change' we mean alterations in the previous pattern of English life. In rural and urban settlements alike the incomers had to make choices between continuity and change. Many of the changes were physical. Fortification necessitated the destruction of large swathes of housing, industrial and farm-land. At York, the newly dammed River Foss destroyed two town mills, whole streets made way for the Old Baile (the first castle) in 1068-9 and a large commercial district was divided. Further homes were removed for the second castle in 1070. All these factors contributed to the state of York in 1086 when it possessed a thousand waste plots (34). Similar destruction occurred in rural settlements where the cottages clustered around the church. These were physical changes with deep psychological effects.

A. Towns

34. D.M.Palliser, Domesday York, University of York Borthwick Paper No.78, 1990 p. 12, 18

The creation and expansion of towns was a basic Norman strategy in controlling newly conquered territory. Towns in Normandy provided a means of centralising political, religious and economic control and the exercise was repeated in England and later Wales. There is important linguistic evidence that demonstrates a heavy reliance on French vocabulary for the language of commerce and borough affairs. There were French boroughs at Pontefract, Doncaster and Richmond - in other words the new French settlers were granted French borough customs, (i.e. those of Breteuil), while the English community maintained their ancient burghal customs. Gradually the two would merge. Such schemes were replicated a century later in Ireland where Hugh de Lacy divided his earldom of Meath into native and Anglo-Norman sections. He rewarded his Anglo-Norman retainers with castles and fiefs in the fashion current in England, while for the Irish he set himself up as little more than another Irish King, adopting the native traditions and imposing the age-old system of rents. The chronicler of Loch Ce said that 'he was king of Midhe and Breifne and Airghaill and it was to him that the tribute of Connacht was paid' (35). Here he was a familiar type of Irish ruler while in the eastern parts of Meath he set up a feudal system of manors and knight's fees. This was not out of kindness, but out of a need to segregate and distinguish the communities, thereby preserving the superiority of the one.

B. Immigration

Immigration perpetuated segregation, particularly in those towns which maintained a two-tier system of rights and privileges. This was not to ensure continuity for the natives, or to make it easier for them to adapt. It was a means of ensuring their status would remain below that of the incomers. The honour of Richmond contained a large number of Bretons. These Bretons remained loyal to William during the revolt of Ralph of Gael in 1074 and the subsequent expulsion of many East Anglian and Cornish Bretons. They became a permanent feature of Yorkshire society but they remained distinct. In the late 12th century the

35. W.M.Hennessy, ed., *Annals of Loch Ce*, Rolls Series 2 volumes, London 1871, Vol.1 p.173

household officials and chaplains of Duke Conan IV still bore Breton names. No integration occurred here - the favoured administrators of the honour remained Breton to the core and retained estates in their homeland. In Richmondshire therefore there were three eschelons of society. At the top, the Breton lords and their Breton servants and tenants. In the middle, the non-Breton Norman or Flemish settlers and, at the bottom, the indigenous peoples. Here change was the path chosen - the links with the past represented by Earl Edwin's estates at Gilling and Catterick were broken and replaced by the new town of Richmond on a green-field site. When a castle was built at Catterick it was a low status manorial caput.

By 1086 up to 20% of England may have been in Breton hands -in Richmond at quite lowly levels, thereby pushing the Saxons to an even lower social level than elsewhere. Bretons found their way abroad via military service. William of Malmesbury observed that the Bretons were ' a race of people poor at home who sought abroad a toilsome life by foreign service....[where] they decline not civil war if they are paid for it' (36). Breton emigration reached a peak between c.1070-1100.

C. Laughton-en-le-Morthen: A Norman Confidence-Trick

Many of the new lords of Yorkshire conned their tenantry by pretending that nothing much had changed. They stressed continuity with their predecessors by re-occupying existing 'centres of power' but added a more sinister layer to the picture. On the surface they accepted existing tradition while in reality they exploited former loyalties.

Roger de Busli succeeded to the manor and 'aula' of Earl Edwin of Mercia at Laughton-en-le-Morthen. The 'aula' probably stood next to the church of All Saints which seems to have originated as a private estate-church or 'eigenkirche' , planned around a central space (a crossing transept), the north porticus and door of which survives in the modern church. Roger de Busli took over the church and entrenched

his position by building a motte and bailey castle just a few feet away, perhaps on the site of Edwin's aula.

The remnants of the late Saxon church offer two possible interpretations ; the north porticus could represent the side porch of a west tower, or, most likely, the north transept of a crossing tower, set in the centre of the church (37). When the inevitable rebuilding began in the mid-12th century the mason found the late 11th century de Busli castle inconveniently close. As a partial solution he retained the old crossing and porticus and rebuilt to the east of them, demolishing what remained of the earlier nave. To prove this of course excavation would be needed in the churchyard west of the present west end.

Post-conquest Laughton therefore saw its former lord's aula either abandoned or refortified, with the frightening spectacle of a motte-and-bailey castle hitherto unknown to this area. Any access the locals may have had to the church was diminished by the intimidation of the castle in front. Within fifty years the Saxon church itself was being swept away and replaced by a more acceptable 'Norman' version.

A similar scenario may be envisaged at Kippax in the West Riding , also held in 1066 by Earl Edwin. This was an early estate centre within the Lacy honour of Pontefract. The church of St.Mary stands adjacent to a small ringwork, perhaps again, as with Laughton, the site of the late Saxon seigneurial residence. The church has a tall aisleless nave, chiefly composed of herringbone masonry remarkably like that of the Anglo-Saxon tower at Carlton-in-Lindrick. The Taylors were not sufficiently convinced to call the church Anglo-Saxon, but its position next to the ringwork suggests a 'magnate core ' to the village that probably pre-dates the Conquest and provided a convenient set-up for the use of the first Norman lords of the village (38).

37. Peter F.Ryder, *Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire*, South Yorkshire County Council Archaeology Monograph No.2 1982, pp.72-79

38. H.M.Taylor and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, Volume 2, CUP 1980 p.719

The Norman take-over of these village churches was not an expression of piety - that came later in the 12th century when the majority of these simple churches were rebuilt in the Romanesque style. Some late Saxon tower-naves probably began their lives as deliberately defensible structures, displaying the social status of the owner (39). By building castles next to them, and later by destroying most of the churches, the Normans intimidated each tenant, forcibly reminding them at every mass who was now in charge, and removed status symbols that had been an essential feature of late Saxon social culture (they were also able of course to make use of a stone structure with its own defensive capabilities).

'Magnate-core' villages were ideal for the incoming nobility. They offered;

1. an opportunity to emphasise continuity of lordship/seigneurial power
2. ready-made defenses that could be quickly improved
3. a ready-made residence in the centre of the local populace.

The possession of a church and a defended manor were among the prerequisites of thegny rank. The Normans requisitioned these symbols and made them even more elitist by the imposition of the castle. Thegns seem to have lived expansively, on sites where land was at a premium and across which their buildings were widely spaced. By contrast Norman lords occupied smaller spaces within the midst of the community; night and day their tenants lived within their shadow.

CONCLUSION

A combination of the evidence for post-harrying 'waste' and village planning suggests that while Yorkshire suffered military devastation in the post-conquest decade, its effect was patchy and economic recovery was quick (40). The most significant factor was the wholesale replacement of the local gentry and the introduction of a class of

39. Earls Barton in Northamptonshire is a good example set within a ringwork of uncertain date.
 40. For more details of the evidence of waste see W.E.Wightman, the Significance of 'Waste' in the Yorkshire Domesday, Northern History 10,1975 pp.55-71

landowners themselves prone to dispute. The revolts of Odo of Bayeux in 1088 and Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumbria, in 1095 each involved the newly-settled aristocracy of Yorkshire. The Mowbray revolt indicates how alike the Norman and Saxon aristocracies were. Basically a protest against strong government from the south, it was the last in a long line of separatist rebellions and hastened the abolition of the earldom.

Not until the 1100's did the political make-up of the region really settle - prior to this tenancies were changing hands rapidly. The survivors were successful military leaders, younger sons who had little land to hold them in Normandy. For them Yorkshire was the land of opportunity, hence the violent grabbing of land in the 1070's and the fierce competition for the best portions.

The honours carved out in the 1070's, Richmond, Skipton in Craven, Pontefract, were offensive, designed to push the frontiers of Norman England ever northward. To do this they had first to be secure in themselves, to be 'Normanised'.

'Conquest' was achieved by military action but 'Normanisation' was far more subtle. Here the tools were the castle, the town and the church. It was vital that the usurpers present themselves as the true heirs to their Saxon 'ancestors' so they could claim all the local rights enjoyed by the latter. In some instances they even married the heiresses of the Saxon lords they displaced. Even for Henry I it was considered expedient that he should marry a Saxon princess of the house of Cerdic.

The Pope had given his approval to the Conquest and Duke William enjoyed a blood descent from the Confessor. To the outside world therefore this was not conquest but a legitimate expansion of the Norman empire. Every attempt was made to cloak the routine expulsion of Anglo-Saxon thegns and the virtual destruction of the native

aristocracy. But the new aristocracy were well aware of their guilt. The post-Hastings penances imposed by Ermenfrid, bishop of Sitten included a clause specifically dealing with violence committed after the consecration of the king at Christmas 1066:

" Those who have killed men after the consecration of the king must do penance as for homicides wilfully committed, always with this exception, that if the men thus killed or wounded were in arms against the king, then the penalties will be as before stated" (41).

If this document was genuinely issued during the bishop's visit to England in 1070 then he may well have borne in mind the conflict in the north when the above section was composed.

The Norman takeover and settlement of Yorkshire in the 1070's is perhaps best judged by its long-term results. We cannot accuse the Normans of mindless barbarism. Despite the physical violence of the harrying and the psychological damage of a whole generation, Yorkshire emerged in the 12th century as a strong, wealthy region, controlled by compact well-organised baronies and rich in religious foundations. (Note that a few significant houses were founded in the 1080's, in particular Whitby, Lastingham and the four Benedictine houses of York, also that Selby was founded by William himself as early as 1069 - could these possibly represent acts of penance for the Harrying ?).

There were contrasts within the county. The honour of Richmond was held by largely absentee-landlords and much of its wealth was siphoned off back to Brittany. The extent of subinfeudation was patchy and the number of mesne castles few; the vast majority of mesne tenants were relatives or officials of their lords, people who seem to have been kept very much under the thumb. This is a situation which contrasts strongly with that of the Welsh Marches where mesne tenants

41. D.C.Douglas and G.W.Greenaway, eds., English Historical Documents 1042-1189, London 1961, p.607

and their castles were at the forefront of colonisation. Yorkshire was a land of few but powerful lords, some of whom had surprisingly few castles. Their power-base was more diverse, in particular supported by the monastic movement, including alien priories that no longer sent all their profits back to parent houses in Normandy. What emerges from the 1070's is not the subjugation of a race, but the strength of its successor. The violence inherent in the process is masked by the prosperity that followed . We forget about the disinherited and remember only the Cistercian abbeys, booming towns and mighty castles.

Our definitions of violence, private, public and ritual, physical and psychological, are indeed applicable to Yorkshire in the 1070's, but perhaps more appropriate is the Latin term 'dominiura', denoting a need to exercise greater powers of domination and more strict discipline (42). This is basically what the invaders required and basically what they achieved.

42. Philip Aries and Georges Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life II: Revelations of the Medieval World*, Harvard University Press 1988 p.10. The modern word 'danger' is a derivative of 'dominiura'.

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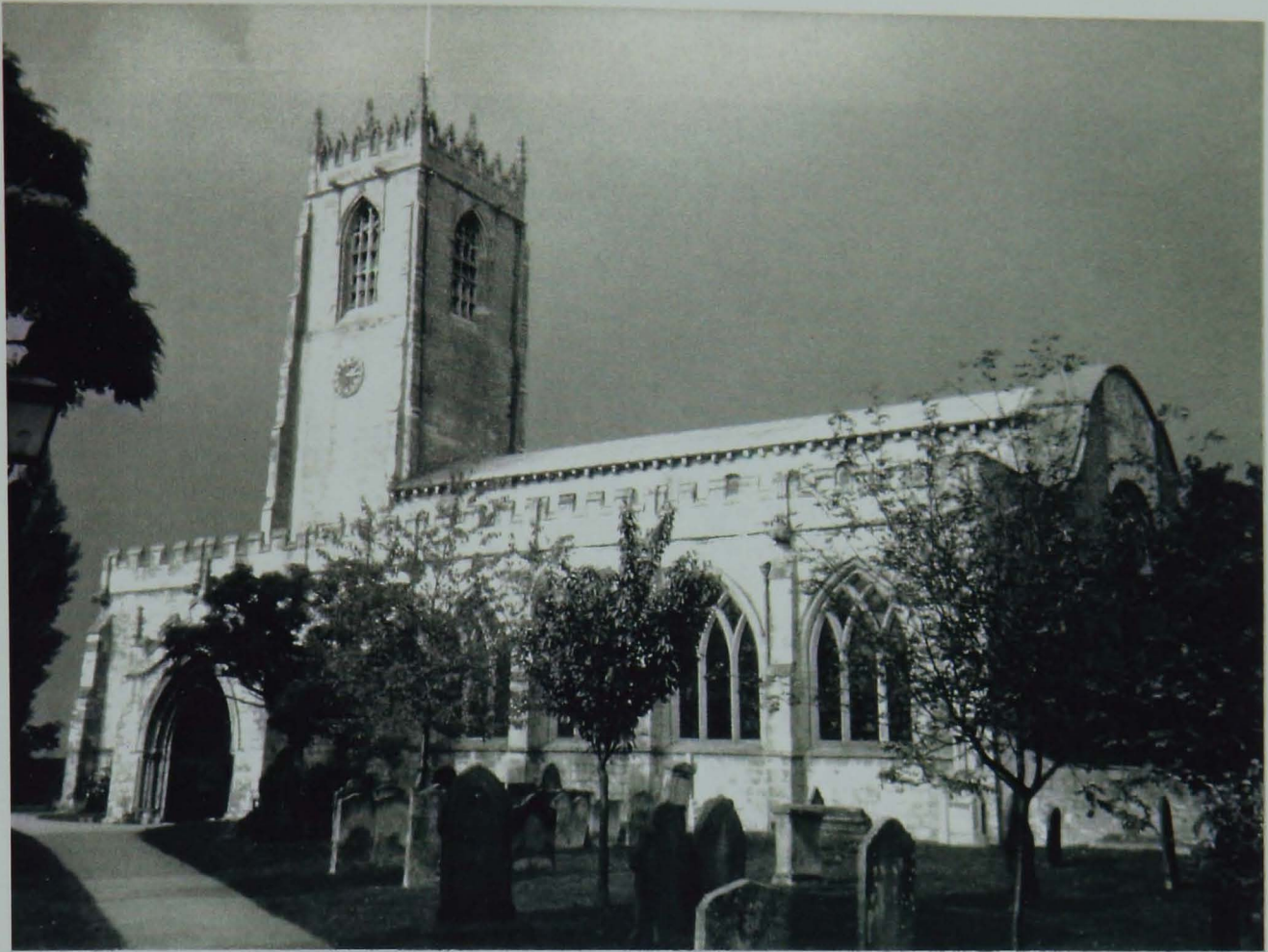
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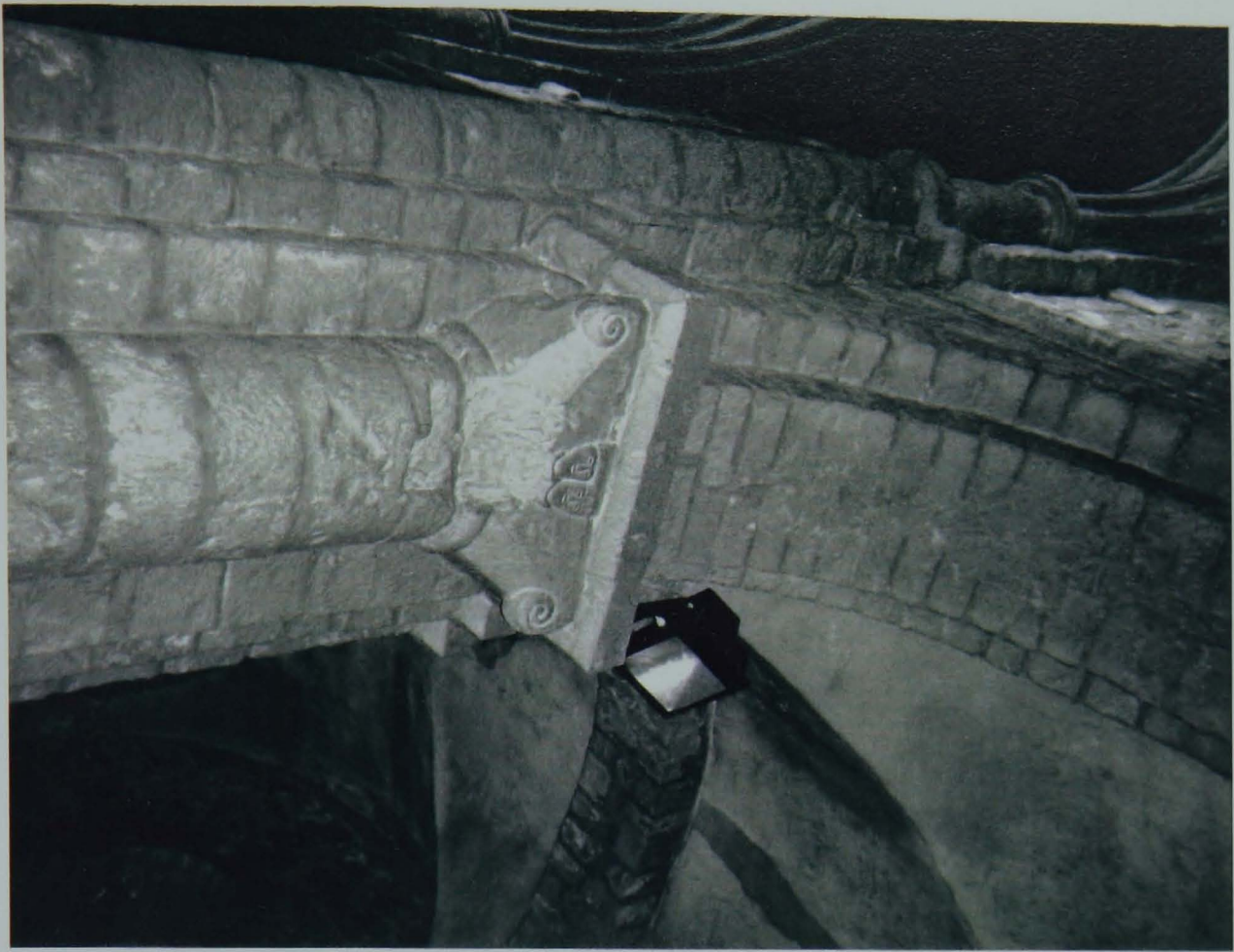
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1. Blyth Priory, Nottinghamshire
2. Blyth: Late 11th-century painted decoration on pillar and capital



3. Blyth: Single Celtic head on volute capital
4. Blyth: Double Celtic head on volute capital



5. Laughton-en-le-Morthen: Trees on motte summit shown from churchyard.
6. Laughton: Doorway of Saxon north porticus.



7. Roche Abbey: Northern Transepts
8. Skipsea Castle: The motte



9. Skipsea Castle: The bailey
10. Castle Bytham, Lincolnshire: The barbican



11. Castle Bytham: The ringwork banks
12. Brinklow Castle, Warwickshire: View from the motte looking across the bailey towards the church.



13. Longtown Castle, Herefordshire: The keep
14. Longtown Castle: The gatehouse



15. Skenfrith Castle, Gwent: The keep
16. Conisborough Castle: General View



17. Catterick: The church from the motte summit
18. Richmond Castle: Scolland's Hall



19. Richmond Castle: The original entrance to the castle.
20. Richmond Castle: The gate-tower as rebuilt in the later 12th century



21. Richmond: An early 18th century view taken from R. Gale, Registrum Honoris de Richmond, London 1722. Trinity Church sits just in front of the gate-tower in the centre of the picture.
22. Bowes Castle: The keep



23. Almondbury Castle : The hillfort from a distance
24. Almondbury Castle : The ditch defining the motte, upon which the Victoria Jubilee Tower now stands.



25. Thetford Castle: The double banks of the hill-fort.
26. Mirfield: The castle in front of the church.



27. William's Hill, Middleham: The outer bank from the ringwork summit
28. William's Hill: The wet moat



29. Gisburne: A partial ringwork. View from a distance.
30. Gisburne: Cliff side of the ringwork from the interior.



31. Helmsley Castle: Ringwork banks

32. Scarborough Castle: The inner bailey wall and keep.



33. Weobley Castle, Herefordshire: View across the bailey towards the church from the ringwork.
34. Weobley Castle: The ringwork from the west.



35. Weobley Castle: The ringwork from the eastern bailey bank.
36. Weobley Castle: The ringwork bank from the east



37. Weobley Castle: The wet moat between the eastern ringwork and bailey banks.
38. Weobley Castle: Present entrance into the ringwork. Three steps can faintly be seen.



39. Hutton Conyers: A siege ringwork.
40. Pontefract Castle: The keep



41. Clitheroe Castle, Lancashire: The keep. The reinforcements to the base of the clasping buttresses are Victorian.
42. Tickhill Castle: The gatehouse



43. Tickhill Castle: The motte
44. Wakefield Castle: The motte



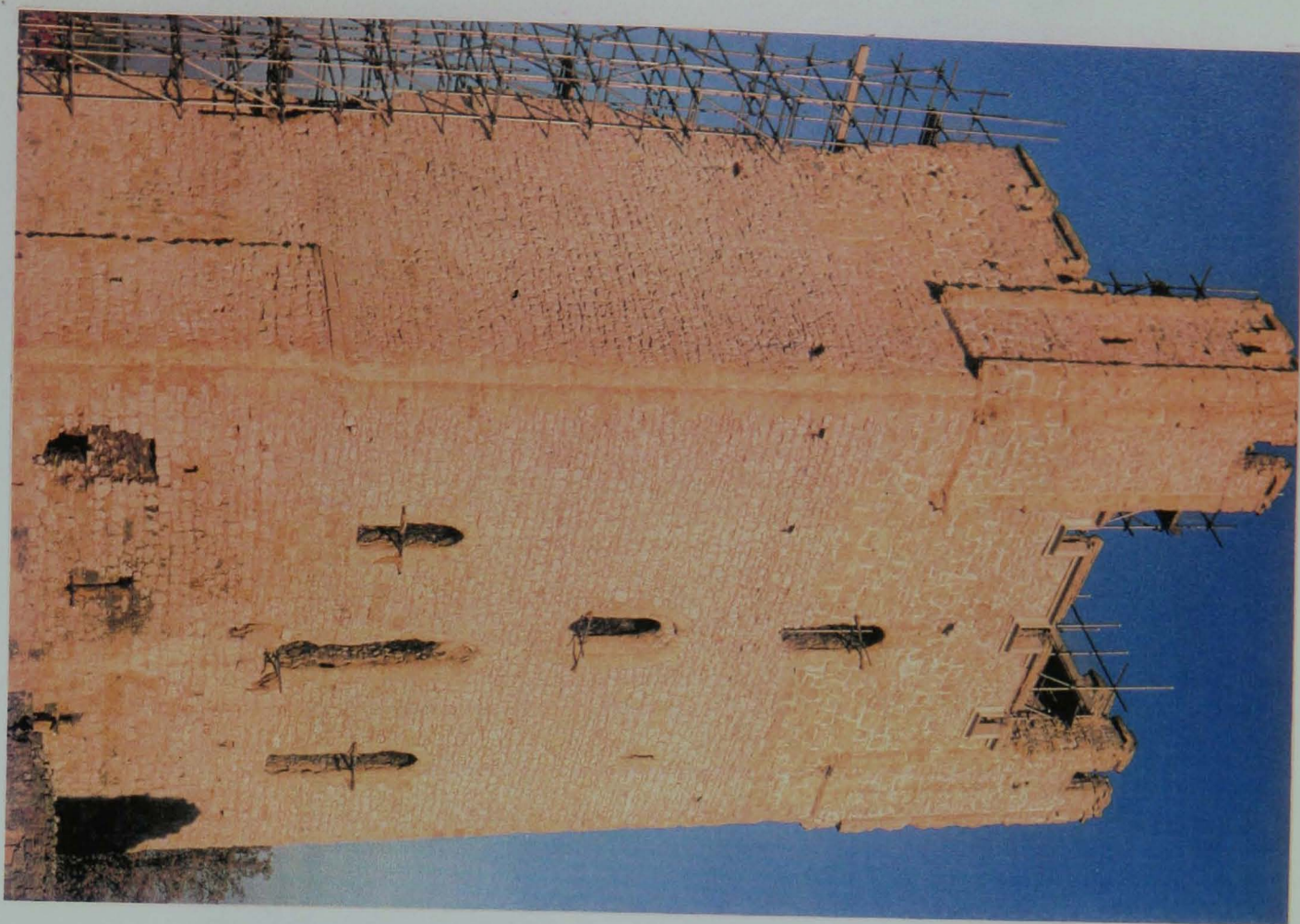
45. Sandal Castle: Looking across the barbican to the semi-circular bailey from the motte summit.
46. Lewes Castle: Shell keep on the southern motte



47. Burton Agnes Manor House: The undercroft
48. Spofforth Castle: The 12th-century undercroft



49. Pontefract Castle: The chapel of St.Clement
50. Ludlow Castle : The chancel of St.Mary Magdalene



51. Helmsley Castle: The three lancet windows are in the western wall of the chapel. The D-shaped eastern portion has been destroyed.
52. Pickering Castle: The 13th century chapel



53. St. Leonard's Tower, West Malling
54. Thorne Castle and St. Nicholas' Church



55. Castle Frome Church: A view of the late 12th century font
56. Kirkham Priory: The 13th century gatehouse with its display of heraldry.

